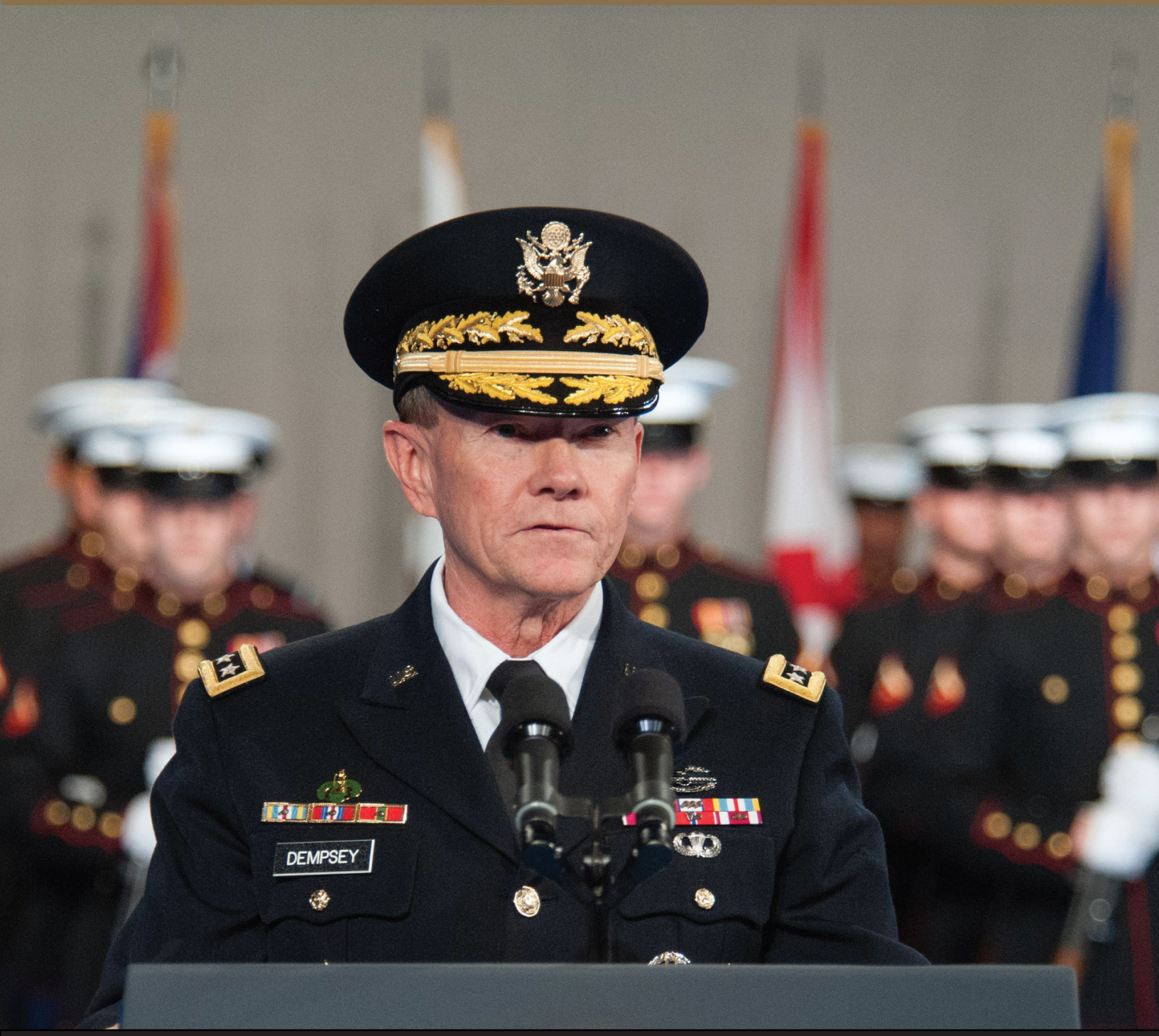
SELECTED WORKS OF

General Martin E. Dempsey, USA

EIGHTEENTH CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF



1 OCTOBER 2011—30 SEPTEMBER 2015

General Martin E. Dempsey, the eighteenth chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, delivers remarks during an armed forces farewell tribute in honor of Secretary of Defense Leon E. Panetta at Conmy Hall at Joint Base Myer-Henderson Hall, Virginia, 8 February 2013.
(US Army photo by Staff Sergeant Teddy Wade)

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FOREWORD

This volume is published under the auspices of the Joint History and Research Office, Joint Staff. It presents material drawn from the public record of General Martin E. Dempsey, US Army, while he served as the eighteenth chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff between 1 October 2011 and 30 September 2015.

The text presents in chronological order representative samples of speaking engagements and interviews, congressional testimony, published articles, and white papers to illustrate the diverse issues and audiences addressed by General Dempsey. The reader will see that although American combat forces withdrew from Iraq, the four years of the general's tenure were marked by a continuation of the Global War on Terror begun ten years before, with ongoing American involvement in Afghanistan and other theaters. In addition, Dempsey foresaw looming challenges that crossed multiple domains and theaters. He also served in a period marked by declining fiscal resources, further complicating an already complex security environment.

Beyond the security challenges, however, the selected texts also provide a sense of who the chairman was as a person. Besides a deep devotion to his family and his country, General Dempsey exhibited a steadfast dedication to the men and women in uniform he represented, as well as their families. The general also loved literature and song, often quoting great poets or singing during many of his engagements.

Selection of this volume's content was the responsibility of Lieutenant Colonel Andrew W. Lamb, US Army, and Mr. Christopher D. Holmes, contract historian and colonel, US Air Force (retired), both of the Joint History and Research Office. Mr. Shawn H. Vreeland edited the manuscript and prepared it for publication.

The editorial treatment of the texts adheres to the style guidelines found in the *Chicago Manual of Style*, seventeenth edition. Remarks, speeches, and interviews have been lightly edited for conciseness and consistency, and the opening banter in some pieces has been omitted in the interest of brevity. Previously printed pieces appear as they did in the original publications, with the exception that typographic errors have been silently corrected and editorial additions and clarifications have been made using square brackets.

This volume is an official publication of the Joint History and Research Office, but inasmuch as the text has not been considered by the Joint Chiefs, its contents do not represent the official position of the chairman or the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Washington, DC
July 2022

DAVID B. CRIST, PhD
Executive Director
Joint History and Research Office

BIOGRAPHY

Martin E. Dempsey was born in Bayonne, New Jersey, in 1952. While attending John S. Burke Catholic High School in Goshen, New York, he excelled in track, basketball, and as a member of the concert band. Upon graduation from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1974, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the United States Army. His first assignment was as a scout support platoon leader in 1st Squadron, 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment, where he conducted reconnaissance along the Czechoslovakian–West German border. Company command and battalion staff assignments with 1st Squadron, 10th Cavalry Regiment, at Fort Carson, Colorado, followed. Later, after earning a master's degree in English literature from Duke University in 1984, he served as an assistant professor at West Point.

Major Dempsey returned to Germany in 1988 to serve as the executive officer of 4th Battalion, 67th Armor Regiment, then the operations officer and later executive officer of 3d Brigade, 3d Armored Division (including Gulf War combat operations), and then as commander of 4th Battalion, 67th Armor Regiment. In 1993 he began the first of several Washington, DC, assignments, initially serving as armor branch chief at Army Personnel Command. Next, upon completion of the National War College in 1996, he led 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment at Fort Carson. Two years later he joined the Joint Staff's Strategic Plans and Policy Directorate (J-5), serving as its assistant deputy director for politico-military affairs for Europe and Africa. He was selected in 1999 to be special assistant to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Henry H. Shelton, USA.

In 2001, Brigadier General Dempsey next embarked on what would become a series of sequential wartime assignments in the Middle East. After serving as manager of the Saudi Arabian National Guard Mobilization Program, he assumed command of 1st Armored Division in 2003 and led Task Force Iron during its sixteen-month deployment to Baghdad, Iraq (for which he received the Combat Action Badge and Bronze Star Medal with "V" device). He began his second tour in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom during August 2005, concurrently commanding Multi-National Security Transition Command-Iraq and North Atlantic Treaty Organization Training Mission-Iraq. Two years later he was appointed deputy commander and then, in 2008, acting commander of US Central Command.

General Dempsey received his fourth star later in 2008 and took charge of the US Army's Training and Doctrine Command at Fort Monroe, Virginia. After seven years of combat, updates to the Army's Capstone, Operating, and Learning concepts stressed the importance of maintaining a competitive advantage by developing independent leaders who could anticipate and adapt to change when operating under uncertain and complex conditions in an era of persistent conflict. Although appointed thirty-seventh chief of

staff of the Army on 11 April 2011, months later President Barack H. Obama asked him to instead become eighteenth chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 1 October of the same year.

America had by that time begun to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan and was only months away from ending its involvement in Iraq to focus more upon growing concerns in the Asia-Pacific region. Sensing the approach of a "strategic inflection point," whereby shifting circumstances would fundamentally alter the nature of America's presence upon the global scene, the new chairman directed the joint force to prepare for operating in an increasingly competitive environment characterize by uncertainty, complexity, and persistent conflict. Concurrent priorities included fulfilling present obligations, renewing commitments to the profession of arms, and keeping faith with the military family.

General Dempsey contributed to the Defense Department's strategic review, *Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for the 21st Century Defense* (2012). Crafted as a blueprint for the joint force in 2020, it highlighted the need to recalibrate current capabilities and make selective investments that enabled the force to surge and regenerate capacities at future flashpoints. Partnering would continue to be a central strategy, as America and its allies pooled specialized capabilities and sought innovative—but low-cost and discrete—approaches to shared security interests in Asia-Pacific and the Middle East. In *Capstone Concept for Joint Operations: Joint Force 2020*, the chairman drew from lessons learned during a decade of war to propose "globally integrated operations" as a means to attain those goals. By integrating emerging capabilities with "new ways of fighting and partnering," he envisioned "globally postured forces" that could transcend "domains, echelons, geographic boundaries, and organizational affiliations" to gracefully "form, evolve, dissolve, and reform in different arrangements in time and space."

Congress had in the meantime enacted the Budget Control Act of 2011, which mandated a $487 billion reduction in defense funding over the next nine years. General Dempsey sought a strategic balance between capability and capacity. The resulting budget proposal planned for a gradual transition to a smaller and more affordable force, although investment in space, cyberspace, long-range precision strike capabilities, and special operation forces would continue. Additional spending cuts, Secretary of Defense Leon E. Panetta and the chairman warned, would jeopardize their carefully calculated defense strategy. Failure to agree upon a plan to lessen the nation's budget deficit, however, triggered yet another ten-year, across-the-board, $500 billion reduction in funding. While the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2013 partially mitigated the effects of sequestration through fiscal year 2015, the Joint Chiefs felt compelled to solicit congressional support for reducing infrastructure, retiring weapons systems, and curtailing budget-draining compensation packages in an effort to recapture funds for readiness and modernization.

Popular uprisings in Syria during March 2011—part of the wider Arab Spring movement—had escalated into armed rebellion against the totalitarian regime of President Basher al-Assad by the time General Dempsey took office. The chairman warned that American intervention could accelerate the conflict and possibly lead to an unstable state.

Although he and other members of the National Security Council initially advocated a proposal to arm moderate rebel groups, as the situation deteriorated Dempsey conceded that it had become difficult to identify which ones to support.

In August 2013, the world learned of deadly chemical attacks near Damascus. While Secretary of State John F. Kerry appealed for military strikes to degrade President Assad's chemical capability, General Dempsey cautioned that rather than ending the conflict, explicit action would likely lead to deeper involvement and "could inadvertently empower extremists or unleash the very chemical weapons we seek to control." He advocated humanitarian assistance, coupled with the training of a moderate opposition force.

Emergent crises during 2014 served to amplify the uncertainty of global security. In late February, Ukrainian protestors seeking closer ties with the European Union ousted President Viktor Yanukovych. Russia surreptitiously mobilized its military to support separatist movements in southeastern Ukraine and annexed Crimea. General Dempsey underscored the changing security environment in Eastern Europe and advised that rising nationalism could fuel the conflict's spread. Europe could no longer afford to be complacent, the chairman declared, and America would likely have to "put forces back into Europe substantial enough to allow us to deter Russian aggression against our NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] allies." In September, as the United States demonstrated its continued commitment to collective security through Operation Atlantic Resolve, NATO approved a Readiness Action Plan that included "continuous air, land, and maritime presence and military activity in the eastern part of the Alliance," and enhancement of the organization's Response Force.

When the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) seized vast territories in Syria and Iraq that summer, General Dempsey supported a strategy to contain, then degrade, and ultimately defeat the former al-Qaeda affiliate. While continuing to stress the need for a whole-of-government approach, he consistently pressed a wary presidential administration to commit sufficient military resources to achieve that goal—and was prepared to employ strategic ground forces offensively. During the first year of Operation Inherent Resolve, the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL halted the enemy's advance and began to liberate population centers along the periphery of the contested areas.

At the same time, an Ebola outbreak in West Africa quickly reached epidemic proportions. Dempsey anticipated the formation of an international medical relief effort and initiated planning to identify possible courses of action, which facilitated the launch of Operation United Assistance in September. Resisting pressure to employ military personnel in direct patient care, the chairman affirmed that the joint force would leverage its unique wherewithal to expedite the buildup of medical capacity and capability in the troubled region.

In the 2015 update of *The National Military Strategy of the United States of America*, General Dempsey observed that the United States had begun to relinquish its comparative military advantage at the same time that the global security environment had become more unpredictable than at any other period during his career. America's aspirations exceeded its available resources, he said, and unless military funding were increased

and regularized the nation would have to reconsider the aims of its security strategy. As Dempsey prepared to retire that fall, bystanders described him as a "reluctant warrior." He knowingly responded that "a military leader should always understand that of all human endeavors, the one that's most unpredictable and the most costly is warfare."

SERVICE RECORD

Promotions	**Dates**
2LT	05 Jun 74
1LT	05 Jun 76
CPT	08 Aug 78
MAJ	01 Sep 85
LTC	01 Apr 91
COL	01 Sep 95
BG	01 Aug 01
MG	01 Sep 04
LTG	08 Sep 05
GEN	08 Dec 08

Assignments	**Dates**	
	From	**To**
Cadet, US Military Academy, West Point, NY	1970	1974
Student, Armor Officer Basic Course, US Army Armor School, Fort Knox, KY	1974	1975
Platoon Leader, B Troop, 1st Squadron, 2nd Armored Cavalry, US Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany	1975	1976
Support Platoon Leader, 1st Squadron, 2nd Armored Cavalry, US Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany	1976	1977
S-1 (Personnel), 1st Squadron, 2nd Armored Cavalry, US Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany	1977	1978
Student, Armor Officer Advanced Course, US Army Armor School, Fort Knox, KY	1978	1979
Motor Officer, 1st Squadron, 10th Cavalry, 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Carson, CO	1979	1980
Commander, A Troop, 1st Squadron, 10th Cavalry, 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Carson, CO	1980	1980

Assignments	Dates	
	From	To
S-3 (Operations), 1st Squadron, 10th Cavalry, 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Carson, CO	1980	1981
Commander, Headquarters and Headquarters Troop, 1st Squadron, 10th Cavalry, 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Carson, CO	1981	1982
Graduate Student, Duke University, Durham, NC	1982	1984
Instructor, later Assistant Professor, Department of English, US Military Academy, West Point, NY	1984	1987
Student, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS	1987	1988
Executive Officer, 4th Battalion, 67th Armor, 3rd Armored Division, US Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany	1988	1989
Operations Officer, later Executive Officer, 3rd Brigade, 3rd Armored Division, US Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany (Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm, Saudi Arabia)	1989	1991
Commander, 4th Battalion, 67th Armor, 1st Brigade, 1st Armored Division, US Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany	1991	1993
Chief, Armor Branch, Combat Arms Division, Officer Personnel Management Directorate, US Total Army Personnel Command, Alexandria, VA	1993	1995
Student, National War College, Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, DC	1995	1996
Commander, 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, Fort Carson, CO	1996	1998
Assistant Deputy Director for Politico Military Affairs, Europe and Africa (J-5), the Joint Staff, Washington, DC	1998	1999
Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Joint Staff, Washington, DC	1999	2001
Program Manager, Saudi Arabian National Guard Modernization Program, Saudi Arabia	2001	2003
Commanding General, 1st Armored Division, US Army Europe and Seventh Army (Operation Iraqi Freedom)	2003	2004

Assignments	Dates	
	From	To
Commanding General, 1st Armored Division, US Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany	2004	2005
Commander, Multi-National Security Transition Command Iraq and NATO Training Mission Iraq (Operation Iraqi Freedom)	2005	2007
Deputy Commander, later Acting Commander, US Central Command, MacDill Air Force Base, FL	2007	2008
Commanding General, US Army Training and Doctrine Command, Fort Monroe, VA	2008	2011
Chief of Staff, US Army, Washington, DC	2011	2011
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC	2011	2015

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Defense Distinguished Service Medal (with 2 oak leaf clusters)

Distinguished Service Medal (with 5 oak leaf clusters)

Navy and Marine Corps Distinguished Service Medal

Air Force Distinguished Service Medal

Coast Guard Distinguished Service Medal

Defense Superior Service Medal

Legion of Merit (with 2 oak leaf clusters)

Bronze Star Medal (with “V” device and oak leaf cluster)

Meritorious Service Medal (with 2 oak leaf clusters)

Joint Service Commendation Medal

Army Commendation Medal

Army Achievement Medal (with oak leaf cluster)

Combat Action Badge

Parachutist

2011
SELECTED WORKS

Letter to the Joint Force
October 1

It is an honor to be the 18th Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I am thankful for the opportunity to continue to serve with you.

The most important thing I want you to know is that I ***trust*** you to do what's right for each other and for our country.

Thanks for your service. You have fought harder and your families have sacrificed more than most will ever know. You make us the finest military on the planet. We're powerful, versatile, responsive, and resilient. We are admired by our allies and partners, and we are dreaded by our enemies. You are our decisive advantage.

To ensure we remain the Joint Force our nation needs, I'll focus on a few key themes as I begin my time as Chairman.

We must ***achieve our national objectives in the current conflicts***. As long as our forces remain in harm's way, we must ensure they have what they need to succeed.

We must look beyond our current requirements—to 2020—and ***develop Joint Force 2020*** to provide the greatest possible number of options for our nation's leaders and to ensure our nation remains immune from coercion. Keeping our military the best led, best trained, and best equipped force in the world is the non-negotiable imperative. Doing so in a new fiscal environment will be hard, but we've overcome similar challenges in our past, and the nation is counting on us to overcome them again.

We must ***renew our commitment to the Profession of Arms***. We're not a profession simply because we say we're a profession. We must continue to learn, to understand, and to promote the knowledge, skills, attributes, and behaviors that define us as a profession.

And, of course, we must ***keep faith with our Military Family***. Our active, guard and reserve service members, our wounded warriors, our families, and our veterans deserve the future they have sacrificed to secure.

Continue mission! I am proud to serve with you.

Remarks at the Association of the US Army Sustaining Members' Reception and Lunch

Washington, DC | October 12

It's a pleasure to be back. I'm tempted to do a little John Denver imitation here, you know. [*Laughter.*] Ain't it good to be back home again?

I actually—you know, I had a video like that when I was the chief for all of those 149 days, and it had all Army—all Army images in it. Now, of course, I've had to kind of broaden the aperture.

But you understand the point of that video. That's who we've been, who we've become, and who we must always be for the nation.

And Chairman [Norman D.] Dicks, it's good to see you here, and we appreciate all the support you and your colleagues will give us in doing that.

And Chief, Chief, Chief, Chief—there's a lot of chiefs there. [*Laughter.*] And it's great to see all [these] friends.

Put up the image of the USS *Cole.* Some of you may know that on this date in history in 2000 the USS *Cole* was attacked in the harbor at Aden in Yemen. And at the time it appeared to be—I think we would say now, at the time, it appeared to be kind of a one-off attack. But as we look back in history now, we can see the attack on the World Trade Center in 1993; the attack on Khobar Towers; the attack on the embassy compounds in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia; the USS *Cole*; and then of course, just a year later, the attack on 9/11.

So what I tell people and what we have to remember is, it took us about a decade to realize we were at war. And we are very aware of that fact right now. But make no mistake about it. It will take us about—this is a generational issue.

You know, we have all kinds of threats around the world, some of which are threats that emanate from challenges to resources and competition, and some of which are ideological. And we're in the middle of an ideological struggle that causes us to remember that as we make the kind of adjustments I'll talk to you about in a second, that we still have that generational issue, that ideological struggle that will certainly persist. And it's going to take us at least another ten years to overcome that challenge.

Put up the next slide for me, will you? Some of you have seen this before. I've used it. I like to carry images around with me. You know that. And this is an image that some of you have seen, but I'll go through it briefly for those of you that haven't.

That's a squad leader. He happens to be in Afghanistan. I've subtitled it "trust." You could pick any number of subtitles. Any one of the Army values, actually, would fit very well underneath there, but let's say "trust" for just the second—trust because you've got the wingman guarding his flank. The wingman's not worried because you notice his squad leader has got his back. The squad leader, you can tell by his eyes, he's going through that kind of conflicting emotions of courage and fear, confidence and uncertainty.

He is on the radio asking for something. And to highlight your point, Jim—and by the way, well-deserved. Congratulations again. But to highlight that point, that squad leader knows that when he asked, he needs something right now. I don't know if it's a

medevac or close air support or guidance or any other number of capabilities that he needs. And here's what sets us apart: he knows he's going to get it. He knows that in this country, when we send our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines to war, if they need something, they're going to get it.

And as we go forward into the next decade and whatever challenges might accrue, that's the sacred bond of trust that we cannot afford to break. And I say "afford" because it will come down to the resources the nation will commit to supplying to its men and women in uniform when they place them in harm's way. He's married, and of course we have a bond of trust with our families, with our wounded, with our veterans.

And so you can see there at the bottom these four phrases, and those are the themes that I've begun my tenure as chairman of the Joint Chiefs—I've taken on those themes. And the first one is pretty apparent. We've got to finish the fight we're in. And as I said earlier, that's not going to happen—it's not going to happen on my watch, by the way. We just got to keep at it.

Secondly, we've got to develop a joint force for 2020, and that joint force has to have a certain capability, and it has to have a certain capacity. And we are working with the chiefs in what I think is a very collaborative, very positive—and the secretaries, by the way—in a very collaborative process to try to step beyond the current fiscal issues, which are very real and which we acknowledge and with which we intend to participate as good stewards of the nation resources and as citizens of this country.

But we want to step beyond the immediate conversation about what do we do in 2012 and 2013, and we want to decide as a group of Joint Chiefs—the senior-most military leaders and senior-most civilian leaders of the country—and decide: what does the country need in 2020? And then look back and take the next four years—which is four POM submissions, program operating memorandums—and we want to take those four years to march toward that objective, so that we do it deliberately and so that we ultimately provide the nation's leaders with as many options as possible, and that along the way we have decision points with each submission, in case we get it wrong, or in case we see other opportunities we may not have seen before. And there are opportunities out there.

The third one there, of course, is renewing our commitment as professionals. And that's something I was very passionate about as the chief of staff of the Army. I'm even more passionate about it now, because I think that it is one of those times in our history that we should take a look at ourselves as members of a profession, as professionals, and decide if we've got the knowledge, skills and attributes right; decide if we've got the policies right, the education system right, the promotions, whatever it happens to be, are we living up to the responsibility we have to the nation to not just simply be a job—this sounds like an Army recruiting commercial—but a profession, and decide collectively how then we ensure we maintain and hold ourselves true to that. Because here's the reality: you're not a profession just because you say you're a profession.

And then, the last one is keeping faith with the military family. And now, notice I chose the word "military family" intentionally because the aperture is a lot wider than it was when I came in the Army. When we talk about the military family now, it's mostly

married. We have a large group of veterans; keep faith with retirees, the wounded, Gold Star families, and so forth.

So when I became a general, General [Eric K.] Shinseki came and visited our brigadier general training course, which we all, as you know, euphemistically described as charm school. And he said in answer to [a] question, what is a general officer's most important responsibility? He said: to manage transitions. So here are the transitions that the eighteenth chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff must manage on behalf of the nation.

I have to manage the transition from war, or a principally wartime footing, to a readiness—principally a readiness footing, but not forgetting that that struggle I described to you earlier will persist. So when General [George W.] Casey [Jr.] got everybody interested in the phrase "persistent conflict" about four years ago, he's right. But we have to separate these kind of threats, decide which ones are persistent, how we deal with those, and then we've got a readiness issue as well to ensure we are truly capable of operating wherever, whenever and against whatever threats the nation calls us to operate. So we've got that transition, from a principally wartime footing to essentially a readiness footing while at war.

Secondly, I'm going to be the chairman that manages the transition from bigger budgets to smaller budgets. And I'm not going to put any finer edge on that, but if anybody in the room thinks that I'm going to be the chairman that manages bigger budgets to even bigger budgets, let me know, because I want to drink what they served you at your table. [*Laughter.*]

So it's going to happen, bigger budgets to smaller budgets, you know. And we've been down this road before. As most of us in the room know, we've been down this road before, we'll go down it again.

It's our responsibility to articulate the opportunities and the risks, to manage those risks and to provide our nation's leaders and our fellow citizens with as many options as possible and always with the goal of ensuring they remain immune from coercion. And we'll do it, and we'll figure it out together.

And the third transition is one that I haven't yet fully come to grasp with, but it's very real, and that is this transition of men and women who have served their nation and who are going to pass into the civilian ranks as veterans. So there's a transition out there that I haven't yet fully grasped, but we've got to keep faith with our veterans through this process, and the roles of the veterans will increase—as our forces, writ large, become smaller, naturally the size of the veterans increase—and so we're learning so much more about some of the challenges veterans face, whether those are medical challenges or whether they are challenges of unemployment and things, as you've seen.

So we've got a transition that will occur on my watch that has to do with veterans. And I will take that on, and we'll try to figure it out, and we'll reach out to partners and stakeholders across the government and in industry to try to help with that transition. So war to readiness, while at war, bigger to smaller budgets, and veterans. Now how hard could that be?

But that's the task at hand, and I would actually be completely overwhelmed by it except for the fact that when I come back to places like this and I see the faces that have

grown—that have been my mentors and I see the folks with whom I've served and I see the potential partnerships and the real partnerships we already have, I actually think we're going to be OK. And I would hope and actually pray that you don't try to talk me out of that, because it is one of those times in our history where that's what the nation needs us to do.

That's what the nation needs us to be. It needs us to be a collaborative network who are doing what's best for this nation at a great—at a great time of challenge, both challenges that are physical challenges, and even fiscal challenges and psychological challenges. We can get through it.

But we can only get through it if we work together, and that's what these sessions are all about. And as always, General [Gordon R.] Sullivan, I thank you and the association for giving us the opportunity by establishing this venue, giving us the opportunity to talk about these things and then leave here kind of with our batteries recharged to get about the hard business of making all that happen.

So I'm really proud to be back here with you today, proud of what you're all doing and eager to get about the business at hand. And so I thank you for your time, and I'm going to go back to work. [*Laughter.*]

Thanks very much.

Excerpt from Testimony to the House Armed Services Committee

Washington, DC | October 13

Thank you, Chairman [Howard P. "Buck"] McKeon, Ranking Member [Adam] Smith, members of the committee. Thank you for the opportunity to testify before you today on the future of national defense and our military ten years after the attacks on September 11th.

I want to begin by introducing the handsome marine over my right shoulder here, who I just recently appointed as my senior enlisted adviser. This is Sergeant Major Bryan Battaglia, thirty-two years in the United States Marine Corps, served this country and the corps with great distinction and great honor. And he has now been appointed as my senior enlisted adviser so that he can help us accomplish the tasks that you just heard the secretary [of defense] articulate and ensure we remain in contact with the young men and women—America's sons and daughters who we place in harm's way. So if you'll join me.

As this is my first time before you as chairman of the Joint Chiefs, I want to make note that I look forward to our continued cooperation, for all the very important reasons outlined by the secretary of defense [Leon E. Panetta].

I also want to affirm that I take seriously our shared responsibility of maintaining a military that preserves the trust that is placed in our hands by the citizens of the United States. And I believe we can sustain that trust while also being good stewards of our nation's resources.

In the past decade, over 2 million men and women have deployed overseas in support of operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere.

Our joint force has demonstrated great initiative, great strength, and great resolve.

The security landscape has also shifted during this period, and our military has demonstrated its ability to adapt and to learn. So from my vantage point, and in keeping with the theme of these meetings, let me point out a few lessons that stand out.

First, we live in an increasingly competitive security environment. Capabilities that previously were the monopoly of nation states are now proliferated across the security landscape. As a consequence, we must learn faster, understand more deeply, and adapt more quickly than our adversaries.

Second, relationships matter more than ever. Coalitions and partnerships add capability, capacity, and credibility to what we see as shared security responsibilities. Therefore, we are committed, even in the face of some of the budget pressures that have been described, to expanding the envelope of cooperation at home and abroad.

Third, our Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and our Coast Guard brothers and sisters combine to field a truly unmatched team. We still need our services to maintain and be the masters of their core competencies and their unique service cultures, but they must operate as a single cohesive team. We must continue to value and advance joint interdependence.

Fourth, innovation is instrumental to the future of our joint force. We've expanded many of what we referred to in years past as low-density capabilities, and we've fielded many new technologies. We must continue to unleash innovation in the ranks and challenge ourselves to leverage these emergent capabilities in new and creative ways.

And finally, leadership remains at the core of our military profession. It's why we've been able to learn, adapt, and achieve the results that I've described over the past decade. Now developing the next generation of joint leaders will preserve our nation's decisive advantage over any would-be adversary.

With these lessons in mind, we're working to build—to conceive and then build the joint force we need in 2020. This force must be powerful, responsive, resilient, versatile, and admired. It must preserve our human capital and have the capability and capacity to provide military options for our nation's leaders.

And it must be affordable. Be assured, I am fully committed to reducing costs without compromising our nation's security needs. We must make our choices at balanced risk, and as the secretary mentioned, avoid hollowing the force. These choices need to be deliberate and precise. Indiscriminate cuts would cause self-inflicted and potentially irrevocable wounds to our national security.

To close, I would like to again thank the committee for your commitment, your support to men and women in uniform as well as to our families. They deserve the future that they have sacrificed to secure.

Thank you, and I look forward to your questions.

Remarks at the Pentagon Energy Security Forum
The Pentagon
October 18

I heard [Assistant] Secretary [of the Army for Installations, Energy and Environment Katherine] Hammack tell you I'm an armor officer by background, which means that I was probably among—I'd have to check whether I'm right about this with the Navy— but I was probably among the most energy-consumptive hogs that ever walked the face [of the earth]—you know the M1 tank, two gallons to the mile. You know the drill.

So, thank you, Katherine for that kind introduction. And to you and Secretary [Sharon E.] Burke and Dr. [Dorothy] Robyn for leading the efforts here to encourage us to think differently about energy and how energy relates to our security.

As a student of literature and history, I feel obliged to note that 160 years ago today, Herman Melville's classic *Moby Dick* was first introduced to the public.

No, you're not in the wrong place and I'm not here to give you a lecture about the nuances in Herman Melville's work *Moby Dick*. So what connection does your presence here today have to this great American novel?

In a word, energy. Ishmael, Captain Ahab, and the crew of the fictional ship *Pequod* were part of a global industry largely dedicated to one thing: the pursuit of a critical source of energy . . . at that time, of course, whale oil.

And 160 years later, some things just haven't changed. We're still engaged in a seemingly endless quest for the pursuit of energy.

So, let me make this point up front: improving our energy security directly translates to improving our national security.

It will be essential to keeping our military the most effective, the finest fighting force in the world. And, it is inherent to our responsibilities as good stewards of the nation's resources. Without improving our energy security, we are not merely standing still as a military or as a nation, we are falling behind.

As a division commander in Iraq, energy management determined my ability to maneuver operationally. And having spent decades living and working on military installations, I know full well the powerful impact that conservation can have on our bottom line.

The Department [of Defense's] "energy culture" has changed markedly, dramatically really, since I was a young Army armor officer, and that's a very good thing.

Today Americans are more energy conscious in our homes and at work, and so too are we in our military. But we can and must do even better—particularly in pushing progress out to the field, to the flight line, and into the fleet.

Today's warfighters require more energy than at any time in the past and that requirement is not likely to decline.

During World War II, supporting one soldier on the battlefield took one gallon of fuel per day. Today, we use over twenty-two gallons per day, per soldier. We're also more

expeditionary than ever. These energy needs require a vast yet vulnerable supply chain that our enemies target.

But to enhance our energy security, we must look beyond vulnerabilities and instead focus on and view energy as an opportunity.

And the opportunity is vast. Energy spans every activity and corner of the department.

In the air, jet fuel equates to on-station and loiter time. At sea, marine fuel consumption rates impact operating and transit speeds. On the ground, energy requirements often drive how long soldiers can stay out on patrol and how many resupply convoys we have to put at risk on the road to support them.

I'll give you one example of that. For a seventy-two-hour mission, today's infantry platoon carries 400 pounds of batteries to power their equipment—night vision devices, communication gear, global positioning system, and flashlights. Four-hundred pounds of batteries per platoon—that's per thirty men—for a seventy-two-hour mission.

As some have observed only jokingly, if you want to find a US Army patrol in Afghanistan, simply follow the trail of batteries, and you will eventually come upon them.

Now, that platoon is also more capable than ever. That's a good thing. I don't want them to ever have to face a fair fight.

But we need to lighten the energy load of each warfighter—and the physical weight and resupply that it entails.

Fortunately, some new technologies that Sharon and others have championed are already making a difference. They include solar panels, micro grid systems, and high-capacity batteries. I will do everything I can as chairman to support these innovations and to get the right emerging technologies into our troops' hands as soon as possible.

Because fundamentally we know that saving energy saves lives. In Afghanistan, fewer supply convoys will directly relate to fewer casualties. And it's not only about defense, meaning defense of operations.

Units with greater range and agility, with more warriors engaged in the mission rather than resupply, will ultimately result in "more tooth, and less tail." That's great news for us and even worse news to our adversaries.

This is why I am committed to the goals set forth in the Department's first-ever Operational Energy Strategy—goals that include reducing energy demand at all levels of our forces while increasing the resilience and operational effectiveness of our equipment and our soldiers.

As chairman, I'm particularly focused on looking beyond current requirements to what the force will need to look like in about a decade. Some of you have heard me speak about Joint Force 2020. Well, in the coming months, you will hear me talking even more about Joint Force 2020, and energy efficiency and energy availability must be part of that equation.

We're already making progress, as I've said. We've designed more fuel efficient Ground Combat Vehicles, installed hybrid systems on some naval ships, and invested in fuel cells to provide backup power to military installations, and I know the Army is running a pilot on three installations right now to get at a net-zero baseline for energy consumption.

These are important steps. But, as I said, more must be done. And it must be done not as individual services, but must be done jointly. And I'm counting on the people in this room to get it done.

One of those people is Lieutenant General Brooks Bash, my director of logistics on the Joint Staff. And I don't know where you are Brooks, but would you stand up so we can see you and hold you accountable for whatever we do in the future. [*Laughter.*] Let's give Brooks a round of applause.

And actually, I haven't been chairman long enough to have given each of my directors their marching orders, so this is an opportunity for me to do that. Brooks, you now know how much I care about the future of energy in the joint force, and I'll be counting on you as my point man in this arena.

Finally, let me touch on the budgetary realities we face. Secretary of [Defense Leon E.] Panetta has very been clear that we must scrutinize every single area of our operations. Nothing is off the table, and that includes investment and wise investment in energy and technology.

Yet energy advances are unique in the opportunities they afford. Traditionally, we must spend money to increase capability. Here, we may have the opportunity to increase capability and save money, at least that is what we ought to aspire to do.

Systems that pay for themselves in days or weeks or months delight both the warfighter and the comptroller. There are some energy wins out there right now, and we need to go after them.

What you're doing here today is vitally important for our future. Whenever our forces go into harm's way, they must have the best tools possible. And improving our energy security can help us do that and we really don't have the time to waste.

So, I thank you for your presence here today, for your participation and I look forward to the outcomes, deliverables, and implementation of the best of ideas as we go forward. Thank you very much.

Remarks at the National Guard Joint Senior Leadership Conference

National Harbor, Maryland | November 7

Please have a seat. I haven't had that many applaud since I sang "New York, New York" last. Happy birthday. Three hundred and seventy-five years, that's unbelievable, really remarkable. I told [Major General Raymond W.] "Ray" Carpenter he doesn't look a day over 350. [*Laughter.*] Deanie [Dempsey, his wife] and I are delighted to be here with you. I think I've had the chance almost every day for the last few to be part of either this gathering or at least some of the smaller gatherings that occur in between the larger group.

And what I want to do today with you briefly is kind of lay out the battlefield on which I've now been inserted as the chairman and give you some thoughts about that, and then as well, take whatever questions we can fit in in the time allocated to us. But to make

sure I don't forget to thank you, besides wishing you a happy birthday, thanks for what you do. You know, I'm going to show a video here in a second. But one of the things that is remarkable about this video is that in it, I can't tell who's in the active component, who's in the National Guard, who's in the reserves.

It wasn't always possible to say that. And we all know that. And so, you know, the way we've grow together over the past ten years is something that I find to be extraordinarily healthy for the nation. And as we go forward with the challenges that are very clear to us, we got to make sure that we don't lose that. So run the video, then I'll put up a few slides—no PowerPoint. And then we'll chat. Go ahead.

So that's who we are, and it must be who we remain. And that's our challenge, isn't it? Most of you in the room, at some level, I think we can describe you as senior leaders. And I especially want to compliment the senior leaders of the Guard that I've dealt with over the past few years—notably, of course, [General] Craig [R.] McKinley and Ray Carpenter. I know all the TAGs [the adjutant generals] are here, and I know that we've all got the same goal. And that is to provide what the nation needs. And we've got to make sure that as we go forward that we continue in-close dialogue, collaboration, and transparency and honesty. And I'll come back to that theme—I'll come back to that theme in a moment.

So I'm going to tell you a little bit about—my focus area is how they link into what I think will be the basis on which our emerging strategy is adapted. And then we'll open it up for questions.

Put up the first slide for me, if you would.

Some of you have seen this, but we never look – I can't see this enough. I mean, this is the image I go to bed at night with. Well, I actually I go to bed with an image of Deanie in mind, but—by the way, for those of you who aren't married thirty-five years, note how quickly I pulled out of that [*laughter*]. I was getting ready to crash and burn there. But I am an adaptable leader, I suppose [*laughter*], but this image and one I'll show you here in a moment are—I just carry them around. And you got to have your own image. In fact, at the end of that video there was one of a guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Solider. And another image I carry around is that tomb guard who will be at that tomb whatever the weather, whatever the conditions, and will not leave his post or her post. And that is something, I think, that we've kind of come to take for granted, but we must never truly take it for granted.

So the reason I like this slide is that it gets at the issue of trust. And you can see that I've captioned it "trust." But why do I say that? And by the way, how many noncommissioned officers in the audience? Just give me a show of hands. Yeah, you probably hate this picture because the guy's out of uniform. You know, he doesn't have his eye protection on. His sleeves are rolled up, scarf around the neck. I got it. Just get over that for a second because I want to talk to [*laughter*]—I want to talk to you about what you can pull out of this picture.

And what you can pull out of this picture is, by looking at this, he's a squad leader. And if you look at his eyes, you get a sense for what's going on in his life at that moment in time, which you couldn't see, by the way, if he had sunglasses and Eye-Pro on. So

that's why I like the picture. But you can see those conflicting emotions, you know, courage and fear all together at once; confidence and uncertainty, all together at once. And that's who we are as a force when we ask these young men and women to do what we ask them to do—active, Guard, or reserve.

And in this particular case, the reason I like this is that it shows trust. Trust is not abstract in his life. It's real. He's got a rifleman to his right flank and he—that squad leader—couldn't do what he is doing unless that man was to his flank and that he had confidence that that soldier would be protecting him as he went about doing what he had to do and vice versa. The rifleman couldn't do what he has to do unless he had trust—a level of trust in that squad leader. The other thing is the squad leader's calling for something on the radio.

And, as some of you have heard me say, it could be a medevac, it could be close air support, it could be additional ISR [intelligence, surveillance, reconnaissance] Predator coverage, indirect fire. Whatever it is though, he's going to get it. And that's what marks us as a military. If you need it—and if we're going to put you in harm's way and you need something, you're going to get it. And I'd venture to say we're probably the only military on the face of the planet that can say that with such certainty. And as we go forward, we have just got to maintain that.

The other thing of course is I hope you can see that he's wearing a wedding band. It's kind of prominent in the picture. And that's got to remind us that that bond of trust has to exist, not only from higher to lower and laterally, but it's got to run all the way back to our homes—to hometown America, where we take care of the families, wounded warriors, Gold-Star families, veterans. We've got to be able to maintain that bond. It's what marks us as a profession, and we got to keep at it.

Now, under that picture you can see my four focus areas. And I'll talk about them in just a moment. But go to the next slide because here's the other image that I just started carrying around with me, because last week in Alaska I met an Air Force National Guard parajumper [pararescueman] by the name of Roger Sparks—Master Sergeant Roger Sparks, parajumper. During his tour of duty in Afghanistan, he suspended himself off of a cable, just like the cable that's suspended off of this aircraft, and he rescued off of the side of a mountain about the size of Pike's Peak in the Hindu Kush and RC [Regional Command] Northeast.

He pulled about twelve soldiers from the 101st [Airborne Division] off of that precarious position where they were under attack. And he did so, repeatedly lowering himself out of that helicopter in a hail of machine-gun fire. In fact, as he tells the story, the cable on which he was suspended was actually struck several times by the machine gun fire. Now, you know, I ask myself all the time, as I'm sure you do, why do they do what we ask them to do? Why do young men and women do that? What would possess you to lower yourself on a cable from a helicopter into a hail of machine-gun fire?

The answer is we don't really know for sure, but we do know this. They darn sure don't do it for themselves. We have to remember that we ask these kids to put themselves in that kind of a precarious position. And if you think about what we owe them as a

result, it should make our way forward pretty darn clear. Remember, I said, that was an Air National Guardsman from Alaska putting active-duty soldiers from the 101st off the side of a mountain. That's it. You know, that's joint force; it's 2020; it's all components; it's pulling on the same oars to keep this little rowboat of ours moving in the right direction.

So let me talk to you briefly about the four objectives. You see, the first objective there is to achieve our objectives in the fights in which we find ourselves. Well, of course we will. You know, we're working both with our Iraqi—and we can talk about this if you'd like—but we're working with our Iraqi counterparts on the one hand to define that relationship differently. We're working with our Afghan counterparts to define that relationship as it evolves over time. And I think we're going to be fine.

I think that we have opened up enormous windows of opportunity in both places. In some cases, the opportunity will be seized as we would like it to be seized. And in some cases it won't be seized exactly as we think it should be seized. But we can walk our way forward in this, and we can darn sure do so with our heads held high about what we've done in those two places. So more about that.

Joint Force 2020. It has been my view and remains my view that we've got the kind of near-term budget challenges, but we really need to keep them in the context of something longer range. In other words, we're going to get a budget for 2012 and a POM [program objective memorandum] for [2013–17]. But we got to make sure we're clear about what we're building toward, so that this doesn't become just simply a series of budget exercises. And we are.

We've got a lot of work done already on looking at how our QDR [Quadrennial Defense Review] strategy might be adapted, should be adapted. You know, I say to people—and I really believe this. This isn't me rationalizing my existence. I tell people, even if we had all the money we wanted—you know, if we could, just throw a bill across the transom to the Congress of the United States and say, we need this much money, and they gave it to us, we'd still want to change.

I mean, if we haven't learned anything over the last ten years, then we have not taken advantage of our sacrifices. So we've learned a lot over the last ten years. I mean a lot. And what we need to do now is adapt our force in the context of what we've learned, and regardless of how much money we need, we need to change. We're a learning organization and we need to adapt to the future security challenges. And that's why we need to think about 2020.

I'll just give you one small example of that. Ten years ago, while we had a special mission force, we had a Joint Special Operations Command, we had a special operations community of a certain size, it's four times bigger than it was ten years ago. And it's exponentially more capable. So that's a change. And what are we going to do to adapt ourselves to the reality of a different kind—a much better capability in our special operations community?

The other thing is ten years ago we weren't working in the cyber domain or the cyber arena. You know, we get hung up on the vocabulary sometimes. But the point is, ten years ago, we didn't have this thing called cyber as one of our warfighting functions that can be integrated with other things in order to make us more capable. And we do

today. We're not there yet in figuring out what it means. But it just should give you an idea that as we look to 2020, this isn't about taking what we've got and just holding onto it doggedly, maybe making it a little smaller.

This is about adapting and changing those structures, changing our leader development paradigms, changing the way we integrate things, changing relationships so that in 2020 we have a pretty clear view of what we need to provide the nation and how many options we need to provide the nation. So we have to jump beyond the budget fights and get to that point. And it's not easy to look beyond the current budget fight. But we're making some progress in that regard.

I heard a great quote the other day. I was actually at a civilian leader development conference, and they were talking about big organizations versus small organizations. And they said small organizations—this is a business thing—small organizations attack, and big organizations defend. And the idea was that when you're a small organization and you're trying to grab control of a piece of the market or you're trying to increase your bottom line, you're on the attack.

You're creative, you're looking for ways to do things differently, you're looking for ways to knit things together, you're looking for ways to partner with other organizations to improve yourself. And when you're a big organization, you say, oh, boy, I've arrived. Now I got to hold on tight.

We can't be that organization. We can't be the big organization that stays on the defensive and tries to doggedly protect who we are.

Are there parts of it we want to protect? Of course there are. We're a values-based organization. We're a profession. We're committed to long-term leader development. You know the drill. But there's other parts of who we are that should be adapted to this emerging threat scenario and to a new fiscal environment. And we're going to have to work with each other to get there.

The third one of course is the commitment to ourselves as a profession. And when I say profession, I actually speak inclusively, not exclusively. I think that we're a profession and that every soldier, airman, sailor, marine, coastguardsman, when they raise their right hand they become part of the profession and are expected to contribute to it. Noncommissioned officers take some ownership of it. The officer corps certainly has ownership in it. And I as well include civilians in that. So we're all in this thing called the profession of arms. And we all have a role to play in ensuring that it is the profession that not only we think it should be but that the nation deserves.

And then the last one there is this idea of military family. And I do mean military family; notice I didn't put the plural families because that kind of narrows the focus a bit. I'm talking about a military family that includes those serving, those that are now veterans, the retired, the wounded, Gold-Star families. It's a broad brush, but it's one that you'll see in a minute, because I'm going to show you another graphic here, that we are accountable for. And we can't forget that as we go forward.

OK. Turn that slide off for a second and let me talk to you about the emerging strategy. I know none of you when you were in college in English class ever thought

to use CliffsNotes. You know, if you were given like a reading assignment, you know, Shakespeare or something, I know that none of you ever used the CliffsNotes. No, turn that off for a second.

So I'm going to give you the CliffsNotes version of where we are with the strategy. Our strategy adaptation, it seems to me, will turn on about four issues, maybe five. I'll see how many I remember. I am 59 years old, and you're 375. So between the two of us, we might remember what I'm trying to say here.

On about five things, first thing—two wars or something less than two wars. For me, right now, the answer is, we're never going to try to build a force that's only capable of doing one thing at a time. That'd be silly, it would be ill-advised, and we wouldn't be doing the nation any favors. So we have to figure out how we build a force and articulate its capabilities against more than one thing. We're not there yet, but we're working on it. So issue one is, are we going to continue to talk about a two-war strategy, or will it be something else? OK.

The second thing is geographic focus—geographic priorities. You know, we've been focused, and we've prioritized the Middle East. There's every reason to believe that the next decade will see demographic shifts, economic shifts, military shifts into the Pacific, not to the exclusion of everything else, because again, we are who we are. We're a global power. You just can't say, ah, I think I like the people in the Pacific. You know, they have really cool drinks with umbrellas. So we're going to focus on the Pacific.

We are going to focus on the Pacific, I believe. We're not there yet. But that's another one of those issues on which our strategy will shift, will adapt. It's geographic focus: how do you prioritize, and then how do you make sure that across the world we can continue to exert the kind of influence that we need to and maintain our access to resources, lines of communication, and so forth.

The third thing is what some are calling reversibility. But let me describe it differently, meaning if you get it wrong, how do you reverse-field and get it right? I think that what we're really talking about here is fundamentally redefining our relationship among active, Guard, and reserve. I really believe that. I believed it when I was the chief [of staff of the Army], for a whole 149 days, and I believe it today.

This strategy will cause us to reexamine, reconsider, and rearticulate, and then resource our relationship among the active, the Guard, and reserve components. It has to, because, you know, you keep us connected to America. I mean, we try to all of us keep ourselves connected to America. But certainly you're a prominent part of that. And secondly, you are that part of the force that allows us to take some risk in other parts of the force in the event we might get it wrong. And as many speakers have probably said, we have an uncanny track record on getting things wrong. So the third thing on which our new strategy will reside or rest will, I think, be this relationship among active, Guard, and reserve.

The third thing—the fourth—I told you I'd screw that up. The fourth thing is the relationship between the general purpose forces and special operating forces. You know, up till now, those two issues have been kind of distinct, separate. You know, if you needed

this kind of work done, you reached over into that pot. And if you need this kind of work done, you reach over into that pot.

And what have we seen over the last ten years? In my view, in my experience in Iraq and Afghanistan and elsewhere, we've seen kind of a merging of those capabilities to the great benefit of our mission and to the great benefit of national security. So now the question becomes, how do we document, validate and, again, resource the integration of general operating forces and special operating forces?

And then the final one is this issue of cyber. What is the relationship among the conventional military, the special operations community, and cyber? Because right now, again, it's being seen as kind of a one-off, additive capability. And it's not. All these things need to be integrated so that we can produce, for the nation, a menu of options that is based on the integration of all those relationships.

That's what it is. We have to figure out how to change the nature of our relationships to provide the nation the military it's going to need in 2020, all of which is being done, let's face it, in a new fiscal environment. And we know that. And we'll figure it out. And it's not the first time we've been down this road. We've traditionally gone through periods of expansion and contraction, but we just have to figure it out. And we have to do so in a way that keeps us united and maintains that bond of trust both internally and externally with the nation.

We're entering another political season. The Department of Defense has some very clear guidelines on what is and is not appropriate to occur on military installations and to occur with military personnel. The DOD [Department of Defense] regulation—I reviewed it last week—is actually very good. They're not all that good. This one is actually pretty darn good. And so you need to review it because we are not a special interest group and we are that institution in America that must remain apolitical. I'm reminding all of us at every opportunity that that's what the nation expects, and that's what the nation deserves.

OK. Now, in that context, I wanted to talk to you about one other thing before I take a question, because I know it's on your mind, and I'm going to preempt the two questions you're going to ask me. The first one is about retirement—I'll wait until you ask me that one. The second one is about whether the chief of the National Guard should be a member of the JCS [Joint Chiefs of Staff].

I'm going to go testify on Thursday before a Senate Armed Services Committee meeting on this topic, and I wanted to tell you where I am before you see it on CNN, OK, because I owe you that. And this is about trust and it's about transparency. And I'll tell you that I'm not going to recommend that. But you need to know why.

I'm not going to recommend it for two reasons in particular. One is what we just talked about. I, having been a service chief, believe that only one person can be in charge of the brand. What we're talking about on those slides is, what is our brand? Who are we as soldiers, Army; sailors, Navy; airmen; Air Force; marines, Marines? And that person who is accountable for that institution across the components, in my view, should be the service chief.

And the second reason I believe that is that he has the budget. Look, let me tell you. First of all, you know that as the chairman, I have almost no authority. I'm not complaining, really. But, truthfully, I can't move people around. I don't have a budget. I mean, I have a little tiny budget. You know, my role is to try to gain some insights from the chiefs and then to advise the president, the SecDef [Secretary of Defense], the national security adviser. But fundamentally, I don't have any real authority except insofar as I can have a better case to make. If I can explain things, if I can understand context, if I can understand the effect on both the mission and the institution, then I'm persuasive. But fundamentally, a service chief has much more than that. The service chief has an obligation, with his service secretary, to organize, train, and equip the force using the resources given to him by the Congress of the United States.

And I love General McKinley, but he doesn't have a budget. Now, could he at some point? I wouldn't wish that on my worst enemy, actually. But he could. I mean, that could be a change that could follow a series of changes. But I wanted you to know, this is nothing about my esteem, my affection for the National Guard; it's what I believe about the force and what makes us who we are. And we are truly one force today in a way that we weren't in the 1990s, but I wanted you to hear that from me today and not hear it from CNN. You'll probably also hear it on CNN, but I wanted you to hear that from me today and let you know what my recommendation will be.

But you know, at the end of the day, when the Congress of the United States passes a law, we have the uncanny ability to follow it. So that's where I am today; you needed to hear that from me and not from somebody else. All right.

Excerpt from the General Counsel of the Department of Defense and Joint Chiefs of Staff's Testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee

Washington, DC | November 10

Thank you, Chairman [Carl M.] Levin and Senator [James M. "Jim"] Inhofe.

I want to point out before we begin I appreciate the spirit of the family metaphor you used for this. I do want to make a point that, as we have talked about this, [General] Craig [R.] McKinley [the twenty-sixth National Guard Bureau chief] has been in the room in every instance. So everything we've done to try to talk about this among ourselves has been done with the chief of the National Guard Bureau present.

And so I thank you for the opportunity to continue that discussion here with you today. I'd also like to thank my colleagues at the table. We share a bond of trust with each other and with the nation that will be sustained regardless of how we answer the question before us today. Let me be clear. I'm both an admirer and an advocate for the national guard. Our entire reserve component makes an indispensable contribution to our national security. Throughout our nation's history, and certainly in the decade since 9/11, we have depended on our citizen soldiers and airmen to help defend us, our allies, and our interests.

At home and abroad, the national guard serves with courage, discipline, skill, and distinction. I'm proud to be their chairman, the chairman of our total joint force, active and reserves, civilian and families. And I take seriously my responsibility to give voice to their achievements and to their needs. I ensure their voice, including the voice of the chief of the National Guard Bureau, is heard.

This said, I join the secretary of defense and the service chiefs in counseling against making the chief the National Guard [Bureau] a statutory member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. There is no compelling military need to support this historic change.

Two primary concerns lead me to this conclusion: representation and accountability.

First, our success as a joint force is due in large measure to our ability to integrate the active and reserve components so that they are indistinguishable on the battlefield. I believe we have accomplished this because the service chiefs of the Army and Air Force are the single voice for their respective services. With the service secretaries, they bear sole responsibility for making the key resource decisions that produce an organized, trained, and equipped force—and this includes the national guard and reserve components.

The proposed change could undermine this unity of effort. As you know, each of our services has a reserve component, but only the Army and the Air Force have a national guard. This proposal will also create a situation among our reserve component forces whereby two of the six—as Mr. [Jeh C.] Johnson [general counsel of the Department of Defense] mentioned—would be represented differently, creating what could at least be the perception of inequity.

My second and more important concern, though, is one of accountability. Each of the Joint Chiefs is subject to the civilian oversight of a single appointed and confirmed secretary. The chief of the National Guard Bureau has no such oversight. Elevation to the JCS [Joint Chiefs of Staff] would make him equal to the service chiefs without commensurate accountability. This seems to me to run counter to the carefully crafted organizational and advisory principles established by Goldwater-Nichols.

I don't find the argument to change the composition of the JCS compelling. It's unclear to me what problem we're trying to solve. Here's what I do know with certainty: the chief of the National Guard Bureau has and will continue to attend meetings of the Joints Chiefs that I chair. I want and I need him in the Tank [the JCS conference room at the Pentagon]. The chief provides valuable insights and experience for matters of importance to the national guard and therefore the nation. This advice is also carefully considered when the Army and Air Force chiefs make decisions that affect their services. The chief of the National Guard Bureau has a voice and it is heard.

Over the last ten years, the relationship between our active and reserve components has grown into a well-integrated fighting force. You really can't spot the difference between active and reserve component soldiers or airmen. We are and we will remain one force. Again, I'd like to thank the committee for its continued support to all of our men and women in uniform, as well as their families. And I look forward to answering your questions.

Remarks at the Royal United Services Institute Policy Exchange

London, England | November 28

I'm sure you stopped listening when he [Dean A. Godson] said he was a one-time obituary writer. [*Laughter.*] Good God, I don't think I've ever been introduced quite like that. [*Laughter.*]

This is my third trip here in the past three years to give some kind of address. Really, I like to think of it more as a discussion about our profession and our security challenges.

Two years ago I came at the invitation of then chief of general staff Sir David Richards, and I was TRADOC [US Army Training and Doctrine Command] commander. And then last year I returned to speak at the Royal United Services Institute. I was the chief of staff of the Army. Now I'm back as the chairman. And so I think if I come back next year—I probably shouldn't come back next year because I'm pretty much out of jobs at this point [*laughter*]—to matriculate into.

But I'm deeply honored to be here. I'm here with my wife, Deanie. We've got three significant events, and one of them is this; another is the one where I eat breakfast with the Atlantic Partnership, and then tomorrow evening we're at Royal United Services Institute to talk about the role of women in the security profession, something that I'm keen to discuss.

So Dean thank you for that kind introduction, and thank you, and thank you for honoring [Chief] Constable Colin Cramphorn with this lecture series. Deanie and I enjoyed meeting Colin's wife Lynne and his sister Vicky before speaking this evening.

One of the themes of my presentation tonight is the importance of leaders of consequence, and Colin Cramphorn was certainly a leader of consequence. It was only after reading about Colin's role in the attacks of 7/7 [London bombings of 7 July 2005] while beginning his own fight against cancer that I began to understand why you recognize him here tonight and each year. I'm honored to be part of this annual celebration of Colin's life. We will need men and women with his spirit, his determination, and his commitment to his fellow citizens if we are to successfully navigate through the challenges ahead. Thanks for allowing Deanie and me to be part of this event.

I want to thank you also for the opportunity to dialogue with many leaders of Parliament, your defense industry, intelligence establishments in both of our countries, as well as academia and the press. The challenges we face require first and foremost an equal and greater understanding and opportunities such as this to increase our understanding and share our thoughts about our common security challenges that are vitally important, and I'm happy to be able to spend the time with you to do that.

Now, as you know, just this past week we celebrated Thanksgiving, and I want to begin by telling you that our relationship with your military is one of the things for which those of us who wear the uniform of the United States are thankful. Since I first remember celebrating Thanksgiving many decades ago, we've managed now to create two other holidays on the periphery of this last Thursday of November. One of them, of course, was last Friday, which as you know we describe in our country and I think in

yours as well as "black Friday," the first shopping day of Christmas, and today, which has become known as "cyber Monday."

Now, this "cyber Monday" phenomenon is sort of curious to me, but it's also an important indicator of change—and more about that in a moment.

I'm mentioned I'm in London here for two events, including this—or three counting those two others—one of which is that women in the security professions dinner tomorrow night. So I mentioned that my wife Deanie is with me tonight, and I thought I'd take the opportunity to reinforce the important role that women play in our security professions. So let me share a short story with you.

I met Deanie in high school. I was seventeen; she was fifteen. We married after I graduated from West Point. Just a few years ago two of my high school classmates and I were bragging about those early years of our marriage and how we set our wives straight on who would do the domestic duties. One of my friends had married a young gal named Eileen, and he boasted that he had told Eileen that she was to do all the dishes and all the house cleaning. He said it took a couple of days, but on the third day he came home to a clean house and to find all the dishes washed and put away.

Now, the second of my friends had married a young lady named Joan, and he bragged that he had given his wife orders that she was to do all the cleaning, all the dishes, and all the cooking. And he said the same thing. He said the first day he didn't see any results, but by the second day it began to get better, and the third day his house was clean. The dishes were done, and he had a delicious dinner on the table waiting for him.

Now, they knew that I had married this young Irish gal named Deanie. So I explained that soon after we were married I told her in no uncertain terms that in my house it was to be cleaned, the dishes scrubbed, the cooking done and the laundry washed, and that this was to be entirely her responsibility. I shared with them that on the first day I didn't see anything, and on the second day I didn't see anything, but by the third day some of the swelling in my left eye had gone down [*laughter*]—and I was able to actually see [*laughter*].

That's obviously a joke [*laughter*]. I do think we are actually close to having women involved in our security professions, but I'll save that speech for tomorrow night.

Now, students of history may know that on this day in 1943, three historic leaders met because they sensed that they had arrived or were soon to arrive at what they described as a strategic inflection point. Those three leaders, of course, were Sir Winston Churchill, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Premier Joseph Stalin. They met for that first time in what later was known as the Tehran Conference.

While it doesn't get as much notoriety as the conferences at Yalta and Potsdam, it was arguably the most important and the most intriguing of those three conferences. The key decision reached by those three leaders was to open a western front in World War II. This led, of course, to the invasion of Normandy in spring of 1944, otherwise known as Operation Overlord. It was a critical turning point in the war, and ultimately the way they agreed upon opening the western front and the restructuring of Europe, it actually led to the boundaries that we knew for those fifty years or so following World War II.

Now, I suggest that we—and I do mean we—are at or nearing another of those strategic inflection points in our own time. Some of the challenges facing us are relatively clear. We have to maintain pressure on the state and nonstate actors that threaten us. We must determine how we will interact with those nations experiencing the Arab Spring. We must determine how we will relate to emerging and reemerging nations, especially China.

Other challenges may be less clear. Earlier this month we learned that it took fourteen years for the world's population to increase from six billion to seven billion. It will take only ten years for the world's population to increase from seven billion to eight billion. Now, that fact alone will have to mean something more to us in terms of security and not simply an opportunity to look smart at a cocktail party, if nothing else than the entrance of a billion more people into the workforce twenty-five, thirty years from now, and the additional pressure that will put on the world's economic stature is worth thinking about even today.

Moreover, the challenges we face are being acted out on a stage of unprecedented economic interdependence and unimaginable access to information. Now, that's not new to you. Some, however, suggest that this economic interdependence and this connected state of the world will have a stabilizing effect. Others suggest that the convergence of these factors will be destabilizing. It's likely to be both, and it's likely to be both in an unpredictable way.

Our traditional alliances and partnerships around the world, including our alliance with Great Britain, is the stable platform on which we will confront these challenges. Yet it cannot be lost on any of us that we now face known and unknown security challenges in the context of a new fiscal reality.

With that as background, I'd like to talk with you about three words that begin with the letter "I." They help me frame the challenges ahead, and those three words are immune, innovative, and inspired—immune, innovative, and inspired.

First, immune. The job of our militaries is still to its absolute essence—and I might [say] the job of security agencies in our nations—is to ensure that our nations remain immune from coercion—immune from coercion. This is no small task, let me tell you. A world which has become more competitive as state and nonstate actors taking advantage of information technologies to become more lethal, to decentralize, to network, and to syndicate a nexus. Stated another way, the number and kinds of threats we face have increased significantly.

Now, we haven't been standing still watching this happen. In fact, I'd argue that no institution has become more adaptable, more flexible, and more versatile over the last ten years than the institutions of our militaries. We are simply not the same militaries we were in 2001. We've adapted hierarchical structures in which capability and authority were jealously husbanded at the highest echelons, and we've created decentralizing, distributive structures where capabilities and authority are pushed to the lowest tactical echelons.

To ensure we remain immune to coercion as we move forward, we must think carefully about how our actions will affect the nature of deterrence. We've learned much over the last ten years, and we'll continue to adjust our force structures based both on what

we've learned and that new fiscal reality. That will require us to adjust our strategic objectives and to find that balance of capability and capacity. That is, we must have both the right tools and enough of them to credibly deter potential adversaries and then to deliver on our objectives if we have to fight.

Now, on this "cyber Monday" I said I'd come back to cyber, and here's my report to you: we are not immune to coercion in cyber. We are not immune to coercion in cyber, and we have to get after it. We're working on it, as I know you are working on it, but in my judgment we need to work harder.

The second "I" is innovate. Yesterday, I heard your countryman, James Dyson, speaking about the need to encourage creativity and invention in our schools. He made a very persuasive argument. I contend that we need to do the same thing inside our wonderfully traditional and intensely bureaucratic military structures. The time-honored method for absorbing diminishing resources is to do less with less. I don't think that's going to work this time. I just don't think the world will cooperate. So we need to see transformational opportunities, including but not limited to new capabilities, new command structures, and greater interdependence among our internal military services, but also with our closest allies.

I recently heard a very successful entrepreneur describe the difference between big corporations and small. He noted that big corporations spend most of their time defending themselves while small corporations attack. I don't think anyone would argue with me if I laid claim on behalf of the United States Department of Defense to being the quintessential big corporation. [*Laughter.*] But we need to think like a small corporation.

If you prefer, hockey player Wayne Gretzky said it a little differently. When asked—he was a man of rather normal stature—and when asked how he achieved such greatness on the ice, he said simply, "I skate to where the puck is going, not to where it's been." And that's what we've got to do. We've got to skate to where the puck is going. That means coming to grips with change—change in communications; change in intelligence and our ability to grab it, analyze it, dispense it; changes in robotics, in nonbiological intelligence, in power, in energy, and in precision.

We've tended to see capabilities as they've emerged as simply additive over time. We have more of this or more of this or a new thing, a new shiny object over here. [*Laughter.*] But again, with costs as an independent variable now, we have to seek the synergies or the possibilities that those capabilities provide and integrate and combine them in innovative ways.

In the early part of the twentieth century—and you knew I'd get an Irish poet in there at some point—but in the early part of twentieth century Irish poet William Butler Yeats noted, "Talent perceives differences, Genius unity." "Talent perceives differences, Genius unity." I suggest that now is the time for genius.

And the final "I" is inspire. A few weeks ago I met an Air National Guard parajumper [pararescueman]. These are these young men who rescue folks in dire circumstances in peace and in war, sometimes out in the ocean, sometimes off the side of a cliff. And in this particular case this young man—whose name is Master Sergeant Roger Sparks—when I

met him he had just come back from Afghanistan where he was recommended for one of our nation's highest military awards. While serving in northeastern Afghanistan he had lowered himself from a steel cable from a helicopter in a hail of machine-gun fire to rescue twelve soldiers who were stranded on the side of one of these mountains in the Hindu Kush. He pulled all twelve soldiers from that mountainside. Four of them died in his arms.

Now, it wouldn't surprise you to know that when I asked him why he took such risks he said simply, "Those soldiers needed my help at that particular moment in time."

We have a trust relationship with the American people, we who wear the uniform. We're seen as the preeminent leader-development experience in America. We're known to develop leaders of consequence. Whatever we become in the future, we must not lose this standing with the American people any more than your military can afford to lose that same standing with the British people.

You know, there's a psychology to the way the nation feels about itself and about whether it's progressing or in decline, and it has less to do with how much money they have than it does about whether it feels like it's living up to its values. I'd say that a nation whose military embodies the values of the nation will never be in decline.

As we consider who we will be as a military in the months and years ahead, I don't think it unreasonable to hold ourselves to the highest standards. We should inspire our fellow countrymen with our courage, our determination, and our willingness to serve. Colin Cramphorn understood that, and because he did his impact is far greater than just the handful of men and women whose lives that he personally touched.

Thank you for the opportunity to chat with you tonight. That concludes my prepared remarks.

Excerpt from Remarks at the Atlantic Council of the United States: Security and Partnership in an Age of Austerity

Washington, DC | December 9

Great. Well, I'm delighted to be here. I very much appreciate the work that the council does. And when invited to have this among my initial encounters here in Washington, DC, I very much appreciated the opportunity. I want to add my congratulations to General [Brent] Scowcroft in having the center named for you, but also for your lifetime of service to your nation.

And it occurs to me as I look at what I will be asked to do in my tenure as the chairman, it seems to me I will be a chairman that has to manage three big transitions—a transition from the armed forces of the United States being generally and predominantly in conflict to a military that will remain in conflict at some level, but also get back into the business of preparing for conflict. So that's one big transition.

Second one is—if this makes news, we got a real problem. But the second transition is I'm going to manage the armed forces from bigger budgets to smaller budgets. And

how much bigger and smaller is yet to be determined. But that's the second significant transition that I will owe the country, if you will.

And the third one is the transition of a significant number of young men and women who will transition from being in the services, routinely—because we always have turnover —but more pronounced, I think, as we reshape the force. And so there's this issue of transitioning and building a different kind of relationship with the Veterans Administration and so forth.

So those are the three big transitions I see as occurring over the next three or four years. And I'd be happy to talk to you about whatever you'd like to talk about.

Remarks at the End of Mission Ceremony in Baghdad

Baghdad, Iraq | December 15

Thank you very much ambassador, Mr. Secretary, ministers, General Babaker [Zebari]—my brother, and I see out there as well, General Abdul Kader, you're always going to be General Abdul Kader to me, you know that. *As-Salamu Alakum* [peace be with you].

Thank you for welcoming me back to Baghdad to mark this new beginning for Iraq, the United States and on some level, the entire region. I'm honored to share this moment with Secretary [of Defense Leon E.] Panetta, Ambassador [James F.] Jeffrey, General [James N.] Mattis, and of course General [Lloyd J.] Austin [III] and his sergeant major [Command Sergeant Major Joseph R. Allen]. They stand tall in a long line of American leaders who have been dedicated to seeing this difficult mission through. They represent a generation of my fellow who came here to keep America safe and to free Iraq from tyranny. They have shouldered their duties in partnership with our very respected Iraqi brothers.

For over twenty years, Iraq has been a defining part of our professional and personal lives. The road we have traveled was long, and it was tough. Our journey was a lesson of courage, a test of character, an affirmation of shared sacrifice, and a monument of sheer will. Everyday required us to balance conflict and compassion. Every step was a singular act of moral and physical courage. Everywhere and at every level, we learned the power of relationships, relationships rooted in trust and respect among ourselves and with our Iraqi brothers. We lived among you.

When I reflect on this journey, I remember deploying in 1991 to end Saddam Hussein's oppression of the Kuwaiti people. Twelve years later, I remember leaving my family to end Saddam Hussein's oppression of the Iraqi people. And now today, I stand here with the very heart of my family, my wife Deanie, to bear witness to what our sons and daughters—and I mean literally, our sons and daughters—but in the broader sense, our sons and daughters have achieved.

We will remember you and those that have gone before, what you risked, what you learned, how much you sacrificed, and the fallen comrades for whom we all grieve. There are many images, each of us have our own. Today my image is of Command Sergeant

Major Eric Cooke, the command sergeant major of the 1st Brigade, 1st Armored Division, who on Christmas Eve of 2003 was killed by an IED [improvised explosive device] in Adhamiya in northern Baghdad—probably the finest noncommissioned officer I had ever met.

We've paid a great price here, and it has been a price worth paying. He and many others, and it's important to note both American and Iraqi, deserve an Iraq that cares for its citizens, and that secures its future for its children as Secretary Panetta just mentioned. As a father of soldiers, I'm proud that we, with the Iraqi people and our coalition partners, have set a course that actually befits the spirit of that commitment to Iraq's children. And as a leader of soldiers and now airmen, marines, sailors, and coastguardsmen as well, I look forward to an enduring relationship between our countries. Be certain, we value this relationship, we will stand with you against terrorists and others that threaten to undo what we have accomplished together. We'll work with you to secure our common interests in a more peaceful and prosperous region. You can be certain we will seize this new beginning.

In just a few minutes, I'm going to fly out of Baghdad Airport in that C-17 that sits behind you, [that is] out of McGuire Air Base [and] piloted by a young major by the name of Jim Akers. He's going to fly me out of here later today, and it occurs to me that the next time I come back—I came here today because I wanted to, I didn't have to ask anyone's permission to fly in here—the next time I come back, I'm going to have to be invited in. I'm going to have to be invited by the Iraqi government. And I kind of like that, to tell you to the truth.

So in closing, let me tell you *shukran* [thank you]. Let me also say *ma'a salama* [with peace, my friend], and *barakallahu feekum* [blessings be upon you]. Thank you very much.

2012
SELECTED WORKS

Chairman's Strategic Direction to the Joint Force
February 6

Members of the Joint Force,

The ten years since 9/11 stand among the most challenging in our military's history. Through it all, the Joint Force has persevered and prevailed. Our families have stood strong with us, deployment after deployment. Together, we have kept the homeland safe while promoting our interests abroad.

We are a proud force and rightfully so. It is not exaggeration to say that we are the strongest military power in the world. To remain strong, I intend to focus my early efforts as your 18th Chairman in four areas.

First, we must achieve our national objectives in our current conflicts. For as long as we have America's sons and daughters in harm's way, we will not be distracted. Al-Qa'ida remains in our sights, and our forces in Afghanistan remain in a tough fight.

At the same time, we are creating the military of our future. We must develop a Joint Force for 2020 that remains ready to answer the Nation's call—anytime, anywhere. We need to offset fewer resources with more innovation.

We also must confront what being in the Profession of Arms means in the aftermath of war. Each of us must be a leader of consequence beyond our battalion, our squadron, our ship, and our unit.

Above all, we have to keep faith with our Military Family—Active, Guard, Reserve, and Veteran. They have endured much and need support now more than ever. They are our heart and must remain our priority despite pressure to do otherwise.

In this pamphlet you will find my early thoughts on how to do these things. I welcome your feedback, and I trust you to support and improve them. In so doing, we will strengthen our relationship of trust with the American people.

I'm Proud to Serve with You,

Martin E. Dempsey
General, U.S. Army

Introduction

The All-Volunteer Joint Force is our Nation's decisive advantage. Those who serve in the Armed Forces of the United States of America are the source of our unrivaled strength. The talented men and women of the Joint Force are resilient warriors who volunteer to fight and fight again.

In the years to come, our Joint Force will face several challenging transitions. We will transition from war, but in the context of an increasingly competitive security environment. We will transition from abundant to constrained resources. And, many Service members—and their families—will transition into civilian life. Any one of these would be difficult. All three together will test our leadership at every level.

We will pass this test. I am determined that we will stay ready now, be ready for the future, renew our commitment to the profession of arms, and always honor our families. I will put the weight of my personal effort behind realizing these critical efforts.

Achieve Our National Objectives in Our Current Conflicts

In this era of persistent conflict, we confront aggression from an array of malevolent state and non-state actors. Even as we transition from conflicts of the last decade, we must not lose sight of this reality—our forces are still forward-deployed and fighting to achieve our national objectives.

In the past two years, we have transitioned from over two hundred thousand to fewer than ninety thousand deployed in combat. We stabilized Iraq when it was thought impossible and ended two decades of operations in and over that country. We reversed Taliban momentum while building new security forces in Afghanistan. We protected the Libyan people from mass atrocities. And, we have pushed al-Qa'ida to the edge of strategic defeat.

Nevertheless, our conflicts are not yet over. Increasingly isolated al-Qa'ida affiliates still seek to terrorize us and our allies. Afghan forces are more self-sufficient but still need our help protecting the Afghan people while they grow stronger.

Other demanding missions remain. We will continue to deter aggression by Iran and North Korea. We must repel prolific and costly cyber attacks. We will patrol the global commons, maintain nuclear deterrence, train partners, deliver humanitarian goods, and more.

Even after a decade of war, we must remain vigilant of new threats and capabilities. War is discovery—we must continue to out-think and out-adapt our adversaries. Only by remaining alert to the weak signals of change can we preserve the initiative and provide options for our civilian leaders.

The men and women we send into harm's way merit the leadership and resources to succeed. We will adapt our structures and push capabilities "to the edge," and we will continue to send our best and brightest forward and sustain them until they all come home. The last casualty in our fights is no less a sacrifice than the first.

In response to these challenges and others, we will lead, and we will enable others to lead. Moreover, we will do this—always—by coordinating military power with the diplomacy and development efforts of our government and those of our allies and partners.

Key Efforts

- Sustain persistent action against al-Qa'ida and other violent extremists. Enhance cooperation with civilian authorities at home to strengthen our domestic defenses and resilience.

- Transition security responsibility to the Afghan National Security Forces. Be relentless in disrupting and degrading insurgents and terrorists that threaten the Afghan people.
- Prevent and mitigate the impact of a cyber attack. Extend cyber domain awareness, establish an active defense, and provide responsible offensive capabilities.
- Expand the envelope of interagency and international cooperation. Promote multilateral security approaches and architectures to deter and if necessary, defeat aggression.

Develop Joint Force 2020

We are developing today the Joint Force our Nation will need in 2020. Keeping our military the best led, trained, and equipped in the world is a non-negotiable imperative. Doing so during a period of fiscal constraint will be hard. We will need to be selective in the joint capabilities we reconstitute after a decade of war. We will need to get smaller to stay strong. Importantly, we will need to be even more joint—advancing interdependence and integrating new capabilities. I am convinced we can restore versatility at an affordable cost. I am determined to build a responsive Joint Force that preserves options for our Nation.

Joint Force 2020 must be prepared for a security environment that is increasingly competitive. Military capabilities once monopolized by nations are proliferating rapidly to violent non-state actors. This has created a more unpredictable and dangerous security environment—an environment that has been described as persistent conflict. This conflict has extended into the cyber arena. We have adapted to changes in the traditional forms of conflict, but we are not yet adequately prepared for this contest.

The Joint Force will also be used differently. Specialized capabilities, once on the margins, will move to the forefront. Networked special operations, cyber, and Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) will become increasingly central. We must leverage cutting-edge information technologies to ensure a secure and collaborative command and control network. We need innovation in how we operate—our ability to re-imagine the way we fight will determine if we succeed or fail.

Additionally, I anticipate a new valuation of risk. Today's troubled political economy is elevating the relevance of cost and reality of financial risk. Discontinuous change, such as the Arab Spring, and systemic competition over nonrenewable resources are upending conventional geo-political wisdom. Expected economic trends and unexpected global events invite us to re-think the military's role in mitigating the risk to our Nation.

We must not misfire in defining Joint Force 2020. Our choices must be informed by a strategic logic that reconciles ends to ways and means. Competing priorities must be carefully weighed in light of fiscal constraints. We must anticipate shrinking our force in some missions and targeting growth in emerging capabilities. Smart cuts are not always equitable cuts. By necessity, we must weigh sacrifices in every area, from force structure to pay and benefits. Yet, our cuts cannot be allowed to hollow the force. We must preserve readiness by valuing quality over quantity. Most importantly, we will put the interest of our Nation before that of any specific group or Service.

Our aim should be a versatile, responsive, and decisive Joint Force that is also affordable. This Joint Force must excel at many missions while continuously adapting to changing circumstances. It means building and presenting forces that can be molded to context—not just by adding and subtracting, but by leaders combining capabilities in innovative ways. It means interdependence—Services that rely and create capabilities that do not exist except when combined. It means a regionally-postured, but globally networked and flexible force that can be scaled and scoped to demand. It can close on its objective at a time and place of its choosing and produce irreversible and stable outcomes. Finally, it is a Joint Force that provides a degree of security in balance with what the Nation demands and is willing and able to pay.

Key Efforts

- Pioneer new ways to combine and employ emergent capabilities such as cyber, special forces, and ISR. Examine organizational and other force development changes to better leverage game-changing capabilities.
- Drive Jointness deeper, sooner in capability development, operational planning, and leader development. Identify and reduce, but do not eliminate, overlapping capabilities across Services.
- Preserve the readiness of our force. Choose a smaller, well-trained, and equipped force over a large force that cannot afford world-class readiness.
- Move quickly toward Joint information and simulation networks that support secure and agile command and control.
- Be affordable in every way possible. Be demanding stewards of the nation's financial resources.

Renew Our Commitment to the Profession of Arms

Now is the time for us to reflect, not just on the lessons of war, but on who we are and what we do. We are a Profession of Arms, guardians of the Constitution who reflect our Nation's ideals. We are military professionals—every officer, enlisted, and civilian—not because we say so, but because of how we serve. Ours is an All-Volunteer Force. Americans take an oath—freely and without any mental reservation—to live a vocation for which they may die. They are not simply doing a job. They are answering a call to join an uncommon profession—the Armed Forces of the United States of America. It is a profession of experts in the use of military power to defend America. We serve apolitically under civilian authority and adhere to the highest ethical standards. Membership is inclusive, encompassing every Soldier, Sailor, Airman, Marine, and Coast Guardsman—Active and Reserve, military and DoD civilian, officer and enlisted.

Each of us, and all of us, are the stewards of this Profession of Arms. As we transition from our current conflicts, we have an opportunity—and an obligation—to reflect and adapt. War has changed us, but we do not yet know how. We have a responsibility

to figure this out—to ask first-order questions about who we were, are, and can be. We must confront and institutionalize the lessons of war. We must continue to learn, to understand, and to promote the knowledge, skills, attributes, and behaviors that define our profession.

After 37 years of service, I am convinced that learning and leadership are at the core of our profession. Military service must continue to be our Nation's preeminent leadership experience. We will continue to reform and leverage the Professional Military Education enterprise to advance our profession. It is more important than ever to get the most from the potential and performance of every Service member.

Our profession is our people. To strengthen our profession, we must recruit talent. We must hone and reward vision. And, we must retain leaders with essential expertise and proven potential. These imperatives must be underpinned by innovative personnel policies that promote more of what we need. In the end, we must get the people "right."

Each Service contributes its own story, rich heritage, and unique capabilities to the Joint Force. Our Joint Profession of Arms depends on this diversity as a source of strength and versatility. On the other side, Service differences pale when compared to our shared values and common commitment to mission success. These define our common identity and collective responsibility.

Our professional ethos must also embrace teamwork; not just to keep pace, but to out-pace our adversaries. We need to promote a sense of shared responsibility within our government, with our Nation, and with our partners and allies. To this end, the Joint Force will contribute to an unprecedented level of public and private, state and non-state unified action.

Key Efforts

- Develop and adopt lessons learned from the past decade of war. Promote a culture of continuous learning and adaption at every echelon of the Joint Force.
- Define the essential knowledge, skills, attributes, and behaviors that define the Joint Profession of Arms. Institutionalize these in education, training, organizations, and policies.
- Reinforce leadership development at all levels of Joint Professional Military Education. Develop principled leaders who can combine new capabilities in new ways in complex environments.
- Recruit and retain people with the leadership, character, and expertise needed to sustain our Profession of Arms.

Keep Faith with Our Military Family

The stress of a decade of combat and the uncertainty of fiscal constraint reinforce the need to keep faith with our Military Family. Keeping faith means understanding and recognizing the Military Family's extraordinary contributions and sacrifices, firmly supporting them in the ways they need most, and preserving the trust between us. Always.

Our men and women in uniform, the family members who stand with them, veterans of every generation, wounded warriors, and loved ones of our fallen are all a part of our Military Family.

This Family has fought harder and sacrificed more over the last decade than many will ever know. They have shown remarkable strength and resilience. But ten years of war have strained our Family, and impending budget cuts have cast uncertainty among our ranks. The burden stretches far beyond the active duty force. Repeated deployments of Guard and Reserve personnel have upended families, employers, and communities. No aspect of the Military Family has been unaffected, no corner of the country untouched.

The wars have left deep wounds both seen and unseen. Forever changed by their experience, hundreds of thousands of returning veterans and their family members are confronting significant long-term challenges, and many are facing mental health issues. Rates of substance abuse, domestic violence, suicide, divorce, and homelessness also remain tragically high—a sober reminder that our Nation's security comes with tremendous cost.

As a Family and as a Nation, we must face these challenges together. Taking care of our Military Family preserves the strength and readiness of our All-Volunteer Force. Moreover, it is the very fabric of who we are. When tested, we come together to care for them—they deserve the future they sacrificed to secure.

Unsustainable costs and smaller budgets mean we must examine our warrior and family support programs and determine which are producing the best outcomes. We need pragmatic reform and more flexibility, and we need it in a way that does not diminish our ability to recruit and retain our Nation's best. We also need to go about this in a way that is both affordable and reassuring to our Military Family.

Meaningful change is already underway. The Services have adjusted force size and rotation, redoubled transition support, and invested in world-class health care for our wounded. America's citizens have also stepped forward. From the local to the national level, thousands of organizations, higher learning institutions, and businesses have partnered to support our Military Family. They have helped find education opportunities, meaningful employment, and health care options. We must continue to connect this vast groundswell of support to specific needs.

Going forward, we must honor our commitment while reforming compensation and benefits. We must balance our commitment to provide quality, accessible health care with better management of its escalating costs. We must constantly learn, adjust, and improve how we will meet the long-term needs of those who defend the Nation.

Key Efforts

- Support Departmental efforts to reform military compensation and benefits to produce a more affordable system that honors commitments and improves readiness.
- Support the Services as they assess military family needs and program effectiveness. Encourage the Services to learn from each other. Help assess the most effective programs across the force and carefully reduce duplicative efforts.

- Champion the fielding of effective treatments for mental health issues, traumatic brain injury, and combat stress. Reduce the stigma and remove barriers to seeking mental health services for both Service members and their family members.
- Strengthen the force and enhance resiliency through a culture of total fitness.
- Build public awareness of the value and needs of the Military Family. Identify gaps in the reintegration and transition processes. Promote sustainable community-based partnerships and initiatives that improve education, employment, and wellness support.

Conclusion

We are and will remain responsible to provide our leaders with options to defend this Nation. The tension between winning the present and winning the future will require hard choices and principled leadership. Transitioning out of a constant combat posture to being ready to fight across all domains will require deep thinking—about the capabilities we need and about who we are. Caring for our families must be a professional legacy just as it as a personal one. The American people have bestowed upon us a sacred trust. Ours is a noble and mighty calling for service and of sacrifice. These past ten years have proven that we are worthy of their trust. The next ten will demand more of the same. I know we will answer the call.

Excerpt of Testimony with Secretary of Defense Leon E. Panetta and Undersecretary of Defense (Comptroller) Robert F. Hale before House Armed Services Committee on the Fiscal Year 2013 Budget

Washington, DC | February 15

Chairman [Howard P. "Buck"] McKeon, Congressman [Adam] Smith, distinguished members of this committee, thank you for the opportunity to discuss the president's defense proposed budget for fiscal year 2013.

I'd like to begin by saying this budget represents a responsible investment in our nation's security. At its core, it's an investment in our people, the sons and daughters of America who serve this nation in uniform.

Allow me to open with a few words about them and what they have accomplished. The last ten years of war have been among the most challenging in our history. Through it all, the joint force has persevered and it has prevailed. Our families have stood with us, deployment after deployment after deployment, and so have you. Together, we have fulfilled our solemn vow to protect and defend America, her citizens and her interests.

As I sit with you today, our servicemen and -women remain globally engaged. They are deterring aggression, developing partners, delivering aid, and defeating our enemies. They stand strong and swift and ready in every domain every day. I had the privilege to be

with a few of them while traveling to Afghanistan and Egypt earlier last week. As always, I witnessed extraordinary courage and skill in the young soldiers just off patrol in the deep snows of the Hindu Kush; in the men and women of the NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] training mission managing the development of the Afghan national security forces; in the brave and vigilant Marine security detachment in our embassy in Cairo; and in the superb junior airmen who flew us to the right place at the right time. They exemplify a professional military with a remarkable and reliable record of performance.

In just the past year, for example, we further crippled al-Qaeda. We helped protect the Libyan people from near-certain slaughter, while affirming NATO's important role beyond the borders of Europe. We brought to a close more than twenty years of military operations in and over Iraq. And like we did in Iraq, we are steadily transitioning responsibility for security onto Afghan shoulders. And of course, as you recall, we helped Japan recover from a perfect storm of tragedy and destruction.

And of course, these were just the most visible accomplishments. Behind the scenes and beneath the surface, we defended against cyberthreats, we sustained our nation's nuclear deterrent posture, and we worked with allies and partners to build capacity and to prevent conflict across the globe.

We continue to provide this nation with a wide range of options for dealing with the security challenges that confront us. And, in an increasingly competitive, dangerous, and uncertain security environment, we must remain alert, responsive, adaptive, and dominant.

This budget helps us do that. It's informed by a real strategy that makes real choices. It maintains our military's decisive edge and it sustains our global leadership. Moreover, it ensures we keep faith with the true source of our strength, and that is our people.

With this in mind, allow me to add a few additional comments to those of the secretary [of defense]. First, this budget should be considered holistically. It's really a joint budget for a joint force, rather than individual service budgets formed parochially. It presents a comprehensive, carefully devised set of decisions. It achieves balance among force structure, modernization, pay, and benefits. Changes that aren't informed by that context, the context of jointness, risk upending the balance that I just described and potentially compromising the force.

Second, this budget represents a way point, not an end point in the development of the joint force we will need for 2020 and beyond. It puts us on a path to restore versatility at an affordable cost. Specialized capabilities that were once on the margins become more central, even while we retain and must retain our conventional overmatch. It builds a global and networked joint force that is ably led and always ready.

And third, this budget does honor our commitments made to our military family. It keeps faith with them. There are no freezes or reductions in pay. There's no lessening in the quality of health care received by our active duty servicemembers and our medically retired wounded veterans.

Now, that said, we simply can't ignore the increasing costs of pay and benefits. To manage costs, we need pragmatic reform. All of this can be done in a way that preserves our ability to recruit and then retain the best of America's talented youth.

Finally, all strategies and the budgets that support them carry risk. This is no different. In my judgment, the risk in this strategy and budget lies not in what we can do, but in how much we can do and how often we can do it. This budget helps us buy down this risk by investing in our people and in the joint capabilities they most need.

To close, thank you. Thank you for keeping our military strong. Thank you for taking care of our military family, for supporting those who serve, who have served and, importantly, who will serve. I know you share my pride in them. And I look forward to your questions.

White Paper

America's Military—A Profession of Arms

February 23

"We must ***renew our commitment to the Profession of Arms.*** We're not a profession simply because we say we're a profession. We must continue to learn, to understand, and to promote the knowledge, skills, attributes, and behaviors that define us as a profession."

Martin E. Dempsey
General, U.S. Army
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

* * *

We have come a long way since the Goldwater-Nichols Act became law more than 25 years ago, we can go further. We will.

* * *

The CJCS [Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff] leads our Profession of Arms. He is the steward of our military profession, and with the Joint Chiefs is the keeper of our values, ethics, and standards. He integrates the collective strengths and unique cultures of each Service into a Joint Team during both peace and war, promoting Jointness. Professionalism and Jointness are perishable, they must be cultivated.

Introduction: Why We Must Renew Our Commitment to the Profession of Arms

Following September 11, 2001, America's All-Volunteer Force embarked on campaigns extending well beyond any limits imagined as the era of persistent conflict unfolded, its resilience arguably exceeded expectations of its architects. As we reflect on a decade of war, America's Service men and women fought as a Joint Force *selflessly serving* our Nation, answering the call to duty repeatedly, continuously adapting. The sacred element of *trust* enabled them to persevere.

With the campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq in transition, we must prepare for a different future as we shape *Joint Force 2020* in an environment of increasing fiscal pressure. **Renewing our commitment to the Profession of Arms is essential to ensure we maintain the best led and best trained force in the world—*Leadership* is the foundation of our profession.** This is essential to ensure we remain the finest military in the world.

As learning institutions, it is imperative that we reflect on our experiences during the past 10 years to assess the impact and understand both our strengths and weaknesses. This is necessary to ***see ourselves*** so we can determine how we should adapt and institutionalize the lessons of the last decade. This will enable us to promote the knowledge, skills, attributes, and behaviors that define us as a profession, and develop our future leaders.

We undertake this as we remain both a force in contact and a force that must begin to reshape. We do so from a position of strength anchored in our shared values and joint effectiveness born from years of fighting together, and the strength of our Service competencies and cultures. As we go forward, we must continue to uphold the values that underpin our profession to maintain and enhance the *trust* of those we serve, our civilian leaders in government, and the American people.

Values. The Profession of Arms demands its members live by the values described in the "City on the Hill" metaphor. We must provide an example to the world that cannot be diminished by hardships and challenges. This example is based upon the words and intent of the U.S. Constitution that each of us takes a personal oath to support and defend. Our oath demands each of us display moral courage and always do what is right, regardless of the cost. We are all volunteers in our willingness to serve and to place others' needs above our own. As shared values, our calling cards are Duty, Honor, Courage, Integrity, and Selfless Service. Commitment to the rule of law is integral to our values which provide the moral and ethical fabric of our profession.

The Military Profession. The seriousness of our profession was most vividly explained by General Douglas MacArthur in his farewell speech to West Point cadets in May of 1962 when he said, "Yours is the profession of arms, the will to win, the sure knowledge that in war there is no substitute for victory, that if you lose, the Nation will be destroyed, that the very obsession of your public service must be Duty, Honor, Country." Our profession is a calling requiring unique expertise to fulfill our collective responsibility to the American people, "provide for the common defense and secure the blessings of liberty." Our profession is distinguished from others in society because of our expertise in the justified application of lethal military force and the willingness of those who serve to die for our Nation. **Our profession is defined by our values, ethics, standards, code of conduct, skills, and attributes.** As volunteers, our sworn duty is to the Constitution. Our status as a profession is granted by those whom we are accountable to, our civilian authority, and the American people.

All service men and women belong to the profession from the junior enlisted to our most senior leaders. We are all accountable for meeting ethical and performance standards in our actions and similarly, accountable for our failure to take action, when appropriate. The distinction between ranks lies in our level of responsibility and degree

of accountability. We share the common attributes of character, courage, competence, and commitment. We qualify as professionals through intensive training, education, and practical experience. As professionals, we are defined by our strength of character, life-long commitment to core values, and maintaining our professional abilities through continuous improvement, individually and institutionally.

Trust—Both Internal and External. As the Joint Force fought together for last 10 years under difficult conditions, *trust* stands out as the defining element that enabled our military to overcome adversity and endure the demands of extended combat. *Trust* is earned not given, through deeds not words. It extends laterally and vertically, both ways. *Trust* is inherent in the strength of our collective character.

Internal trust is integral to the chain of command. It is both inherent in and demanded amongst peers, between seniors and subordinates. Followers trust that their leaders will take care of their charges even at their own expense. Leaders set the example and foster a relationship with their subordinates as teacher to scholar. Military leadership should, as President John Adams counseled, "inspire others to dream more, learn more and achieve more." And in the heat of battle our troops *trust* one another to each do their duty; they *trust* their leaders and chain of command to ensure they get the support they need; they *trust* their families will be cared for; that a fallen comrade will never be left behind.

External trust is the bond with which we connect with those we serve, our leaders in government and the American people. It must be continually earned. Special trust and confidence is placed in military leaders. This trust is based upon the fact that the members of our profession remain apolitical and would never betray the principles and intent of the Constitution, even at the risk of their own lives. Our men and women, who serve, return to society better for their service.

Leadership as the Foundation—Strengthening our Profession of Arms. If we provide the leadership that our Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, Marines, and Coast Guardsmen deserve, they will execute beyond imagination. Hence, the foundation and driving force of the Profession of Arms are its leaders. They provide an incalculable competitive advantage against our adversaries. They are the builders and maintainers of trust; they inspire others to achieve what they thought was beyond reach; they teach and mentor their subordinates to develop experts; and they uphold and enforce our ethical and moral standards regardless of the situation. They understand the cost of leadership places mission and welfare of others above self. It is they who instill the ethos that we will never leave a fallen comrade nor betray the public trust. Today we have the finest officers and non-commissioned officers on the planet. Investing in their development is essential to strengthening and cultivating our profession.

Mission Command. The increasing complexity and uncertainty anticipated in the future environment demand that *Joint Force 2020* employ mission command to unleash its full potential in a way that harnesses the initiative and innovation of all members of the team. Commanders exercise mission command by understanding the military problem, visualizing the end state and operation, and describing their vision. They direct actions throughout planning and execution and arm their subordinates with intent.

Today, much of the Joint Force is employed in environments involving ill-structured problems and against adaptable, thinking adversaries who exploit opportunities at every turn. These challenges call for leaders at the tactical level to exercise greater personal initiative vice relying on the decision-making of echelons well above the point of action. Leaders must empower individual initiative by providing clear, concise, and complete mission orders in a climate of mutual trust and understanding. The future joint force will be one where junior leaders are empowered to exercise disciplined initiative based on clear guidance and intent. Institutionalizing mission command is imperative to prepare our next generation of leaders.

***Jointness*—Strength from Diversity.** Each Service has a proud history, rich heritage, and distinct culture, but all share an ethic of service to the nation and willingness to sacrifice. From this common ground they derive their espoused values. The artifacts and basic assumptions that define each Service culture reflect their assigned roles and missions, and the principal domain in which they operate. Service cultures provide a source of strength for honing their unique expertise and competencies.

Strength in diversity of Service cultures and their unique characteristics lies in the adaptability and versatility they provide to the Joint Force across the range of military operations when operating as a team. Integrating Service cultures in a complimentary fashion realizes this strength. This is achieved by fostering trust and confidence. Operating together as an interdependent team creates an environment that promotes mutual respect and cohesion. *Jointness* is a manifestation of strength from diversity.

Jointness is derived from the integration of Service cultures and competencies, and requires teamwork amongst all Services and Military Departments to accomplish objectives in the best interest of National security unfettered by parochialism. It also demands teamwork with our interagency, intergovernmental, and coalition partners to achieve unity of effort to accomplish our shared objectives. Joint interdependence is integral to *Jointness* and is essential to provide the greatest number of military options for our Nation's leaders to preserve peace, and when necessary, respond to crisis to defend the American people and our national interests.

The Way Ahead—Advancing the Profession of Arms. Renewing our commitment to our profession is imperative as we bring more of the Joint Force home to reset. This presents unique challenges for many who only know the cycle of repetitive combat and deployment. As we reflect on our combat and operational experiences over the last decade of war, we must do so from both joint and Service perspectives to conduct a holistic assessment. Then we must train and educate on what we have learned. In some cases, core competencies have faded and must be strengthened. We also understand that we must be proficient in more than combat, and must remain versatile to conduct security, engagement, relief and reconstruction. This endeavor requires all Joint Warfighters to engage in a serious dialogue to chart the way ahead to strengthen our profession as we develop Joint Force 2020. We must ensure we remain responsive and resilient; the American people deserve nothing less.

Excerpts from an Interview with Charlie Rose (PBS)
March 17

Rose: General Martin Dempsey is here. He is chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He succeeded Admiral [Michael G.] "Mike" Mullen in October 2011. General Dempsey serves as the president's principal military adviser. He's a key voice on the US mission in the Middle East and the impending drawdown in Afghanistan, though our effort has been set back in that country in recent days after a US Army sergeant was accused of killing sixteen Afghan civilians. Afghan President Hamid Karzai accused the United States also of failing to fully cooperate with the investigation.

* * *

Rose: Are you surprised that an English professor at West Point became chairman of the Joint Chiefs?

Dempsey: I'm surprised that I became chairman of the Joint Chiefs.

Rose: And you were an English professor.

Dempsey: I was actually, yes.

Rose: Is [that] good training for leadership in the military?

Dempsey: You know, I found it to be an extraordinary preparation for me. I'll give you an example. I've just read—I don't know if you've read Stephen Greenblatt's new book *The Swerve*.

Rose: Not only that, he was here to this table having a wonderful conversation about it.

Dempsey: No kidding. Yes. So you know, I was thinking through what he describes as that moment, the rediscovery of Lucretius on the nature of things and what an enormous change it made in the way we interacted—the impact of religion on our lives. It was a very persuasive book. And I often wonder to myself in the context of that what is it about our particular period – our moment in history that will be that swerve. And by the way, it could be something in cyber.

And so the study of literature, which is the study of how people lived, contrary maybe to history, which is, as Finley Peter Dunne, a humorist in the late nineteenth century said, history is the study of what civilizations die of. Literature is the study of what civilizations live of. I think the study of literature has helped me approach some of these really complex problems that we are facing.

Article from *Joint Force Quarterly* (National Defense University Press) "From the Chairman: Putting Our Nation First"

2nd Quarter 2012, Issue 65

One of the great joys of my office remains the privilege of presiding over the promotion ceremonies of those who serve the Nation. As family and friends proudly gather, surrounded by brothers and sisters in arms who bear witness, I cannot help but stand a little taller during this unique rite of passage.

But amid the proud traditions and tender moments that often accompany these ceremonies, the centerpiece remains the oath that each Servicemember takes as he or she moves onward and upward. As I administer that oath, I am always reminded that our military is different—different from any other in the world. We do not swear allegiance to a person or a party but to the Constitution and the living ideals inherent in it.

Our nation expects us to embody those highest ideals in every sense; it is one of the ways we preserve the trust that the American people place in all of us. As a profession, we must protect and guard that trust jealously, and never do anything to erode it.

That is why in my recently released *Strategic Direction to the Joint Force*, one of my focus areas is renewing our commitment to the profession of arms. It calls for us to understand, adapt, and promote the knowledge, skills, and attributes that define us as a profession.

As the Nation prepares to choose its next President and other elected leaders this year, it is particularly important to remember that one of the core tenets of our profession is that we serve apolitically under civilian authority, regardless of which person or political party is in power. We do not pledge to protect blue states or red states, Republicans or Democrats, but one nation indivisible. We must also understand why our military as a profession embraces political neutrality as a core value.

The Framers of the Constitution went to great lengths to ensure the military's subordination to civilian authority, regardless of what person or which political party holds sway. Validated through centuries of willing yet neutral service to the state, we show fidelity to the Constitution every day by embracing this foundational principle. We are not elected to serve; rather, we elect to serve.

Just as profoundly, I believe that a professional armed force that maintains its separation from partisan politics—remaining apolitical at all times—is vital to the preservation of the union and to our way of life. Samuel P. Huntington, author of the seminal work *The Soldier and the State*, put it this way: "Politics is beyond the scope of military competence and the participation of military officers in politics undermines their professionalism."

General George C. Marshall understood this inherently. An instrumental advisor to President Franklin [D.] Roosevelt during World War II, he made sure that he engendered an ironclad relationship of trust with the Commander in Chief by staying out of the business of partisan politics. General Marshall took to heart the advice given to him by a colleague to "understand the ways of politics without becoming involved in them." His

apolitical posture was a major contributor toward his effectiveness during one of the most trying times in our nation's history.

This does not imply that we forego the right to have a private opinion or a preference on the civic issues of the day. As citizens we should stay informed, and we are, of course, entitled to exercise our right to vote. But understanding the issues, even understanding the candidates, is different than advocating for them. When duty calls, neither friend nor foe cares about our personal political views; we are simply American Servicemembers—nothing more and nothing less. This is true even in the virtual world. Technology and social media make it seductively easy for us to broadcast our private opinions far beyond the confines of our homes. The lines between the professional, personal—and virtual—are blurring. Now more than ever, we have to be exceptionally thoughtful about what we say and how we say it.

We should always remember that serving in our profession is a privilege, a noble calling that requires us to subordinate our personal interests and desires to the greater principles of our profession. At our best, we represent service to the Nation, impartial to political partisanship. Our lifeblood is the will and support of the American people—we must never forget that. Nor can we act in a way that would undermine their confidence in us or fray our relationship of trust.

So let us renew our commitment to selfless—and apolitical—service not only this election year but also every day we serve. By doing so, we take a big step in ensuring that the American people never question what those who wear the uniform put first: our nation.

White Paper

Mission Command

April 3

*"**Mission command** is the conduct of military operations through decentralized execution based upon mission-type orders. Successful mission command demands that subordinate leaders at all echelons exercise disciplined initiative and act aggressively and independently to accomplish the mission."*

Joint Publication 3-0 "Joint Operations" 11 Aug 2011
Martin E. Dempsey
General, U.S. Army
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
18 [handwritten]

Introduction

Our need to pursue, instill, and foster mission command is critical to our future success in defending the nation in an increasingly complex and uncertain operating environment. This paper offers ideas to inform the development of Joint Force 2020.

The basic principles of mission command-commander's intent, mission type orders and decentralized execution are not new concepts. They are a part of current joint and service doctrine.[1] But this is not enough; we will ask more of our leaders in the future. Conduct of mission command requires adaptable leaders at every echelon.

1. The Future Security Environment and the Future Force

Joint Force 2020 will operate in a dynamic security environment that is different from today. The pace of change and the speed of operations will continue to accelerate. An increasingly competitive and interconnected world raises the potential for conflicts and crisis to escalate in multiple domains. Concurrently, the expansion and diversification of asymmetric threats will significantly challenge our ability to effectively execute military operations. The relevance of space and cyberspace to national security will grow exponentially in magnitude of importance. Our reliance on technological superiority is a potential vulnerability that our adversaries will seek to exploit, often in covert or indirect ways. We, as well as our Allies, confront this new security and operating environment in an era marked by fiscal constraint. This fiscal reality informs our difficult strategic choices and heightens our risks.

Joint Force 2020 must protect US national security interests against threats that routinely span regional boundaries and can rapidly assume global dimensions. The global application of integrated, discriminate military power in all domains cause for us to organize and conduct networked operations, where any force element can support or be supported by any other. US forces operating globally as a network will require unity of effort and prompt execution. Just as today, these attributes must accrue without over-centralization, as decentralized approaches will provide us competitive adaptability and tempo advantages.

Joint Force 2020's design is shaped by a decade of learned lessons in war. Our fight against a decentralized enemy has driven home the necessity to decentralize our capabilities and distribute our operations. Smaller units enabled to conduct decentralized operations at the tactical level with operational/strategic implications will be increasingly the norm. Synchronization of time and tempo with expanded maneuver space (space and cyberspace) brings added complexity to synergizing and integrating actions and effects in both space and time. The reliance and synergy of disparate elements to achieve operational objectives is the genesis for a deeply interdependent Joint Force 2020; this drives the need to create jointness deeper and sooner in the force smaller, lighter forces

[1] Variance in service doctrine (i.e., "command by negation" or "centralized planning, decentralized execution") are simply phrasing choices that express the same idea.

operating in an environment of increased uncertainty, complexity and competitiveness will require freedom of action to develop the situation and rapidly exploit opportunities. Decentralization will occur beyond current comfort levels and habits of practice. Resident in the central figure of the commander, the ethos of mission command is a critical enabler of success.

2. Mission Command is Commander Centric

The commander is the central figure in mission command. To the commander comes the mission for the unit; in the commander resides the authority and responsibility to act and to lead so that the mission may be accomplished. In mission command, the commander must blend the art of command and the science of control, as he, supported by the staff, integrates all joint warfighting functions.

In mission command, the commander must understand the problem, envision the end state, and visualize the nature and design of the operation. The commander must also describe time, space, resources, and purpose, direct the joint warfighting functions and constantly assess the process. Critically he must understand the intent of the mission given him. In turn, he must clearly translate his intent to his subordinates. The missions given subordinates must be within their capabilities; the commander must understand what his subordinates can do, and trust—but not blindly—them to do it. In its highest state, shared context and understanding is implicit and intuitive between hierarchal and lateral echelons of command, enabling decentralized and distributed formations to perform as if they were centrally coordinated. When achieved, these practices result in decentralized formal decision-making throughout the force, leading implicitly to the opportunity to gain advantageous operational tempo over adversaries.

Tempo is our ability to operate at the speed of the problem. This is more than merely "being fast"—the tactical patience to allow a window of opportunity to open also contributes to tempo. To gain and maintain advantageous tempo, our leaders must be able to see, understand and rapidly exploit opportunities in both time and space, guided by their understanding of intent, their mission, environment and the capability of their force. Decisions are far less likely to be routinely relayed up the chain for institutional contemplation and wisdom. To do so is to surrender the initiative to the enemy. Joint Force 2020, with minimum communications, must act promptly and coherently in step to create the decisive amount of cumulative combat power at the right place and time.

Mental agility and superior speed in competitive cycles of decision-making are therefore attributes desired in the commanders of each echelon of the Joint Force 2020. Air Force officer and military strategist John Boyd famously captured the idea that decision-making occurs in recurring cycles of observe-orient-decide-act-the "OODA loop."[2] The key to victory in Colonel Boyd's thinking was the ability to create situations wherein one can make appropriate decisions more quickly than one's opponent. The practice of mission command in the Joint Force 2020 is in this spirit.

[2] For a doctrinal discussion of the OODA loop, see MCDP 6 "Command and Control" Oct 1996, pgs. 63–65.

Mission command is not a mechanical process that the commander follows blindly. Instead, it is a continual cognitive effort to understand, to adapt, and to direct effectively the achievement of intent. Balancing the art of command with the science of control, the commander positions himself as needed to best accomplish the mission. Mission command challenges commanders to cultivate a bias for action in their subordinates, develop mutual trust and understanding, and exercise moral nerve and restraint. Applicable across the range of military operations it is executed by adaptive leaders and organizations capable of exercising initiative enabled by shared experiences, doctrine, education, and training.

3. Key Attributes for Mission Command

Several key attributes enable the practical application of mission command. These are understanding, intent, and trust. We will discuss each briefly in turn.

Understanding equips decision-makers at all levels with the insight and foresight required to make effective decisions, to manage the associated risks, and to consider second and subsequent order effects. This is the "inner eye"—the cognitive ability "at a glance" to see and understand a situation and thereby enable independent decision and correct action.[3] What changes for Joint Force 2020 is the increasing need for the commander to frequently frame and reframe[4] an environment of ill-structured problems to gain the context of operations by continuously challenging assumptions both before and during execution.

Importantly, in Joint Force 2020, leaders at every level must contribute to the common operating assessment of context, "co-creating it" as operations progress and situations change. Created knowledge at the point of action is critical to operational and tactical agility. Understanding in mission command must flow from both bottom-up and top-down. Shared context is a critical enabler of the next of the attributes relevant to mission command, that of intent.

Joint Doctrine defines "commander's intent" in part as "a clear and concise expression of the purpose of the operation and the desired military end state."[5] It then links intent explicitly to mission command. In mission command, *intent* fuses understanding, assigned mission, and direction to subordinates.

Joint Force 2020 will, by necessity, act by the guiding star of intent. Mission-type orders will be the norm. Commanders will be required to understand intent to the level of effect; that is, strategic to tactical and across domains. They will be required to clearly translate their intent (and that of higher) to their subordinates and trust them to perform with responsible initiative in complex, fast-changing, chaotic circumstances.

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[3] Clausewitz, Carl von, *On War*, Howard & Paret edition/translation. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989). "When all is said and done, it really is the commander's coup d'oeil, his ability to see things simply, to identify the whole business of war completely with himself, that's the essence of good generalship. Only if the mind works in this comprehensive fashion can it achieve the freedom it needs to dominate events and not be dominated by them."

[4] Recent efforts regarding "Design" are aimed at providing the commander, supported by his staff, the cognitive tools to perform this vital task.

[5] JP 3-0 "Joint Operations" 11 Aug 2011. See Chapter II "the Art of Joint Command", pgs. 11-2 and 11-8.

Just as understanding informs commander's intent, *trust* informs the execution of that intent. Mission command for Joint Force 2020 requires trust at every echelon of the force. Building trust with subordinates and partners may be the most important action a commander will perform. Given our projected need for superior speed in competitive cycles of decision-making, it is clear that in Joint Force 2020, operations will move at the speed of trust.[6]

Coupled with shared understanding and intent, trust is the moral sinew that binds the distributed Joint Force 2020 together, enabling the many to act as one in the cross-domain application of the appropriate amount of cumulative combat power at the right place and time. Unless these attributes are made central to the basic character of the force, Joint Force 2020 will struggle to reach optimal performance levels. The task of imbuing mission command into training and leader development is an immediate challenge. The journey to 2020 is already underway.

4. Instilling Mission Command

Mission command must be institutionalized and operationalized into all aspects of the joint force—our doctrine, our education, our training, and our manpower and personnel processes. It must pervade the force and drive leader development and organizational design, and inform material acquisitions. Service cultures are important in these efforts; the Joint Force derives strength from our distinct service cultures.

Joint and service doctrine, education, and training are keys to achieving the habit of mission command; our doctrine must describe it, our schools must teach it, and we must train individually and collectively to it. The key attributes described in the previous section are the center of gravity in instilling mission command; if we do not successfully instill these traits in our people we will never instill them in our organization and practice.

Mission command is fundamentally a learned behavior to be imprinted into the DNA of the profession of arms. The education of our officer corps—joint and service—must begin at the start of service to instill the cognitive capability to understand, to receive and express intent, to take decisive initiative within intent, and to trust. We must place students into situations of uncertainty and complexity where creativity, adaptability, critical thinking, and independent, rapid decision-making are essential elements. The moral courage or nerve to make decisions in these types of situations is to be actively rewarded.

Education in the key attributes of mission command must be progressively more challenging as officers progress in rank and experience. Education must develop the "inner eye" mentioned previously. Officers must be taught how to receive and give mission-type orders, and critically, how to clearly express intent. Trust too is learned behavior to be developed during education; this goes to the need to balance the art of command with the science of control. As responsible exercise of mission command does not entail blind trust,

[6] Dr. Stephen Covey, *The Speed of Trust*, (New York, NY: Free Press, 2006). Dr. Covey has expressed the idea that trust is "the hidden variable" in the formula for organizational success. His phrase "the speed of trust" captures the idea that trust affects two outcomes in any organization: speed and cost. High trust engenders high speed and low cost ("the trust dividend"); the converse has the opposite outcome ("the trust tax").

education must give officers the ability to recognize the capability for mission command in subordinates and the skills to know when and how to adjust their level of supervision.

As education develops individual leaders, so does training prepare units for operational duty. Training for mission command is about building teams, both within the unit by the commander and externally to the unit by the commander with supported, supporting, and higher echelons of command. These teams must have implicit communication between them, guided and enabled by common understanding of intent, and accelerated by deep trust.

Like education, the truism "to train as you will fight" remains applicable to training. Training must replicate the distributed, chaotic, and uncertain nature of the expected operational environment. It must force commanders, supported by their staffs, to receive and clearly express intent. Training scenarios must require the commander to extend trust as they employ their force and constantly assess. Training for mission command requires it to be commander centric in ways that it is not often now; this will require an investment in those who can focus on the commander's development.

Training should place commanders in situations where fleeting opportunities present themselves, and those that see and act appropriately to those opportunities should be rewarded. Training must force commanders to become skilled at rapid decision-making. Training is the optimum venue for a commander to learn how practically to delegate authority and accountability to subordinate and supporting commanders; this serves to build trust, teamwork, ease implicit and intuitive communications, and is vital for the development of the commanders of those echelons. Subordinate echelons must be allowed to own their own "white space" and thereby develop unit cohesion and exercise judgment and creativity in training.

Training is also the preferred venue to expose the commander to the things that get in the way of mission command. The first of these is the volume and the availability of information. Modern C2 systems transport and deliver information in quantities that can easily overwhelm the commander. Technology cannot replace the human ability to create and make intuitive judgment. Training should help the commander learn how to avoid information overload and "paralysis by analysis." Likewise, training should rehearse the commander in making rapid decisions without perfect or complete information. Training for mission command focuses the commander on gaining a comfort with uncertainty and chaos, and guided by intent, having the moral courage to decide quickly and act decisively.

Our training should also teach commanders what not to do. In a network-enabled force, the commander can easily penetrate to the lowest level of the command and take over the fight. This is dangerous for a number of reasons. No C2 technology has ever successfully eliminated the fog of war, but it can create the illusion of perfect clarity from a distance. This can lead to micromanagement, a debilitating inhibitor of trust in the lower echelons of the force. Training must reinforce in commanders that they demonstrate trust by exercising restraint in their close supervision of subordinates.

5. The Way Ahead

The Services and the Joint Force share the responsibility in ensuring that mission command is a common attribute of our Profession of Arms. Our collective efforts must institutionalize mission command by adopting and formalizing the character traits that enable a bias for action and responsible initiative at all levels of the force. Our leader development efforts must create the climate for greater trust, and challenge leaders to the point of failure as a way to evaluate character, fortitude, and resiliency of personality in conditions of adversity. Critically, we must collectively promote a culture that values calculated risk as the means to generate opportunity.

Operational commanders have a vital role in effectively integrating mission command into operational art, planning, and execution. The operational commander as the practitioner of mission command is a powerful example. Beginning with a leadership climate that empowers subordinate leaders and lowers the decision-making threshold, commanders must fashion cohesive and reciprocal relationships of trust and mutual understanding among subordinates. They must ensure that continuous assessment flows from the forward edge of operations, before being distributed vertically and horizontally. Critically, commanders must set the example in regards to clear and timely vision, intent, and guidance, enabling subordinates wide latitude in accomplishing mission objectives within the intent of seniors. How commanders shape behavior through reaction to failure is critical; mistakes of subordinates that nonetheless demonstrate responsible initiative guided by intent should be seen as building blocks in the development of mission command.

We will not embrace mission command from a simple combination of policy, doctrine, education, and training. These guide and shape, but they do not create belief and capability. *Understand* my *intent:* I challenge every leader in the Joint Force to be a living example of mission command. *You have my trust.*

Remarks at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Washington, DC | May 1

Well, thank you, Jessica [T. Matthews, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], for that very kind introduction. And thanks, all of you, for your presence here today. I didn't know there was an overflow room. I haven't had this kind of crowd since the last time I sang karaoke. [*Laughter.*] But I am encouraged actually to see such a large crowd because it tells me that you've got the right things on your mind in terms of what's important for our nation as we go forward with a certain number of challenges that you actually laid out quite articulately.

I will say that on occasion some of my peers—the chiefs of defense in other countries—will kind of almost express a certain amount of sympathy for my plight as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States of America, and I say, are

you kidding me? I'm the chief of defense, senior military officer for the finest military force that the world has ever seen. And I also came in the service thirty-eight years ago with the idea that I might actually try to make a difference. And those two things have converged for me in a rather incredible way. And I consider it a blessing every day I put on the uniform to serve this great country and the men and women who choose to serve as well.

I was out in Colorado Springs just yesterday, where we are conducting the Wounded Warrior Games—kind of a Paralympics, actually. Each service field has a team of about fifty. Wounds, illnesses, things that have changed their lives. And their motto is "ability over disability." It's a fantastic thing to see. I mention it just to keep it all in context. You know, right now in Afghanistan it's nearing that time of the day when we do most of our military operations. And so I think that the challenges you outlined for us—we will figure it out. And we'll figure it out because that's what we do. And we'll figure it out because we have a nation and its sons and daughters counting on us to do that.

I want to say a few words, and I think then we'll have the chance to have that conversation that's advertised up there. The subtext I think that I would like to suggest is making strategy work. You know that over the past months we've formulated what I guess is now being called the new defense strategy. It's built on a foundation of the QDR [Quadrennial Defense Review], of course, but it is new in several important ways. And I'll mention three of them.

One of the ways in which it's new is this rebalancing, if you will, to the Pacific—not that we've ever left the Pacific, but rather a rebalancing to the Pacific. And I would suggest to you—because I'm asked—I was in NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] last week, and they were asking me with great interest, you know, what does it mean that you're rebalancing into the Pacific? And I suggested to them that it's a process, not, you know, a light switch; that we'll work our way into it.

It starts with intellectual bandwidth more than anything else, which is why I'm happy to be here with you today—[at] one of the centers of gravity of thinking about national security matters in our country. And we have to shift some of our intellectual bandwidth and start to understand how to rebalance ourselves. So it's not just about resources or equipment or basing; it's about thinking. And we are beginning that process now.

The second thing is building partners. One of the cornerstones of our new strategy is building partners. And this is not of necessity because we'll be doing less. It's because the world that we have seen evolve around us over the last, let's say, twenty years in general but ten years in particular, is a world in which—I've described it as a security paradox, where we're at an evolutionary low in violence in the world right now. But it doesn't feel like that really, does it? And it doesn't feel like that because there's a proliferation of capabilities, technologies to middle-weight actors, nonstate actors, that actually makes the world feel and potentially be more dangerous than any time I remember in uniform. And now recall that I came in the Army in 1974.

And I'm not saying this, by way of establishing my credentials so that when budget reductions come our way we can throw up the shield of the security paradox. It's

because it generally is a paradox. And it's not a paradox that necessarily has to be met with bigger military forces. I think it's a paradox that has to be met with different military forces. And among the things that will make that work are our ability to build on existing partnerships around the globe, notably the North Atlantic Alliance—others as well—and then emerging partners around the globe.

Because what we've seen our adversaries do is kind of decentralize. They rarely mass against us any longer. They decentralize, they network, and they syndicate. They network using twenty-first-century information technologies, and then they syndicate together groups of state actors, nonstate actors, criminal actors.

And they come together and they pull apart based on moments in time when they want to find common purpose against us.

So in that world we, the probably quintessential hierarchical institution on the face of the planet—and if anybody wants to lay claim to that title during the Q and A [question and answer session], I'd be happy to find out who you are, because I think that we do have the market cornered on hierarchy. But we, the quintessential hierarchical organization, have to find ways to be a network ourselves. And that means a network of interagency partners internal to our government. We have to be a lot more joint. We keep saying that, but at this point in time, we better pull it off.

And we have to partner with and network with other countries who are like-minded with us, because it makes that network stronger. It's not just about outsourcing particular responsibilities or capabilities. It's about building a stronger network to defeat the networks that confront us. If you're interested, I was in NATO. I was in Colombia. I was in Jordan. And I think that narrative that I just described to you on the importance of partners was reinforced for me in those travels. And I'd be happy to talk with you.

Now look, building partnerships is not an easy endeavor. In fact, in NATO the twenty-eight of us—me and my 27 closest North Atlantic partners—were sitting around a room for what seemed to be nearly interminable briefings and so forth. And so somebody said to me, how would you describe our relationship as chiefs of defense—all of us—I said, you know, it kind of reminds me of a letter that my wife wrote me when I was in Operation Desert Storm. And this is when we still wrote letters, mind you. Today we text, you know. In fact, some of you are probably texting each other right here in this room. [*Scattered laughter.*] And certainly if you have children, you know that the last time they answered their phone is quite a while ago, but they'll answer your texts almost immediately.

But in any case I said, it reminds me of a letter that my wife wrote me back in Desert Storm. And she said, you know, I'm just so miserable without you; it's almost as though you were right here with me. [*Laughter.*] Now I think I confronted her afterwards on whether that was some kind of, you know, Freudian slip or something. And she assured me it was a slip. She didn't intentionally put that particular phraseology in the letter. But it did remind me of how it is, being a member of big alliances where you're miserable without them, but it's pretty miserable being with them too to try to, you know, gain the consensus and the common interest that you need.

OK, so there's a couple of things in that area of building partners, though, that I think we need to take on if we consider it to be among the three pillars of our new strategy. And some of those are issues of intelligence sharing, technology transfer, foreign military sales. You know, we have to reform some of our processes that actually tend in some cases, maybe even in many cases, to somewhat hinder our ability to build partners.

So building partners is the second. The first was rebalancing to the Pacific; the second one is building partners. The third aspect of this new strategy is the integration of capabilities that we didn't have ten years ago. And of course most of them are probably fairly obvious to you. If we were having this conversation ten years ago, the acronym ISR would have been somewhat elusive to all but the lifelong practitioner of the military art.

I'd venture to say that most of you in the audience there probably have heard that term ISR. The acronym itself means "intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance." It's been blended into that acronym, and fundamentally it means our ability to collect intelligence and information, full-motion videos, signals intelligence, remotely in ways that frankly ten years ago—fifteen years ago certainly—would have been the stuff of a science-fiction novel. But we can do it today.

The second one is cyber and the domain that we call cyberspace—domain in the sense that it has its own unique requirements. It has its own unique capabilities. It has its own vulnerabilities. And it has its own opportunities. And we've learned a lot about it over the past ten years. We must continue to learn, and we have to integrate these somewhat heretofore niche capabilities into our normal way of operating because it makes us much better but also because it makes us much smarter.

And the third one, of course, is special operating forces, which, over the past ten years or so, have increased about fourfold in number, but I would venture to say twenty-five-fold in capability. And so these three in particular—but not uniquely those, there are others—capabilities that have, as I said, in former times been kind of additive or niche capabilities, are now increasingly becoming integrated into the traditional, conventional way of operating, and again, provide us some pretty significant opportunities for the future.

So in the interest of completing my remarks and then getting to your questions, I would simply say to you that we've moved now from writing our new strategy to beginning to challenge ourselves on what it will take to really deliver it. And the three things I mentioned here today to you—rebalancing to the Pacific, building our partners and adapting our policies to allow us to build our partners, and then integrating these new capabilities—really are the key to that endeavor.

So with that, I know that you're eager to ask a few questions. I asked Jessica to please be sure to identify those of you who have the greatest possibility of asking me easy questions and [*laughter]* there we go. Watch out for that guy. [*Laughter.*] OK, go ahead.

Excerpt of Remarks with Secretary of Defense Leon E. Panetta at the Forum on the Law of the Sea Convention

Washington, DC | May 9

Thank you, Senator [Charles T. "Chuck"] Hagel and Senator [John W.] Warner [III], and good to see you as always. Don't let the uniform fool you; I actually do care about the sea. [*Laughter.*]

I do want to mention one thing. The senator was talking about NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization], and this last week I was over in Brussels meeting with our chiefs of defense, the twenty-eight of us who are the leaders of our respective armed forces. And my Canadian [counterpart]—we were talking about the Asia-Pacific, and they were asking me, what does it mean, this shift to the Pacific, this rebalancing to the Pacific? And I was explaining all of that. And then it occurred to me to remind them that NATO has a border on the Pacific; it's actually the western border of Canada and the United States. So in a way, the North Atlantic Alliance has interests in the Pacific just as much as they have interests in the Atlantic.

With that, it's my privilege to join Secretary [of Defense Leon E.] Panetta today to speak in support of the Law of Sea Convention. My voice joins past and present senior civilian and military defense leaders to include our Joint Chiefs of Staff, and it echoes every chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff since the convention was first sent to the Senate in 1994.

This long line of support has been so consistent because of what the convention would do for our armed forces. It codifies navigational rights and freedoms essential for our global mobility. It helps sustain our combat forces in the field. It includes the right of innocent passage through foreign territorial seas, the right of transit passage through international straits, and the right to exercise high-seas freedoms in foreign exclusive economic zones, all without permission or prior notice.

It affirms the sovereign immunity of our warships and other public vessels, and it gives us the framework to counter excessive claims by states seeking to illegally restrict movement of vessels and aircraft. Now, these are all rights and capabilities that we want and that we need. In fact, they are of our own making. We negotiated them into the convention to advance our national security interests.

Of course, we could always rely on the same approach we used 200 years ago. At that time, we commissioned the Navy's first ships to safeguard our seaborne merchants against the Barbary pirates. But the force of arms does not have to be and should not be our only national security instrument. The convention provides an additional way to navigate an increasingly complex international security environment.

Aside from the compelling practical benefits, ratification now represents an unprecedented opportunity. First, the convention offers an opportunity to exercise global security leadership. Over 160 nations are party to it, including every Arctic nation and permanent UN [United Nations] Security Council member. Even so, the world looks to us for leadership. We have the world's largest and most capable navy, the world's largest

economy, and the largest exclusive economic zone. We will become the leader within the convention as soon as we enter it, and that's never been more important.

On, over, and under the oceans, nations are making competing claims or posturing themselves to restrict the movement of others. These actions impact the United States, but they impact our allies and our friends even more. As a party to the convention, we can help resolve conflicts, strengthen alliances, and foster innovative partnerships. We have never been better poised or more welcome to lead a global security order benefiting all peaceful nations.

Second, the convention secures legitimate global freedom of access for our armed forces.

Today we rely on customary international law and assert it through our physical presence: warships and aircraft transiting and challenging illegal restrictions. Some say this alone is sufficient. But it plays into the hands of foreign states that over time want to bend customary law to restrict movement on the oceans, and it puts our warships and aircraft on point to constantly challenge their claims.

Now, we're strong enough for this role. We can and will continue to defend our interests, and we'll do that with force when necessary. But we can also be smart. We can leverage law to mitigate the need for physical assertion. Under the Law of the Sea Convention, we can be both, that is, both strong and smart.

Finally, joining the Law of the Sea Convention will strengthen our strategic position in Asia. The western Pacific is a mosaic of competing claims for territory and for resources. This is a critical region where, as a Pacific nation, our security and economic prosperity are inextricably linked. We have a vested interest in mitigating any conflict in the Asia-Pacific before it occurs.

The convention gives us another tool to effectively resolve conflicts at every level. It provides a common language, and therefore a better opportunity to settle disputes with cooperation instead of cannons.

In closing, the convention provides a stable and predictable legal framework, which has never been more important to the United States. It validates the operations we conduct today and realizes our vision for a secure future. It seizes on an opportunity to lead in a way that advances our strategy while preserving our freedom of action for generations to come.

Thank you again for the opportunity to speak with you today and for your support of the armed forces of this great nation.

Remarks at the 2012 Joint Warfighting Conference and Exposition

Virginia Beach, Virginia | May 16

Well, it's good to be back. I think I was here last in 2009, actually, and have always considered this venue and this conference to be an opportunity.

As [retired Lieutenant General] John [A. Dubia] said, it's the human dimension, I think, that'll get us through all this. And we'll have to think our way through it, not bludgeon our way through it.

I'll leave here, by the way, just so you know the rest of my day, and I'll go out to the Naval Academy and talk to the graduating class of midshipmen, class of 2012. And that'll complete the circle for me because I've gone to visit with each of the graduating classes and as many of the ROTC [Reserve Officers' Training Corps] classes as I could. I spoke at Norwich [University] on Sunday.

And my message is, writ simply, that their work is really starting. You know, they were good enough to get to the academies. They've now demonstrated they're good enough to graduate. But the task at hand for them now is to demonstrate that they're good enough to lead our nation's armed forces. And so their work is just beginning. But we're in good hands.

So I am clearly a joint officer, flying into a naval base on an Air Force helicopter after having been grounded at Langley Air Force Base for a bit of time. But I am happy to be here and to join you for a conversation about the future. I think that's kind of your task and purpose here today.

So we have a couple of things to talk about, jointness chief among them.

I want to say a couple of things about our heritage before I do that, a heritage that stretches all the way back to this day in history in 1863, when the Union Army sealed the fate of the Confederate forces at Vicksburg [Mississippi] by defeating them in the battle of Champion's Hill—Vicksburg, kind of an early example of a joint campaign. Army, Navy, and Marines. Air Force would have been there, but we predated Orville and Wilbur [Wright] by a few decades.

And so today we meet at another pivotal time in our joint force. We're transitioning from a decade of war. A complex and uncertain security environment looms. As we look toward the future, each service and our total joint force face fundamental questions about their identities, their roles, and their capabilities.

Some of you probably know that back in the Pentagon we joke about how each particular service has its own paranoia—an identity crisis, if you will—that causes them to ask from time to time, who are we and what are we doing here? For the Air Force, it's the notion that unmanned flight will surpass manned flight and that, when that happens, we'll take away their scarves and we'll substitute computer joysticks. The Army, of course, wonders if we'll ever fight another major land war. The Navy fears the demise of the carrier battle group, for generations the ultimate in maritime power projection. And the Marines, of course, are just Marines. They're just paranoid all the time [*laughter*] and worried about whether they'll exist at all. And I'm only half kidding about that, by the way, I mean, this kind of service paranoia.

Now, those paranoias are actually unfounded and misplaced anxiety, but you still hear them. And then you'll also hear the other extreme sometimes, about the collapsing of all the services into a single service where everybody walks around in spandex leisure suits or something. Whoever thinks that has probably been to one of these joint warfighting conferences once too often because that's not going to happen, either.

The reality is we actually have the service mix about right. There is genuine strength in our service diversity. I like to think of it in the Tank as diversity of thinking and military utility in having multiple ways to meet the nation's security challenges.

Now that said, these identity crisis moments are a good reminder that we should always be thinking about what the future will bring to each of us. Based on what we've learned over the last decade about war and about joint warfighting, and based on what we can expect about a new security environment, there is a lot we can do to make our joint force stronger.

Let me frame our challenge by talking about what I've begun to describe and begun to think about as a security paradox. One the one hand, we are witnessing greater levels of peace and stability worldwide. In evolutionary terms—and there's some writing about this coming out of Harvard, actually—the human race has never before experienced such low levels of violence.

On the other hand, destructive technologies are proliferating in two directions. They're proliferating horizontally across advanced militaries and vertically into the hands of nonstate actors. As a result, more people have the ability to harm us or to deny us freedom of action than at any point in my professional life. Here's the discomforting reality: we face a far more competitive security environment, one where our relative degree of overmatch against many foes has diminished.

Today's security paradox, though, doesn't call for larger or a smaller military. Instead, it calls for a different military, one capable of deterring, denying, and defeating threats across the entire spectrum of conflict. What does this mean for the force? The joint force we have is in need of reset. The joint force we will need does not yet fully exist.

And after more than ten years of hard joint warfighting, our services have a pretty good idea of what we do well together and where we need to improve. We must take what we've learned to build the future joint force, the joint force I've described as Joint Force 2020. Getting this right is so important that it is one of my four focus areas as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs.

Now let me say from the start that Joint Force 2020 is actually going to look a lot like Joint Force 2012. I'm not talking about making a leap into the twenty-fourth century, you know, warp speed and tractor beams. But I do know that our present debates about force sizing must give way to a more fundamental discussion about missions and capabilities. We're not ordering coffee at Starbucks. This isn't a matter of getting a tall, grande, or venti. It's what will be different that will most matter.

Think of it this way: about 80 percent of Joint Force 2020 is either programmed or already exists today. The major building blocks of today's force will still be around in eight years.

That said, we do have a perishable opportunity to be innovative in two ways. We can significantly change the other 20 percent of the force that's not already programmed or in existence, and we can change the way we use the other 80 percent.

How will that change occur? Well, we have some pretty amazing materiel capabilities coming on line that will reverberate across the force as a whole. But actually, the nonmateriel changes make will matter even more; that is, how we combine and use our doctrine, training, leadership, and education—the whole of the DOTMLPF [doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leadership and education, personnel, and facilities] paradigm.

Of course, we're only really starting that long intellectual journey. But for today, I'll lay out some initial thoughts about how that 20 percent that I mentioned might change and how it's likely to, in turn, change the way we use the other 80 percent.

So let's start with cyber. Cyber is one of those areas where our actual capabilities are beginning to resemble science fiction. In the future, cyber will become both a standalone warfighting instrument with global reach, and it'll also be a ubiquitous enabler of the joint force. It will be both part of the 20 percent that's new and part of what allows the other 80 percent of the force to be used differently.

To make cyber a reality, we need to do two things. We need to continue aggressively pursuing new offensive and defensive capabilities. We need cyber to be wired into the whole force right away. If you recall when we stood up special operating forces, we made it a specialized community that grew up in parallel to the conventional force, and then later on, really only about the last ten years did we fully integrate it into our joint force. Well, we can't afford to do that with cyber. We've got to integrate cyber right from the start.

There are several other emerging capabilities that will play outsized or oversized or more important roles in Joint Force 2020. Clearly, ISR [intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance] and long-range strike are two of those. So is undersea technology, where we do enjoy an overmatch capability against all adversaries. Unmanned technologies are on the rise, and they're gaining importance not only in terms of effectiveness, but also in terms of their versatility and value. In an era of fiscal constraint or a new fiscal environment, a platform that offers those traits will almost always be the right one in which to invest.

The development and integration of these emerging capabilities will by no means amount to all that is new in Joint Force 2020. But I'll wager that they will make up an important part of it. Integrating the new capabilities I've just mentioned with our foundational and impressive conventional force capabilities is important. Collectively, they'll provide new ways to generate military power and to do so quickly, with global reach and with strategic adaptability.

This combination of increasingly powerful network capabilities and agile units at the tactical edge is an important development for several reasons. It provides the basis to project both discrete and overwhelming power across multiple domains. It gives policymakers and commanders alike a greater degree of flexibility in how they pursue objectives. And it allows us to press our advantages and advanced precision platforms, emerging capabilities, and global networked mission command. Most importantly, it

leverages our decisive advantage, which is adaptive leaders at every echelon. In Joint Force 2020, those factors will provide overwhelming effect on the enemy.

We can glimpse a bit of the power of this approach in our recent experiences in Iraq. When I commanded the 1st Armored Division in 2003, we were really just beginning to understand how to break down the walls between operations and intelligence. By 2008 when I was the acting commander of CENTCOM [US Central Command], we had achieved near-seamless integration at the tactical level of operations and intelligence. All-source intelligence really was all-source, and it really was fused. ISR was networked out to the tactical edge, and special and conventional forces were working together. As a result, we went from multiple operations to snatch a single high-value target to being able to dynamically retask on the objective based on sensitive site exploitation and move to another target and service that one as well. This is the kind of joint integration that we must build into our formations routinely in the future.

Now, there's a flip side to using networks and advanced technology to overwhelm an enemy. Our substantial dependence on networked technology could become a critical vulnerability for joint operations. So we need to remind ourselves and ensure that our globally networked force can operate effectively in any environment, but particularly in those environments where our adversaries may purposely degrade our capabilities. In short, we need to be ready for the space and cyber domains to be contested exponentially more than they are today.

Preparing for this is as much a matter of leadership and training as it is engineering. To the extent possible, we need to continue to function even when our connectivity or system performance is degraded. GPS [Global Positioning System] is terrific when it's working, but if it gets jammed, we have to be ready to continue the mission. In my day, we did that with a map and a compass. Fortunately, today I hope we'll find more elegant solutions.

But to foster this kind of resilience, we need to practice it, and we need to practice it frequently. We need to simulate degraded environments in our war games and stress test each of our systems. It could be that the worst-case scenario is actually the most likely scenario. Marines and soldiers have long been taught to assemble and disassemble their personal weapon while blindfolded. Well, think about a world in which all operators of all military systems might be required to develop some analogous skill. I understand that this involves an element of risk, but better to take that risk now, when we can effectively learn from a poor outcome, than in war, when our outcomes could be fatal.

Our best hedge against degraded environments is mission command and adaptive leadership. And that's why we're really pressing on that. We need to grow leaders who thrive in an environment filled with uncertainty and build organizations that are adept at managing stress on their technological systems.

We also know that in the future, our homeland will not be the sanctuary it has been. Whether it's cyberattacks launched from afar or terrorists closer to home, our critical infrastructure will be threatened. This is a problem because many of our global capabilities that underwrite our superiority on the battlefield operate from the homeland. UAVs [unmanned aerial vehicles] in Afghanistan are flown by pilots sitting in the continental

United States. Will we still be able to operate these capabilities abroad if our power grid is brought down or the Internet stops functioning, and for how long? The joint force of 2020 really needs to own up to this monumental challenge in mission assurance. Our very effectiveness depends on it.

With all this talk of networking and its inherent challenges, it's also important to note I'm just not talking about technology. I also mean the human dimension and social networking in the broadest sense of the term, human relationships and ideas. When I think of our successes in Iraq and Afghanistan, those successes were really built on the foundation of strong relationships and the development of new ideas that were found collaboratively and helped us make our most genuine progress.

Now it's not just counterinsurgency campaigns that need those relationships and ideas. Just stop for a minute and ask yourself, what kind of relationships and ideas do we need to successfully counter the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or terrorism or cartel violence or, for that matter, piracy? For each of these thorny problems, we need relationships across our entire government, and we'll need to cultivate new and creative partnerships on many fronts, public and private, government and nongovernmental.

It's somewhat telling that the first time I actually met someone from the State Department, I was a lieutenant colonel with 22 years in the service. Today you can't find a second lieutenant who hasn't worked with someone from USAID [US Agency for International Development], State [Department], or Justice [Department]. And that's a very good thing. The question is how do we sustain it.

As violent technology proliferates into many more hands, threats to our security will not just come from advanced militaries. They'll also take more than military power to address. So when it comes to Joint Force 2020, the military instrument should never be exercised alone.

Now, that's a lot to think about on a rainy Sunday morning here in the Tidewater [region]. But I hope that everyone here shares a sense of urgency with me when we talk about the future joint force and the future of joint warfighting. We simply can't afford to get this transition wrong. So as we build the joint force of 2020, we need to capitalize on emerging technology and pay greater attention to resilience in a contested environment and never forget the importance of building relationships. So Joint Force 2020 is not just about the 20 percent of the force we can change. It's also about repurposing the other 80 percent.

We also need to remember that there are many things that won't change. War will always be a contest of wills. So we need a military that can impose its will. That could be with a machine gun, or it could be with a click of a mouse. In tomorrow's security environment, it'll probably be both. It will certainly mean soldiers, soldiers, airmen, and marines with moral and physical courage. And it means trained and equipped battalions, ships, and squadrons who can close with and defeat the enemy. Our services must continue to bring well-honed core competences to the joint fight, even as we ask them to employ those competencies in new and different ways, and that can be uncomfortable, but I'm pretty confident that they're up to the task.

Although building a vision of the future force seems daunting, we are actually a country of quick learners and big ideas, and the quickest learners among us often have some really big ideas. The trick is to pick them out and run with them, even when they cut across the grain.

A little more than a decade ago, a young Marine captain named Wayne Sinclair wrote an article about IEDs [improvised explosive devices] that radically transformed the way we think about transporting our ground troops in combat. He noticed how emerging trends in explosives and vulnerabilities in our ground vehicle fleets could potentially put our troops at risk. He even pointed out a promising solution devised by South Africans. You could say that Wayne was the one who exposed us to the idea first of the MRAP [mine-resistant ambush-protected vehicle].

The problem is that he wrote his paper in 1996. We didn't grasp the full import of it until ten years later.

Now Wayne went on to serve in Iraq and ride in the very MRAPs that he had called for, but not before simple homemade bombs nearly brought the world's most technologically advanced fighting force to a halt.

The moral of the story is that there is no substitute for taking a clear-eyed look at the threats we face and asking our force to change to meet them. There are great thoughts out there, inside and outside the military, that will help us significantly innovate 20 percent of the force while reimagining how to employ the other 80 percent.

So when you finish this conference, go find the Wayne Sinclairs of the world and get comfortable with the arguments that make you the most uncomfortable. That's the kind of intuition that will help us build the best possible Joint Force 2020, and we're going to need it.

Thank you very much.

Memorial Day Observance

Arlington National Cemetery

Arlington, Virginia | May 28

[Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was] a military parent himself. One of his poems, titled "Decoration Day," speaks to the experience of any family that has sent a son or daughter off to war. While relieved that his own son Charlie returned safely from the Civil War, Longfellow was moved by the fact that many, many more did not.

In his closing lines, Longfellow frames an eternal relationship between fallen servicemembers and the nation that they protect. He says, "Your silent tents of green / We deck with fragrant flowers; / Yours has the suffering been, / The memory shall be ours."

A hundred and thirty years after writing those words, Longfellow still has it right. The memory is ours. On Memorial Day we honor that memory in heartfelt ceremonies across this land. The pageantry is a manifestation of the sacred bond of trust between

the military family and our larger American family. But what really counts is how we nurture that bond with those still here and how we turn that memory into action.

Today we stand behind families that will never be whole again. But we must continue to stand with them every day. Supporting them in the ways they need it most, particularly as they transition back into their home communities, shows that we do not just think of them but that we really do remember. And those communities have the most important role to play in this effort.

Every national-level department and every agency represented here today is committed to making education, medical care, and employment opportunities accessible to the military family. But the VA [Department of Veterans Affairs] can't drop the kids off at soccer, and the DOD [Department of Defense] can't help you study for your final college exam. Nobody looks out for you like friends, your neighbors, or your family.

And when you think about it like that, it's no surprise that Memorial Day began at the community level as a local observance years before it was recognized nationally. So it starts with us. Preserving the bonds of trust is something that demands our constant attention and something we're just going to have to keep delivering. And we will, because the memory is ours, all of ours. We will remember.

May God bless our fallen, our missing, and their families. And may God bless America. Thank you.

Remarks at the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial

Washington, DC | May 28

Thanks, Tom [Selleck]. And thank you for your heartfelt words, your service in the Army National Guard, as well as your efforts to bring an education center here on these grounds.

As we gather here at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, our fellow citizens are gathering in backyards, at memorials, and in cemeteries around the country.

Across the Potomac at Arlington National Cemetery, soldiers of the 3rd Infantry Division and the honor guards of every service are on patrol, making sure that 260,000 flags stand tall, row after row after row.

At Whitepine Cemetery under Montana's big sky, a widow presses a single American flag into the still, cold ground, just as she did last year and the year before that and the year before that.

Whether by the thousands or by ourselves, we all feel a common resolve on Memorial Day to pause, if only for a moment, and to remember.

This solemn tradition began in 1868 when Decoration Day was proclaimed by General John Logan, commander of the Grand Army of the Potomac of the Republic. And since our republic's founding, nearly two and a half million of our countrymen and -women have, in the words of General Logan, made their breasts a barricade between our country and its foes.

Some of their names are blasted into this granite wall.

A wall and a war that some have compared to a scar. But history's temperance allows us to see success where some only saw failure, to see hope where some only saw loss, and to see valor where some simply refused to look.

Vietnam, its veterans, and their families are not something apart from us. They are as fundamental to our national story and as instrumental to our national security as any veteran of any war.

The war's fiftieth anniversary gives us an opportunity to remember and reflect on their story. In the years ahead, our military family will join with the rest of the American family to remember, to learn, and to see ourselves with a renewed perspective.

Right now, we can see the names of so many—too many—on the wall before us. These are America's sons and daughters. And today, their sons, their daughters, and even their grandchildren follow them in their service.

My own first personal memory of war was in 1968. As a 16-year-old dishwasher in a small diner in upstate New York, I watched a Vietnam veteran get off the bus, coming back from his first tour of duty in Vietnam, to be met by his family. And at a time in our history when heroes were hard to find, I thought I'd found one. I'd never seen anybody so handsome, so physical, so determined, so proud. Captain John [M.] Graham was his name. And he is a big part of the reason I went to West Point.

And so in 1971 when I was a plebe at West Point, he returned from his second tour of duty, having been killed in action as an adviser to the Vietnamese army. And as a plebe I attended that ceremony on a very cold day in the winter of 1971. His son is now on the faculty at West Point.

Warrant Officer Roy [S.] Thomas was a gunship pilot with the 25th Infantry Division. He died in battle when his son was four months old. His son is an Air Force colonel on my staff today.

John and Roy are just two examples representative of thousands more who share a martial bond with their forbears.

And whether they served in Vietnam or Iraq or Afghanistan, whether they returned home or are still awaiting their homecoming, there is no difference in their courage and in their sense of duty.

There is no difference when it comes to fear and suffering on the frontlines and on the home front. There is no difference in the love and the longing of families.

And there is no difference in the wounds that remain, both seen and unseen. However, let us resolve today that there will be one essential difference: that we will never again allow our veterans and their families to be left alone, left to feel somehow outside, left to fend for themselves.

And let us resolve today to not just say "welcome home," but to truly welcome our troops home with the respect and care that they and their families have earned.

Such resolve is evident in those who join us today and who have joined together to support this memorial. We can see it in our president, our first lady, our secretary of veterans affairs, and our secretary of defense.

I know that Secretary [of Defense Leon E.] Panetta shares my commitment to keep faith with our military family and keep in touch with the American people. And I know that he shares my unbounded pride in the men and women who serve and who have served in uniform.

Please join me in welcoming our secretary of defense, Leon Panetta.

Remarks at the National Defense University Graduation

Fort Leslie J. McNair

Washington, DC | June 7

It is a distinct honor to be here today to help launch you into the rest of your careers, a career that I can't predict for you, that you can't predict for yourself, but one which will certainly challenge you. And as I mentioned to some of you when I had the chance to come over here and speak with you, I think the nation is in good hands, and I say that because of the men and women who I see passing through the doors of this great place, the National Defense University. We're going to ask a lot of you; you'll deliver. I remember this day with some clarity, albeit sixteen years ago. We got pretty lucky with the weather today. I think everybody up here would certainly agree with that. And maybe that's a good thing to comment [on]. As the Navy says, "Fair winds and following seas" or "Fair seas and following winds."

You know, [National Defense University interim president] Ambassador [Nancy E.] McEldowney said, "Choose wisely, my friends." That was her message to you. I would add only, stay thirsty, my friends. [*Laughter.*]

You can chalk that one up to jet lag. [*Laughter.*] I flew in last night from the Asia-Pacific after spending about ten days out there with Secretary [of Defense Leon E.] Panetta explaining our new defense strategy, something I know that interests all of you. You might think that I'd be a bit fatigued after having had two Wednesdays, because that's what happens, of course, but being here as we send you off to your wings and your fleets, your departments or your agencies, it's very much like a good strong cup of coffee, and I should be good at least through about 1500 this afternoon. But I promise you I won't be still here at 1500 this afternoon.

It is great to be back here at historic Fort McNair and here at the National Defense University for what I remember as the last day of the hardest year off of my life. [*Laughter.*] I actually hope that's true. We don't talk to you about that at the beginning of the year, but I do hope that you have had some time for yourselves and for your families.

Now, if you're like me, I suspect that many of you in the crowd have felt challenged through this year, maybe even a bit overwhelmed at one point or another. But somehow, in between devising strategy and trying not to pull a hamstring or anything [*laughter*], I suspect that you made some pretty good friends along the way, and that's important. In fact, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt once wrote, "If civilization is to survive, we

must cultivate the science of human relationships, the ability of all peoples of all kinds to live together in the same world at peace."

Now, FDR [Franklin D. Roosevelt] knew a thing or two about ensuring the survival of civilization. But he didn't come up with that strategy to save the free world by happenstance or overnight or in a vacuum. It was the result of months and years of encouraging dialogue and debate among leaders who, as a result, got to know each other fairly well and learned to play off each other's strengths as well as insecurities. He created relationships born of interest and ultimately, as Nancy McEldowney said, underpinned by trust. As senior leaders, you'll find it increasingly important to practice the science of human relationships. As you become involved in making strategy, you'll need to nurse your relationships to make that strategy work. It's also important for you to model that in and among your subordinates and provide them with opportunities to grow. That has certainly benefited me personally. But it did take me a while to figure that out.

When I was younger—I was about a captain or so—I once attended a day-long seminar in building interpersonal relationships. Amongst several important points that the seminar leader made is that I needed to do a better job of showing my appreciation to others. So I decided to start by showing appreciation to the most important person in my life, my wife, Deanie. In fact, I was really excited to show her exactly how much I appreciated her, though I probably hadn't been doing a very good job of it.

So that evening I picked up a dozen long-stem roses and a box of chocolates on my way home from work. When I walked in the door, she glanced up and saw me standing there with the roses and chocolates, so she started crying. And I asked her what was wrong. And she told me, she said: "It's just been a terrible day. Megan just flushed her diaper down the toilet. The dishwasher quit working. Chris has a fever. And now you've come home drunk." Clearly, I could have used that seminar a little earlier in my life. [*Laughter.*] But I am happy to report that I have become better about making sure that my family knows just how important they are to me. Family really is important.

We need to practice and model the habits of family for our youngsters as well, that is to say, those who serve who are much junior to us. Some of them actually model it for us. The Air Force just announced Captain Mike Richard as one example. They nominated him and named him as the fighter tactician of the year for the year 2011. He planned large portions of the air campaign over Libya. I'm told he's a fairly busy young man on a daily basis, but he took it to an entirely new level during Operation Odyssey Dawn. When asked how he managed it all, during his acceptance speech—his answer was actually quite simple—he said, "Lots of caffeine and an awesome family." I can relate to that. When you consider that Captain Richard and his wife were also raising a two-year-old, planning a coalition air campaign may have seemed easy by comparison. [*Laughter.*]

Of course Captain Richard wasn't alone in that effort, far from it. In fact, in many ways, the Libya campaign was an object lesson in the value of military-to-military relationships. Now there certainly were bumps in the road, but there's no way an operation of that magnitude could have been planned and executed that quickly. And just to be clear, we're talking about hours and days, not weeks and months, without military

relationships built on trust. In all, as you know, eighteen militaries contributed to that joint and allied effort, saving untold thousands of lives.

It's worth noting that although the force over Libya came together quickly, the relationship that produced it didn't develop overnight. They are the product of years upon years of working together at every level across every service and with many countries. The last ten years have shown us that the benefits of this approach—it's really a mindset, really—are not limited just to the military. When we network within and beyond government, we add capacity, we add capability, and we add credibility. The evolving security environment calls on us to expand the envelope of cooperation even further. We should consider ways to complement standing institutions and alliances with startup, purpose-driven communities of interest. And that means working with allies in new ways, boosting regional security architectures, and building public-private partnerships.

I think we're on the right track. Last month at the NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] conference in Chicago, one of my counterparts was extolling the value of his country's participation in the National Guard State Partnership Program. He told me that he appreciated the world-class equipment and training, but he said what made the program was the familiarity and trust that flowed from it as it evolved over time. He's worked with the same group of officers for the past twenty years, since he was a major. And today he's a major general.

Sowing the seeds of trust early and often can bear a harvest that is well worth the labor. You can't just phone it in. You have to dig in and get your hands dirty. We certainly have learned this over the past decade. My trip to the Asia-Pacific showed me how we have to do even more. We have to pay more attention investing our intellectual energy as a first step. We have to engage more with our allies. And we have to commit more of our best leaders and our best equipment to that very responsibility.

Our new strategy is first and foremost about leveraging our most significant edge—our people. For our defense strategy to work, our allies and partners have to do the same. This is why having international students here is so important. Among them today is our first graduate from Vietnam, Colonel [Chung Thanh] Ha. I met your vice defense minister just a few days ago, and I know they're proud of you. So are we. Some of you may know that last week on Memorial Day we launched the commemoration of the Vietnam War's fiftieth anniversary. As we reflect on and learn about our experiences there, we would do well to listen to the voices of our former foes, now turned friends.

Our rebalance to the Asia-Pacific is also drawing on lessons of our experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan. Numerous nations sent and continue to send thousands of their servicemembers to work shoulder to shoulder with us and with our Iraqi and Afghan security force counterparts. Together we put Iraq and are putting Afghanistan in a position where they can determine their own futures. That's something of which we should all be proud.

In my judgment, the most important relationship underpinning our success is between those serving on the frontlines and those who remain on the home front. Sometimes this can be an uneasy relationship. In some corners of our country and in

some corners of other countries as well, there's a silent divide between those who have experienced war and those who have only seen it through a distant and distorted lens. Our experiences are sometimes so different and so difficult to describe that we don't want to talk about it anymore with the public. And we don't want to talk about it any more than they want to hear it.

But it's a conversation that we need to have. And as leaders, it's a conversation you must promote and guide. The people we serve may not always know what to say or how to say it, but one thing is clear to me: they care about you. They want to connect with you. Your story is their story too. So go tell it. Have the courage and patience to tell it again and again with humility and honesty.

If FDR is to be believed, telling that story, and therefore practicing the science of human relationships, is crucial to the survival of our civilization. So as the defenders of civilization, we must be willing to take the first steps. And when we do, I'm absolutely convinced that the good will that already exists will draw our public even nearer.

The future will be a difficult journey, but not one that any of us take alone. There was a proverb I found [*inaudible*] in my travels to many countries in the Mideast. It varies a little bit from place to place, but it essentially translates to this: one hand can't clap.

No matter where you come from, I'm sure you have found the message of this proverb to be true. The bottom line is that we all have to make the effort together. Building and maintaining your relationships, which is essential to building and executing a coherent strategy, is a lot like clapping: you have to do it again and again and again.

So as you leave here today, I encourage you to take on board the responsibility to grow relationships. Put that tool prominent in your leadership toolbox. Start by resolving to stay in touch with the friends and colleagues and mentors that you've met here. They are the people you will not only want to keep in touch with; I can guarantee that you'll need them some day.

Now, if you remember where I started this speech, part of relationship maintenance is showing appreciation for those that mean the most to you. And since you're talking about clapping, how about a round of applause for your friends and family who have not only come out here to support you today but have been with you throughout your career? [*Applause.*]

And I'd like to add my appreciation and ask you to join me for the staff and faculty here at National Defense University. If we don't put our very best here to help you to facilitate your education, to give you the opportunity to grow, then we will not have lived up to our responsibility to the staff and faculty.

And finally, to those around this great group of graduates who we are about to send forth to shape the world, how about we give the graduates a round of applause? [*Applause.*]

It's been a great pleasure to be here and be part of this ceremony today. I look forward to shaking just over 600 hands. [*Laughter.*] I look forward to seeing you out and about. And if we do come across each other, I would like you to remind me when I met you. I'm of

an age now when sometimes I can't exactly remember everything I do or say. Sometimes that makes people on the third floor of the Pentagon a little nervous. [*Laughter.*]

But if our paths do cross again—which they will—I do encourage you to come up and tell me how you're doing and give you whatever advice you can give me, and we'll share our thoughts, because it really is about relationships.

Thanks for all you've done and for all you're about to do. God bless you all.

Remarks at the John S. Burke Catholic High School Commencement Ceremony

West Point, New York | June 9

John Debold: I've been asked to say a few words of introduction for, as we call him, Marty. And I can offer three things that might give an insight into his being and his character. Marty has spoken twice before, as far as I know, to Burke community members. Once when I was a student he came and visited our gym class as a representative of the United States Military Academy, along with a friend and classmate of his, George Scott.

George Scott spoke to us about the virtue of the United States Naval Academy. And that was a wonderful commentary. And after a moment's pause, a poetic pause, Marty stepped forward, threw off his gray cadet uniform shirt, and on the T-shirt underneath was "at Navy." [*Laughter.*] And then there was humor and banter. We saw an insight, even at our young age, of the close bond between the service academies.

The second time I heard him speak to the Burke community was as an inductee to our hall of fame. What strikes me in memory of that event is not so much what he said as how many classmates came to share in the moment. And you could see that the joy in the moment that Marty and his classmates felt was just in the idea that they had a chance to be together again.

When a great garment is worn for a long time and often, it becomes threadbare. And as you graduates walk across the stage and take a close look at Marty, you may see a thread or two on the uniform. I have seen one for a long time. That thread is one that goes all the way back to his childhood as the son of Martin and Sarah Dempsey. And that thread also connects to our school motto, "Not Words but Deeds," with the West Point motto, "Duty, Honor, and Country." And the thread is faithful service. Those two words, I think, best sum up Marty as I know him.

Please allow me, class of 2012, to introduce to you Marty Dempsey.

Dempsey: Thank you. Have a seat. This is a home game for me. I have some prepared remarks, but I wanted to come out here and speak for a moment to the class. Where did Connor go? OK, here you go, big guy. [*Sings.*] "Conjunction junction, what's your function?" That makes thirty-one views on YouTube. [*Laughter.*] Come on, we could do better than "Conjunction Junction," or whatever that's called.

Hey, do me a favor. The class of 2012, stand up for a minute for me. First thing I want to do is ask those of you who admire them as much as I do to give them a round of applause. [*Applause.*] The second thing, before you sit down, because I'm going to sing a line of a song; you're going to answer it, because it does have a certain meaning today. It's from "New York, New York." So I'm going to sing, "Start spreadin' the news." And you're going to sing, "I'm leaving today." You are, in case you haven't figured that out yet.

Here we go. Yeah, I don't know if you know the tune but if you don't, I'll do it twice. Here we go. [*Sings.*] "Start spreadin' the news."

Audience: [*Sings*] "I'm leaving today."

Dempsey: Not bad. Let's do that one more time. And by the way, the female voices completely washed over the male voices. So step up, men. Here we go. [*Sings.*] "Start spreadin' the news."

Audience: [*Sings*] "I'm leaving today."

Dempsey: All right. Sit down. You're not going to remember a thing I say today, but you'll remember that. [*Laughter.*]

So a couple of thoughts before I go back to the podium. One is: you are now in the business of beginning in your life to accumulate titles. So I was just introduced as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Obviously, I'm pretty proud of that. But I'm actually prouder of being a husband, a father, and a good son, I hope. And as well as all of that, I happen to be a soldier. But you are now beginning to accumulate titles. And as you do, think through how you prioritize those titles, because many of you will exceed your wildest imaginations. You know, you might think you're going to do X—you'll do Y, and Y will be unbelievable.

Some of you'll come up short, and you'll have to kind of adapt yourselves to a new reality. Life will hand you a trick or two along the way. But you'll always be in the business of prioritizing that which is most important to you. Never forget that. So as you accumulate titles—and you're starting today, high school graduate—as you start accumulating titles, make sure you keep them in order.

The second thing is, you are now about to become net producers of goodness and benefit for this country, not net consumers. Up till now, you've been largely consuming that which has been prepared for you by parents, by the military, by police and firemen. By teachers, especially teachers. You are net consumers of goodness. You are now about to reach the point, as you progress beyond high school, where you have to start producing some of that goodness for the generation behind you. So that's a challenge to you.

And the third thing—this is kind of a public service announcement. I do want you to know that my security detail is posted nearby in case some rabid O'Neill fan comes bursting in. [*Laughter.*]

So I do have a few prepared remarks that I wanted to put on paper so that I could capture the moment, both for myself but also for you, I hope. So thanks for the kind words in introduction, both Connor and John. Nice job to the salutatorian. I'm looking forward to hearing from the valedictorian here in a moment. But I will tell you that, as

I said, this is a home court for me, West Point. In fact, I was suggesting that kind of the three most important things in my life are present in this auditorium today: my wife, of course; Burke Catholic High School; and the United States Military Academy. So it's a real honor for me to be here to do this.

I give a lot of speeches, a lot of interviews; I consult with a lot of different folks around the world—groups, businessmen, obviously the United States military, and some of the most powerful figures of our time. But I do want you to know that I feel this one today a little differently. I was you. I can remember vividly, for three years, playing in that little band back there, watching the classes of 1967, '68, and '69 walk across the stage. And finally, in 1970, walking across myself. So I do remember it. I feel the energy today, and again, I thank you for letting me be part of it.

I want to begin by thanking the families who are here today. You've raised a remarkable—superb, really—group of young men and women who have already achieved a great deal in their lives, and you have the potential to achieve a lot more. And you deserve tremendous credit for your support of that, for your love and for your continuing dedication to your children's success. And so if you're a mom or dad in the audience, how about standing up? Come on. [*Laughter.*] There's got to be one or two of you out there. Thank you.

I also want to thank Principal [John J.] Dolan, Monsignor [James] Byrnes—who's not here, I don't think—the assistant principal, and of course the faculty. You have a tall task that you've strapped on your back year after year. I admire your dedication, your commitment to education, to values and to developing young men and women of character on whom we can all be proud.

I'd like to mention a few of those who were my faculty members when I was a student here: Sister Mary McCarthy, Sister Josephine [*inaudible*]—who may be here today, I hope—Sister Mary Lee, Sister Mary, Sister Nora Cronin, Mr. Pete McDowell, Mr. Richard Dolan, Mr. Kevin McGee, and Miss Sophie Banno. I'll tell you how I think of them. Even today, they were more than teachers. They were influencers in my life, they were role models, and they have become life-long friends. That's the power of this relationship. You graduates are now soon to be part of the Burke legacy. I'm very proud of that legacy. I expect a lot of you. You should expect a lot of yourselves. The Burke brand is strong. It's strong in academics, it's strong in athletics, and it's strong in service.

Now as I've said, my high school days were nearly a half century ago, so I suppose I should point out to you that I would be the equivalent speaking to you today of someone from the class of 1928. That's a little frightening, frankly [*laughter*], but it is what it is. But if you think about what someone from the class of 1928 saw in their lifetime as they move through world wars, the Cold War, all the different economic ups and downs, you're going to see as much as that as they did, as much of that as I have. And I know you will be up to the task.

I know from experience that good commencement speeches, by the way, share three qualities: an interesting beginning, a strong ending, close together. [*Laughter.*] I will try my best to achieve that third one. But there are three themes that I want you to take with you today. I'd like you to try to remember these three themes. And I say try, because I'm

aware of President [Abraham] Lincoln's caution, you will little note nor long remember what is said here.

But first, I want you to think about the extraordinary pace of change that we're currently experiencing and will and should expect to continue experiencing here in the near future. I can report that fifty years ago doesn't seem all that long. But time didn't seem to move as quickly back then as it does now. It's sure moving fast. Some fast facts, in fact, from a YouTube site called, "Shift Happens." If you haven't ever logged on to it, I encourage you to do so. [*Laughter.*]

Here's some of the facts off of that website. There are a million words in the English language today, five times more than there were during Shakespeare's period. More than 4,000 new books are published every single day. It's estimated that a week's worth of the *New York Times* contains more information than a person is likely to come across in an entire lifetime in the eighteenth century. And now with social media, we no longer search for the news, the news searches for us. There are more than a billion searches performed on Google every day. Makes you wonder who was getting asked all those questions before Google.

Sixty million status updates happen on Facebook every day. The first commercial text was sent in 1992. The number of text messages sent and received today now exceeds the total population of the planet. Some of you probably just texted that fact. [*Laughter.*] Some of you are probably updating your Facebook status right now. [*Laughter.*] The top ten in-demand jobs in 2010 didn't exist in 2004. So faculty members, we're currently preparing students like these for jobs that don't yet exist, using technologies that haven't been invented in order to solve problems we don't even know are problems yet. [*Laughter.*] Other than that, your task is simple. [*Laughter.*]

There is unlimited opportunity in all of this change for you. I tell my young officers: the future will find you. Be ready. I remember graduating from Burke at eighteen and not really having a good idea about what the future held. I mention this to let you know that as much as I encourage you to embrace change and be confident, it's actually OK to be a little bit unsure about the future and where you are, to feel a little bit uncomfortable with all the change in your lives and in the world.

I was fortunate to receive direction from my family and from my important mentors that helped me make the decision to come here to West Point. And if it hadn't been for Representative [Benjamin A.] "Ben" Gilman, who may or may not be in the audience today, appointing me to the academy, Deanie may have wound up as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. [*Laughter.*] You'd probably all be better off. [*Laughter.*] The way it worked, I actually got the telegram from West Point on June 29, 1970 that said simply: "Congratulations, you are appointed to the West Point class of 1974. Be here at 08:00 on the 1st of July." Now frankly, I didn't really want to go, but I decided to give it a try for the summer anyway at the request of my mother. I guess in retrospect, mother did know best. [*Laughter.*]

Here's the point—when I got here, I met my first upper class cadet, a rather imposing figure in a red sash. And I dutifully said, "I am new Cadet Dempsey, reporting."

And he said, "Dempsey, you probably had a pretty good high school career, didn't you?" I said, "Yes sir, pretty good." He said, "Well, you're not going to make it here." [*Laughter.*] I thought, yes I am. [*Laughter.*] And then it happened.

I worked hard to make sure that I did make it through West Point. And I realized then, and I continue to realize now that I had to keep getting better. I realized that never settling for mediocre is one of our enduring national traits. As a nation, we dare to be great. That's the legacy that you are now inheriting. You have to dare to be great, and sometimes it takes courage.

I'm told that you're an exceptional group—some of the best, the brightest, and the most motivated. And by the way, best and brightest isn't good enough. You have to have the motivation part of it.

There are Eagle Scouts among you, a National Merit Scholar finalist, scholar-athletes—soccer, basketball, and cheerleading champions. You've had terrific high school careers.

But here's the second theme I want you to remember. No matter how successful you've been up to this point, you need to keep working to be better than you think you can be, whether you're going to college or out into the workforce.

Your salutatorian Lindsay [Roe] talked about the uncertainty of being bombarded with circumstances beyond your control and about not losing sight of your ability to determine your reaction. You can do it. Recall what I said about all the change you all have experienced. Well, you also need a moral compass to navigate that change.

Let me tell you in the simplest what it means to be a soldier. It means service, it means integrity, it means courage, and it means trust. That's who we are. Who are you?

Whether you realize it or not, you're very well positioned to take advantage of all the changes that will confront you, in great part because of the education you've received and the support you've received while here at Burke Catholic and from your families.

The last thing is that, whether you realize it or not, your generation is very much inclined to serve. Some of you are headed to the service academies, prep schools, or ROTC [Reserve Officers' Training Corps] units, and I applaud each of you for that choice.

But I don't just mean the military when I talk about service. I mean service to others, to your community, to your country. The nation needs each of us and it needs all of us.

You're about to be asked to live—and I mean really live—Burke's motto: "Non Vox Sed Votum," "Not Words but Deeds." Today, you'll join a long line of Burke Eagles who have done just that. I look forward a great deal to watching you take advantage of your opportunities, to watch you impact on our society and to watch you reshape the future.

So on the springboard of your Burke education, push yourself to explore issues you haven't even considered before, to lead where leadership is required and to keep options open. Because life—as I mentioned earlier—it will deal you changes and challenges, and you'll have to adapt. Remember, the future will find you. Be ready.

Who knows? One of you someday could be the senior military leader of the greatest military the world has ever known.

Let me leave you with these final words. I suggest that your life takes on meaning only as the causes to which you attach yourself have meaning; that the greatest value

in life is to spend it for something that lives after; that in the end you become what you are through some cause that you have made your own. And if you follow that line of reasoning, deciding about the part that God plays in your life is important.

Youth isn't a time; it's a state of mind. Nobody grows old by living years. People grow by deserting their dreams. Even now, on the threshold of your future, you need to know this.

Youth is equality and imagination, a vigor of emotion, a dominance of courage over timidity, and an appetite for adventure over the love of ease. But also remember that in many ways it can be a far higher ideal to live an ordinary life in an extraordinary way.

May the road rise up to meet you. May the wind be ever at your back. May the sun shine warm upon face; the rains fall soft upon your fields. And until we meet again, may God hold you in the palms of his hands. Thank you.

Remarks at the Gold Star Mothers Seventy-Fifth Convention

Washington, DC | June 24

Dempsey: Deanie [his wife] and I are really are honored to be here. To my New Jersey brethren over there, I usually ask the staff to find something on this date in history, and in an apologetic way, they said it was kind of a slow day in history, but we did notice that on this day in history in 1864, New Jersey became a state. I said, that's important.

We're thrilled to be here. I told Norma [Luther] that there's a couple of organizations in this country that if they ask me to come to do something, I'm there. And this is one of them. So Deanie and I truly are honored to be part of your celebration, which, I guess, began on Wednesday. And I've been getting brought up to speed on the things you've done, and I'm really glad that you've gotten together because I do believe the trials that you've been through, you get through them by bonding together. And let me tell you why I know that.

By the way, nobody can say they know what you've been through. And I know that's a shift. But I am a cancer survivor, and I remember when the doctor said to me about eighteen months ago—well, actually now about twenty months ago—he said, you have throat cancer. I said, how serious is it? He said, if you don't treat it, you're going to die. And I said, wow.

So we went through the treatment regimen, and what I realized was no matter how many stars or how many ribbons you get, when something like that happens to you, no matter how solid you think you are personally, you've got to have a team around, you've got to have people around you, you've got to have a relationship, you've got to have a spirit. So I got back in touch with the spiritual side of me. My wife was there constantly helping me, the team of doctors down at Portsmouth Naval [Hospital] pulled together, and here I am.

I do have a sense of what it takes to get through that kind of trauma, but I would never ever suggest that I know what you've been through. But I am thrilled that you're

here going through it together. So well done to the Gold Star moms and Gold Star dads and Gold Star Family Association. [*Applause.*]

I'm going to tell you in about two or three minutes how we're doing, because your sons and daughters, in some cases husbands, sacrificed to make sure that this country would remain the country it is. You're probably watching the news and reading the newspapers or getting into the blogosphere and hearing all the stuff about, you know, how the budget is whacking us around and how dangerous the world is. And there is a sense out there of some people who think that maybe we're a military in decline. We're not. And I really mean that. I don't say that just because I have to say it, I have tried to be a chairman who tells the truth. I mean, I think we all do, but I am absolutely convinced that at this point in our history, it's even more important.

So we did take the bit of a budget shock about nine months ago now. But it's within historic norms. I guess what's different about this budget shock is it comes at a time when the world's not getting any safer. But my message to you is we can figure it out, given what we have, given what we know, given the wonderful young men and women who serve. That's the piece of this that the media misses, by the way. What the media misses is that whatever happens to us, we're building on a foundation of greater strength than probably at any time in our history.

I remember graduating from West Point in 1974, the first fight that I got involved in was Desert Storm, so seventeen years later. And there was a time in the intervening years when you wonder is the fabric tough enough, will we have courage like our predecessors did, will we be willing to sacrifice?

And, you know, if we can't answer that question in the affirmative now, we're just not paying attention because the kids that are out there are courageous, they're selfless, they're smart, they're dedicated, and they're just irrepressible. They will do anything to take care of this country and what it stands for.

So whatever happens, we're building on a foundation of incredible strength. As long as that remains true, as long as we keep recruiting the right kind of kids and keeping the right kind of kids, my commitment to you is we'll be fine.

So I want to compliment Norma as she ends her tour of duty as the president of this august organization. I actually wish my tour of duty was only one year. [*Laughter.*] But I'm afraid the country's stuck with me for a couple. So I would like to ask you all who have benefited from Norma's incredibly hard work to give her a round of applause. [*Applause.*] And then Mary [Byers] earlier, who will take up the gavel—what do you pass, a gavel or a mantel—is it a gavel?

Byers: Yeah.

Dempsey: Oh, very nice. So Mary will take up the gavel, and thank you for taking on that leadership. [*Applause.*]

[A closing song by General Dempsey appeared after this section. It has been edited out for conciseness.]

Excerpt from Remarks at the National Defense University Change of Presidency Ceremony

Fort Leslie J. McNair

Washington, DC | July 11

I'm a big "this-day-in-history-guy," and one of the things about this day in history is that Omar Bradley—by the way, the first chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—it was on this day in 1944 that he sketched out his plan to break out from the Normandy beachhead [in France]. That was called Operation Cobra. And it was literally a breakout, because they had become somewhat bogged down in the bocage, the hedgerows of Normandy. And on this day, the first chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, acting in his capacity as Army commander in Normandy, sketched out how he would breakout through that bocage.

So I'm here to talk to you today a little bit about the next chapter in National Defense University, in joint professional military education. And I'd like you to kind of link those two facts together in some ways. What I'm encouraging us to think about is a breakout of sorts based on the last ten years of learning that we've done at great cost and also as we look to the challenges, the security challenges that we see and maybe in some cases don't see on the horizon. So I'm encouraging kind of an intellectual breakout led by the National Defense University and we'll get a chance to talk about that more and more in the months ahead.

There's a bit of history you have to share with another star in the military educational constellation. I'd like to point out, as I see my brother in arms, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force [Norton A.] "Norty" Schwartz here, that on this day in 1955, the United States Air Force Academy was dedicated at Lowry Air Force Base in Denver, Colorado. At the ceremony marking that occasion, then Secretary of the Air Force Harold [E.] Talbott charged the Air Force Academy to be, I quote, "a bridge to the future gleaming with the promise of peace in a stable and sane world." And I think we'd agree that much has changed in the nearly sixty years that have passed since that dedication of the Air Force Academy in Denver, Colorado.

Then Lowry Air Force Base was the interim location for the Air Force Academy, and it was also a training site for rockets and radars intended for use against the Soviet Union. Today, Lowry Air Force Base is largely a residential area. In fact, one of Lowry's old hangers houses an indoor ice skating ring, where for the most part Russian hockey coaches rule. [*Laughter.*]

But some things haven't changed. The world isn't any more stable or sane today than it was in 1955. In fact, many would argue that it is more complex and more dangerous. Now, we can probably argue that; I've actually been in a bit of an argument about that in the blogosphere. But I think there's one thing on which we all can agree, and that is that education is the strongest and most secure bridge to the future, just as Secretary of the Air Force Talbott envisioned in 1955. And we're going to need just such a bridge as that to work our way through some of the challenging transitions that we face.

Two I'll note. Among them is the transition after more than ten years of war from a force that was relatively static and acting in stability operations to the restoration of some of our atrophied maneuver skills and broader interests in a global environment. So we have to transition from a narrow focus on what we've been doing for the last ten years and really open the aperture. And opening that aperture must start with shifting our intellectual bandwidth to that effort. So that's one pretty significant transition.

The other transition, as [interim and outgoing National Defense University president] Ambassador [Nancy] McEldowney alluded to, is bigger budgets to smaller budgets. And if there's anybody in the room that can enlighten me on how much smaller—I almost said how much bigger, but I know the answer to that one. We have to manage that transition and preserve that which has made us who we are over these many decades of successful service, not only to our own country but to peace and stability throughout the world.

So each of those transitions is significant in its own right, with far-reaching impacts at the individual, at the institutional, and at the global level. And taking together they certainly describe comprehensive change and it's that change that I'm challenging [Major] General [Gregg F.] Martin [the incoming National Defense University president] and the staff in faculty of National Defense University to help us manage.

In such an environment and among the transitions, it's also very clear to me and I'm sure to you that people are the key to that more stable and sane future that Secretary Talbott of the Air Force talked about in 1955. If we can get the people part right, everything else will fall into place. You know as I do that education is the foundation of the people part. Education helps make military service the nation's preeminent leadership experience. Now, think about that. That's a claim that I make, and incidentally I make broadly. I make it in academia. I make it in the business community. And nobody challenges me on it—that the United States military and its professional military education system is the premier leadership experience in the United States of America. And shame on us if we don't preserve that in the face of all the changes that we know are coming.

We have to get education right to get the people part right. That's why I'm asking our senior education leaders through the Military Education Coordination Council to conduct a review. I want the review to update the value proposition of our joint professional education enterprise to determine whether we've got the attributes right, the outcomes right, that are demanded by the future security environment.

I want to ensure that our educational practices align with our needs and our expectations. I want to make sure that we're focused on developing leaders who are the standard-bearers not just for their individual services but for the broader profession of arms. As I said, I want a Bradley-like moment in breaking out after the last ten years of war and looking ahead to the next decade.

So with this in mind, it's clear that Major General Gregg Martin is the right leader at the right place, the right time. I see he has some admirers that have joined him here today. You'll probably hear them break out with a hoo-ah or two here in a moment. [*Laughter.*] I've known Gregg for most of his professional life. He's been a student and instructor and a leader at the undergraduate and graduate level of our profession of

military education. He's earned a doctorate at one of the country's most prestigious engineering schools. He's a combat leader whose brigade conducted full spectrum operations during the initial assault from Kuwait into Baghdad, and then beyond that in the stability ops that we began to undertake as part of that mission. He understands what the nation needs from its leaders now, and he understands what we will need from our leaders in the future.

His personal life reflects how deeply he believes in that. A military family in every sense of the term, Gregg and Maggie—well, mostly Maggie—raised three sons, all of whom became Eagle Scouts, and two of them are currently soldiers and combat veterans. And the third, Connor—where is Connor? There is Connor, who I'm glad could be here; [he] is still in college. I don't know for how much longer. Maybe you've had a conversation about that with your parents. [*Laughter.*] I'm kidding, Connor. I know how proud your parents are of you and your brothers, Connor, so well done to you all.

Now, I think Gregg Martin's name has a certain ring to it that I appreciate. And while that may not in itself be an indicator of future success, he does sport a first-rate haircut. [*Laughter.*] And my charge to Gregg Martin and the National Defense University is as clear cut as his barber's: get down to the essential elements of military education; execute them with exceptional professionalism that is the hallmark and has been the hallmark of your faculty and staff.

Like our joint force, NDU [National Defense University] has become really good at a really wide range of tasks. But today, as you know, we need marines to get back on ships and fighters to get back in dogfights. And we need tankers to be able—I'm talking about ground tankers—to be able to maneuver, and artillery men to be able to keep up with and logisticians to set theaters in ways that we haven't really had to fuss about much over the last ten years. And we need all of that in the framework of an international—of international security thinking and building partner capacity and relationships. Other than that, Gregg, I don't think you really have anything much to talk about here with the next course as it rolls in, but we do need this university and its colleges to focus on and excel at their core functions.

I know you're ready, willing, and able to make this corps with students at its center as second nature to the institution.

[Thomas L.] "Tom" Friedman [*New York Times* columnist and author], pretty decent writer in his own right, noted that pessimists are usually right and optimists are usually wrong, but all the great changes are usually accomplished by optimists. I don't mind saying that I'm unabashedly optimistic about the future of this country because of its leaders. And education is the bridge to that future, so I invite you to be optimistic with me.

Thank you very much and continue mission.

White Paper

Joint Education

July 16

"A military force has no constant formation, water has no constant shape: the ability to gain victory by changing and adapting according to the opponent is called genius."

—Sun Tzu

"No man ever reached to excellence in any one art or profession without having passed through the slow and painful process of study and preparation."

—Horace

"I am convinced that learning and leadership are at the core of our profession. Military service must continue to be our Nation's preeminent leadership experience. We will continue to reform and leverage the Professional Military Education enterprise to advance our profession. It is more important than ever to get the most from the potential and performance of every Service member."

Martin E. Dempsey
General, U.S. Army
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Introduction

As we reflect on the conduct of Joint operations since the passage of the Goldwater-Nichols Defense Reorganization Act of 1986, the lessons of the last decade of war, and on the future it is clear that joint education is essential to the development of our military capabilities. Today's Joint Force is a highly experienced, battle-tested body of men and women, with a decade of practical, focused warfighting knowledge. Our colleges and schools have not had so many seasoned combat leaders in their classrooms for at least two decades. Our education efforts provide a force multiplier in our effort to develop and advance the shared values, standards, and attributes that define our Profession of Arms.[1] However, much is changing in the security environment as well as the experiences of our leaders that will challenge us to deliver high quality Joint education as never before. The explosion of information technologies that provides global and regional actors nearly instant access to information means that the United States no longer enjoys clear operational and technological advantages in the competition to "observe, orient, decide and act"[2] more effectively than adversaries. We must learn and properly place in context the key lessons of the

[1] See White Paper: *America's Military—A Profession of Arms* on page 33 (also available at www.jcs.mil).

[2] Boyd's OODA Loop.

last decade of war and in doing so, we will prepare our leaders for what is ahead—not just what is behind us.

This is why we must review our joint education objectives and institutions to ensure that we are developing agile and adaptive leaders with the requisite values, strategic vision, and critical thinking skills necessary to keep pace with the changing strategic environment. If we get this right, and get it right *now*, we will excel well beyond 2020.

The Value Proposition

Our military has traditionally relied on education in times of uncertainty to develop understanding of the future security environment, lead adaptation, and ensure readiness to face future, unknown challenges. During the years between World War I and the outbreak of World War II, when we also faced change and resource challenges, strategic thinking at the Service Colleges laid the foundations for innovative capability development that proved essential for victory in both the European and Pacific theaters.[3] We are at a similar warfare inflection point; one that eclipses the introduction of nuclear weapons, the introduction of the air domain and the airplane, and the transition from battleship to aircraft carrier. Warfare is changing in all domains, and we have also added new domains. The introduction of the cyber domain, for example, may be an even greater change than those of the past as it eludes national control, political boundaries, legal authorities, and attribution. We are in an era where we cannot even define "militarily" much more beyond the status of those in uniform. More importantly, we are in an era of austerity where budget cuts and economic uncertainties will impose serious challenges on how we allocate resources. Our ability to define and inculcate our value proposition across the Joint enterprise will be critical in achieving the proper balance between competing operational and joint education requirements.

Education Outcomes

Ensuring relevancy in our delivery of Joint education requires us to fundamentally understand the experiences and perspectives of our students and the changes that have occurred in 25-plus years of post Goldwater-Nichols joint education, joint operations, and joint experience. The enduring purpose of Professional Military Education (PME) is to develop leaders by conveying a broad body of professional knowledge and developing the habits of mind essential to our profession. Our joint education institutions will continue to be measured in part by the performance of leaders serving in areas where critical thinking skills are essential. Beyond providing critical thinking skills, our education programs must also ensure that our leaders have:

- the ability to understand the security environment and the contributions of all elements of national power;

[3] Examples include the Rainbow plans at the Naval and Army War Colleges; the "Industrial Web" theory created at the Air Corps Tactical School that was the blueprint for WWII air campaigns; and the creation of the Tentative Landing Operations Manual by the faculty and students of Marine Corps Schools in 1933 that came to fruition in the amphibious operations in the Pacific theater.

- the ability to deal with surprise and uncertainty;
- the ability to anticipate and recognize change and lead transitions; and
- the ability to operate on intent through trust, empowerment, and understanding.

Other attributes for leader development will evolve and will need to be aligned with future operations envisioned by *Capstone Concept for Joint Operations 2020* and incorporated into our curriculums to ensure that gaps are identified and eliminated.

Our maturing understanding of the requirement to conduct operations at the speed of the anticipated security environment across multiple domains reinforces the need to expand the practice of mission command throughout the force. To fully realize the potential of mission command, our joint education efforts must effectively instill the cognitive capability to understand, receive, and clearly express intent, to take decisive initiative within intent, accept prudent risk, and build trust within the force.[4]

Intent

The last decade has further demonstrated that our enlisted force requires education and not "just training." Recognizing that officers and enlisted personnel have different functions, responsibilities, authorities and levels of organizational accountability, Joint Force 2020 must develop the talents and abilities of leaders at every echelon to maximize their individual potential, build effective units, and to optimize their contribution to the joint fight.

We must assist every service member in becoming a life-long learner, always hungry for new knowledge and deeper understanding. Learning opportunities must occur in every aspect of service and should not be restricted to episodic attendance in formal schools. Every member of the force should seek to be a scholar of the Profession of Arms in their own right and a teacher to those coming along behind. Time in the duty day set aside for individual learning, balanced with unit duties, is a clear commitment to the imperative for life-long learning.

The quality of professors and teachers has been and will remain an enduring and essential component in our institutional commitment to joint education. Simply put, we need the right folks teaching. The best and brightest minds in our rising generation should be shaped by the best and brightest minds from both our military and civilian institutions. Within the military, instructor duty should be seen both by individuals and by the organization as an essential element of a successful career. We should also continue to recruit the best and brightest from civilian academia and the interagency to expand our educational expertise.

The members of our profession have been raised in an interconnected, "e-savvy" world where the sharing of information is automatic and nearly instantaneous. This generation absorbs and diffuses information rapidly and in different ways than preceding ones. Coupled with their high levels of operational experience is the desire to actively

[4] See White Paper: *Mission Command* (3 April 2012) on page 39 (also available at www.jcs.mil).

participate in their own education as life-long learners. Collaborative, context-based problem-solving events will have great appeal and consequently greater effect in achieving educational outcomes. Joint educational approaches must adapt to stay relevant to how students learn best, while balancing "tried and true methods" with new techniques.

As we continue to develop our future leaders, I expressly desire that joint education:

- Lead the way in the renewal of our commitment to the Profession of Arms with leadership as its foundation;
- Prepare the leaders of Joint Force 2020 to be adaptive, innovative, critical thinking leaders capable of operating in complex and unstructured environments;
- Provide the foundation for leaders to be able to understand the security environment, change, and transitions;
- Provide the foundation to design and execute campaigns at the operational level in pursuit of strategic objectives;
- Establish and sustain mission command throughout the force;
- Enable jointness through the integration of diverse service cultures and approaches;
- Maintain our competitive learning advantage through:
    - Mastery of fundamentals of the art and science of war;
    - Intellectual curiosity, coupled with openness to new ideas;
    - Operational adaptability (to include critical thinking, prudent risk acceptance and rapid adjustment fueled by continuous assessment)—fundamentally, the ability to deal with the unexpected by making sound choices based on measured risk;
    - The ability to properly balance the art of command with the science of control, to include the ability to create trust relationships with seniors, subordinates and partners;
    - Skills in negotiations, culture and language;
    - An understanding of intelligence—both its capabilities and limitations;
    - The ability to process information into knowledge, then share that knowledge, and act on it.
- Attract and maintain civilian and military faculty members who are among the very best and brightest of their contemporaries.
- Expand access and opportunity to populations outside of conventional classrooms, pursuing legislative authorities as needed.

Endstate

The desired endstate of the review is to define and achieve the specified and implied education tasks needed to lead and support the development of Joint Force 2020. This is our opportunity to harness the power of joint education to develop leaders who can meet the challenges of an uncertain, complex, and increasingly competitive and dangerous world. We must, and will, seize it.

Excerpts of Remarks at the National Guard Symposium on Mutual Security Cooperation

Washington, DC | July 17

Walking in here, I took a look at the title of the conference and it had the word "enduring" in it —"Enduring Partnerships." And I have to tell you, in my life, I love the word "enduring" because I don't get much of it. [*Laughter.*] You know, things are changing and have changed and will continue to change so rapidly that anything that we can label enduring seems to me to have intrinsic value for us. So I think figuring out how to apply that word more often I think is maybe philosophically what I would suggest as an important part of your conference here.

This is the twentieth I guess—no, thirty-seven years ago today, the State Partnership Program was born.

* * *

But of all the different programs that I've seen kind of come and go through the years, this one has truly reaped benefits—you'd probably admit—far beyond probably what you initially conceived. That's great stuff. And, you know, we are certainly eager to continue that.

And it is twenty years ago. I had a moment in history—you know, I like to do the "this day in history" thing. And the thirty-seven-years-ago historical moment was the docking of a US and Soviet spacecraft together. So there's kind of an image of partnerships. But then, twenty years ago is when the State Partnership Program came about.

The partnering in general, whether you're partnering with nations, other nations, or whether you're partnering with your own services—Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, Coast Guard, active, [national] guard, and reserve—it's not always easy. I mean, I think we have to admit that partnering takes work.

I'll give you a short little personal example that I think I've got a pretty good partnership with my wife of thirty-six years. But I remember when I was in Desert Storm in 1991, she wrote me a letter. You know I'm a student of literature as well as English grammar. So she wrote me this letter and I didn't know exactly how to take it because there was a phrase in it that went something like this: I'm so miserable without you, it's almost as though you were here with me. [*Laughter.*]

Now, you remember, back in 1991, in Desert Storm, some of you remember, you know, there was no way to get to a phone. You couldn't text. There was no Skype. I had to send a regular mail letter back and forth to figure out if she was sending me a particular message or if I should take something from that. It just turned out to be a bad slip of the pen—thank God.

But it does point out I think that partnering takes work. And those of you that are in the business of having established all these partnerships, well done on both sides, on all sides. We certainly want to keep at that.

So let me tell you a little bit. I know that [Kathleen H.] "Kath" Hicks, who was here moments ago, talked to you about what we've been working on to revise our defense strategy. Let me give you a couple of personal insights into that.

I've talked a little bit about—maybe a lot about—the fact that we're in an increasingly competitive environment, which is to say that, you know, nation-states used to pretty much have a monopoly on the top end technologies related to lethal force and military instruments. You know, I think it's pretty clear to everybody that nation-states no longer have that monopoly. And what that does, of course, is it increases the risk, you know, in ways that I think we all need to continue to talk about and think about and interact about.

But what that does, of course, is it also presents a bit of a security paradox. And this is a source of constant discussion with us as we look at this new strategy. The paradox is that, although human violence is at an evolutionary low, the capability to dispense violence is at an evolutionary high.

And that's a paradox because on the one hand, you would suggest that the need for defense and militaries and capabilities and capacity—capability, what do you want to provide, and capacity, how much of it? You could make the case because of these evolutionary low levels of violence that you could take some risk in those terms. But in taking that risk, you're probably going to get the future wrong. And that's the balance I think each of our nations are trying to strike in a new fiscal environment.

So that's where this all comes in, I think—the idea that the major powers, who used to be able to do more or less anything they thought they needed to do, more or less by themselves, I think will increasingly find that they need partners now, not just because partnering is an intrinsic good, but because they literally need to forge partnerships so that nations are able to confront these kind of decentralized networked, syndicated, technologically capable foes on their terms so that we're not faced with trying to do all of these things ourselves. I think it's really a modest investment for a pretty substantial return.

So, we have real, long enduring—there's that word again—partnerships in places like Europe, and what I hope we can do as part of this conference and beyond is think about how to widen those horizons, find new ways to engage with partners, not with permanent presence but with rotational presence—exercises, state partnership programs, and the like.

And we've have some pretty good examples of being able to do that, even where we sometimes find ourselves disagreeing with nations about certain things.

I had General [Nikolai Yegorovich] Makarov with me last week. And as you know, our partnership with Russia is very important. It's very important to the nation. It's very important to me personally. And there are some things we just disagree about, but there's also some things we very much agree about—counterterrorism, counternarcotics, counterpiracy, humanitarian assistance, and disaster relief.

So I think that finding some points where we agree on things and then building on that and partnering is probably really what our new strategy calls for.

With that, by the way, comes another important element that I talk about often, and that's trust. We have over the course of many decades built that kind of trust with our European allies. NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] only holds together because of the trust relationship that exists among the twenty-eight nations. But I think we have to do that same kind of outreach to build that fundamental foundation of trust elsewhere.

And that really gets at what you all do with the State Partnership Program. I mean, you know, your TAGs [the adjutants general] and CHODs [chiefs of defense] with whom they partner, have sometimes grown up together since they were majors in a way that, frankly, the active component—we can't do that because of the way we move about, the way we change from job to job.

But you can leverage that kind of almost lifelong or career-long relationship. And I think that's really important because what you get in the State Partnership Programs is you get both width—the breadth, if you will, of the relationship, but also the depth of it. You know, you can partner at echelons, at ranks, and watch that evolve over time in a way that actually does achieve that word "enduring."

So I did note that fifty-eight of the State Partnership Programs are outside of the Asia-Pacific, [which is] not surprising. I mean, we've been focused elsewhere. And I think one of the challenges I'd like to lay on the table here today is to think about how we now match the rebalancing to the Pacific, to the Asia-Pacific, with a rebalancing as well of state partnerships. But I leave that to you to wrestle about with.

So I don't know how Kath Hicks described exactly the rebalancing, but I'd like to put it in my own terms in a way that I'm able to kind of grasp. So I'd like to share that with you.

I think it's a matter of three "mores": more this, more that, and more something else. And here they are: more attention, which is to say intellectual bandwidth. We just haven't paid as much attention to the Asia-Pacific over the last eleven years for reasons that are obvious, so more attention and the application of human capital to the issues that we find emerging in the Asia-Pacific region.

More engagement, especially with rotational forces and I would suggest to you including the State Partnership Programs.

And then more quality, putting more of our best equipment into the Asia-Pacific where heretofore has been largely committed into the Middle East and the issues that we've been confronting there.

So let me close my remarks and then ask you for your questions by citing an Arab proverb: one hand can't clap. And I actually love images like that—there's a companion piece that a guy named Fred Franks used to use, which is, you can't roll up your sleeves

and wring your hands at the same time. And, obviously, what I'd rather see us do is roll up our sleeves than wring our hands.

The challenges that face us, all of us, are remarkable really, remarkable in both their number and the complexity. But I do think that getting through those challenges both requires the hard work that comes in rolling up your sleeves and also through partnership.

So to all of you that are here as our partners, thank you for that. Help us see ourselves better. Help us understand the issues that you face better, because I think in understanding comes progress, and so my compliments to all of you.

Remarks at Tooele Army Depot

Tooele County, Utah | August 17

My team and I really are delighted to be here. Just to let you understand why we're so delighted to be here, we're back in Washington, DC, with [Assistant] Secretary [of the Army Katherine G.] Hammack and others trying to see the future and how we can ensure that we continue to provide the nation as many options as possible in the face of fiscal constraints. And so this thing called the defense industrial base keeps coming up. Naturally, if you know my background, you'll know that I haven't spent much time with the defense industrial base. So I wanted to come out and see what it was.

And this is one of those places that I've always wanted to visit. As a young captain at Fort Carson, Colorado, I actually had a mission to help secure it in the event of a higher threat condition. Thankfully, that never occurred. So you never saw me and I never saw you. [*Laughter.*] But nevertheless, it's been a place in my mind that at some point I absolutely wanted to visit. And it turns out that it comes at a really important time for me personally, and I think for our armed forces as we try to see the future a little more clearly.

Let me start by first thanking the people. You know, I get to travel around a lot, talk to many different groups internally in the United States and overseas. And they always ask me, you know, if I'm generally optimistic or generally pessimistic. Are we a nation in incline or decline? And I answer that question with as much force and passion as I can. And that is that we continue to be a nation of men and women who have two qualities. I would describe those two qualities as trust and generosity—trust in each other and generous within the challenges that we face as a nation together.

On that basis—on the basis of who we are as a people—I convince any audience that I come across that as long as we got the people right, this country's going to be fine. And I would like to add my personal thanks to those of you who are serving. And as Chris [Colonel Christopher O. Mohan, commander of Tooele Army Depot] mentioned, there's fourth and fifth generations of men and women who have spent their lives here at Tooele Army Depot and the Joint Munitions Command, making sure that the warfighter has what they need and doing what's right for the country. So how about if my team joins me

in giving you a round of applause? [*Applause.*] And obviously I want to thank Chris and Cindy, who are the command team here and who provide the leadership, the inspiration and the commitment that pulls it all together. So thanks very much for that.

Whenever I'm going to speak, I look and see what happened on this day in history so that I can use. And it turns out there was actually one that was perfectly suited for this event today. On this day in 1915, the electric starter for the internal combustion engine was invented by a guy named Chas Kettering—more on him in a moment. So the electric starter was invented today, which I'm sure my helicopter pilots really appreciate, because can you imagine cranking—you know, getting a big crank out there to turn over the engine on the UH-60 helicopter? But it's indicative of the way that Americans throughout history have been innovative and creative in addressing problems. So we had this wonderful internal combustion engine, but no way to crank it, except manually. And along comes Chas Kettering and invents the starter and we're off.

Now, I said I'd mention something about Kettering as well later in his life. And that is that he founded the Sloan-Kettering Institute, which many of you know has been for generations one of our nation's finest cancer research and cancer treatment facilities. So there it is, what I said earlier—there's that combination of trust—he trusted that he was doing something good for the country, and then he had the generosity throughout his life, not just in that moment in time, to continue to contribute. And that's the way I feel about all of you, you know? I trust that you are out there getting it done for those of us that are in other parts of this great enterprise. And I know that you will do so with great generosity in your personal time and commitment. And I thank you for that.

One final thought about the future, because as I look around me that what we're looking at here is a glimpse, but only a glimpse, of the future—although I'm not sure that I'm going to sign up for funding those stills over there. Where's that doctor from Utah [*laughter*]? You know, I got it about the solar panel, but the still? I don't know. [*Laughter.*] No, it's not a still. Most of you know exactly what that is. But I will say that's another glimpse of the future—public-private partnerships, academic, government. The days when we could figure this out ourselves—that is to say the United States military—are long behind us. And so we've got to partner with private industry and we've got to partner with academia in order to confront these really challenging problems.

So Chris mentioned that the potential here is not only to become more efficient, more effective, to allow ourselves to get the job done at lower costs, but also he mentioned the possibility that some of these technologies would eventually migrate into the operational realm and keep kids off the road, where, as you know, our enemy uses their asymmetric advantage to try to kill our convoys because they can't confront us face-to-face. So this is really exciting for me, to see this begin to evolve.

I talk a lot about 2020 and what force we'll need in 2020. The reality is 80 percent of the force of 2020 exists today. Because of the way we program, the way our acquisition and procurement cycles, it's the way we do design, it's the way we change. We change in kind of five-year increments. So 20 percent of what I will deliver to the nation in 2020 exists or is in training, if you will, whether I touch it or not. It's that 20 [percent]—80 percent is in

existence. It's that 20 percent that I'm really eager to get right. And I think that the way we produce and use energy is certainly one part of that 20 percent.

And so that's my motivation for being here. We're thrilled to be part of this ceremony. Great to see the hardworking men and women of Tooele Army Depot and Joint Munitions Command. And I look forward to throwing a little dirt with you. Thanks very much.

Remarks at the Dwight D. Eisenhower School for National Security and Resource Strategy Renaming Ceremony

Fort Lesley J. McNair

Washington, DC | September 6

Good morning, everybody, ambassadors, distinguished guests, faculty, staff, students. I do see many familiar faces in the audience. Good to see you all. I'd like to add to what Joe [Major General Joseph D. Brown IV, commandant of the Eisenhower School] said, that we are blessed to have Susan Eisenhower and the friends of the Eisenhower family here today.

Those of you present today represent the support that is both so strong and so necessary for this institution, and we're glad you're still in this fight with us as it enters a new chapter in its contributions to national security. I think if I could script a chapter in a book on the future of public service, it would probably begin with a cast of characters such as those of you assembled before me in this room: rows of representatives from partner nations around the world, leaders of the interagency and industry teams, and a host of scholars, both uniformed and civilian. Your presence actually says a lot more about the importance of this event than anything I can say. We're here because we care about this institution and the men and women who will hold a pen to script a future—I'm going to break for a moment from the prepared remarks. My speechwriter is now completely anxious about it. [*Laughter.*]

As you know, I get to travel around the world a lot, and I interact with our counterparts around the world. In one recent engagement with a "near peer" competitor, he asked me, "At any given time, how many individuals do you have in your education system, whether it's the military academies or the intermediate-level schooling or your war colleges?" And I gave him a number—by the way, I had no idea, but I made one up—because that's what chairmen do. [*Laughter.*] You don't want to be seen as being uninformed. I took the four service academies multiplied times four—came up with 16,000 and doubled it [*laughter*]. I think that I probably undershot the mark, but I did say 32,000, and you know what he said? He said, and that's why you're the greatest military on the face of the earth. It has nothing to do with our equipment. I mean, it has something to do [with it]—I got the industry leaders here all. [*Laughter.*]

Let me put it this way. It has less to do with what we provide, the organizations we design, and the policies we form than it does about the men and women who will execute them in places like this college. So good on you.

We're here because of what this place inspires. How about that for a segue back into the prepared remarks? [*Laughter.*] What it inspires: to think without limits, to challenge assumptions, to reveal to ourselves and to each other the great importance and the potential of ideas and relationships.

A former student and instructor here, who turned out to be one of America's great leaders of the twentieth century, once explained the value of study in a place like this. He noted, not one officer in fifty in this place knows how to use the English language. That was Dwight D. Eisenhower, of course, and I had great esteem for your grandfather before that. But as an English professor, I can actually attest to the fact. [*Laughter.*] Not one student in fifty knows how to properly use the English language. When you leave here and come over to the Joint Staff, leave the semicolon and the comma behind you, please. [*Laughter.*]

On these very grounds six decades ago, he also envisioned the kind of thinking and the kind of relationships that he knew we would need in the world today. He cautioned that we can't think about challenges affecting national security solely in terms of the military because, I quote, they are as broad as life itself. Your thinking has to be pitched on a much wider plane, he said. He also talked about how security depends upon mutual confidence and trust. He submitted that we would best achieve what we sought to achieve by "a common understanding of the problems," by approaching these things on the widest possible basis with respect for each other's opinions and, above all, through the development of friendships.

Now, no one better understood the power of relationships than the person who stood at this podium on that day, General Dwight David Eisenhower. And no one better embodied this essential value of trust. One of his main biographers noted of Ike, whenever associates described Eisenhower, there was one word that almost all of them used. It was "trust." People trusted him for the most obvious reason: he was trustworthy.

Perhaps more notably, he knew how to trust. You recall the story of D-Day. The Allied force was ready to go. Eisenhower and his coalition team had prepared for everything except the weather. At the end of the day, the most completely planned military operation, arguably of all time, hinged on the wild card of wind and waves. More than 5,000 ships were moving toward France. Three million soldiers, 11,000 aircraft, and a procession of vehicles and equipment expanded to London and beyond.

While gale-force winds rattled his quarters, Eisenhower had to make the call to continue to launch or postpone for favorable seas, which had some risk. He considered the varied counsel of his Allied advisers, and he called on his weatherman, Group Captain J. M. Stagg, a Scotsman in the British Royal Air Force. Stagg predicted a break in the weather. Eisenhower had grown to trust Stagg and accepted his advice. He said famously, OK, let's go. And we all know the outcome.

We also know, like Ike knew long ago, that trust enables us to achieve more together than we could ever achieve individually. This place knows something about trust. Trust, in part, attracts some of our nation's best intellects to invest their talents here as faculties and as mentors. Trust inspires dozens of nations to send their current and future leaders

here to learn from each other and about each other. This institution inspires trust and new relationships between nations and among agencies and industries and trust in the futures of the many leaders educated here.

The renaming of this school to bear the name and hence the legacy of Eisenhower, says as much about what it represents as where it can go. It reinforces the school's tradition of excellence: a premier postgraduate experience for military, government, and industry leaders.

But it also reinforces its relevance as a consulate for interagency, interdisciplinary, and international partnership. It speaks to a charge to conceive of partnership on a much wider plane, as I've said, to consider not just the partners we have, but those we would like to have. It recognizes that the environment of warfare is constantly changing, and those leading our future require education and training in order to stay ahead of its course. It expands upon what's been advanced here in a whole of government approach to education in the future of public service, where thinking beyond and through the traditional dividing lines is the expectation. And it emphasizes that this institution is not only about preserving our national defense, but also about pursuing national and international security with innovative and affordable resource strategies. After all, strategy insensitive to resources is rhetoric.

What this school does and will do is significant to the progress of security and stability in this constantly changing world. Every relationship and every idea matters, especially when those things are applied to the very difficult, complex challenges we face today. Together we know that a fuller understanding of the means of conflict gives character to our eventual peace. And we well know how relationships and ideas have changed history for the public good.

General Eisenhower said in that same speech on these grounds that our national partnerships and personal friendships would matter most in the future. For, as he said, and I quote, the greatest crisis of our time is ideological. That remains true today. What we think, and we believe and what we fight for together makes all the difference.

As you look today upon the Dwight D. Eisenhower School for National Security and Resource Strategy, as you think about the power embodied in the integration of its staff, of its faculty, and of its students, as you consider that we will have to think our way through the complex problems and challenges we face as a nation, you then realize the importance of this moment.

May the spirit of Dwight David Eisenhower continue to inspire us to a lifetime of service for our countries. Thank you.

Excerpts from Question and Answer Session at the National Press Club

Washington, DC | October 10

Theresa Werner: Good afternoon and welcome to the National Press Club. My name is Theresa Werner, and I am the 105th president of the National Press Club. We are the world's leading professional organization for journalists committed to our profession's future through our programming and events such as these while fostering a free press worldwide.

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Werner: What is the next step to reducing suicides among active duty servicemembers?

Dempsey: "Step" implies there's something sequential here, and it's not. This is another one that we really need to continue to learn about what's happening.

Now, some of it is societal. Suicide is a national problem. It also happens to be a dire, important, serious military problem. But something out there is changing in the resilience of young men and women today, and so one of the things we're looking at is, what do we have to do as we recruit these young men and women off the streets of America? How do we build resilience into the force from birth, and how do you sustain it through a career where there are pressures, whether it's a deployment or whether it's combat or whether it's even life—whether it's life-altering incidents, divorce, financial challenges? It's really an issue of building resilience over time.

Secondly, there is a correlation—there's a medical component of that, I think, that we've got to address, and the trust of the force is really what I think ultimately provides us the best chance to get a grip on this. And here's what I mean by that. If I show up in a unit and I can't do enough pushups to pass the PT [physical training] test, you know that some sergeant's going to be out there and say, "Come here, young man. I want you to partner with her. She maxes her PT test every time she takes it." So for the next three months, you're going to do physical training with her. And by the end of that time, you're going to pass the PT test.

There's really nothing exactly like that for states of depression. And that's what we've got to figure out: how do you get the entire force, not just the leaders—the leaders understand it. That's not true. The leaders understand the significance of it. I'm not sure we really understand the depth and breadth of the issue. But the leaders get it. We have to drive it to the lowest level.

It's not preventable. You know, you asked me, can I stop insider threats? No, but we're trying to do as much as we can. Can you stop suicide? No, but we're trying to do as much as we can, and we have to keep at it.

Interview on Leadership with the Pentagon Channel

Washington, DC | October 25

Pentagon Channel: We're joined today by General Martin Dempsey. Sir, thank you for your time today.

Dempsey: My pleasure. I'm looking forward to the conversation.

Pentagon Channel: Let's just get right into the conversation topic of leadership. Sir, how do you define leadership?

Dempsey: Well, first of all, there have been plenty of books written about that, and through the course of career, I've tried to understand as much as I can on the topic. But I mean, clearly, leadership is the acceptance of responsibility for an outcome.

I think that's true whether it happens to be military leadership or whether it's leadership in industry or in government. It's also some combination of a commitment of the outcome, but also the commitment to the people—you can't lead yourself, I mean I suppose you can, but it wouldn't be a very interesting endeavor.

And so, it's also a commitment to somehow develop those who choose to accept your leadership. And by the way, that is a part of leadership, that is to say leadership often comes with authority and responsibility, but my definition of leadership is—it's important to add to that—that the understanding that those who lead make the deliberate decision whether to consider you as a leader and to follow your lead. And so there's this kind of dynamic interaction between leader and led that has to mature over time to build trust. I think trust is probably the most—the single most [important] quality to develop, if you will, or to deliver in this thing called leadership.

It's one of those words that, as you unpack it, it begins to have more meaning, and for those that will be watching this interview, I would say that if you ever decide that you've got the definition about right, then you're wrong because it's something that requires constant study and constant work.

Pentagon Channel: Excellent. Next question. How is humility important to the success of a leader?

Dempsey: Well, I mentioned that leadership is the interaction between leader and led and has to be based on a relationship of trust, otherwise there's no real leadership. There's coercion, but there's no real leadership.

I think that humility is the trait that allows subordinates to enter into that trust relationship. In other words, if subordinates—or employees, if you will, in the private sector—if they believe that the leader is engaged in his or her activity for their own purposes, if they perceive that the leader takes all the credit, none of the blame—you've heard that cliché—then they're not going to enter into that trust relationship. So I think humility is an important component, not the most important component, but certainly an important component of leadership so that you provide that foundation. The trust relationship that I suggested to you is really what defines a leadership or a leader.

Pentagon Channel: And what's the hardest part about being a leader?

Dempsey: Well, the hardest part is the responsibility, particularly in our profession, when you realize the responsibility that you have. You know the old cliché that a leader is responsible for the performance of its unit and all of its members both on and off duty, everything they do and everything they fail to do.

And that's an enormous responsibility and one probably unique to the military profession, but what captured my imagination and my soul many years ago is this—the degree to which a military [member] does have responsibility at a very young age. I mean, from the time that a noncommissioned officer pins on the sergeant's stripes and an officer pins on his second lieutenant—or her—second lieutenant bars, so I think the hardest part is the responsibility.

Pentagon Channel: And along the same subject line, what's your definition of integrity?

Dempsey: Again, one of these words where we tend to pile abstraction on abstraction on abstraction, and I've often—in a pleasant way—been involved in discussions about what is the distinction between integrity and honor, honesty, I mean, fill in the blanks.

But to answer the question, and this is my personal answer, but I think that everyone has to grasp it themselves. I think that my definition of integrity is the ability to act for noble purposes. So there is this balance between acting for your own personal benefit, and there is the sort of competing requirement as a leader to act for the benefit of others. And there is this third element of acting for the benefit of the nation.

And I think my definition of integrity is the ability to knit those things together so you don't exclude one or the other. Look, I mean human nature isn't going to allow you to completely discount your own well-being in any action you take. But I think integrity comes in as you begin to find, as you mature, as your understanding of leadership matures, as your understanding of even the word "integrity" matures. I think it's finding that balance among what's best for you personally, what's best for those who are serving with and for you, and what's best for the nation.

Pentagon Channel: Sir, how do you, as a leader, foster the responsible use of power?

Dempsey: Well, that phrase you just used, "the responsible use of power," is exactly the definition of—that is exactly the principle on which our service as a profession is built. So in other words, we could also discuss here, I'm not interested in doing so, but we could discuss the difference between an occupation and a profession.

But the military profession is unique in that it holds a monopoly on responsible use of power on behalf of the nation. So that phrase, "the responsible use of power," makes us a profession. And when you ask me how do I ensure that we are exercising power responsibly, it starts, maybe finishes but certainly starts with the fact that we bring into the service young men and women from a variety of backgrounds, we ask them to embrace a particular set of values, and those particular set of values begin to define the profession, and once you have that, then you count upon those in that profession to understand enough about power, force, lethal effects, nonlethal effects that they will execute them responsibly.

So there's a yin and yang, an almost inseparable element between being a profession and living up to that responsibility to use power in a proper way. I could elaborate a bit more and discuss the morality—the ethics of force which turn on really three aspects. One is, for what intention are you using force? With what behavior? And do you have a reasonable chance of producing the outcome?

So the responsible use of force has to have the proper intention, it seems to me. This is a philosophical argument, but an important one. So your intentions have to be sound. The way you apply it has to account for the behaviors we expect. So as a nation, we have a certain expectation in how we will apply force. Generally, it's with precision, limiting as much as possible human suffering and collateral damage, and we can go on and on.

So it's the intention, the behavior, and then the outcome. For example, it would be improper to apply such force if you didn't have a reasonable chance at achieving the outcome you intend, see what I mean?

None of these questions are all that simple, and they shouldn't be, but you have that mandate to us as professionals to then trust them to apply force against that standard of intent, behavior, and outcome.

Pentagon Channel: Excellent. So what advice would you provide to a person about how to be an effective leader?

Dempsey: I think the first thing you have to do is be yourself. You'll often—particularly a young NCO, noncommissioned officer, a young officer—I think sometimes there's a tendency to look around and decide . . . you pick a particular role model and that you want to become them. It's okay to aspire to their values, their skills, to their approach, but the first thing you must understand as a leader is that you are who you are. And we are all very different. One of the great strengths of our nation, our military, is the diversity of the backgrounds and that we draw in to the military and the way that we mold them into a professional committed to a certain set of values.

They're always themselves, and so the lens through which they apply those values have to be very personal values. If a leader isn't true to him or herself, that'll be quickly identifiable by those they try to lead, and they won't be effective.

Second thing I would say is that a leader has to be someone who's committed to the development of their subordinates. We always talk about the balance between accomplishing the mission and developing the young men entrusted to our care. I don't worry much about the accomplishment of the mission part. In the military profession, in particular, we're going to accomplish the mission. I mean, it's just such a part of our culture that the default mechanism is to accomplish the mission.

The piece that I do become concerned with on occasion has become so complex, so pervasive, so repetitive is that we'll begin to forget about the other half of the equation. And the other half of the equation is that a true leader is deeply committed in the men and women who incredibly serve and do the things we ask them to do.

And so you know, it's some kind of combination of those two things, I think, that define a leader with one addition. There's a little cliché I carry around with me sometimes:

"leaders are readers." But it's not about readers, it's about being committed to developing yourself. So I would be a pretty miserable example if I were satisfied that I was a fully developed and satisfactory leader when I was a colonel commanding an armored cavalry regiment. Because the jobs that we ask—all of us—you know, as we move each other around into different positions.

I mean they're all different, literally different. I mean, and they all have a different set of responsibilities. There are some sort enduring things that move with you—integrity is one that moves from place to place—but the ability to adapt, to embrace change, to see change before it washes over you, to have the courage to do something about it, to make those really tough decisions that rise to the level of moral courage—all of those things require you to continually, to develop yourself. So you really have to be a life-long learner. And if ever you decide you could stop learning, then fundamentally you've stopped leading.

Pentagon Channel: And that's a perfect segue into my next question which is, how do you deal with loyalty conflicts when principles conflict with organizational practices, personal agendas versus mission, for example?

Dempsey: Well, you know, this is the military—I'll speak to the military profession, notably, because this is the cloth I wear. This is a human enterprise, and so all of the strengths and weaknesses you'd expect to find in any human enterprise, you're going to find them in our profession.

I think we tend to be a little better at vetting and allowing those who don't need to serve to find other employment. I think we're a little better at culling, meaning, I think our merit-based promotion system is very effective at ensuring that the people rise and continue to rise, embrace their values, and don't generate those kinds of loyalty conflicts as you described them. But none of that means you'll never encounter any of that.

I'm throwing around leadership clichés left and right here today, but another one of them is that you can't walk past an active and disciplined mistake. And if you have, as a leader then you've set a new standard. So I think it's the constant vigilance, one might call it vision at the loftiest levels, but it's seeing at the more junior levels. Being able to see the things, then understanding. See first, then understand the things going around you and not being satisfied.

There's a great quotation out of Google. Google's corporate mantra is "never settle." I think that's kind of applicable to our profession as well. And in our profession, we simply cannot settle for mediocrity. We have to constantly be seeking to improve ourselves and our unit.

So when you encounter these disloyalties and dysfunctionalities in our profession, it can be a matter of life and death and you have to confront them. As a result, we tend to be a very introspective profession. You know the after action review, anytime we do anything—a training exercise, an actual military operation in Iraq, in Afghanistan or elsewhere, there will always be an after action review where we are very, almost disarmingly, candid about what went well and what didn't go well. And it's exactly intended to

ensure that the team stays together with the common purpose and we don't allow those disloyalties or dysfunctionalities to propagate. But it takes work, but I think it's work that we should embrace as leaders.

Pentagon Channel: As an executive, how do you encourage independent thinking and avoid groupthink?

Dempsey: Well, first of all you have to express, mostly it's by what you do, but you have to begin that process with what you say. I'll give you a personal example from when I joined the Joint Staff.

Over the course of time, because the pace of our activities, notably in Iraq and Afghanistan, have been so aggressive and so consuming, we began to outsource our thinking in many ways. And by the way, I'm not against contractors, but I do think we probably overcorrected because we wanted to keep the uniforms in the fight, and we probably overcorrected a bit and outsourced our thinking, so if someone were to say to me, "What do you think Joint Force 2020 should look like?" A couple of years ago, the answer would be, "Well, let's ask—you know, I won't use any corporate names here—but let's ask this corporation or that corporation to organize a study, we'll give them six months, and they'll come in, and we'll allow them to interview and do all the research necessary, and then they'll give us a couple of ideas and we'll decide what ideas to take."

Well, that was a useful tool, but it's one that I think we probably overused and so the first thing I did when I came to the Joint Staff was declare that I'm not going to outsource my thinking. If I want a question answered, I'm going to ask the extraordinarily talented men and women who work for me on the Joint Staff or I'll go to one of the war colleges—Army, Navy War Colleges, Air War College, or National Defense University—or I'll go to one of the military academies where we have made an immense investment in the faculty and I'll insource it. And people were kind of nervous about that, but we have.

Now to your point about how do you avoid groupthink or being given information that people think I want, not what I want. That gets at what I do. If I were to get a piece of staff work or in a meeting and get an unsatisfactory answer, my reaction to that is what sends a message to people about whether they can take some risk with me or not. And it is a difficult position. It doesn't feel that way to me personally—I mean every morning I wake up and wonder, "How in the world did this happen?"—but the point is because I'm the senior military officer in the entire armed forces, it is a bit intimidating when people come to either present something to me or ask me a question or present an action ready for signature.

So how I react to that, whether it's collaborative, whether it's inquisitive, if I value their thoughts, and sort of the opposite would be if I were impatient with them, if I were demeaning to them, if I were dismissive of them, then if I did that once, then I've lost that person for the entire tour. So I'm very aware of the fact—and by the way, I'm not perfect—there are days, there are moments when I know I'm probably shorter with people than I should be or if I'm more impatient with people than I should be.

But generally, I go into each engagement knowing that if this young man or woman comes to brief me on something, or present a paper or present an action for me, this might be the only time in 90, in 120, or 180 days for them to see me, and their impression of me as a leader is important to me, and so I try to empower them to stretch their thinking out and not believe like they have to come back with some template.

And by the way, that process of moving paperwork in the Pentagon can drive you toward a template, so I have to encourage them to break the mold, and sometimes that's successful and sometimes it's not. So it's both about saying—establishing your expectations verbally—but it's more important in how I deal with people.

Pentagon Channel: Excellent. So let me ask you this. How do you balance vision and follow through in times when resources are limited?

Dempsey: I'm not sure if you can have vision absent resources. [Carl von] Clausewitz famously described the triad of ends, ways, and means. And he did that, and they're connected.

I can have all the vision I want about Joint Force 2020 if I did it in an unconstrained environment or even with unconstrained thinking. And what I mean by constrained is that there are resource constraints, political constraints, there are some things this nation will never do. Our value system often will often shape our actions.

So the unconstrained approach to vision is a fool's errand to tell you the truth. The reality is that your vision has to be resource-conscious or resource-sensitive or you will frustrate yourself and those around you. Now that said, I sense that where the question wanted me to go is if I needed the nation to really need something, let's say that's a particular platform or a program, or a structure, or a mission, will I have the moral courage to argue for the resources to get it? Of course I will. And when the resources come up short, and they often do, then it's my responsibility to articulate risk.

So to answer your risk as closely as I possibly can, vision isn't vision unless it's resource-sensitive. At least that's the reality, and it's always been true. It's just more true today. And secondly, the real responsibility in linking vision through resources is risk. And that's my responsibility, to articulate risk. And then if risk gets too high, then have that moral courage to have that conversation.

Pentagon Channel: Last question. What leader did you use as a role model and why?

Dempsey: Yeah, I saw that question coming and it's a really interesting question because you know on the one hand, I can start spouting off World War II generals and admirals, and of course I'm going to do that at the end of this.

But I'll tell you that I'm still in the service today because of my first platoon sergeant and my first troop commander in the Army. Because if something doesn't capture your imagination, I described it as capturing your soul, we talked about it as somebody's got to light your fire, pick your metaphor. But the point is that if somebody doesn't, in those early years, find a way to convince you that what we ask of you as a profession is worth it, and that the profession will, as a matter of priority, develop you, it is about the mission, but we're also committed to develop you. That's how we lose kids.

Generally we don't lose kids because of money; we don't lose kids because we move them around too often or send them off to war too frequently. We lose kids because leaders don't inspire them to continue to serve. That's troubling to me, and I dig into it. If I find a man or woman who's recently out, I'll sit 'em down and ask them to tell me where we didn't convince you to remain part of this profession.

So the issue is that you answer the question about who inspires you not once in your career, but a hundred times in your career. Every place you go, you're on the lookout for a leader who—I mean look, to put it in sort of common language—you're looking for someone you want to be like when you grow up.

By the way, that's what I used to tell my battalion commanders when I was a division commander. I told them in more than one setting, I mean look, you could have the best—and I'm a tanker—your battalion can score the best gunnery scores of any battalion in any division. You could just completely knock it out of the park at the combat maneuver training centers. You could accomplish any mission I ask you better than anybody else, but I'll tell you what. If the young men and women that are serving—those captains and those lieutenants, those buck sergeants and staff sergeants—if they don't want to be like you when they continue to mature, then you're not a good leader. You're a good manager, and you're probably a decent taskmaster, probably a good technician when it comes to tank gunnery, but it'll be the people who determine whether you're a good leader.

Okay, now I know I told you at the end of this, I would have to jump up to the lofty levels of who's your favorite historical figure. I have a couple actually, and they're all for different reasons. Winfield Scott—not a famous name, really. John M. Schofield, you know, leaders who, after the Civil War, much after, actually, began to put together the professional force we have today, who took what was a grotesquely hideous and complex political environment, we had Reconstruction in the South, and a Northern climate where we continued to try to punish the South for their transgressions during the Civil War. So guys like that were able to not only unite the military, but unite the nation, which was kind of phenomenal.

Ulysses S. Grant, as he came into service and finally became the leader that [Abraham] Lincoln was looking for, and I do mean it exactly that way. I mean, what this nation and our military owe the commander in chief is a leader who he can trust, and famously Lincoln was casting aside really reluctant and timid Northern generals for quite some time.

Robert E. Lee, because of what he did at the end of the war, I mean he could have encouraged the South and the Confederate Army to become an insurgency, and our country would have been suffering for another ten or fifteen years, incredible moral courage in the face of that decision.

And then I'll just fast forward through and to [General of the Army] George [C.] Marshall, who I think is probably our best military leader throughout our entire history, with the possible exception of George Washington and I'll come to him in a moment. But George Marshall, as you know, desperately wanted to go serve in either the European theater or the Pacific theater, but he became the indispensable man at the strategic level

working with FDR [President Franklin D. Roosevelt], working with some incredible personalities who were military leaders, guys like [General of the Army Douglas] MacArthur and [General of the Army Dwight D.] Eisenhower and [General George S.] Patton, [General of the Army Omar N.] Bradley, [Fleet Admiral Chester W.] Nimitz, [Fleet Admiral William F.] Halsey [Jr.], you know, fill in the blanks, all of whom had huge personalities, and he was the leader who held it all together and found a way to do that. And at the end of his military service, he was retiring and the president called and asked him if he would go off to be the ambassador to China. You know, imagine going home and telling your wife that after you've just slugged your way through a war with her seeing a little less of you than she probably wanted to, secretary of state, secretary of defense. There's a man who truly served, you know.

Now going all the way to [George] Washington who at the end of the Revolutionary War, you famously remember in Newburg, New York, when the officer corps was about to mutiny because the Continental Congress had failed to appropriate money to keep the force solid and in fact to pay them. Washington rode up and was able to in a way, when you look back on it, how was it possible, but he was able to fundamentally talk them out of it by simply pointing out what they had fought for. And what they had fought for was so important in history that to do anything else but support it would have just been unthinkable, unimaginable, and in fact what he did was—and I often wonder whether he did it on purpose or if it was just captured—he took his glasses off, and he pulled out a handkerchief he was cleaning them and said, "You'll have to forgive me, but I've lost my sight in the service of my nation."

Pentagon Channel: Wow. Sir, your insights have been fascinating and it was a pleasure and an honor to meet you. Thank you for your time.

Dempsey: Thank you.

Remarks at the 2012 United Service Organizations (USO) Gala Washington Hilton

Washington, DC | November 2

Thanks very much. By the way, it's thirty-eight years, not forty—come on, give me a break! [*Laughter.*] But thanks, Allison [Seymour] and Sloan [D. Gibson, president of the USO]. I have to tell you that the emotion you show and the passion when you speak about the mission of the USO, what it does for soldiers and family members—it's inspirational to me and to us. And so how about we give a round of applause to Sloan Gibson?

So I can't see if Jordin Sparks is still here—are you still there? Oh, yeah, there she is. For those of you that wanted to get to know her, your instincts are very good. She's a terrific, terrific young lady, a great patriot, and we were honored to have her on the USO trip last year.

I'll tell you though the one thing I would say about the whole experience was that even in the most extreme conditions of that trip, she sang almost as good as I did. [*Laughter.*] All right, she sang a lot better than I did. It was a great thing. And by the way, that song that she sang at the end called "No Air" completely unsettled my paratroopers around the world. I mean, the worst thing you can say to a paratrooper is no air. [*Laughter.*]

You know what happens when there's no air with a parachute? I mean, come on, Jordin, you've got to understand the audience that you're entertaining here [*laughter*]. No, it's great. And by the way, I know all of my predecessors have taken the USO entertainers overseas. It's an incredible thing, the way that the young men and women out there are doing the nation's bidding in Iraq, and so thanks very much for that.

Seven decades of service by the USO. Unbelievable, really. [*Applause.*] And tonight, my team is here—the Joint Chiefs—there's a representative of each of the services; there's a representative of each of the service secretaries, and in a minute, I'm going to introduce my battle buddy, the secretary of defense. I'm going to give you three quotations from Yogi Berra tonight. You've got to love Yogi Berra. Come on, if you don't love Yogi Berra, you don't have any sense, actually. [*Laughter.*]

By the way, while I'm talking about baseball, in this city—we're in the nation's capital, Washington, DC. And somewhere out there is Lara Potter, who is the community relations person for the Washington Nationals. And if we don't have the Natitude after this year in Washington—we were so proud of the Washington Nationals this year, you know. The way they embrace the wounded warriors and military members and their families—so I will give a shout-out to the Washington Nationals. And I've got my Natitude on tonight [*cheers, applause*].

So, a little story about Ted Williams. Now, Ted Williams was a marine—you probably know that. By the way, at a previous speech, I mentioned that he served, and then I get all this hate mail [*laughter*] from the ghosts of marines past. And you know they're out there—and they wanted to remind me that he just didn't serve, he was a marine. I got it, he was a marine. And actually, he was incredible. He interrupted his career to serve both in World War II and later in Korea. Incredible patriot, not a bad baseball player. Red Sox, eh, I don't know, I really can't wrap my head around that. [*Laughter, jeers.*]

But here's the thing about Ted Williams you need to know. As the story goes, later in his career, he's up at bat. Young rookie pitcher on the mound, and the young rookie pitcher decides he's going to paint the corners with his pitches on Ted Williams. He throws one and paints the corner. A perfect strike, really. The umpire says, ball one. He throws another one. Really a perfect pitch. Ball two. On the corner—ball two. He throws a third pitch—on the corner, painted the corner, ball three. The pitcher charges into the umpire and says, "You've got to be kidding." He says a couple of other things. He said, "You've got to be kidding me—those were three perfect pitches." And the umpire says, "Young man, if those were perfect pitches, Mr. Williams would have swung at them." [*Laughter, applause.*]

Now, that was all about reputation. Ted Williams had a certain reputation. And you know what? So does the USO. Seventy-one years of service has created a reputation in which they and we should be very proud. Unbelievable.

You know, I gave you one quotation from Yogi. Second Yogi Berra quotation, he said, little things are big. I mean, you've got to love Yogi; little things are big—but think about that, and what the USO does. Young men and women who are deploying, redeploying, families and wounded warriors, this event—they're not really big things when you really confront them. They're just little things. A smile, a place to feel at home, a place to make a phone call. Little things. Yogi was right. Little things can really be big, and we're awfully proud of what the USO does to make little things big.

Tonight, we're going to honor six of America's finest: young men and women who have served their country and distinguished themselves in ways that I know all the service chiefs and the representatives here should be proud of. And so the third quotation from Yogi—"the future ain't what it used to be"—we've all heard that one; that's kind of the one that everybody knows about. But you know, that's the truth in many ways. In fact, I'm absolutely convinced the future ain't what it used to be, but the future is bright, and it's bright because we've got young men and women of the kind we can see here standing on the stage tonight. And so, to Yogi, who's still out there banging away and who says the future ain't what it used to be, I say, that's OK. We're going to be fine with the young men and women that we have signing up to serve, and their families in our armed forces today. [*Applause.*]

And the last thing I'll tell you—right now, as you and I are sitting here enjoying this dinner, the young men and women serving in Afghanistan are just really waking up to a new day. And they're going to strap it on; they're going to put on their rucksacks; they're going to go out and they're going to leave their forward operating base; they're going to go out and do what we've asked them to do. And so I just ask that you keep them in your prayers.

But also, right now, as we sit here, America's men and women in uniform—mostly national guard and reserve, but also active duty—are out there helping your and my fellow citizens recover from Hurricane Sandy.

And there's one other thing I want you to know. A year ago, I told a story about being a second lieutenant, really confused—I think that's actually synonymous being a second lieutenant. No offense, but I told a story about being a second lieutenant traveling to Europe, really not knowing exactly what I was getting into, not really even knowing where I was going, to be honest, and going to a young woman in Frankfurt in the USO and saying, "Ma'am, could you please help me figure out where to go?"

She's in this audience tonight, by the way, and introduced herself to me last week—well, actually, last year. But what I want to tell you is this: right now, while Deanie and I are sitting here, my son is coming back from Afghanistan, and I know that somewhere along the way, the USO will help him make it home. [*Cheers, applause.*]

It's a great team, and now I'd like to introduce a great teammate, the secretary of defense, Leon [E.] Panetta.

Remarks on Veterans Day
The Eighth Army War Memorial at Yongsan Garrison
Republic of Korea | November 11

Well thanks very much, and I hope I didn't bring this weather with me, but it a distinct honor to be here. I hope the symbolism is apparent for all of us, especially for those of you who have served on the [Korean] peninsula. I also want to make mention of the fact that I'm a member of the VFW [Veterans of Foreign Wars], very proud to be a VFW member. And in fact, Deanie [his wife] will tell you that one of the things I like to do when we drive through towns and cities in America is pop into VFWs and see who's in there, and we have a great time doing that.

But I do want to echo what J. D. [General John D. Thurman, commander of US Forces Korea] said about the young man standing there in this rainstorm with not a bit of quit, not any evidence of discomfort whatsoever. They are your legacy and we're very proud of them.

So, Ambassador [Sung Yong] Kim, General Thurman, distinguished guests, it's a great honor to be here at Yongsan Garrison to celebrate this Veterans Day. I do appreciate the warm welcome; it's about the only thing warm at this point.

I've had no greater privilege than to be named to serve as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the finest military that the world has ever known. They're the most resilient, the most courageous force that I've seen in my four decades of service.

And they continue to look to the veterans of our past—their predecessors. For we know that we stand on very, very broad shoulders.

So today, on Veterans Day, there's no place I'd rather be than right here with you, particularly with the veterans here representing veterans all over our great land and in the Republic of Korea. Some young and some not quite so young. Although the marines would argue I bet, that they're every bit as spry as they were when they served. And by the way, happy birthday to the United States Marines Corps, which celebrated their birthday yesterday.

It really is great to see the veterans of the Korean War here. We're honored by your presence.

It's good to see Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts here as J. D. said, and family members in the audience who have come out and braved this weather to help us celebrate Veterans Day. We're grateful that you're here and for the many ways you sustain us every day.

On Veterans Day, we honor every man and woman who's ever worn the uniform of our nation—those who've selflessly secured America's promise throughout our history.

That same history teaches us that security doesn't just happen. It demands effort, sacrifice, courage, and commitment.

It requires generations of men and women, willing to go to distant lands to, as the Korean War Memorial in Washington says, defend countries "they never knew and a people who they've never met."

Today, we salute the service of all veterans. And, we keep in our thoughts and prayers the fallen, the missing, and those who right now are serving in harm's way.

We also remember that honoring those who've served isn't just about what we say here today. It's about how we honor our veterans every day of the year. It's remaining committed to supporting them and their families in every way that we possibly can. It's about serving them as well as they've served—and continue to serve—our nation.

That's the sacred trust between America and all who defend its ideals.

It's a trust that's been forged by the soldiers and airmen who liberated Europe, and the sailors who liberated the Pacific.

It's a trust embodied by marines who etched a legacy at Iwo Jima, and coast guardsmen who stood watch over our shores.

It's a trust extolled by the Eighth Army—honored by this very memorial—who drove enemy forces back above the 38th parallel.

The man who led them, General Matthew [B.] Ridgway, once said, "Never have [we] had a greater challenge—or a finer opportunity—to show ourselves and our people at their best . . . to do honor to the profession of arms, and to those brave men who bred us."

I'd submit that's the great message for any Veterans Day. And on this Veterans Day, I can assure you that that spirit resides in the thousands of men and women who carry the torch today. Ladies and gentlemen, it's my great honor to be here with you today. Thank you.

2013
SELECTED WORKS

White Paper
Joint Information Environment
January 22

"To fight and conquer in all battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting."

—Sun Tzu

"Some people think design means how it looks. But of course, if you dig deeper, it's really how it works."

—Steve Jobs

Foreword
On 28 September 2012, I issued the *Capstone Concept for Joint Operations (CCJO): Joint Force 2020*. It presents a vision for how the Joint Force of the future can effectively address security challenges going forward. Central to this vision is the idea of globally integrated operations, increasing the overall adaptability of the force to cope with uncertainty, complexity, and rapid change.

There is no better example of the challenge ahead than that of the information environment. From moving supplies in the wake of a hurricane disaster to ordering troops to the Pacific, or addressing the ever-changing cyber threat, the global dependence on information and networks in everyday activities demands our attention now. The approach to addressing this nexus of dependence and threat for Joint Force (JF) 2020 is the Joint Information Environment, or JIE. What follows is my vision for the JIE and its relevance for operations within the context of my vision for Joint Force 2020 and beyond.

1. Introduction
The Joint Information Environment (JIE) will be among the first concrete changes along the path to constructing Joint Force 2020. First and foremost, JIE will improve mission effectiveness. It is intended to enable and empower our military's decisive edge—our people. It will do this by providing warfighters and our mission partners a shared IT infrastructure with a common set of enterprise services, under a single security architecture. Over time, the JIE framework will produce IT efficiencies.

The JIE will be an important evolution in our information environment. It will change the way we assemble, configure, and use new and legacy information technologies. It will consist of networked operations centers, a consolidated set of core data centers, and a global identity management system with cloud-based applications and services. The JIE framework will provide the information environment to flexibly create, store, disseminate, and access data, applications, and other computing services when and where needed. It will better protect the integrity of information from unauthorized access while increasing the ability to respond to security breaches coherently across the system as a whole.

The ultimate beneficiary of the JIE will be the commander in the field and forces at the tactical edge. JIE will allow better integration of information technologies, operations, and cyber security at a tempo that supports today's fast-paced operational conditions. The operational capabilities delivered through the JIE will enable commanders to blend the art of command with the science of control, enabling JF 2020 to address emerging military challenges through the flexible integration of warfighting functions as required.

JIE Enabling Characteristics:

- Transition from Network Centric to Data Centric solutions
- Rapid delivery and use of integrated cloud services accessible by all means from anywhere
- Interdependent information environment providing real time cyber situational awareness
- Scalable platform allowing flexibility and mission partnering
- Secure where it needs to be, resilient throughout, and appropriately consolidated

2. Why Adapt the Way We Approach Our Information Environment?

Globally integrated operations demands a far greater capacity to see, understand, operate in, and defend cyberspace.[1] Our ability to do this is undermined by a lack of interoperability, cyber vulnerabilities, and the pace of technological change and associated costs. Together, these factors limit our ability to integrate an information environment within dynamic joint force operations. Currently, DoD Information Technology (IT) comprises thousands of operational systems, hundreds of globally unconnected data centers, and more than seven million computers and IT devices. In order to create an IT environment that enables mission command, JF 2020 requires us to adapt how we approach information technology, including the structure and function of our information systems, and also how we use them. We must move past our vision of IT as an array of business systems that function like a utility, and begin to assemble, train, and operate them as a core warfighting capability.

[1] The elements of globally integrated operations limited by our current network structures are mission command, global agility, leverage participation of partners, flexibility in establishing joint forces, and cross-domain synergy.

> Mission Command is the conduct of military operations through decentralized execution based upon mission-type orders. Successful mission command demands that subordinate leaders at all echelons exercise disciplined initiative and act aggressively and independently to accomplish the mission.
>
> **Joint Publication 3-0 "Joint Operations"**
> 11 Aug 2011

Our transition to JIE constitutes a new level of jointness in IT, akin to the higher levels of jointness we have achieved in areas like fires. Driving jointness deeper and sooner is at the heart of our move to JF 2020. A decade of war has plainly illustrated the need to share information beyond what our current IT infrastructure allows. The JIE will be the trusted IT framework that will enable us to share information when needed, with any mission partner, regardless of location, device, or service provider.

Lack of Interoperability

Varying degrees of interoperability within our information environment means that the Joint Force cannot share information and collaborate across the Services, mission areas, military domains, and organizations to the extent required for globally integrated operations. We currently rely on hundreds of data centers, each of which requires an inordinate amount of resources to operate, configure, and maintain. These data centers often only connect with one another with difficulty. This inefficient duplication of computing and network-based services hinders our ability to take advantage of new commercial technologies and capabilities at the enterprise level. Limitations in our hardware and network centric view of the information environment impact our ability to flexibly establish joint and coalition forces where and when needed. The JIE will provide the framework to accrue the military advantage across multiple functional areas through the integration, innovation, and consolidation of our IT systems while at the same time improve our security posture.

Cyber Security Vulnerabilities

Cyber security vulnerabilities can endanger mission success. The current network centric architecture hinders our ability to operate and protect the information environment, where adversaries seek to degrade, disrupt, or interdict data. This limits the ability of commanders to understand the situation, to communicate intent clearly to subordinates and, most importantly, to build and maintain the mutual trust required of mission command. If networks are compromised and we cannot trust the data and information, the Joint Force would be unable to achieve globally integrated operations. Lack of confidence in our connections would also mean that we cannot build trusted relationships with willing partners. Our current information environment gives us neither the depth nor breadth of operational data about movements and activities—including the potential for hostile penetration of our networks within cyberspace. The JIE will contribute to a decisive Joint Force by providing end to end visibility of our network and operational security, thus ensuring warfighter access to information even in the face of disruption or damage.

Pace of Change and Associated Costs

The Joint Force faces a shrinking technological lead and growing vulnerability in a variety of systems, most notably in information technology. Our adversaries are increasingly focused on disrupting our command and control systems. The Joint Force is challenged by the expanding geographic reach of our opponents into all warfighting domains, including cyberspace itself. Meanwhile, innovation and modernization within commercial information technologies are rapidly outpacing military system development, especially in powerful smart phones, tablets, and other mobile computing devices. The rate at which innovation in IT occurs challenges our ability to build an integrated computing environment. The proliferation of disparate IT capabilities over the last several decades has ultimately yielded a less coherent and sometimes incompatible set of systems across the force. We are left with an information technology and computing enterprise that is often unwieldy, vulnerable, incompatible, and expensive to operate and maintain. Furthermore, this suite of IT systems and capabilities is not aligned with the needs of the Joint Force commander.

3. The Joint Information Environment

In *Strategic Direction to the Joint Force*, I describe the need for a joint force that is responsive, versatile, and decisive in nature—all while remaining affordable to the Nation. JIE is critically important to realizing this vision by increasing interoperability across the force to be more responsive to the Commander, facilitating capabilities to address threats and challenges to increase security, and encouraging flexibility and resilience in our information environment that is appropriately consolidated, producing economic benefits over time.

Enabling Mission Command: The Warfighter's JIE will be the secure information framework from which the Joint Force Commander delivers responsive, versatile, and decisive actions on any device, anytime, from anywhere on the globe.

Improving Warfighter Effectiveness through the Core Data Centers and JIE Cloud

Warfighter effectiveness is supported through a shared IT infrastructure that delivers more responsive outcomes. Today, we have a large number of diverse and distributed data centers around the world, all dedicated to a specific Service. The JIE will be built on Core Data Centers (CDCs) and Enterprise Operations Centers (EOCs) that will link the operational environment in the Joint Force Commander's Joint Cyber Center to vital cyber reinforcement capabilities and information support resources. These CDCs will replace Service-specific data warehouses and consolidate our IT infrastructure and be connected by a secure, interoperable common architecture, and focused on the sharing, accessing, and connecting of authorized users to the information they need in order to

operate effectively. The CDCs will be the focal points for joint force elements and any mission partner, including interagency and nongovernmental partners to connect, access resources, and share information to include services such as DoD Enterprise Email.

CDCs are the foundation upon which we will begin to offer true cloud-based capabilities to DoD users, supporting posts, camps and stations in an integrated manner. Today cloud computing is used by millions of commercial network users for mobile applications. The JIE cloud will leverage the best of these approaches to develop innovative software applications and better share information across the Joint Force to include Secure Mobile Communications. From the classified to unclassified domains, the warfighter will have the power to connect to the information resources needed from any device, at anytime from anywhere in the world. Furthermore, as individuals transit into and out of a Joint Task Force (JTF), their movement within the information environment will be virtually seamless and allow them to operate from any device immediately. CDCs will allow these transitions to occur quickly and fluidly with minimum disruption or delay to JTF operations, allowing commanders, troops, and our mission partners on the ground to download their mission "app" at the pace of the problem and with the agility needed to support any mission, from counter-terrorism operations in the heart of Africa to any disaster around the globe. A cloud computing approach to the JIE is a key enabler for developing an agile and responsive JF 2020.

The Imperative of Cyber Defense

Commanders require a detailed understanding of the environment and IT systems to develop the insight and foresight about a situation and make effective decisions about how, when, and where to apply scarce military resources. The JIE drives development of a responsive Joint Force by increasing its capacity for situational awareness and its ability to share and relate this information to operations though EOCs.

Cyber security must be integral to everything we do. With JIE, shared EOCs around the world will monitor the information environment and provide cyber situational awareness down to the "desktop" level of resolution. The ability to operate, monitor, and defend the Department's information environment while adjusting cyber posture across networks in real-time will enable forces to better contribute to mission success. These EOCs are central to the JIE's ability to better operate and defend the Joint Force's data, information, and overall mission capability through cyberspace. A Global Enterprise Operations Center will orient our overall cyber posture based on global conditions and specific events through a single security architecture and common operational picture for cyberspace. The EOCs will work with the Global Enterprise Operations Center to oversee the operations of the JIE and more effectively support the operational requirements of our military forces around the world.

Through JIE, EOCs and CDCs will allow commanders to better understand the whole network posture, and more importantly, take coherent action to respond to operational conditions much more quickly and efficiently than today, increasing the overall tempo of global operations.

Driving Innovative IT Investments

As described in the *Capstone Concept for Joint Operations (CCJO): Joint Force 2020*, I believe that 80 percent of the future joint force is either programmed or already exists. Our task is to ensure that the 20 percent to be developed over the next 8 years is suited to likely future challenges. Our JIE is clearly part of that 20 percent that will drive us toward Joint Force 2020 by selectively investing in novel data and information exchange processes. Additionally, JIE is also especially important because it will revolutionize how we are able to use existing capability, by assembling a shared and optimizing IT enterprise infrastructure to enable the Joint Force to more flexibly employ its legacy capabilities in innovative ways. Our JIE will serve as the platform by which we realize, innovate, and employ new capabilities to surprise and confound our adversaries.

4. Way Forward for the Joint Information Environment

Over the next year, we will begin to physically implement a JIE capable of supporting the needs of Joint Force 2020. Beginning in European and Africa Commands, followed by an incremental global rollout to the rest of the Joint Force, Joint Warfighters will have access to a common, protected information infrastructure with which to plan and fight together with our mission partners.

The first indication of this change that those at the warfighting edge will notice will be a significant increase in the tempo at which network or IT administrative functions are accomplished. Next, users will begin to notice an ability to move across individual computers in such a manner that their data and permissions are intact wherever they are required to log in. Later, commanders at all levels will have a much deeper understanding of their cyber posture and capacity to adapt their posture to conditions as the EOCs are established and working relationships with the combatant commands developed and codified. Finally, we will have set the conditions for next generation capabilities, fully leveraging the power and versatility of commercial information technology and evolving from a brittle, network-centric understanding of our information environment to a flexible data-centric environment enabling access to information at the point of need.

I ask all Joint Force commanders and Service Chiefs to take notice of the implementation of JIE in the European theater, and leverage the lessons learned and JIE framework to accelerate world-wide implementation and apply those tactics, techniques, and procedures in your areas of responsibility.

Conclusion

The JIE is essential to globally integrated operations and enabling mission command. It is a technical capability that supports our human capital by bringing to bear the power of the Enterprise across the strategic, operational, and tactical levels. Not only must the JIE be responsive to operational needs and unified action, but we must ensure that every joint warrior thinks about our information technology systems differently than we have in the past. Our IT systems do not simply allow us to e-mail one another, chat online, and access the web for our administrative tasks. They are the backbone we use

to interconnect operations across multiple domains and deliver mission success around the globe.

The JIE will enable a versatile, responsive, and decisive Joint Force and will provide a critical advantage relative to our adversaries. The Joint Force must see JIE as an operational capability that evolves, shifts, adapts, and responds dynamically to enable mission command, and ultimately, mission success.

Excerpt from Media Briefing with Secretary of Defense Leon E. Panetta

Washington, DC | January 24

Today, we are acting to expand the opportunities for women to serve in the United States armed forces and to better align our policies with the experiences that we have had over the past decade of war. Ultimately, we're acting to strengthen the joint force.

Congress acted first in 1948 by legislating that women become a permanent part of the armed forces. Last year, as the secretary [of defense] mentioned, we acted to open thousands of mission-essential occupations at more echelons and in more ground combat units. After months of work, the Joint Chiefs and I recently submitted to the secretary our unanimous recommendation to rescind the direct combat exclusion rule for women. In so doing, we're acting to eliminate all unnecessary gender-based barriers to service.

The Joint Chiefs share common cause on the need to start this now and to do it right. We're committed to a purposeful and a principled approach. Specifically, we will extend opportunities to women in a way that maintains readiness, morale, and unit cohesion. We'll preserve our warfighting capability to defend the nation. And we will uphold the trust and confidence of the American people as we go forward. Our nation demands no less.

We'll also integrate women in a way that enhances opportunity for everyone. This means setting clear standards of performance for all occupations based on what it actually takes to do the job. It also means ensuring that these standards are [gender] neutral in occupations that will open to women.

As we introduce to women previously closed occupations, we must make sure that there are a sufficient number of females entering the career field and already assigned to the related commands and leadership positions in order to sustain success over time. Our servicewomen and our servicemen deserve no less. These principles will guide the work ahead.

The services and Special Operations Command will begin expanding the number of units and the number of women assigned to those units this year. They will continue to assess, develop, and validate gender neutral standards so that we can start assigning personnel to previously closed occupations. And they will take the time needed to do the work without compromising the principles I just mentioned.

In fact, adherence to the principles may lead to an assessment that some specialties and ratings should remain exceptions. In such cases, however, the services will bear

the responsibility for providing the thorough analysis needed to better understand and better articulate what's best for the joint force and the women who serve in it.

At the same time, women will continue to serve with distinction throughout our armed forces, in and out of combat, on land and at sea and in the air. We all wear the same uniform, and we all fire the same weapons. And most importantly, we all take the same oath.

Thank you. The secretary and I will now sign the document.

All Hands Call at the US Coast Guard Academy

New London, Connecticut | January 31

I'm delighted to be here. This is my third attempt. You know, I got up to bat twice before and struck out, once because of the weather and something hideous happened in the world to keep me away the second time. But I'm really delighted to be back. I try to get around to each academy every year, actually, because I really want to make sure I stay in touch with you.

So part of me being here, by the way, is to learn from you—and we'll get to that during the Q&A [question and answer session], I hope—because you're going to lead this force, this wonderful, best military force, best-led military force we ever had in the history of our nation. There are arguments about the fact that it's the best military force ever assembled on the face of the Earth ever. You know, whatever it is, we want to maintain it, and I want to make sure that as I run my last lap in this marathon and hand the baton off, it's going to be to you, so I'm sure you know what we're trying to do, and I want to hear from you what's important to you. And so that's why I try to get around and chat with you.

I hope you all know how much I appreciate the Coast Guard. Our Coast Guard doesn't fall under the Department of Defense, but we certainly feel like you're part of the team. In fact, on the back of my coin, as the chairman—some of you have that coin now—you'll see that I have five crests: Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and Coast Guard. And the Coast Guard crest happens to be right in the center of it.

It's in the center of it by happenstance; I didn't tell the guy who cast the die to put it there, but it works out for me because you have a constant mission. Whether we're in conflict or not, you have a mission. And then when we get into conflict, you actually participate just as significantly, with just as much risk and just as much sacrifice as your brothers and sisters in arms in the other four services.

So I really am delighted to be here, and first and foremost, I want to thank you for your service, for raising your hand and agreeing to serve your country at a challenging time. And some of that challenge will be made evident to you in my remarks. Some of that challenge I think you'll share with me when we have a Q&A opportunity here in just a few moments. But it is a very challenging time for our nation. And I only make it through the day because I know there's young men and women like you here and at

West Point and Colorado Springs and in Annapolis who are willing to share the burden.

With that in mind, let me tell you what I'm going to talk about. I'll talk briefly about our profession, the profession of arms. You're part of that profession, and I want to share some thoughts about it.

Secondly, I'll talk to you a little bit about leadership. We don't have time to do nearly what I'd like to do with you, but as I said, I hope this isn't my last chance to visit with you.

Third, I'll kind of lay out some national security challenges. Fourth, I have to glance off the budget at some point in time, just so you know what we are doing and what we're not doing, and then we'll do Q&A. So let's talk about the profession.

You're not a profession just because you say you are. You've have to remember that. We sometimes put that word "profession" on autopilot. You ought to be thinking about what it means, depending on where you are in your cadet career.

If you're a freshman—a "swab"—you are just really entering our profession. You're kind of trying to figure out what it means, what does it mean to you personally, what does it mean institutionally, and that's an important point. As soon as you come to the realization that a profession means that you have to account for both yourself and the institution, you're on your way to understanding what it means to being a profession. It's not just about you anymore. It is about you, but it's not just about you. You have to continue your own development, both because you should, but also because of what it does for the profession. And you own the profession.

The Coast Guard will be seen as the Coast Guard because of your competence and personal conduct from the time you graduate until the time you retire. You will be building the image of the Coast Guard for the American people, and you will be maintaining contact with those people, the people of America, because they're our clients. That's who we exist to serve. So it's this notion of professionalism and taking on board the fact that you're not just a professional because you say you are; you have to earn it every day. You really do.

The second thing about a profession is special skills and expertise. You've got to develop them. You've got to be committed, deeply committed, to becoming a professional, because the skills that you bring no one else can bring. That's another aspect of being a professional—unique skills and attributes. Nobody else can be the Coast Guard. You can't outsource it. You can't hire some offshore drilling conglomerate to take your place. You have to be the Coast Guard and embrace and develop and nurture and earn that distinction every day. And you're well on the way now, but you've got to take it on board. Special skills.

Third thing is a professional ethos. A professional ethos. We've all got our creeds, we've all got our mottos, we've all got our values. Army carries a dog tag with the seven values on the back of it. They can seem to be sometimes a little abstract; they can't be abstract for you. You've got to understand what it means to be committed to serve selflessly, to be courageous, to have integrity, to live up to your creed here on honor and duty. And you've got to develop a bond of trust like no other in any other occupation in the world. You have to trust each other; your subordinates have to trust you; you have to earn that trust, and you have to build relationships based on trust.

You don't walk out of a forward operating base in Afghanistan unless you trust that everybody walking out the gate with you knows what they're doing and will do it. You don't get on an icebreaker and head up to the Arctic to bang away at fifteen or twenty feet of ice unless you trust that, first of all, the captain of the ship knows what he's doing, and secondly that everybody on that team knows what they're doing—and that you can sleep when it's your turn to sleep because somebody else has the watch.

What hangs in the balance is not necessarily the ice. It's your life, it's the livelihood of this country—that's what hangs in the balance. And we trust you to do that; you have to trust each other to do it. That's another thing about the profession.

We have to, as a profession, be committed to lifelong learning. People ask me what's the most important thing I do as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The answer is "learn." I am constantly trying to learn, constantly. Sometimes the urgency of events will try to pull you away from that, but you have to resist. And at your own pace and your own time and your own way, you have to continue to learn.

I've learned more in my last year about cyber. I now understand the entire cyber ecosystem. And it is an ecosystem, whether it's those that produce the hardware, those that produce the software, those that do the security, the Internet service providers that provide the pipes—because cyber is going to be such an important part of our future.

I have been on a campaign of learning about parts of the world that are right now somewhat neglected. Mexico—I had a big seminar yesterday. Brought in experts, some from Mexico, some from academia, business, the International Monetary Fund, to talk to me about what's happening on our southern flank.

The Arctic, we've initiated an Arctic CHODs conference—chiefs of defense. And I'll be at an Arctic CHODs conference here in the next couple of months, because the Arctic is opening up. You know that better than we. You certainly know it better than somebody that wears my uniform.

Constantly learning and constantly thinking and trying to figure out what it means to be a better leader. Let me segue into leadership. Leadership: it's the most solemn duty of all. And just as you're not a profession just because you say you are, you're not a leader just because you say you are or, for that matter, just because you wear a particular rank.

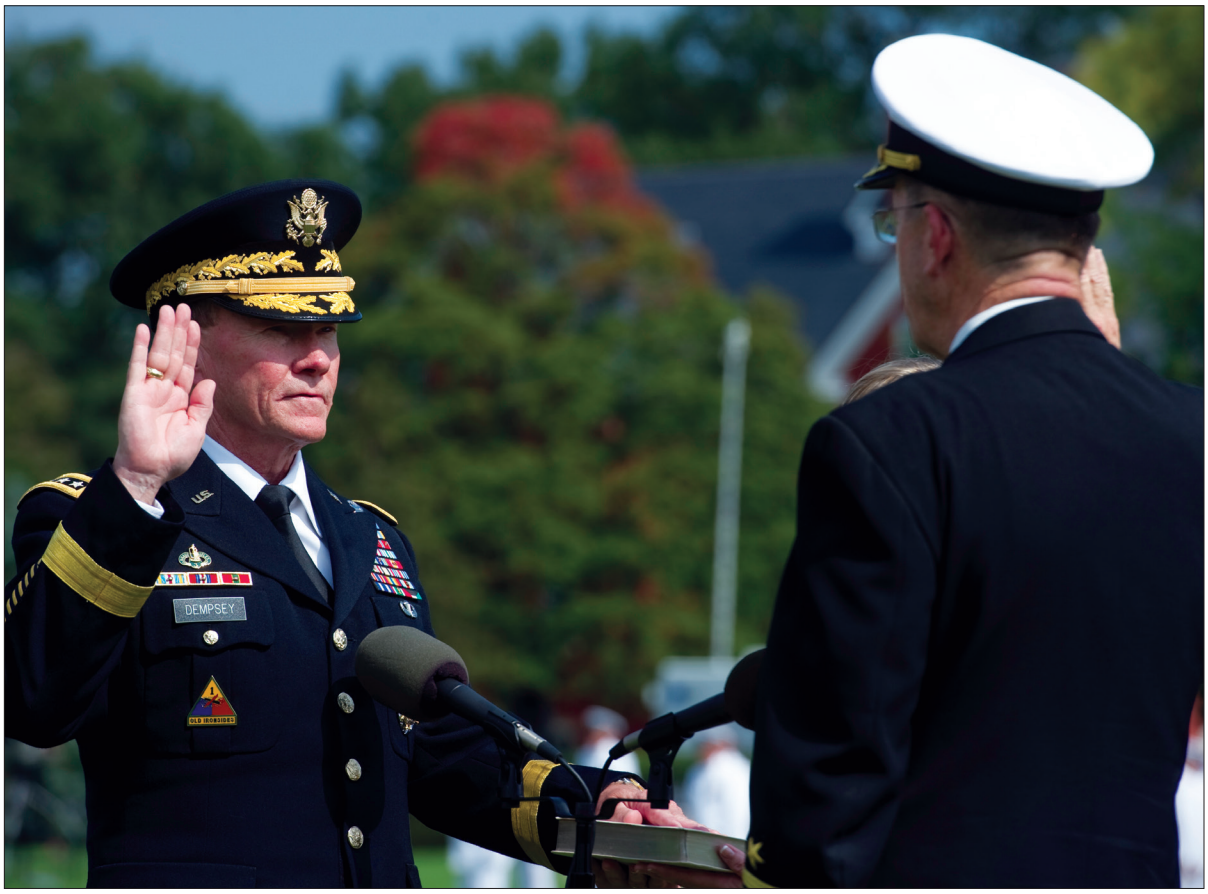
As I reflect on leadership, first of all, we, the military—and I include you in that joint force—we are the preeminent leadership experience in America, including you. Nobody gives as much responsibility and authority, holds people accountable, as we do to you when you graduate. You're twenty-two years old, and you have the kind of responsibilities that you have. Nobody gives its young leaders as much responsibility and authority.

And that trend is continuing, by the way. We're beginning, in a new era of security, where massed formations are no longer the norm, but rather where decentralized, syndicated, networked groups are distributed, because they know they can't stand up to us toe-to-toe. We have to be a network in order to defeat a network. So we're pushing responsibility and authority to the edge, as they say.

And what does that mean? It means that young leaders frankly have to be more ready than I was when I was a second lieutenant, a first lieutenant, an ensign or a lieutenant,

US Army General Martin E. Dempsey's official portrait as the eighteenth chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS).

Martin Dempsey as a West Point cadet.

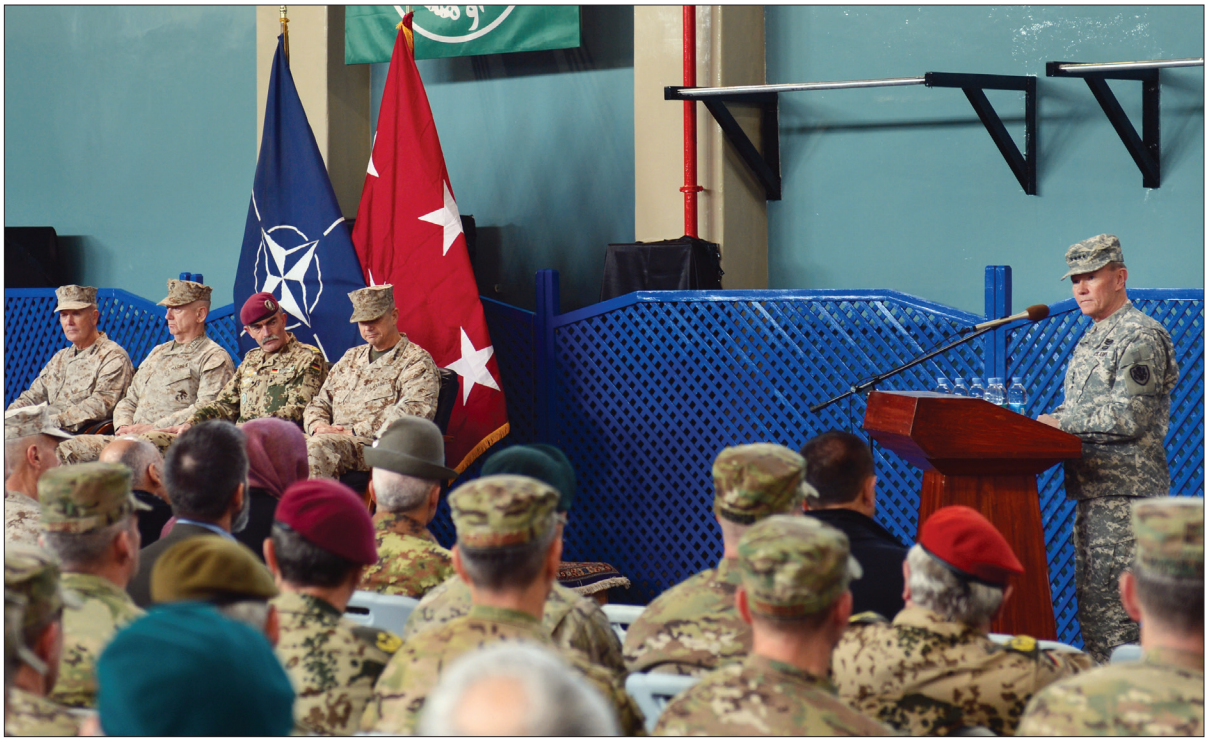


General Dempsey being sworn in as the eighteenth chairman of the JCS by outgoing chairman Admiral Michael G. Mullen, at Summerall Field, Joint Base Myer-Henderson Hall, Virginia, 30 September 2011. (JCS photo)

General Dempsey, chairman of the JCS, testifies alongside Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta to the Senate Armed Services Committee at the Hart Senate Office Building in Washington, DC, November 2011. (Department of Defense [DoD] photo by Erin A. Kirk-Cuomo)

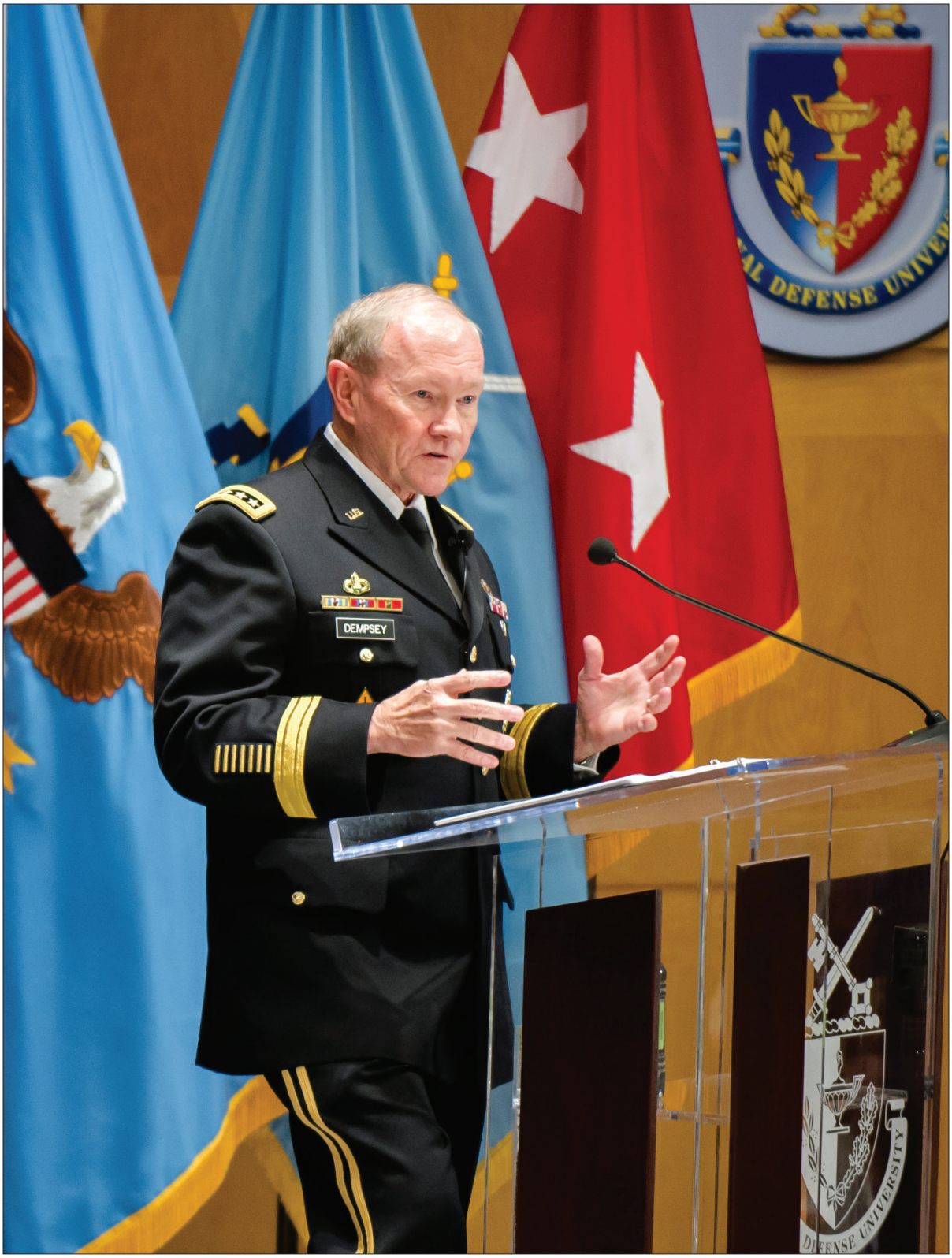
Chairman of the JCS Martin Dempsey flanked by the Joint Chiefs in January 2012. *Left to right:* General Raymond T. Odierno, chief of staff, US Army; Admiral Jonathan W. Greenert, chief of naval operations; Admiral James A. Winnefeld Jr., vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; General Dempsey; General Norton A. Schwartz, chief of staff, US Air Force; General James F. Amos, commandant of the Marine Corps; General Craig R. McKinley, chief of the National Guard Bureau. (JCS photo)

From left, Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta, President Barack H. Obama, and General Dempsey render honors during the national anthem played at the armed forces farewell tribute in Panetta's honor on 8 February 2013, at Joint Base Myer-Henderson Hall, Virginia. Panetta was scheduled to retire after serving as the twenty-third secretary of defense. (US Army photo by Staff Sergeant Sun L. Vega)

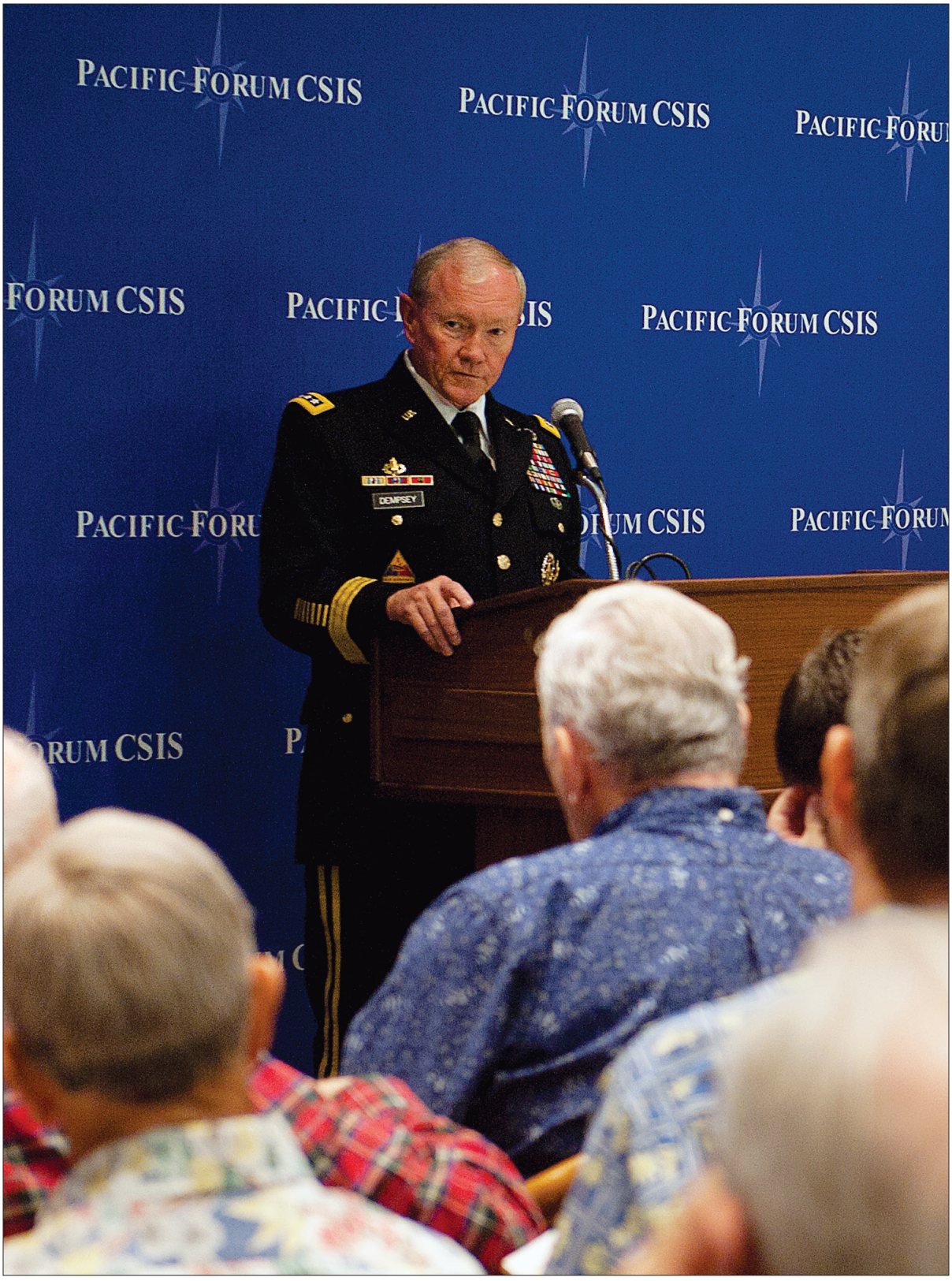


General Dempsey, *right,* addresses the audience of the change of command ceremony at the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force headquarters in Kabul, Afghanistan, 10 February 2013. (Photo by D. Myles Cullen)

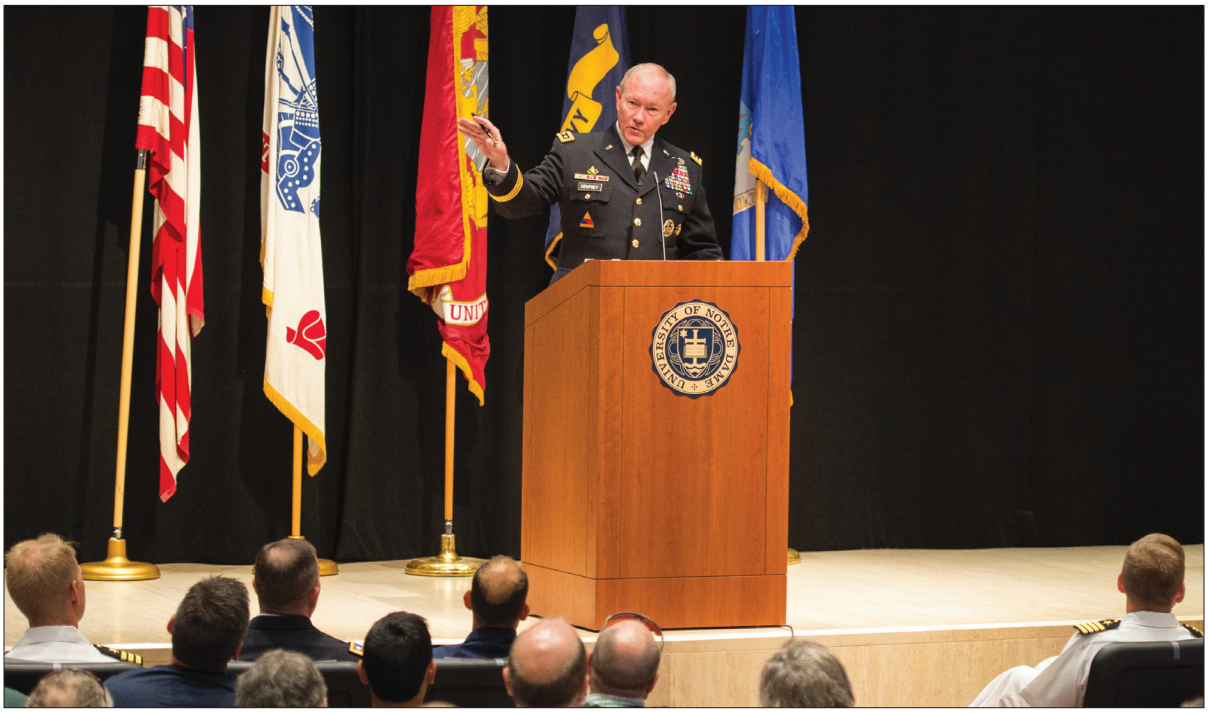
General Dempsey, *left*, and General Fang Fenghui, China's chief of the general staff, salute during a ceremony in Beijing, April 2013. (DoD photo by D. Myles Cullen)



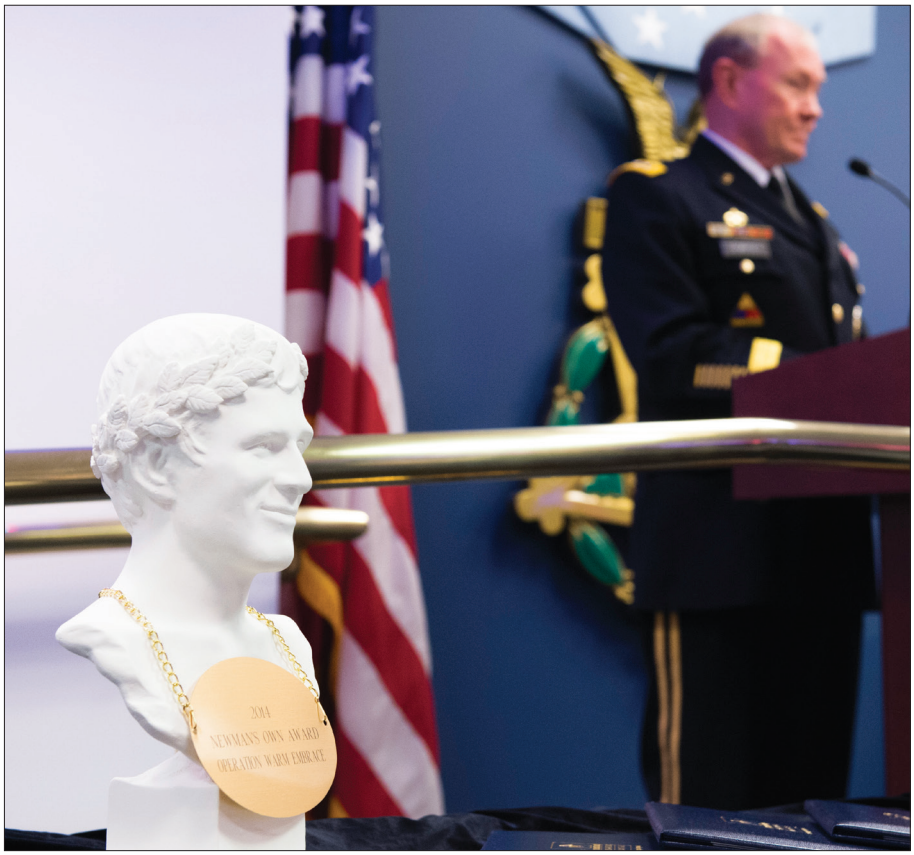
General Martin Dempsey, speaks to students at Lincoln Hall at the National Defense University on Fort Lesley J. McNair in Washington, DC, on 14 January 2014. (DoD photo by Mass Communication Specialist First Class Daniel Hinton)



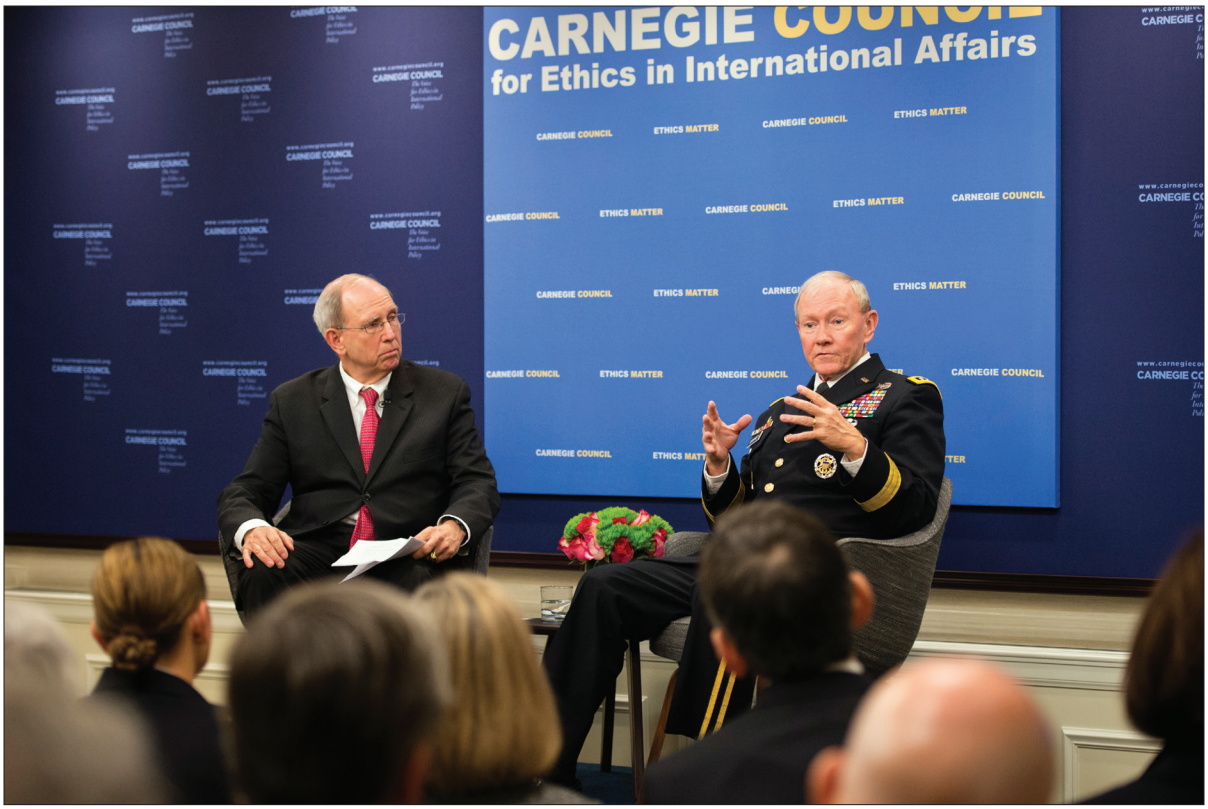
General Dempsey delivers a policy speech at the Pacific Club as part of the Center for Strategic and International Studies Pacific Forum on 1 July 2014 in Honolulu, Hawaii. (DoD photo)



General Dempsey gives remarks at Hesburgh Library on the campus of the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana, 6 September 2014. (DoD photo by Mass Communication Specialist First Class Daniel Hinton)

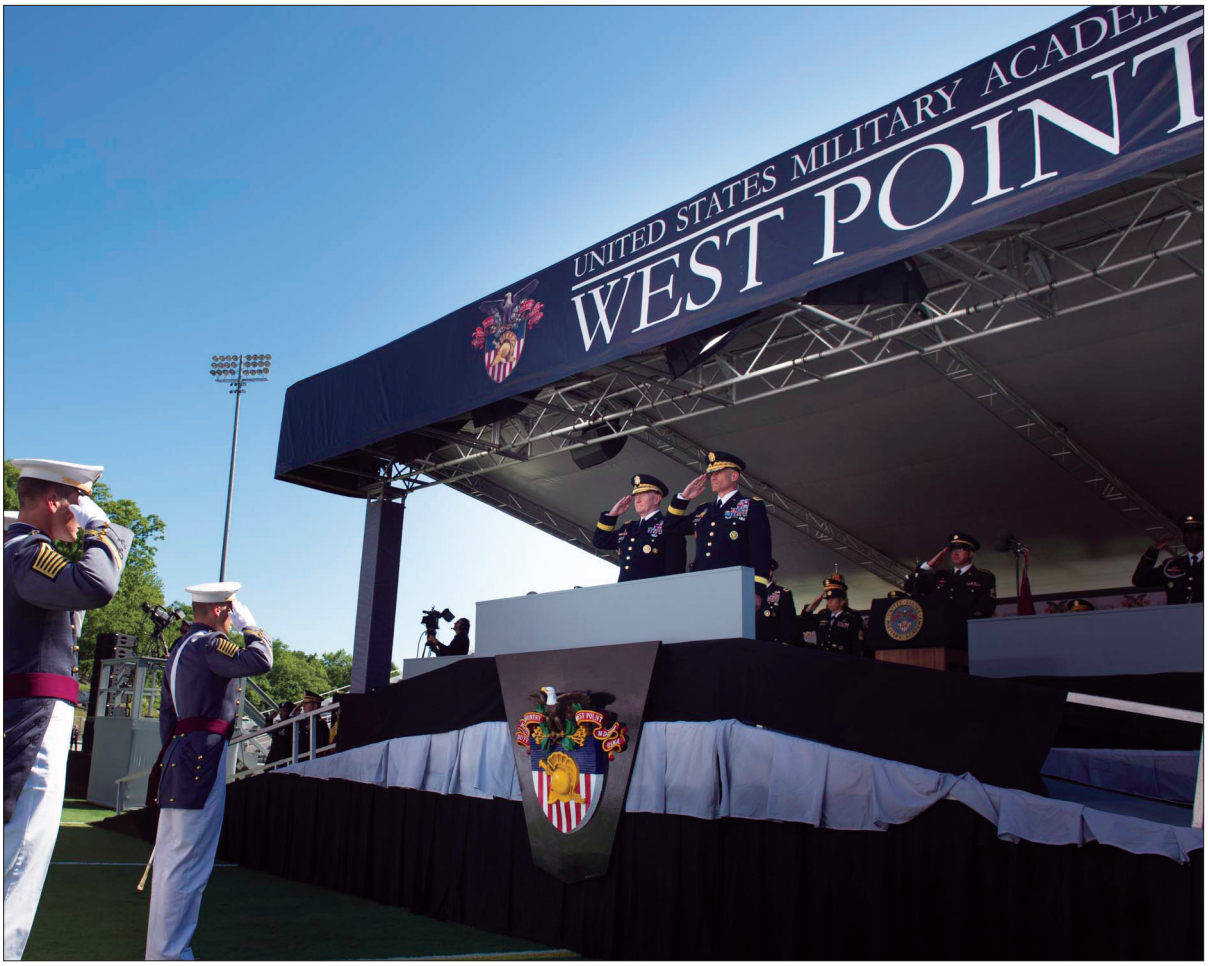


A bust of the late actor Paul Newman is on display as General Dempsey delivers remarks during the fifteenth annual Newman's Own Awards Ceremony, 24 September 2014, in the Hall of Heroes at the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. (DoD photo by Mass Communication Specialist First Class Daniel Hinton)



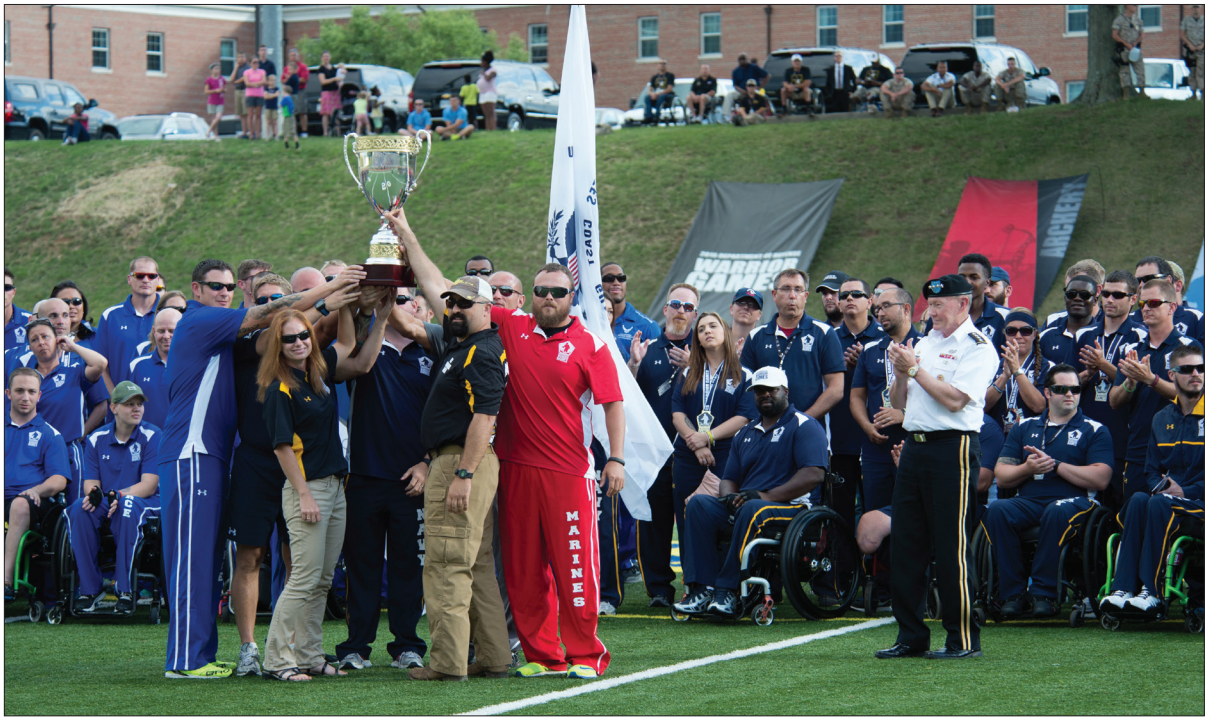
General Dempsey gives remarks during a discussion about ethics at the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs in New York City, 6 November 2014. (DoD photo by Mass Communication Specialist First Class Daniel Hinton)

General Dempsey makes remarks during the 2015 Military Child of the Year awards gala in Arlington, Virginia, 16 April 2015. (DoD photo by Army Staff Sergeant Sean K. Harp)



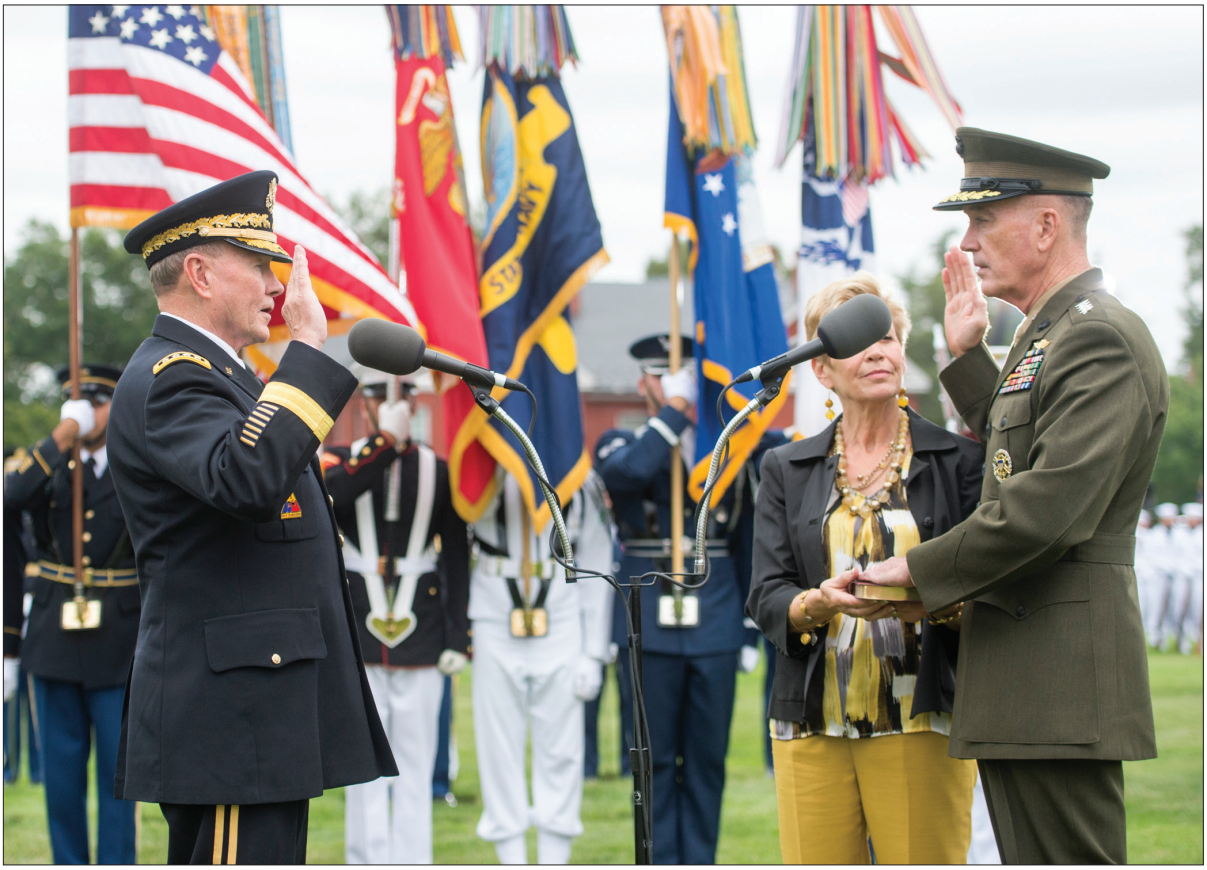
General Dempsey, *left*, and Lieutenant General Robert L. Caslen Jr., fifty-ninth superintendent of the US Military Academy, return salutes to the graduating class of 2015 at the US Military Academy at West Point, New York, 23 May 2015. (JCS photo by D. Myles Cullen)

General Dempsey gives the welcome address for the National Memorial Day Observance, on Monday, 25 May 2015, at Arlington National Cemetery in Arlington, Virginia. (DoD photo by Mass Communication Specialist First Class Daniel Hinton)



Members of Team Army celebrate winning the Chairman's Cup during the 2015 DoD Warrior Games closing ceremony with General Dempsey at Marine Corps Base Quantico, Virginia, 28 June 2015. (DoD photo by Mass Communication Specialist First Class Daniel Hinton)

General Dempsey delivers remarks during the Prisoner of War/Missing in Action National Recognition Day ceremony at the Pentagon River Terrace Parade Field, Arlington, Virginia, 18 September 2015. (DoD photo by Senior Master Sergeant Adrian Cadiz)



General Martin Dempsey, *left*, swears in his successor, Marine Corps General Joseph F. Dunford Jr., during a ceremony on Joint Base Myer-Henderson Hall, Virginia, 25 September 2015. (DoD photo by D. Myles Cullen)

in your case. By the way, I'm not worried about you being ready. I'm just suggesting to you that in the world in which you will find yourself providing security, that that requirement for you to be more self-aware, more aware of yourself as a leader earlier, is clear. And I think we're in great hands.

But just know that that leadership, that that leadership that you provide, it will be the most rewarding part of your lives while you remain in service. Leadership is why we get up in the morning.

One other word about leadership. Leadership is some combination of character and competence. You have to know your job, but in our profession you have to have character. You can be the most competent man or woman, but you're not a leader unless you have character. And remember I said our profession is built on trust? You can't develop trust, absent character. If you're incredibly competent, you deliver every time, but your subordinates don't respect, admire, and want to be you when they grow up, then you're not a leader. You're a hell of a manager, but you're not a leader. So keep thinking about what that means.

Let me talk to you about national security. The world that I entered in 1974 when I graduated from West Point was, when I look back on it now, just so perfectly symmetric and simple that there's a lot of nostalgia for it today. I mean, we knew our adversaries and we knew their capabilities; they knew ours, and we trained and we educated and we practiced against a pretty clear set of requirements.

I don't know exactly what to tell you about the world you'll enter, whether it's this year or four years from now. I will tell you that whatever it is, it will change faster than you think. It'll be more complex than you probably appreciate when you first encounter it. It'll be unpredictable, and it'll be more dangerous. And that gets me sometimes into hot water when I talk about risk, when I assert that the world is actually more dangerous today than it was ten, fifteen years ago. But I think I can make a pretty good case.

There are more capabilities that used to be the monopoly of nation-states in the hands of individuals and groups today around the world than ever, and that trend is only continuing. And so the unpredictability, the complexity, and the danger of the world you'll face will really require us to have a very clear understanding of our national interests. We haven't had a knockdown, drag-out debate, even internal to the military, about our national security interests in a long time.

Let me suggest to you that there are at least four, and they ought to be prioritized. Number one is the survival of the nation. Where does that take you? Well, it takes you to things like our nuclear capability. It takes you [to] things that could actually alter our way of life, survival of the nation, and that's a set of national security interests. And by the way, I would suggest to you that you, as the Coast Guard, actually touch every one of these four in ways that should be pretty apparent to you.

The second one—we have a requirement, because we're a global power, to lend to the stability of the global economic system. What does that mean to you? Freedom of navigation, maritime awareness. So the second-tiered, in my view, national security interest is our contribution to the stability of the global economic system, because it's through

that global economic system that we derive the prosperity that we enjoy as Americans. So that's clearly a national security interest.

The third one is to protect the country from a catastrophic attack. And, you know, again, this is one of those places where we will dance on the head of the pin about what climbs to the level of a catastrophe. You only will answer that question looking back at it, not looking forward to it. But where do you come in, in that protection of the country from a catastrophic attack?

The things that could migrate into our borders are pretty clear to you. Whether it's chemicals, other weapons of mass destruction, nuclear materials, and even gun trafficking, human trafficking—things that over time, left unaddressed, could produce a catastrophic effect in this country are clearly in our national interest and another place where you are prominent in the capability you provide.

And the last one is the promotion of our values. As a global power—and one who happens to be based on a system of values which are generally outlined in our Constitution but also include the rule of law—we are an example for the rest of the world. Sometimes we get a little bashful about that, but we shouldn't. We shouldn't be bashful about that at all.

And the way the Coast Guard is out there representing law enforcement, that kind of nexus of law enforcement and military power, the way you have your own network of different authorities, whether it's Customs and Border Patrol, the Federal Bureau of Investigation—all of the authorities that you kind of migrate back and forth in order to have that network, to promote our values and protect the country, you contribute to every one of those four national security interests in a very powerful way.

So the last thing I want to talk to you about before I get to your questions is in that vein, if you will, of national security interests, just something about the role of the chairman. The chairman is the principal military adviser, as you heard Joe [US Coast Guard Academy Cadet Joseph Sullivan-Springhetti] say, of the president and secretary of defense. And I'd add to that the national security staff.

I have very little authority on my own. In fact, the last time I checked, I had no authority on my own—what little authority I used to have, my wife usurped when we got married thirty-six years ago. [*Laughter.*] I don't even write my own checks. I do nothing. But what I do, what I have is enormous influence, but that influence is only as good as I can be persuasive, if I can be thoughtful, if I can be trusted.

So back to this, you know, relationship inside the profession, the chairman is only of use to the president if the president trusts him and the president will only trust him if he has an understanding that this is a man or woman who is actually thinking about what's best for the country and is willing to represent that and demonstrate moral courage in doing so.

I meet with the Joint Chiefs. The Joint Chiefs are the chief of staff of the Army, chief of staff of the Air Force, commandant of the Marine Corps, chief of naval operations. The chief of the National Guard Bureau was added last year, and we always invite in the commandant of the Coast Guard because the things we do clearly influence, affect,

especially in terms of personnel policies, pay scales, but also professional issues. And so we meet twice a week. We're not always there; if we're not there, our deputies meet. But we meet twice a week to both try to provide our best advice on strategy, but also manage the profession. We're managing the profession.

We're looking out to 2020 because we're going to be there sooner than you think. The class of 2017 will show up—this is the ancient mariner telling me that. I love that, by the way. Why don't I have anything like that in my service? [*Laughter.*] But they just call me the old man. I don't know that that's nearly as noble as the ancient mariner. But the class of 2017 will be here, and by the time they graduate, the class of 2020 will be here.

As chairman, I will turn in the budget that'll take us from fiscal year 2016 to 2020. So we're looking out to 2020 to try to figure out, you know, where do we need to be in a really strange fiscal environment. More on that in a moment.

And then the other way that I operate as chairman is I run a series of strategic seminars where I bring in all the combatant commanders, all the service chiefs, and we toss a particular problem into the middle of a basketball court where we have a map of the world spread out, and we try to balance ends, ways, and means. Kind of Clausewitzian [Carl von Clausewitz]—what are you trying to accomplish, what are the resources you have to do it, how do you use those resources?

We do that, and then there's the seminars that I run on specific topics: China, cyber, Mexico. All of which is part of this campaign of learning that then washes back into our discussions about the profession and eventually, I hope, makes it here to New London.

OK. Let me open it up for questions by telling you again, in case I forget to tell you at the end, how much I appreciate the chance to interact with you as part of my campaign of learning.

Remarks at Secretary of Defense Leon E. Panetta's Farewell Ceremony

Joint Base Myer-Henderson Hall

Virginia | February 8

Mr. President, Secretary and Mrs. Panetta, ambassadors, members of Congress, men and women of the armed forces of the United States, especially our wounded warriors. And of course, we cannot forget Bravo [Secretary Panetta's dog]. I was actually hoping Bravo would be out there for the inspection of the troops, but apparently Uncle Jeremy [Jeremy B. Bash, the secretary of defense's chief of staff] thought differently.

It's an honor to be here for this event. We're all here to show our profound respect and thanks to Secretary Panetta.

I recall the play *The Tempest*, kind of a nice metaphor for the past few months, I think, Mr. Secretary. And I like to think of you as the Prospero of public service. Like

Shakespeare's Italian duke, the secretary has used his "arts" to imbue a sense of public service in generations of men and women.

And like that knowledgeable duke, he now asks us to "let our indulgences set [him] free."

Of course, Secretary Panetta could not have served so well and faithfully for so long without the invaluable and untiring support of his family.

And Sylvia [Panetta]—we thank you for your selfless service that made your husband's contributions possible.

It's clear that Secretary Panetta has mastered the balance of service and self.

Last weekend on *Meet the Press*, NBC's Chuck Todd played a clip of you from 1989, and you've barely changed. I'm sure that your Mediterranean diet has helped—the olive oil for your skin, the garlic for your heart, and the red wine for pretty much everything else! [*Laughter.*]

You speak often of your Italian heritage. And it's no secret that your mother wanted you to be a concert pianist.

So it's fitting that on this day in 1908, Sergei Rachmaninoff premiered his Symphony no. 2 in St. Petersburg, Russia. Now Rachmaninoff was a technical pianist. History records that he rarely missed a note despite his complex compositions.

But you chose to use your hands to orchestrate other kinds of efforts. You worked both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. You and Sylvia advocated and instructed for the purity of public service.

And then, the nation called again. And you answered again.

For the past four years, you have led those in the intelligence and defense—those trusted with protecting our nation and our families. You have led the fight for the proper amount of resources. You balanced the threat of external attack with the threat of internal insolvency.

You once said that "diversity in America is as old as this nation itself." But you did more than speak about it.

You took action.

You have ensured that our forces will be able to draw upon the very best this nation has to offer.

You have overseen the fielding of new commands and necessary capabilities to meet the threats of tomorrow.

And, you have demonstrated a steadfast commitment to our families and to our troops wherever they are in the world. Your many trips to Afghanistan dedicate that only too well.

And tonight, when I depart for the winter snows of Kabul, I'll carry your steadfast support to those troops. And I'll be thinking about you and the potential that at some point in the future, you'll enjoy that warm California sun.

Actually, I've been thinking about what you'll do after you give up public service.

You've spoken before of wanting to write a book. Given all that you've seen and done, it could actually be a Tom Clancy novel. But here's some advice . . . get it cleared first. [*Laughter*]

I can only imagine that you might be influenced by a fellow "changeless" Monterey notable, John Steinbeck. He described in vivid detail the gritty life of immigrants, farm workers, and ne'er-do-wells in California.

In the little time I've had in the past few days, I thought of a few alternate titles for your parable about the individual and the institution. So here goes.

Instead of *East of Eden*, yours could be *East of the Potomac*. Or, instead of the *Grapes of Wrath*, I might humbly suggest the *Nuts of Acedia*. As a Catholic, you recall of course "acedia" is the Latin for boredom, and your time with us has been anything but boring. You could then convert one of those bestsellers into a movie.

I hear James Gandolfini is available to portray you again as he did in *Zero Dark Thirty*.

You realize of course that even in his role as Tony Soprano, you were an influence. His underboss was, after all, Paulie "Walnuts" Gaultieri.

But while Gandolfini had to wear a wig to play you—I understand he had to apologize to you for that—he accurately captured that Italian-American spirit.

It's a spirit of service. For those nearly five decades, you've never yielded to cynicism. You've always believed in the goodness of governing well. And your character and competence have set the example.

In 2009, you told the graduating class of the University of Maryland to "go forward, knowing that you are greater than the challenges of your time."

Mr. Secretary, you have made our nation safer.

You have made our men in uniform and women stronger.

And, you have prepared us to meet the challenges ahead—in our time and in the future. For that, you've earned our eternal esteem.

Ladies and gentlemen, it's now my great honor to introduce our commander in chief, President Barack [H.] Obama.

Remarks at the International Security Assistance Force Change of Command Ceremony

Kabul, Afghanistan | February 10

Ministers, ambassadors, distinguished leaders, colleagues, and most importantly, the men and women of ISAF [International Security Assistance Force] and the Afghan National Security Forces, good morning. And I want to thank General [James N.] "Jim" Mattis for deferring to me the honor of speaking to you all on behalf of the armed forces of the United States, many of whom, I should say most of whom have served in Afghanistan as part of this great coalition.

I'm honored to be with you today and thank and salute each of you representing the forty-nine countries in this coalition for your strength your commitment to Afghanistan's future. NATO [the North Atlantic Treaty Organization] brings to bear here sixty-four years of experience to the heart of this coalition, and we've been honored to be part of it.

ISAF is an example of what's possible when like-minded nations unite in common purpose. It's a coalition built on shared values and fortified by more than a decade of conflict. Year after year, the Afghan National Security Force partnership has denied the objectives of Afghanistan's enemies and those who would seek to undermine that coalition.

This is a great credit to the resilience and resolve of this nation's great people, the Afghan Forces, and each of you—the men and women of ISAF who go out to the leading edge, risking your lives and your futures every day for the future of Afghanistan.

It's also a great credit to General John [R.] Allen who today completes his tour as ISAF commander. John is as fine an officer as I've ever known, and a leader wholly committed to the mission here, to the people and the relationships that propel that mission, and to the broader strategy in this region of the world.

John took command during the torrid summer of 2011. He battered the enemy, he built the capacity and confidence of the Afghan military, and he recovered the surge forces all at the same time. He's led with a quick mind, with calloused hands, and a servant's spirit. At every level, from here at the capital to the field, John imbued his command with courage and with resolve. And he took every step alongside Afghan leaders to build this powerful coalition. Let me add that making a coalition work is hard work.

It's particularly tough during a period of historic transition, but John's leadership and vision through it all maintained the cohesion of our coalition through even the toughest days. He made tremendous headway toward our shared goals here, and he helped strengthen NATO, the entire organization, by preserving our partnerships well beyond Afghanistan.

But, as John himself says, much work still lies ahead. As we continue the transition, we will work to keep three things in equilibrium: first, the campaign objectives laid out in Lisbon and again in Chicago; second, retrograde, the movement of our men, our women, and our equipment out of Afghanistan; and finally, of course, protecting the force as it engages in those two activities.

It's the character and commitment of our leaders, actually, US, NATO, and Afghan that will carry the day. And that's why we've once again turned to one of our very best leaders to send to Afghanistan, and that of course is General [Joseph F.] "Joe" Dunford.

General Joe Dunford is one of the US military's most highly regarded senior officers and one of our great strategic thinkers. I've known Joe personally for fourteen years and have had the privilege of working closely with him both in combat and in resolving the larger security challenges facing the United States.

Joe has more than thirty-five years of exceptional leadership at every level. He's a rare mix of a forthright thinker and a warrior's warrior. And he has a deep appreciation both of the environment he's entering and the task at hand.

Joe has my personal trust to guide ISAF through the next critical phase. As he takes the flag, I know he'll take the momentum of his predecessors and he'll keep his eye on the horizon on a bright future for Afghanistan and the security of the citizens across the coalition.

Joe, welcome aboard. We're glad to have you here, and I look forward to working with you in the years and months ahead. You're the right leader for this job, and I'm grateful for your willingness to take it on.

But even the toughest marines can't do it without support. I greatly appreciate your wife Ellyn and the rest of your family for their willingness to support you as you take on yet another tough command assignment far away from home.

And John, again, well done and thank you my friend. You always had my complete trust and confidence, and that comes not only from me, but from our secretary of defense and our president. And there's no surer sign of that support and confidence than your nomination as NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe and head of US European Command.

Please pass on to Kathy [Allen], our deepest thanks for everything she's done to make possible what you've done here in Afghanistan with ISAF and for the people of Afghanistan. Other families have sacrificed in greater ways as you know in this war. We both know that. But none have been more generous with their support than the Allen family.

God bless you all. God bless the United States and its Afghan partners. Thank you.

Message to the Force on Sequestration
The Pentagon
March 1

I'm General Marty Dempsey, the 18th Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and I'm speaking with you today on the first of March 2013 as I've just learned that sequestration has occurred. I want to tell you some things I know, I want to share with you some things I don't know, and I want to ask you to share with me something I need to know.

So what do I know? I know that we need to continue to protect the nation and we will. I know that we have to continue to prepare our young men and women who we put in harm's way in places like Afghanistan and Korea, and in the [Persian] Gulf. We have to prepare them. We have to make sure that they're well-trained, well-led, and well-equipped. I also know that we have to preserve our readiness for as long as possible. We have to stretch our readiness dollars and that means part of the force will be advantaged and part of the force will be disadvantaged. I also want you to know that your leaders are alert. We just came out of a meeting with the Secretary of Defense and with the service chiefs—that is to say the Commandant of the Marine Corps, Chief of Staff of the Army, the Air Force, and Chief of Naval Operations—and we understand the difficult position we're going to place you in. We understand the hardships you may have to suffer. We understand the uncertainty and the anxiety that that could bring. But we are committed to leading through this. We're going to lead, and we're going to do that with your help.

And that leads me to what I don't know. What I don't know is how long this will last. Our elected officials have options, and they will exercise those options. They can exercise them over the next few weeks, or they could exercise them over the next few months. So we're going to live with uncertainty for a little while.

Finally, what do I need from you? Stay in touch. Communicate with us. Tell us what's going on. Tell us the effect of the decisions we're making. I admire you a great deal for what you've done in the past, for what you're doing now, and what we're going to ask you to do in the future. I promise you we'll do our best to lead our way through this uncertain time. I'm very proud to serve with you. God bless you, those in harm's way and your families.

Remarks at the Center for Strategic and International Studies Gulf Roundtable

Washington, DC | March 18

Well, thank you, Dr. [John J.] Hamre [president of the Center for Strategic and International Studies]. If I could return some of the kind words, Dr. Hamre has been one of those individuals in my life who, whenever I had a particularly vexing challenge, which is darn near every day in the last ten years, whether I was an OPM-SANG [Office of the Program Manager–Saudi Arabian National Guard Modernization Program] or acting commander at CENTCOM [US Central Command] or chief of staff of the Army, I could call him up and he would gather a group together and let me bang around some of our most complex problems. So, it's good to see you again, sir.

And ambassadors, especially the future diplomats of our world, those of my generation are hoping to wrap this all into a nice little bow and hand it to you. Don't count on that. [*Laughter.*] But I'm always encouraged when I travel around and visit those who have agreed to dedicate their lives to the diplomatic corps in all of our countries, and I think there's reason for optimism there.

Sheikhs, ambassador, ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon, and thank you for having me here today. And especially Ambassador Al Otaiba [United Arab Emirates ambassador to the United States]—Ambassador Yousef, as I like to call you—it's good to see you again so soon, because many of you might know that just the other night the ambassador received the distinguished Diplomatic Service Award from the World Affairs Council. He earned it, and he earned it by bringing the United Arab Emirates and the United States closer together. His acceptance speech that night, by the way, was absolutely terrific. I'd probably be smart to cede the floor to him right now, but I don't know that Dr. Hamre would let me do that, so instead I'll give the speech and he'll answer the questions [*laughter*] during the Q&A [question and answer session]. So, I'd ask you to prepare for that, Yousef.

This Roundtable Series today we might consider to be a sort of modulus for the mindful, a valuable forum for thinking through the challenges—and opportunities, by

the way—that we face in the [Persian] Gulf region, and for that matter, throughout the world. Much of my own life, as Dr. Hamre mentioned—but also, I would add, much of my family's life—has been spent in and shaped by the region.

Before commanding Central Command, as Dr. Hamre noted, I lived and worked in Iraq and Saudi Arabia for many years. I've been to the region three times since I became the chairman. That's about three times in fifteen or sixteen months or so. And all of these experiences and the many friendships and relationships that go with them are actually part of who I am. With that in mind, I came here today with a message of assurance, a little piece of mind in the context of uncertainty. Or, as put by an American humorist by the name of Finley Peter Dunne, who wrote in Chicago at the end of the nineteenth century: "I'm here to afflict the comfortable and to comfort the afflicted."

We face real danger at a time when resources are in decline. And this should worry most of us. At the same time, we're not a nation nor a military in decline. We have it with us to stay strong, to remain a global leader, and more important, a reliable partner, and this should comfort you. Or, you might be skeptical a bit and question how these opposing ideas can coexist. I concede that there is room for debate here. So allow me to share some of what's on my mind before hearing what's on your mind. I'll start with why we might all need a little bit of assurance. And that is, in a word, "risk."

Some of you may have seen on American television here, these commercials for that insurance company, and they describe mayhem. In them, an actor is mayhem in all of its forms. It might be a driver's blind spot or a loosely tied Christmas tree on the hood of a car, an emotional teenager—and, by the way, is there any other kind of teenager?—or texting from behind the wheel of a car. In any case, in these commercials, of course, mayhem prevails, and the message is you need to have insurance against mayhem because mayhem is all around you. In some ways, actually, that feels a bit like the world we confront today, both uncertain and dangerous. Now, again, I'll concede that not everyone agrees with that way to categorize the world.

By some accounts, we're actually experiencing an evolutionary low point in human violence. Now, that's good news and we'd certainly like that trend to continue. In fact, I would suggest that our military, the United States military, deserves some of the credit for that evolutionary low level of violence. We help prevent conflict by deterring aggression and by assuring our partners. Our presence is a source of stability that fuels economic growth. This is true in the Middle East as it is in the Far East.

Now for the bad news: less violence does not necessarily mean less danger. Risk is on the rise. That is to say, I think that the probability and consequences of aggression are going up as a result of two trends. For one, power is shifting below and beyond the state. In his new book called *The End of Power*, Moisés Naím goes so far as to say that power is actually decaying. By the way, I know that he's in a separate and different think tank but I just wanted to quote him because I actually find the argument rather persuasive.

In any case, the shift, the shift of power is spawning more actors that are more connected. And many of them are more capable and more willing to do us harm. The shift is also changing the relationship in many parts of the world between government

and the governed. New social contracts are being negotiated in the street. We're witnessing the birth of citizenship in many parts of the Middle East. At the same time, advanced technologies are proliferating down and out. Middleweight militaries now have intercontinental ballistic missiles. Cyber has reached a point where bits and bytes can be as destructive as bullets and bombs. Our homeland is not the sanctuary it once was.

Now, unlike that famous story of the fisherman in the tale of *The Arabian Nights*, we will not be putting that genie back in the bottle. Mayhem is here to stay. But money is not. In a sense, the deductible on our national insurance policy has gone up. It's gone way up. And we can all understand why. Our nation is going through an historic fiscal correction. We're working to restore the economic foundation of our power, and we need to do this. Deficit reduction is in fact a national security imperative. But we need to be a lot smarter about how we go about it.

It's worth noting that we haven't had a budget since I became the chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and for some time before that. And sequestration is quite simply the most irresponsible way possible to manage the nation's defense. It's actually the antithesis of what we need. We need budget certainty, time, and flexibility. Sequestration compromises our readiness, and it compounds risk. Left unaddressed, it could lead to a security gap: a lapse in coverage against the threats to our national security interests. It's also the law. I'm hopeful but not all that optimistic that both its magnitude and its mechanism will be diffused in some future budget deal. But in the meantime, we have no choice but to prepare for its full effect, which is of course our worst-case scenario.

So, are you feeling afflicted? Well, if you are, you're in good company. Now, let me tell you this, though. To continue my insurance metaphor here, the coverage may be a little less than what you were used to. But it's still the best available and it's going to get better in time. And here's where I hope my confidence brings some comfort.

Last week, I called our Joint Chiefs and our combatant commanders together to discuss how we will lead through this latest contraction—and it is the latest contraction. As I said, it's a bit of a historical pattern. Now, in that room were over 600 years of military experience around the table. Frankly, I thought we looked pretty good for our age. You may have noticed some of the same if you watched us testify before Congress up on the Hill [Capitol Hill].

Let me tell you what you did not see in that group or would not have seen. You would not have seen weakness, and you would not have heard a chorus of decline. This is a resolute bunch, just as those young men and women who we serve out on point for our nation, our resolute bunch. They have the courage to make the difficult choices about our investments, about our people, and about our way of work. They're ready, along with every man and woman who served—I'm talking about the combatant commanders and chiefs now—they're ready, as is every single soldier, sailor, airman, and marine in uniform, to give their last breath to defend America and her allies.

They've also been down this road before. We all served during previous drawdowns, and we've all seen that there is the possibility of making mistakes in drawdown, big ones.

Eventually, we come through these periods stronger as a military and a nation. But make no mistake: those were and these are tough times for our military family. This one's going to be maybe the toughest yet.

At least it's going to be different, we know that. This will be the first with an all-volunteer force. There's no mass demobilization. We didn't modernize much over the past ten years, so our equipment is a little older, and there's no peace dividend on the horizon for reasons I described previously.

We're going to have to find opportunity, though, in the midst of this fiscal crisis. We need to seize the moment, and we need to do so to think differently and to be different. We can't do it alone—back to partners. We need the help of our elected officials to give us the certainty, the flexibility, and the time to make change. If we can get the reforms to pay and compensation we need—and we need them—and if we can get rid of weapons and infrastructure that we don't need, then we can begin to restore the versatility of the joint force at an affordable and sustainable cost.

As I stand here today, I don't yet know whether or if or how much our defense strategy will change, but I predict it will. We'll need to relook at our assumptions, and we'll need to adjust our ambitions to match our abilities. And that means doing less, but not doing less well.

It also means relying more on our other instruments of power to help underwrite global security. Of course, we won't do this well if we don't back diplomacy and development with sufficient dollars. And our partners will have to work with us and collaborate with us on accepting a greater share of the risk. Some are more ready and willing to do that than others. I have to say that the United Arab Emirates, for example, is our most credible and capable ally, especially in the Gulf region.

Our consistent first line of defense has been and always will be our people. They really are our greatest strength. We will rely on these combat-proven leaders to think and innovate as we navigate our challenges and opportunities that lie ahead.

I should probably close while I'm ahead in this equilibrium of optimism and pessimism. I hope that you might feel a little bit better about things as a result of this conversation. You are starting to reconcile these competing realities of staying strong in the face of danger with fewer dollars. If so, you should also feel pretty good about yourself. It was F. Scott Fitzgerald who said the test of a first-rate intelligence is the ability to hold two competing and opposing ideas in your mind at the same time. If that, in fact, is the definition of intelligence, I can certainly tell you that I'm there, and I suspect you are as well. Ambassador, I will tell you, but I'm sure there is someone with that kind of genius and intelligence in this crowd who is armed for your first question. [*Laughter.*]

That's my prepared remarks. Let me also tell you, I really did come here today with the intent of assuring you that we will lead our way through this. The conditions are not making it easy to do that, but none of us that serve in uniform, none of you who serve your country in civilian life and the diplomatic corps and economics, I don't think any of you ever signed up for anything easy. Easy wasn't part of the job description. And we'll get through this, but we'll get through it mostly because of the application of leadership, thinking, creativity, and a commitment to each other.

And that's the message I want to leave you with before I take your questions: that we have a shared future. We have an interest in sharing the outcomes as we move ahead. And that will always be the case and always factor into the decisions we make about distribution of forces, partnering, engaging—all the things we've done through the past—really for the past twenty-five or thirty years to make sure that the Middle East in particular is on a path for greater security and stability on the basis of our common interests and values.

Remarks at the US Central Command Change of Command Ceremony

MacDill Air Force Base

Tampa, Florida | March 22

Thanks very much. Deanie [his wife] and I are absolutely delighted to return here to Tampa, United States Central Command. We really do feel like we're part of the family.

Sergeant major [Command Sergeant Major Frank Grippe], let me begin by telling you, it's great to see the joint force you've arrayed out there, the soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines. I wouldn't be surprised if I caught glimpse of a coastguardsman out there, but they look terrific. And I appreciate their support for this ceremony honoring two great military leaders.

As many of you know, this is a family that Deanie and I belong to and were privileged to be part of not so long ago, actually. And I'm delighted to see so many of our distinguished friends and guests, including the leaders of the Tampa community.

I would take note, by the way, that today I happened to catch a glimpse on the television on the way over here, and I noted that the Grand Prix is meeting or racing or whatever they do in St. Petersburg this weekend. What a perfect metaphor for what [General James N.] "Jim" Mattis has been doing and what [General] Lloyd [J.] Austin [III] is about to do, because I'm sure there will be times when it feels like you're careening through the streets of St. Petersburg at 150 miles an hour. And that's exactly what you've been doing and you will do.

Florida, as many of you know, and especially this part of Florida, takes especially good care of our men and women in uniform, and we deeply appreciate that support. I also took note, as I always like to do, of our coalition leaders and partners who are here this morning. I'd like to extend my personal gratitude and the gratitude of the senior military leaders across all of our armed forces for your partnership in many parts of the world, especially in the Middle East and most notably for those of you that are serving with us in Afghanistan, thank you very much. And stick with us. Speaking of friends, I heard last night's dinner was a great celebration, as it should be. It's been a special day—or it is a special day for Jim Mattis and the Austins and for our nation, as we transfer command from one great leader to another, and as we recognize the important work of the men and women who serve in US Central Command.

A tremendous share of that responsibility rests on their shoulders as it has throughout the thirty-year history of Central Command. This is a command where men and women are asked to demonstrate their incredible resolve and fortitude. They're the best-led, the best-trained, and the best-equipped force that our nation has ever known. We're proud of the hard work they do every day in a part of the world where our national interests are so important and where we have such great and strong partners and friends.

Under the weight of this responsibility, even the best of men might expect to be found with their head down and their gaze fixed. Since day one, though, General Jim Mattis has always looked up and out. The challenges the volatile CENTCOM [US Central Command] region presents can sometimes seem almost insolvable, yet Jim looked beyond the risks and sought to understand and to consider what was possible. He looked beyond the threats that we've labored to confront to face down aggression in all its forms. But I'm not telling you anything you don't already know about Jim Mattis. He really is one of a kind. He's a visionary, and yet he's molded out of the same grit as [Lieutenant General Lewis B.] "Chesty" Puller. He has a legendary understanding of military history and of historical context. It's rumored, by the way, that his personal library once numbered over 7,000 volumes. And he just didn't have them to look at the pictures; he actually read them, so he claims. [*Laughter.*]

But Jim Mattis doesn't just know it: he lives it, and he's breathed it. I've never met a marine or anyone, for that matter, who has served with Jim Mattis who had anything but the highest regard for his leadership.

I should tell you that, on the way down here yesterday, Deanie and I stopped at Parris Island to visit some of the drill sergeants and leaders involved in initial entry training for the United States Marine Corps. And even a young sergeant or staff sergeant knew I was on the way down here for the Central Command change of command. And to a man and women, they knew the name of Jim Mattis.

Now, I have to tell you, when you think about legacies, if you can leave the service with such an imprint on it that a young sergeant in any service knows your name and has respect for the leadership you've provided, that's a legacy I think we would all aspire to and be very proud of.

And, Jim, I'm really proud to be up here representing not just myself and with the secretary of the department, but all of your peers, the combatant commanders, the service chiefs, several of whom are here today, and I'll tell you that at our last meeting, when we gather in Washington, with all of the combatant commanders and service chiefs, the one phrase on each of our lips was that we're going to miss Jim Mattis. And it was said with the kind of sincerity that was actually quite profound. Jim, we are going to miss you.

No one cares more about his troops, and the sentiment is mutual. It's as one of his lance corporals said, "We loved him because we knew he loved us." Jim, in the words of the Marine Corps Hymn, you have kept your honor clean.

Lloyd Austin has also done some incredibly heavy lifting for our nation over the past decade. He, too, is returning to the CENTCOM family with an extraordinary breadth of experience in both command and in other joint roles. Lloyd has the right mix of valor

and values, thoughtfulness and decisiveness, and critically important to this command, the talent to unpack complex situations to find enduring solutions, not to mention his towering frame, in case you haven't noticed, which when combined with an impressive baritone voice will either inspire or intimidate. Personally, as a tenor, I wish I had some of that stature and bass baritone.

It's also easy to say—and I think Jim would agree—that this is the most important and challenging job in our military inventory. Let's put it this way. There's always an honest day's work to be done in Central Command. Building on the progress that Jim has brought forward, we're going to lean on Lloyd and this team to anchor relationships and continue to build trust across the region. We'll seek new ways to work by, with, and through our partners. And we'll continue to balance our forces in a new fiscal reality while we advance security, stability, and opportunity in this important part of the world.

We're fortunate, Lloyd, to have you leading our way through this significant time in our history. And we're also fortunate to have Charlene [Austin], who stands at your side.

By the way, Tampa, you're in for a special treat. Charlene has devoted her life to making a difference for others. In her spirit of service, we see the virtues that sustain our military and that keep our country great. I know Charlene will continue to be a superb champion for military families, a wonderful representative of the United States, and a steadfast friend to the families and to the CENTCOM staff.

Lloyd and Charlene, thank you for taking on this command. Thanks for leading the nation's sons and daughters and for looking after their families. I'm certain they will continue to make me and all Americans very proud. To both of you and your families, good luck, God bless. And to the CENTCOM team, thanks for what you do every day. Thank you.

Remarks at the US Africa Command Change of Command Ceremony

Stuttgart, Germany | April 5

Welcome to this evening's performance of brother act. [*Laughter.*] Actually, the three of us walked through the set back here where *Sister Act* is playing, as you know. And we were going to come out dressed as nuns, but we couldn't—we argued about who would be Whoopi Goldberg, so as usual we didn't get anything done and here we are. [*Laughter.*]

It is a delight to be back in Germany, and an especial privilege to be the one asked by the secretary of defense to represent him at this ceremony. You know that my wife Deanie and I have spent many years in Germany. And it's always great to come back. I learned just before I arrived here, actually, that the Stuttgart spring beer festival is a mere two weeks away. And so I'm planning my remarks to last about thirteen days, twenty-three hours, and fifty-five minutes. So buckle up, because I need an excuse to stay here for the spring beer festival.

Honestly, it really is a great privilege to be able to recognize the contributions of two incredible military families—not just the who men you see sitting on stage before you today—as well as the contributions of all of you who serve in US Africa Command. It really is exciting to see many friends, acquaintances, all of our ambassadors, city leaders, as well as their families, represented here today—and our African and European partners. I want to thank you all for taking time to help us celebrate this ceremony today. It's a testimony—far beyond what I can say—of your commitment to each other and to our common interest, and a testimony to the leadership of [General] Carter [F.] and Christi Ham.

And that's what it's all about, actually. I think you would all agree that it's about teamwork and leadership. Not ten days after the last change of command, when Carter Ham took command—not ten days later, you pulled together an international coalition dedicating to help protect the people of Libya. From Tanzania to Senegal, Tunisia to Botswana, you found new ways to deepen partnerships and to build capability. Your support has enabled African-led coalitions to tackle some of Africa's most complex challenges. And together, you've critically weakened al-Shabaab, put the Lord's Resistance Army on the run, and helped beat back extremism in Mali. Not bad for a five-year old command.

Carter, their achievements are the product of your principled and grounded leadership. As a famous African saying goes: a tree is known by its fruit. You've plowed beneath the surface of today's most complex problems and worked to help achieve genuine understanding. You've cultivated a strategy that embraces complexity and acknowledges that enduring solutions can only be the result of open, honest collaboration. And you've done it all with integrity, with determination and with humility—something I admire greatly. And that's a testament to your roots as an enlisted soldier.

To put it simply, you've inspired trust. Throughout your career, our military has asked you to tackle some of its most perplexing and toughest challenges and to manage many of our most delicate transitions. And you've come through every time, turning crisis into opportunity by building the right team and by focusing on the possibilities. And I'll tell you something, the people on your interagency team here at AFRICOM [US Africa Command] have helped offer the nation countless possibilities. It's a team that reflects the reality of our uncertain world, a team capable of joining with others to confront threats that often defy traditional solutions. This team has shown exactly what we can achieve when we break down barriers and when we build on the strength of our relationships.

Now, I think we all know that the lion's share of the strength in the Ham household comes from Christi. She might have an advantage in the intelligence category too, I'm told. [*Laughter.*] Although my own wife said that marrying an Army guy does show some questionable judgment. [*Laughter.*] Christi, it's been a joy for Deanie and I to get to know you and to work alongside you and Carter over these last many years. Thank you for your leadership and thank you for your kindness. Thank you for what you've done for your husband, but also what you've done for our nation. Your dedication to the men and women of this command and to the families that make it all possible has really been remarkable. I know that supporting education has been a passion for you. I hope it

remains a part of your life even in retirement because the work you've done with groups like the Military Child Education Coalition has made a real difference, here and with military families around the world.

In the end, I can only think of one real letdown: Carter, it looks like you're never going to find that bad German beer you've been searching for these many, many years. But I encourage you to keep up the quest. I'm not sure it's even out there, actually, but I can take up the search for you if you falter at some point. [*Laughter.*] It is a tough job, but as they say, somebody has to do it.

As proud grandparents, I know that you and Christi will gladly trade hoisting up steins of pilsner for handing out sippy cups of juice. You've raised an amazing family, and you've earned some time off with those grandbabies. I'm sure Jennifer and Jonathan and their families will find plenty of work for you to do. That's what my wife's doing this weekend, by the way, or this week, babysitting our three little granddaughters so that my son, recently returned from Afghanistan, can spend some time with his wife. So there you have it; that's your future. [*Laughter.*]

But I do want to ensure that alongside this lighthearted approach to what is a remarkable career and a very well-done ceremony—by the way, to those responsible for putting this ceremony together, my compliments—but I do want to mention that Deanie and I will very much miss the two of you. You have been good friends, close confidants; you've been a steady hand when times felt very unsteady. And we admire you greatly and wish you all the best as you go into retirement.

But I know you'll agree that replacing another great Army, in particular, but military family at the reins, another extraordinary couple: [General David M.] "Dave" and Ginny Rodriguez. You know, Dave and Ginny were stationed here in Germany back the 1990s, about the same time Deanie and I were here in Friedberg; that's where Deanie and I were. Dave loved it; of course, he was convinced that that assignment was his last good deal that the Army would ever give him. So when he was nominated for the position, he actually called me and said, somebody must really want Ginny back in Germany because I know they've never asked for me to come back. They do, Dave. They do want Ginny back. Ginny's unique spark and energy are perfect for AFRICOM. But as I understand it, you guys are sort of a package deal, and that's a good thing for the nation, for all of our nations, actually, and probably the best two-for-one deal we could ever possibly hope for. Make that a six-for-one deal, actually, because your family—a military family, Amy, David, Melissa, and Andrew—make sure you tell them thanks for me. And I know they'll be coming over to spend some time with you this summer.

Dave is one of our nation's most highly regarded senior officers and strategic thinkers. At every level of command, in peace and in war, he has proven his mettle. He's smart and decisive. He cares about the mission, but he also cares deeply about his people. From more than thirty-six years of experience, he knows the importance of building relationships and establishing trust, just as I mentioned about Carter. He's going to need all those talents as he works and continues to work with our partners to confront tomorrow's challenges. He'll have a full plate; we can promise him that—terrorism, transnational

crime, internal instability, illicit trafficking, and all the things that we know we have to address with our partners in order to make our lives better for our children, our grandchildren, and our partners' children and grandchildren. It's not an easy job.

I know I speak for Secretary [of Defense Charles T. "Chuck"] Hagel when I say that we and the entire nation, the entire military, have great confidence that you and Ginny will do what you've always done when the nation has called.

So to both the Ham and Rodriguez families, thank you for what you've done, but also what you will continue to do. It's because of leaders like you, the soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, and coastguardsmen that you've been privileged to lead, that we do and will remain the world's preeminent military force.

Thank you very much.

Joint Presser with General Fang Fenghui

Beijing, China | April 24

Note: General Fang's remarks are provided through an interpreter.

Fang: Friends of the media, good evening. At my invitation, General Dempsey, US chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is currently on a visit to China from April the twenty-first to the twenty-fifth. The Chinese [*inaudible*] is of much importance to General Dempsey's visit to China and has put a lot of time and effort into his visit.

Senior Chinese leadership will meet with him. General Dempsey will also go visit the [Chinese] National Defense University, have conversations with students there. He will go visit an army aviation academy too. We are confident that through the joint efforts from both China and the United States, General Dempsey's visit to China will be a full success.

Just now General Dempsey and I had a small-scale and a large-scale meeting. The two sides had a very in-depth exchange of views and ideas on China-US state-to-state and mil-to-mil [military-to-military] relations, as well as some regional and some international issues. We believe that a mil-to-mil relationship is an important part of our state-to-state relationship, and currently our mil-mil relationship has led to good momentum of development.

It is important, as we implement the important consensus reached on two [*inaudible*] things, focus our work on the strategic positioning of China-US cooperative partnership, and explore to develop a new type of international relations. These can extend the cooperation between our two militaries and work actively to develop a new type of military relationship that is consistent with our state-to-state relationship.

Second, the Chinese and the US militaries are taking an increasingly important role in maintaining peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. It is important for our two sides to play a constructive role in regional affairs and to work to have real cooperation and maintain peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

So we should work to enhance consultation and dialogue between the two militaries and to enhance the exchange of high-level visits between the two militaries so as to build up mutual trust. The two sides have an in-depth exchange of views on Taiwan issues, Diaoyu Islands issue, and the North Korean issue. We are all willing to make concerted and an active effort to maintain the regional peace and stability.

So the two militaries share a vast common interest and foundation for cooperation in the nontraditional security goals. We should continue to stress in our cooperation in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, anti-piracy, and peacekeeping. The two armies will have a live HADR [humanitarian assistance and disaster relief] exercise in 2013, and the two navies will have another anti-piracy joint exercise in the Gulf of Aden and to include the practical cooperation between the two militaries.

The meetings were conducted in a candid, friendly, and constructive atmosphere and will achieve positive results. I'm willing to work together with General Dempsey to make efforts in advancing the new type of China-US military relationship.

Thank you.

Now I'd like to pass the floor to General Dempsey.

Dempsey: Thank you.

I'd first like to offer my condolences to the families of those who were killed in the earthquake in Sichuan Province. And I want to compliment the People's Liberation Army for their response and in particular compliment General Fang on his leadership of that effort on the military side.

Also going to extend my sympathy to the family of Lu Lingzi, who was a gifted student tragically killed in the Boston marathon bombings, and our thoughts and prayers go out to her grieving family.

I was very pleased today to meet General Fang in person. We had previously only spoken by phone. My wife, Deanie, and I are very thankful for your kind welcome and your hospitality. And this, I should mention, while he's also supervising the relief effort. I'm very pleased to be here in China for my first visit as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and also very, very pleased with the program that the general and his staff put together for me.

General Fang and our staffs had productive meetings today. In fact, through most of the afternoon, we discussed many issues of mutual interest. Our theme was quite simple, actually: a stable and prosperous region is in everyone's best interests. And in particular, healthy, stable, reliable, and continuous military-to-military relations are an essential part of our overall relationship between the United States and China.

I've always believed that personal relationships are the key to addressing areas of mutual concern. Increased cooperation, improved channels of communication, and continuous interaction between our militaries improves our relationship and certainly helps us to understand each other better. Today's discussions with General Fang and his leadership team are an important next step in this direction, and I look forward to many more. "Xièxiè" [thank you].

Moderator: Now the floor is open for questions.

Question: I'm with [*inaudible*] News Agency. Does China and the United States have a lot of traditional and nontraditional security threats in the Asia-Pacific region? We all know that currently the PLA [People's Liberation Army] tools are fully engaged in rescue operations in Sichuan after the Sichuan earthquake. And we also know from the briefing just now that this year, there will be an HADR exercise and an anti-piracy exercise between the two militaries. So my question is, how can the two militaries have sound interaction in the Asia-Pacific region? And I would like to ask General Fang to answer that question.

Fang: Thank you for the question. Actually, General Dempsey's visit to China is a very good example of how this sound interaction between our two militaries in the Asia-Pacific region could be [*inaudible*] and also his visit here has brought us opportunities to further develop these military-to-military relationships.

Just now General Dempsey expressed his condolences for the lives lost during the Sichuan earthquake and the Boston explosions, and I would like to thank him for his condolences. And also, General Dempsey has sent his compliments on the PLA troops' rapid reaction after the earthquake.

China is firmly opposed to terrorist activities. And here, I also want to send our condolences to the fallen lives during the explosion in Boston, and also to their families.

The sound interaction between the two militaries in the Asia-Pacific region is very important because it concerns the overall development of our mil-to-mil relationship. It also matters peace and stability in this area.

The Asia-Pacific region is the most dynamic area and has got potential, so it is a responsibility and obligation for the two militaries to main peace and stability here.

Actually, I believe there are four areas where we can do together. First is to endorse that idea of win-win cooperation. The Asia-Pacific region should be a platform for China-US cooperation. Both China and the United States are located in this area and the Pacific Ocean is wide enough to accommodate us both. We should be cooperating partners regardless of the circumstances.

Second, to reflect each other's core interests, we respect the legitimate right and interest of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region, and we are glad to see a constructive role by the United States in the regional affairs. It is important for China and the United States to respect each other's core interests and major concerns and to avoid [regional] competition, friction, or even confrontations in these areas.

Third, to actively advance cooperation in the security talks, the two militaries can continue to deepen practical cooperation in counterterrorism, antipiracy [*inaudible*] humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, logistics, and military medicine. When they try and broaden the scope of cooperation and enrich the content of cooperation to build a positive energy for this huge, new type of military-to-military relationship between our two countries.

Fourth, to respond to potential crises in the Asia-Pacific region: both China and the United States are important countries in the Asia-Pacific region; hence we should enhance communications, coordination, and cooperation, to appropriately handle the hot spot issues here and respond to potential crises, so as to play a constructive role to maintain peace, stability, and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region. So that's my answer to the question.

Colonel David Lapan: The next question here is to Bob Woodruff of ABC News.

Question: [in English] General Fang [makes brief statement in Chinese]. [In English] one of our great concerns right now is the growing danger in North Korea. There are now beliefs that there are a greater ability and capability for North Korea to actually put nuclear bombs in the tip of ballistic missiles. Do you have more concern about the danger of North Korea? And if so, are you stepping up your influence over that country to try to keep it more stable?

Fang: China has always maintained that the Korean Peninsula should be a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula. And we are firmly opposed to the nuclear test conducting by DPRK [Democratic People's Republic of Korea]. We support the UN [United Nations] Security Council in appropriate and reasonable sanctions against North Korea. Again, China is firmly opposed to the nuclear test conducted by that country.

DPRK has already conducted the third nuclear test, and there is a possibility that a fourth one will go on. I find the Chinese side is concerned. We ask both sides to work actively to work on [North Korea] to stop the nuclear test and to stop producing nuclear weapons.

A nuclear-free Korean Peninsula is in the interest of all related parties. It will also serve its own good. And China has been working actively with other countries on all sides so that both sides remain constrained and restrained. We believe that dialogue should be the right solution out of this issue and that peaceful dialogue such as the six-party talks.

China is also working actively to communicate with all related parties for an appropriate solution of the DPRK nuclear issue. At present, I still believe the best choice is through six-party talks.

And second, we've been working on all sides to resolve the issue. And third, China has been following the US Security Council resolutions and to do what we need to do in that direction to ensure that no major crisis happens on the peninsula and to ensure stability on the peninsula. I believe that is in all interests.

And this is what I have to say to your question.

Moderator: Now to Jane Purlez from the *New York Times*.

Question: General Fang, thank you for taking my question. President [Barack H.] Obama, when he spoke with President Xi Jinping to congratulate him on his taking of office in March, brought up the subject of cybersecurity. And American officials have made statements saying that the Chinese army has been involved in hacking into American businesses in order to undermine them.

Will you, as chief of the general staff, be prepared personally or to delegate your very senior people to participate in talks that set global rules for cybersecurity? Thank you very much.

Fang: Actually, I believe [*inaudible*] many media wants to know the answer to your question. Cybersecurity actually is getting increasing attention from many countries, in particular the big cyber countries, because on the one hand, the use of Internet will make our life much more convenient; however, at the same time, if it is not managed well, it may bring damaging consequences. Because as the Internet is increasingly used, as the Internet is getting access into more and more important terminals, if the security of the Internet cannot be guaranteed, then I cannot exaggerate the importance of the Internet. The damaging consequences being caused may be as serious as a nuclear bomb.

Actually, China itself is suffering from cyberattacks. So China is a big victim of cyberattacks. And from our own experience, we know how important it is to ensure cybersecurity, and we are strongly against any kind of cyberattacks.

Just now General Dempsey mentioned cyberdisruption and distraction. None of these activities is tolerated here in China.

Actually, during the meeting just now, General Dempsey and I have already talked about the importance of maintaining cybersecurity. And I believe that it is important for us to secondly adhere that we should jointly work on this issue and set up mechanisms to enhance coordination and communication on cybersecurity.

And it is also important for us to manage our respective peoples from launching cyberattacks, but I know how difficult it is, because the Internet is open to everyone, and he can launch the attack from anywhere, from the place where he lives, from his own country or from other countries. But still I do believe that if we work closely together, we can do something.

Question: General Dempsey, thank you for taking my question.

General Dempsey, I'm from CCTV [China Central Television]. And now you talked about a mil-mil relationship. We know it is having a good momentum of development. However, there is still this on-off—on-again, off-again circle in mil-mil relationship between the two militaries, and I think this is really because there are three obstacles in China-US mil-mil relationship. That is the US arms sales to Taiwan, your reconnaissance by military ships and aircraft, and also the discriminatory laws against China.

So my question is, what do you think the United States can do to improve the China-US mil-mil relationship?

Dempsey: Well, first of all, for just a moment there, I thought that the general was going to be the perfect host and take all four questions. [*Laughter.*]

We talked about all three of those issues and another four or five beyond that. And maybe isn't that the point? It's the first time we've spoken, the two of us, about these issues. And so, in part, the answer to your question is we've had frequent tactical contact, and now it it's our desire, both of us, that we maintain dialogue at the strategic level.

I think what you should take away from my response to your question is that we are committed to building a better, deeper, more enduring relationship, but importantly, in the context of some of our—[I'm] talking about the United States now—other historic and enduring alliances. So, this isn't about choosing any one or the other when we do have some treaty obligations. But we will build this relationship by increasing our contact at the strategic level and recognizing the context of the historic alliances that the United States has in the region. And there will be points where that creates friction, and we'll have to work through this.

Question: I'm with China Radio International. And my question is directed to General Dempsey. We all know about your rebalanced strategy during the past years and you've been saying repeatedly that a [*inaudible*] without a strategy is not pointed at China. However, we cannot help but noticing the frequent joint military exercises in the vicinity of China. So I'd like to know your response on that; how do you comment [on] that?

Dempsey: Well, first, thanks for asking that question because it's probably at the core of why I've made this visit.

You know, the United States is a Pacific power and has been. This isn't about having disappeared and now we're going to reappear. We have been particularly active and busy in the Middle East, and to some extent that's why there may have been a reduced presence here. But we have been, and will continue to be a Pacific power.

And our intention, of course, is to contribute to stability in a way that protects our national interests, which are very much tied to this region—certainly economically, but also demographic shifts and security issues, all of which require, it seems to us, for us to be part of the solution. One of the things I talked about today with the general is that we seek to be a stabilizing influence in the region. And in fact, we believe that it would be our absence that would be destabilizing, not our presence.

A final point I want to make is it's not necessarily about the quantity of actions. I would describe it as, in our view, three mores: we're more interested, we're more engaged—my presence here should be an indication of that—and we're putting more of our quality people and equipment—but not more. It's not about an increase in activity or an increase in numbers, but rather an increase in interest, after a decade where we probably haven't been interested enough. And I think the general and I had a very candid conversation about the perceptions to be overcome. But we're committed to overcoming them.

Moderator: And that concludes today's press conference. Thank you, general. And thank you for coming.

Remarks at the National Institute for Defense Studies (Japan)

Tokyo, Japan | April 26

Well, good afternoon. I'd like to thank the president [Nobushige Takamizawa] and commandant [Lieutenant General Tsugio Ishino] for the opportunity to have a conversation with you today. And I'd like to congratulate you on being selected to be members of the [National Institute for Defense Studies]. The institute has been a source of thoughtful dialogue and credible counsel since 1952, the year I was born, by the way. And we'll try to uphold that tradition today, particularly when I get a chance to hear what's on your mind.

Before I do, I want to take a few moments to remove any doubt about the strength and sustainability of America's military, of our alliance, and our Asia-Pacific strategy.

You're probably aware that some say that America is returning to the region. The truth is, we never left. In fact, our presence dates back well over 200 years. This month, in 1806, the American explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were heading home after establishing an overland route to the Pacific in our country. Quite literally, they put us on a path to you. Trans-Pacific trade soon followed, the first Japanese commercial ship, the *Fujumaru*, docked in San Francisco in 1872. And a local newspaper reported that the ship is a pioneer of a trade which may yet astonish the world. It turned out to be prophetic.

1872 just happens to be the same year that a veteran of our Civil War, Horace Wilson, introduced baseball to Japan. I know that—or you should know—that baseball is a great passion of mine, and I suspect it's a passion of many of you. Now granted, it's easy to be passionate about baseball when my team is the New York Yankees, although I do understand that the Yomiuri Giants are off to a good start this season.

Baseball fans know that a team's standing only a few weeks after opening day is not a good indicator of postseason success. That's because baseball is a long game, played over a long season. It involves strategy, it requires both talent and teamwork, and it values hard work and fair play. We will need all of those qualities and more to help us deal with today's challenges. Challenges that come at us fast full of curves, change-ups, and even a shutout or two.

They also come at us in the context of rising risk and reduced resources. Our security environment remains intensely competitive and uncertain. Power and technology have been let loose. Threats can manifest themselves in a backpack or on a laptop. Advanced weapons are now in the hands of irresponsible regimes. At the same time, the global economic recession has put pressure on national budgets including on defense budgets.

There are some exceptions. In Asia, for example, defense spending across the region rose nearly 5 percent last year. But by and large, defense dollars are down throughout the world, and that's no exception in America. Together, these trends have led many, including some of you perhaps in this institute, to question whether the United States can remain a global leader and a reliable partner. I assure you that we can and I know that we must. Let me tell you why.

First, you can have confidence in the strength and sustainability of America's military. Now true, we are facing the steepest, but not the deepest drawdown since the Korean War. We're also facing readiness shortfalls this year that we'll need to recover from next year. But, and I have said this before, we're only one deal away from regaining some budget certainty. And just as in baseball, a great hit can wipe out a bad error.

This is also not our first drawdown. I have served during three similar periods in my past. Each time we made some mistakes, and each time we emerged stronger as a military and as a nation.

We're also managing this transition from a position of strength. Our capability is ours without rival, and we're on the leading edge on most every area, including cyber. We have a global presence, including hundreds of ships on the high seas. We can project power at will, witness our recent B-2 mission to South Korea intended to assure our allies and deter North Korea.

Like the Japanese Self Defense Forces, our decisive advantage is our people. You can't tell them that they're not strong after twelve years—our men and women in uniform have proven their resilience and their courage, and demonstrated their mettle. They're smart, dynamic leaders who give us all confidence in our future.

Second, you can also have confidence in our alliances. This is my fourth trip to Asia as chairman, and I can report our alliances are strong and getting stronger. We cannot and do not underestimate their value. As we know from baseball, talent wins games, but teamwork wins championships.

As you may know, the US has more alliances in this region than anywhere else in the world. Our deep partnership with Japan as well as with the Republic of Korea, with Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand are the foundation of our Asia-Pacific strategy. They underpin a growing network of increasingly important trilateral and multilateral relationships and forums. When you ally with the United States, you ally with the region.

Allies provide, what I call, the three Cs: capacity, capability, and karaoke. [*Laughter.*] No, actually, not karaoke. The last one should be credibility. Although you're also quite good, I've heard, as a class at karaoke. I'm a bit of a singer myself, as you may know and perhaps you've seen me on YouTube. [*Laughter.*]

Capacity, capability, and credibility are the combining forces, the aikido [the way of combining forces] of our relationship. It's what gives us the agility to respond and to everything from a natural disaster to a dangerous dictator. The US-Japanese relationship exemplifies aikido. We routinely train and we deploy together. We built in interoperability in F-16s today and F-35s tomorrow. And we're committed to upholding every article of our mutual defense treaty.

During this visit to Japan, which is my third as chairman, General [Shigeru] Iwasaki and I affirmed then reaffirmed our alliance. Among the many issues we discussed was the renewed imperative for cooperation between the United States, Japan, and South Korea. As I discussed with General Jung [Seung-jo, the South Korean chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff] in Seoul this weekend, we may be entering a

prolonged period of provocation from Pyongyang. Given the missile threat and Kim Jong-un's reckless rhetoric, we have no choice but to improve our defenses and accelerate our cooperation.

I raised this issue as well in Beijing, where I was warmly welcomed by my counterpart General Fang [Fenghui] and other senior Chinese leaders. I carried a message of assurance there as well. They should now understand that we can build a relationship with them without compromising on the trust we have with our enduring allies. Cooperation, not confrontation, is our strategy of choice for China, and quite frankly, for the region.

Which brings me to the question of our Asia-Pacific strategy or the so-called rebalancing. I can understand why some may wonder if this strategy is still feasible, not just due to less money but also due to the unrelenting pull of the Middle East. I can assure you that our rebalancing is still on. It's a strategic imperative born of this region's emergence as a socioeconomic center of gravity in the world. All the trend lines are headed this way so watch out.

Likewise, we're taking a comprehensive approach. We're prioritizing trade and commerce, diplomacy, and development. We see our presence and partnerships as reinforcing the relationship between prosperity and security. You simply can't have one without the other. And you can't do security part-time. Admittedly, our presence has been episodic somewhat over the last decade. Our absence can be destabilizing. In contrast, our routine presence is stabilizing. Therefore, you can expect us to pay more attention and to engage more often in this region. And not just in Northeast Asia, but in Southeast Asia and across the region. Our engagement will be as much, if not more, about people than things. True, some of our best-quality equipment will come out this way from time to time. Just last week, for example, our first littoral combat ship, the USS *Freedom*, arrived in Singapore for its first regional deployment. But more importantly, our best people will be here all the time. That said, we can and will move capability around the world quickly, if needed. We rapidly upgraded our missile defenses in recent weeks. Our cooperative response to the North Korean threat is a clear demonstration of our will, the strength of our alliance, and our commitment to the region—a region on the rise and ripe with opportunity.

A great American poet, Walt Whitman once said, "I see great things in baseball. It will repair our losses and be a blessing to us." Likewise, the security and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region will be a blessing to us all. We're in the opening innings of our rebalance, and we look forward to a long and productive season. Thank you, and I look forward to your questions.

Remarks at the Arizona State University Class of 2013 Undergraduate Commencement

Tempe, Arizona | May 9

Thanks. Thank you. Thanks very much.

I usually warn people, you really ought to wait till you hear what I have to say before you stand up like that. [*Laughter.*] But I accept the applause on behalf of the roughly 1.4 million men in uniform serving around the world who have earned the gratitude of the American people.

But I also want you to know that we don't take it for granted. We know that we've got to earn it and re-earn it every day. And so thanks, thanks for the applause, and I will be sure as I travel around the world meeting military members and their families that I'll them that they are connected to Arizona State University, and good evening, Sun Devil Nation! [*Applause.*]

I spent a great day today at the university, and President [Michael M.] Crow, thank you again for the hospitality. I've appreciated the opportunity to learn about your adaptive learning program, this new American university. You have a lot to be proud of, graduating from this institution, what it's done, and what I think it has the potential to do. And speaking of potential, that's what we're really looking to you for, is a better potential.

So distinguished faculty, friends, family members, and most importantly, the Class of 2013, I really do feel privileged to share this evening with you. Thank you for inviting me to this wonderful university.

Now I did learn a few things about the Sun Devil nation as I was preparing for this occasion.

Apparently, if you haven't gotten up at 7 o'clock in the morning to tailgate at lot 59, you haven't really lived. [*Applause, cheers.*] So I'm hoping that the little surprise the president has for me is a couple of football tickets or something.

I also learned that the Sun Devils know more than one way to insult the enemy—of course the enemy is the "other" school down the road in Tucson. [*Applause, cheers.*]

And importantly, I learned this: never . . . ever . . . ever mess with Sparky.

Now, Sparky, if you're out there somewhere, I'm sure your makeover will turn out just fine, even if it looks a little like Mr. Potato Head.

I enjoy these ceremonies because it's a time to reflect on not only where you've been, but where you're going. And it's the time when you get to move that little tassel of your cap from one side to the other signifying, as you know, that before you weren't smart and now you're really smart. [*Laughter.*]

As rightfully proud as you are today of reaching this milestone, I want to align myself with the earlier comments about thanking your families because—you know this—your success here today is based on some really hard work by some men and women in the stands around who raised you and are extraordinarily proud of you today. And I can tell you for a fact, as the president mentioned, that my high school sweetheart is sitting right over here. She'll give me a grade on my remarks at the

end of this ceremony, but I will tell you categorically that being a parent is the most important and noble profession on the planet, so give them another round of applause. [*Applause, cheers.*]

By the way, Sunday is Mother's Day so when you hug your mom, and that's good, don't forget Mother's Day.

And parents, I know how proud and happy you are today. These graduates reflect your commitment to family, but also to your country because I can tell you that for a fact, that education is the true foundation of democracy, and your commitment to ensuring that your children are educated not only makes them more capable and more ready to earn a living, but it makes them better citizens, so thanks for that.

I also want to take a moment to recognize the forty-three ROTC [Reserve Officers' Training Corps] graduates who I commissioned yesterday from Arizona State University. Fine men and women who are joining the ranks of the most capable and the most respected military in the world.

Now I know that there are some reservists and veterans among the graduating class and elsewhere in the audience, and I can understand why you're here. Arizona State University and the ASU family has an especially good reputation for taking care of our veterans. And I personally want to thank you for all of that.

Right now it's about 7:30 in the morning in Afghanistan. Soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, and even a few coastguardsmen are coming in from their night's mission. And others are getting ready to go out.

They're performing their final checks—they're loading their weapons, they're testing their radio frequencies, they're going over their patrol routes. Then they'll give one more thought of home, then cross the wire.

We're all proud of what those young men and women are doing, not just in Afghanistan, but all over the world trying to be a global force for good and the sacrifices they and their families make on our behalf, for all of us.

So, if I could ask anyone in the audience who is serving or has ever served in uniform or who is about to go out and serve in uniform to please stand so we can recognize and thank you. [*Applause, cheers.*]

As I look out at you, graduates, I'll confess that I'm a bit envious because I'm very much aware that I'm at the dusk of my career, while you're at the dawn of yours. The years ahead holds the promise of incredible possibilities and opportunities for each of you, the fact to which you can't even imagine today.

So as I was preparing for this commencement address, I asked myself what's the one thing I wish I'd known at my graduation? What would I go back today and tell my twenty-two-year-old self getting ready to plunge into the world in 1974? And I got it. Invest in Apple. [*Laughter.*] I wish I had something more for you, but you get my point.

By the way, when I graduated, I actually was feeling pretty good about myself. I'd done fairly well academically; I had the love of my life and my high school sweetheart, Deanie, at my side; and we were heading overseas to Germany to become a scout platoon leader—to the land of fast cars and good beer—as a new second lieutenant in the Army.

I thought—yeah, I'm with you brother. I thought I had a decent understanding of the world [*laughter, cheers*]—I think I started something. And I was entering with a reasonable idea of what I thought the future would play out.

But deep down inside, I now admit, I had an enduring sense of uncertainty. And if there are any closet fans of the Weather Channel out there, you probably know that we're on the cusp now of hurricane season. Now obviously, hurricanes aren't a big factor here in Tempe . . . or for that matter, clouds or really anything else other than blue skies. But you've got to feel for the East Coast. Miami, New Orleans, and up and down the coast where those hurricanes hit from time to time and where the weathermen struggle mightily to predict especially with people's lives hanging in the balance.

You've probably seen how as they begin to forecast the hurricane. They'll put this "cone of uncertainty" in front of the storm. That's because the atmosphere, like life, is an incredibly complex and uncertain phenomenon. So as it goes, the farther they project into the future, the wider the cone of uncertainty becomes because the greater the uncertainty becomes.

The analogy here is probably fairly transparent to you. If not, you should probably sign back up for a few English courses. But I suggest to you that the challenge the weatherman faces is analogous to the challenges of life, your personal and professional life. It's also analogous to the challenges that our nation faces in a complex, rapidly changing world.

In other settings with other audiences, I've suggested that to make it in this competitive age, the formula for success is to be curious and creative. You know, to find new ways of doing things and solving problems. I actually think that's one of ASU's greatest strengths—that they arm you for your future. I really hope you're passionate about both.

By the way, by curious and creative, I don't necessarily mean to find news of getting mom and dad to keep paying the bills after you graduate. [*Laughter.*]

I suggest to you there's another quality as you go forward that's just as important—maybe even more important—and that's resilience. Life will call on you to be resilient. Think Chumbawamba [English rock band]. [*Laughter.*] When things don't work the first, the second time, or the tenth or eleventh time, when there are setbacks and there are hardships, you have to persevere and you have to learn.

You keep going and you keep growing.

I suggest that resilience is the indispensable tool you must have in your toolbox for a successful, happy life . . . no matter what profession you choose. Resilient individuals and institutions are both better prepared for an uncertain future, and they're able to shape the future to a better one.

I'm not suggesting that resilience is easy, by the way. Citizens of our great nation have always understood that when we're challenged, when things like 9/11 occur, when Hurricane Katrina hits, or Boston strikes, we pick ourselves up and we get back at it. It's who we are as Americans. [*Applause, cheers.*] We learn, we rebuild and we grow. It's not easy, but it's what we do.

In some ways, we are not—neither as individuals nor as a nation—as resilient as we could be. Some give in and give up when their values are challenged, or when success is elusive, or when life just seems too hard.

Our men and women in uniform and their families are resilient. They're part of the 9/11 generation that's weathered more than a decade of war. Resilience is actually what defines them.

As your generation blazes into an uncertain future, I suggest to you that resilience ought to be a big part of what defines your generation.

We've learned in the military that resiliency isn't something you have to be born with—you can actually learn, build, and train for it in the same way you train to become physically fit.

That's because it's not only rooted in principles and shaped by experiences—it's rooted in the habits of the mind. Patterns of thought are something you can work to rewire, to reinforce—[they are] habits that you can change and cultivate.

But building a resilience arsenal—a battery of emotional hardiness and mental flexibility—has to happen "left of the boom" as we say in the military. In other words, it has to happen before you know it or really need it. That takes a dominance of courage over timidity and an appetite of adventure over the love of ease. It takes a conspiracy of optimism and willing anticipation of opportunities to build firmness of character and strength of heart.

And it takes an acceptance of uncertainty, of adversity, and even failure—recognizing that these things are where wisdom and progress are born and can help us get to an even better place than we were before. It's understanding, as C.S. Lewis did, that "hardships often prepare ordinary people for extraordinary destiny."

It can also bring us to a different in how we engage with the world. A resilient mindset allows you to take risk and to reach higher than if you fear failure. I actually suggest to you that if you make it in life without failing, if you live so guardedly that there's no risk, no stretch, then you really fail by default.

Winston Churchill expressed it this way. He said, "Success is not fatal, failure is not final: it is the courage to continue that counts."

As I've said, keep going and keep growing.

By the way, Churchill once gave a famous commencement speech. You may have heard his words of wisdom or seen them, in fact, on a T-shirt at some point in your life. He said, "Never give in. Never, never, never, never—in nothing, great or small, large or petty—never give in, except to convictions of honor and good sense."

Now some have said that Churchill sat down immediately after those words "never give in," therefore making it the shortest graduation speech in history. I can see that some of you are hoping that I might follow in his footsteps.

You were the same guys who were with me on the beer joke! [*Laughter.*]

It's actually an urban legend. Churchill went on for forty-five minutes after that. But "never give in" far and away was what anybody remembered from that speech.

In my case, you'll probably remember that I compared Sparky to Mr. Potato Head. But I hope you'll also remember this next story as I close.

I was in eastern Afghanistan about a month ago in Paktika Province, which is right up on the border of Pakistan. Many consider it one of the toughest neighborhoods in Afghanistan, and maybe even in the world.

Seven years ago, we established a small, rugged forward operating base—a FOB, as we call it—along one of the main routes insurgents used to cross the border. This particular FOB looked across over a couple of mountain peaks. Although the mountain peaks were quite beautiful, the troops nicknamed them "Big Ugly" and "Big Nasty" for the hotbed of enemy action that occurred on their slopes.

The presence of this FOB in that part of Afghanistan was very significant, but very costly. Over time, it helped establish an environment where young Afghan boys and girls could go to school, where the local government and economy are beginning to stand on their own, and where Afghan security forces are today able to defend and secure their own people.

In fact, with all the progress, we were recently able to close that FOB and a soccer field stands there now and kids are already playing on it. And we'll be able to return other FOBs in Paktika Province in Afghanistan back to the people by year's end.

It probably won't surprise you to know that the forward operating base I'm speaking of is FOB Tillman—a name you know well. [*Cheers, applause.*] A name that's synonymous with courage, with passion, and with resilience [the FOB is named after Patrick D. Tillman Jr., an ASU graduate who played professional football with the Arizona Cardinals and was killed in Afghanistan in 2004].

So let me leave you with these final thoughts.

I suggest that a truly meaningful life demands resilience.

I suggest that life takes on meaning only as the principles to which you attach yourself have meaning.

I suggest that the greatest value in life is to have the courage to spend it for something bigger than yourself.

And in the end you, become who you are through the causes to which you attach yourself.

Pat Tillman once said, "Our voice leads us in a direction of the person we wish to become, but it is up to us to decide whether or not to follow."

Graduates, ASU has put you on a path to be both successful and resilient. You've already proven that by getting to today. Go out there and have a great life.

Reach high for yourself and for those around you and for your country. Keep going and keep growing. The Sun Devil nation is behind you all the way . . . and so am I.

Go Devils!

Remarks at the Points of Light Service Unites Conference on Volunteering and Service

Washington, DC | June 21

Thanks, thanks a lot. Well, this is a great way for me to end my week; I hope it turns out to be a great way for you to end your week. Thanks for being here at the convention writ large, but [also] on this military line of effort—the military summit. And I want to compliment all of you, the leadership of this organization for strapping this on. And I'll just share a couple of fleeting thoughts.

Sometimes I find those to be the most profound, actually. I spent the last week in the continental United States. I have to go overseas almost constantly. Every once in a while, I'll force myself to go out into the hinterlands and visit the young men and women who are serving their country in this country, inside the continental United States. So this week it happened to be the Air Force primarily, and it happened to be Minot, North Dakota; Whiteman Air Force Base in Missouri; and Scott Air Force Base just outside of St. Louis. And of course, at Minot some of you I hope would know that that's about a third of our intercontinental ballistic missile fleet.

And we've got a group of incredible young men and women up there—we frankly don't pay much attention to them, and that's good, because what they do is both important but also the kind of enterprise that's so hard to talk about. You know, nuclear weapons are an important deterrent; the prospect is just frightening, but up there, you've got these young men and women for twenty-four hours a time about every third day, about sixty feet underground managing that enterprise. And they do so with an incredible sense of duty, with an incredible amount of courage and dedication, and their families, who are living—I mean, I'm not going to insult anyone, but Minot, when I was up there, it was pretty nice, actually, but in the middle of winter it can be a rather challenging place. Anybody from North Dakota? Ah, I rest my case. [*Laughter.*]

I went and visited the B-2 [bomber]. We have twenty B-2s in the military; they're our long-range strike [aircraft]. You'll get these young aviators who will strap themselves into the B-2 and fly on a mission out and back with seven or eight refuelings along the way, and they'll spend thirty-six to forty hours in the cockpit of a B-2 to do what the nation wants them to do— needs them to do, to have a deterrent effect on our enemies and an assuring effect on our allies.

And then Transportation Command, which is where we manage all of the transportation and the distribution of supplies in this enterprise. They do what they do without a lot of fanfare, and they save us a lot of money. I know we don't get much credit for that, but they do really save us a lot of money.

So why do I mention that? Because the reason that we're all so interested in figuring out how to connect the United States military to communities is largely because we're coming out of ten years of war. Somewhat related to the fact that because of budget changes, we will reduce the size of the armed forces, and that has given us a new energy, a new impetus, maybe to strap this on.

But I want to remind you that there's still a lot of things that go on beyond that—beyond the war, beyond the fact that the force is always expanding and contracting—and we will need to be partnered with governmental agencies, but importantly, the private organizations for the foreseeable future if we hope to have any chance of doing what's right for these men and women who serve their country so selflessly.

On this day in history in 1787, New Hampshire ratified the Constitution, thereby enacting it into law on this day. And when I saw that's part of this day in history, I was reminded that the first line in the preamble of the Constitution says, "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union," dot, dot, dot, dot, dot. "In order to form a more perfect union." It doesn't say we the government of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union; it says "we the people of the United States," because I think the framers even then understood that the future of the United States was somewhat related to the ability of our government to account for the needs of the people and to provide governance and structure.

But I also think that they had a sense that what makes America great is really not our government—I will not add anything to the end of that sentence. [*Laughter.*] But it's we, the people, who come together when something needs to be done, and we work to get it done. And we get it done locally, we get it done regionally, sometimes nationally. But sometimes, what I've found is the best solutions tend to be those that derive from the bottom up, not from the top down. And there is no template to what we're asking of you in order to engage, help, and support those who wear the uniform. There's no template.

I mean, I know there's a blueprint, and that's actually working quite well. But that's one path on this journey. There could be others, and so the second fleeting thought here is that I hope you can help us think our way through the challenges ahead and find local solutions that may not always be applicable nationwide but might really work where you work or live.

And then the third fleeting thought is that next week, on the first of July, it will be the fortieth anniversary of the all-volunteer force. Forty years ago—1973, 1 July, the all-volunteer force came into being so that, from that point forward, it's young men and women who volunteer to serve their country who are serving their country in uniform; no longer a conscript force. We have men and women who choose to do this. And I think that to use the words of President [George] H. W. Bush in his 1991 State of the Union address—he said that we the country have to make a commitment to those who serve equal to this commitment that those who serve make to the country. And I really believe that. And as we get ready to recognize that anniversary of the all-volunteer force, I think it's an opportunity for all of us to recall that it is volunteers who now protect our way of life, and anything we can do for them—anything you can do for them through this public-private partnership in however you choose to do it will, it seems to me, be worthy of the effort and worthy of their sacrifices.

So on behalf of the millions of men and women that I represent in uniform and their families who support them, I want to thank you for your efforts here this week. I want to

thank you not only for what you've done, but I hope for what you do and continue to do. I want to assure you that the United States military is and will remain the finest military force on the face of the planet, and we will keep our nation immune from coercion, which is our sacred responsibility. And in so doing, we will seek to be the best possible citizens of America and good stewards of the resources that are given to us, whether those resources are young men and women or dollars in the defense budget. So thank you very much for your presence here today, and congratulations on what I've heard has been a very successful summit. I wish each of you a safe travel home, wherever home happens to be, and God bless you and God bless America.

Thank you.

Policy Memorandum
CM-0166-13

June 28

MEMORANDUM FOR CHIEFS OF THE MILITARY SERVICES

COMMANDERS OF THE COMBATANT COMMANDS

CHIEF, NATIONAL GUARD BUREAU

DIRECTORS OF THE JOINT STAFF DIRECTORATES

SUBJECT: Desired Leader Attributes for Joint Force 2020

1. One of my top priorities for developing Joint Force 2020 (JF2020) is to ensure that joint leader development is reinforced in military training and education programs and policy. Over the last 9 months, at my direction and under the guidance of the Joint Staff Director for Joint Force Development (J-7) and in conjunction with the J-7 staff, the Military Education Coordination Council (MECC) conducted a review of joint education. Its objective was to ensure that we are developing agile and adaptive leaders with the requisite values, strategic vision, and critical thinking skills to keep pace with the changing strategic environment. A primary focus of the review was to develop a set of Desired Leader Attributes (DLAs) required for the leaders of JF2020. After reviewing the MECC report's findings and recommendations, I approved a set of DLAs for adoption by the joint community as guideposts for joint officer leader development for JF2020 (an extract from the report is attached). This effort has significant implications as we move forward in meeting my intent to institutionalize the essential knowledge, skills, attributes, and behaviors that define our profession.

2. The six officer DLAs are the abilities to (1) understand the environment and the effect of all instruments of national power, (2) anticipate and adapt to surprise and uncertainty, (3) recognize change and lead transitions, (4) operate on intent through trust, empowerment, and understanding (Mission Command), (5) make ethical decisions

based on the shared values of the Profession of Arms, and (6) think critically and strategically in applying joint warfighting principles and concepts to joint operations.

3. These officer DLAs will be codified in a future revision of CJCSI 1800.0 I, "Officer Professional Military Education Policy" (OPMEP). Much work remains within the OPMEP revision process to map the DLAs across the joint education continuum and develop associated learning outcomes. In the meantime, our joint education institutions must consider ways to address the DLAs within their current officer education curricula and as they revise their programs via their internal curriculum review processes.
4. The review also examined enlisted joint education in the context of JF2020. Though substantial progress was made on a new enlisted joint education continuum, the MECC subsequently determined that a separate and distinct set of DLAs should be developed to guide joint enlisted leader development for JF2020. That effort is currently ongoing under the purview of my Senior Enlisted Advisor in conjunction with J-7. We have already received formal Service inputs that will greatly inform that process.
5. Education is a fundamental pillar of leader development, but while these officer DLAs grew out of the joint education review, education is only part of the solution. Training and experience will play a large role if we are to fully achieve the DLAs for the future leaders of JF2020. The joint training community must consider the DLAs as they refine current, and create future, training programs to support JF2020 development. Joint functional communities should incorporate the DLAs into their education and training programs as appropriate. Our personnel management systems must also evolve to support achieving the DLAs as we seek to develop JF2020.
6. My point of contact is Major General Michael S. Stough, USAF; Vice Director for Joint Force Development, Joint Staff; 703-697-3017.

Article from *Joint Force Quarterly* (National Defense University Press) "From the Chairman: Why We Serve"

3rd Quarter 2013, Issue 70

There are as many reasons to serve the Nation as there are Servicemembers. Some join for honor, some for a challenge, and some for more concrete reasons. I once knew a Soldier who signed up on a dare.

Regardless of why we join, most Soldiers, Sailors, Marines, Airmen, and Coastguardsmen continue to serve because of the camaraderie we forge with our brothers and sisters in arms. These bonds of trust extend from those in uniform to the loved ones who support us, and they connect today's force with those who have already served and with those who will. This trust makes us who we are—it makes us a military family.

Like any family, we understand the importance of making tough decisions to balance competing challenges. General George Marshall famously stated, "Don't fight the problem, decide it." He knew that simply railing against our challenges was choosing not to choose.

Our family has some tough choices ahead as we deal with rising risks and declining dollars. I cannot predict all the choices or their consequences. But I can share with you how I will approach them. In every case, I will be guided by my commitment to ensure that we have the best trained and best equipped military on the planet and that we keep our nation immune from coercion. To me, this means making choices that uphold the reasons why we serve.

An Uncommon Life

Our choices must preserve the unique ethos of our profession of arms. Deployed in Afghanistan, Army Staff Sergeant Rachel Baranek put it this way: "I believe that being part of a bigger organization than myself and representing something bigger than myself is my way of earning my freedom and my way of life, and that of my family."

Generations before Rachel have answered a similar call to live an uncommon life—a call embodied by the inscription at the base of "Old Simon" in Antietam National Cemetery: "Not for themselves, but for their country." This spirit must continue to be our guide.

Our officers and enlisted personnel have to remain more than simply competent practitioners of the art of war. They must continue to be men and women of character, worthy of standing alongside past generations and leading this generation into the future.

The Mission

Our choices must ensure we are always ready and always the best. Generations past and present have been driven by a desire to make a difference in the world. Navy Petty Officer 2nd Class Victor Vazquez enlisted at the age of 34 and celebrated his 35th birthday at boot camp. He remarked, "I wanted the opportunity to give back what I have learned as a civilian." When asked why he serves, his answer was simple: "the mission."

Petty Officer Vazquez's story is unusual, but his motivations are familiar. People join the military because they want to defend our nation and its interests. At a more personal level, they want to do meaningful work that produces results and to be a part of the most potent military force the world has ever known.

We honor this drive by remaining committed to the effectiveness of our peerless Joint Force, both today and tomorrow. That starts with our people. We will ensure those in harm's way have the training and resources required to achieve the mission in Afghanistan and around the world.

As they return home, we must give them the autonomy to excel and make sure that their work continues to have meaning. And we must work not only to keep them ready with reduced resources, but also to guarantee that we remain the best trained and equipped force in the world.

Our Families

Our choices must contribute to the well-being of our families. Army Specialist Patrick Serna explained, "I knew that if I could join, I could pay bills, go to college, and I'll be able to support [my son] in the long run." Pay, benefits, retirement—these are powerful motivators for many who choose to serve. In the end, the well-being of our Servicemembers and their families is the foundation of strength for our whole military family.

To keep this foundation solid, we must preserve our ability to care for military families in the past, present, and future. Our compensation system strives to reflect the unique sacrifices our families make—the birthdays missed, friends left behind, and loved ones lost.

But just as Patrick worries about caring for his family in the long run, we have to worry about providing for the military family in the decades to come. That means meeting our commitments, but resetting expectations developed over a dozen years of expanding budgets. It means working together to set up a system where pay remains competitive, health care becomes sustainable, and retirement stays solvent.

Bonds of Trust

Our choices must safeguard the bonds of trust we have with one another and the Nation. As Army 1st Lieutenant Ian O'Neill put it, "They do it for each other and I don't think there's any other organization where there's that much selflessness and brotherhood."

We cannot afford to mortgage this trust or our people for ever-expanding capabilities or unsustainable compensation. We cannot compromise tomorrow for today. We have an obligation to the Nation to be ready for an uncertain and dangerous future. Along the way, our character and competence must remain unblemished.

In the end, we cannot fight the hard choices that will keep our force in balance. We must decide them.

Remarks during the First Week of Civilian Furloughs
The Pentagon

July 9

Hi, I'm General Marty Dempsey, eighteenth chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. About ninety days ago, I sent a short video out to the field as the reality of sequestration came upon us—the day it was signed into law. And I asked you at that time to help us lead our way through this period of uncertainty, and you have.

I also want to come you today because it's the day after some of our civilian teammates began furloughs, an outcome that I find both discouraging and disappointing. But again, I look around and I see that you are leading your way through this.

My commitment to you is that we'll do the same here in the Pentagon. I also want to point out that as we predicted, we're beginning to see some effects on our readiness.

Those effects will deepen, and they'll be difficult to overcome. Once again though, it'll take solid leadership and communications as we try to understand what we can accomplish and what we cannot.

You know that sequestration—as I know—is illogical, but it is the law. We'll follow it, and we'll do the best we can with it. We'll articulate the consequences and we'll work our way, hopefully, toward a better outcome. I thank you for your leadership and I commit to you that we will continue to work this together. Thank you.

Opening Statement for Renomination as Chairman

Washington, DC | July 18

Mr. Chairman [Carl M. Levin], Ranking Member [James M.] Inhofe, distinguished senators, I am honored to appear before you today on this eighteenth day of July as the eighteenth chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

I am also thankful. Thankful for the confidence put in me two years ago, for the continued confidence of our commander in chief and secretary of defense, and for the privilege of serving with Admiral [James A.] Winnefeld [Jr., the vice chairman] and our Joint Chiefs.

Of course, I am thankful for the unwavering love—and tireless service—of my wife Deanie, not to mention our three children and now seven grandchildren. Yes, that's plus four since my confirmation, with one more on the way.

But more than anything, I am thankful for the opportunity to defend our nation alongside the men and women who wear its cloth. When I witness their courage and their skill, I am reminded of an inscription on the Private Soldier Memorial, known as "Old Simon," at Antietam: "Not for themselves, but for their country."

It is on their behalf and in that spirit that I am here today. My purpose is to be worthy of their service—every day and in every decision, to strengthen the relationship of trust that the American armed forces has with the American people, and to meet our sacred obligation to keep our nation immune from coercion.

We cannot take this relationship for granted. Historic transitions are testing our ability to meet our obligations. We are in the midst of a difficult fiscal correction to restore the economic foundation of our power. We are also transitioning from war to an even more uncertain and dangerous security landscape.

So, even as dollars are in decline, risk is on the rise. If we do not manage these transitions well, our military power will become less credible. We will foreclose options, and we will leave gaps in our security.

It doesn't have to be this way. We can and we must lead through these transitions. We have it within us to stay strong as a global leader and reliable ally. We can make our military more affordable without making our nation less secure. To do this, we need to get at least four things right.

First, we need to get our strategy right. This means aligning our aims with our abilities. Strategy is nothing if not about setting priorities. Even as we rebalance to the Asia Pacific region, we still have to defend the homeland from cyber, terrorist, and missile attack; achieve our objectives in Afghanistan; deter provocation on the Korean Peninsula; assure and assist allies across the globe; and set a more responsive posture for a "new normal" of combustible violence. As we respond to new contingencies, we must come to terms with the risks and costs to these existing obligations. We may have to do less, but we should never do it less well.

Second, we need to get our force right. This means keeping our military ready and balanced. So far, we are getting it wrong. We have already lost readiness that will take more time and cost more to restore. We are already out of balance due the magnitude and mechanism—not to mention the steep descent of budget cuts. It's not too late to recover. Remove the budget uncertainty. Slow down the drawdown.

Help us make the seemingly intractable institutional reforms. If we do this, we can build a joint force to meet the nation's needs for a price the nation is able and willing to pay.

Third, we need to get our people right. This means strengthening our profession while keeping faith with our military family. Ours is an uncommon profession. One that must value character as much as competence, that rests on a foundation of learning and leadership, that advances equal and ethical treatment for all its members, and that allows no quarter for sexual violence in all its destructive forms. We also keep faith by making sure that our sons and daughters always go to war with the best training, leadership, and equipment. Get this wrong, and we'll get nothing else right.

Finally, we need to get our relationships right. This means staying connected to our allies and, most importantly, our fellow Americans. Now is the defining moment in our nation's relationship with its 9/11 veterans. This generation is a national asset. They are ready to contribute in their communities. They need opportunity—handshakes, not handouts.

In the end, all relationships rest on trust. Two years ago, I offered this image to illustrate the vein of trust that runs from our men and women on the front lines to their families and to the American people.

Today, it is still all about trust. Reconfirmation is a reaffirmation of trust. I am humbled by the opportunity, and I will continue to work every day to earn it. I know you expect it, and I know our men and women in uniform deserve it.

Thank you, and I stand ready to answer your questions.

Remarks on Cybersecurity at the Brookings Institute

Washington, DC | July 27

I'm very pleased to be here. The attendance, I think, is indicative of the importance of the topic that we'll have the chance to discuss today. Since we're comparing first impressions, I'll tell you that my first impression of communications was a black rotary dial phone in Bayonne, New Jersey, on 3rd Street. I can remember my first phone number: Federal 96712. Actually, my sister still has it. She was down at Woodbridge, and it looks now like something out of a museum, doesn't it?

When I asked my staff about the fellows—and I've been here before, and I'm delighted to be invited back—but when I asked about the fellows here, it reminded me that you have experts on many things: drones; private security contractors; one of the people who discovered Stuxnet [a malicious computer worm]; the editor of the most controversial national security blog; and our former commander in Afghanistan, retired General John [R.] Allen. I felt as though, listening to that particular universe of thought that I probably should wear body armor as I came here in preparation for the question and answer period.

I will say, before we get too far along, Peter [W. Singer, director of 21st Century Security Intelligence at Brookings], that I know, inevitably, you'll ask me something about drones. I'll just ask you to remember that you write about them, but I actually have them. [*Laughter.*]

Seriously, me and my team that accompanied me here today are delighted to have a chance to engage with those scholars who are taking time to look to our future. Especially as the defense community begins to focus inward on the implications of changing resources and this thing called sequestration. It's important that we force ourselves to continue to look outward at the changing world around us.

One person who always looked outward was a man by the name of Douglas Englebart. After serving as a radar technician in World War II, Englebart became an engineer at Stanford. Those days were heady times in computer science. Forty-six years ago this week, he submitted a patent application, and the patent application was titled "The XY Position Indicator for A Display System." He later nicknamed it a "mouse."

Englebart's research was funded by DARPA's [Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency's] predecessor; his lab at Stanford was one of the original nodes of the Internet. And the mouse he invented with taxpayer funds was later licensed to Apple for a meager $40,000.

The revolution in computer technology that Englebart helped has transformed our world; more than a billion mice are in used today, and 3 billion people have access to the web. By this time next year—Peter mentioned all the different ways that we find computer technology around us. By this time next year, I'm quite certain that my toaster will be connected to the Internet and probably Tweeting. I can actually anticipate the hashtag even now: burned toast at Quarters Six. But the spread of digital technology has not been without consequence; it has also introduced new dangers to our security and our safety.

Since becoming chairman nearly two years ago, I have been focused on what this revolution means for our military. I visited Silicon Valley, sat with security teams of major tech companies, and spent time with an Internet service provider; I sought out tech experts and even met with a venture capitalist. One thing is clear: cyber has escalated from an issue of moderate concern to one of the most serious threats to our national security. We now live in a world of weaponized bits and bytes wherein an entire country can be disrupted by a click of Englebart's mouse.

There are new missions we must take on as a military, and steps we must take as a nation to defend ourselves from this threat, so let me talk briefly about the cyberthreat. Cyber incidents have steadily increased over the past year; US banks have been hit with sophisticated denial of service attacks. Last August, in the first large-scale destructive cyberattack, the Shamoon virus wiped clean the hard drives of 30,000 computers at the Saudi Arabian State Oil Company, Saudi Aramco. Over twenty nations now have military units dedicated to employing cyber in war, and toxic malware continues to proliferate among militaries, but also among hackers alike.

This is the new normal in cyberspace. Disruptive and destructive cyberattacks are becoming a part of conflict between states, within states, and among nonstate actors. Even if a state adversary doesn't engage in cyberconflict, global hacktivists might, and they do so on its behalf. The borderless nature of cyberspace means anyone, anywhere in the world can use cyber to affect someone else. Strengthening our cyber defenses on military systems is critically important, but it's not enough in order to defend the nation.

In cyberconflict, civilian infrastructure and businesses are often targeted first. Since I became chairman, intrusions into our critical infrastructure have increased seventeenfold. The computer controlled systems that operate our chemical, electrical, water, and transport sectors have all been probed; several intruders have successfully gained system access.

The gap between cyber defenses employed across critical infrastructure and offensive tools we now know exist presents a significant vulnerability for our nation. Secretary of Defense [Charles T.] "Chuck" Hagel has called cyber an insidious and dangerous threat, and many of you remember that former secretary of defense Leon [E.] Panetta noted that we're at a pre-9/11 moment in which attackers are plotting, but our nation remains inadequately prepared.

Today, I add my voice, again, to the chorus of concern, so let me talk about defending against that threat. In response to the threat, the Department [of Defense] is growing our capacity to protect our networks, but we're also taking on a new mission when asked and, with interagency partners, defending the nation from cyberattacks. To do this, we're integrating the cyber mission across the force, and we're adding personnel to the United States Cyber Command. Over the next four years, 4,000 cyber operators will join the ranks, and we're also investing $23 billion in cyber security.

And we're doing all this not to address run of the million cyber intrusions, but to stop potential attacks of significant consequence: those that could threaten life, limb, and the country's core critical infrastructure. At Cyber Command, three kinds of

teams will operate around the clock; national mission teams will counter adversary cyberattacks on our country. A second and larger set of teams will support our combatant commanders as they execute our military missions around the globe. And the largest set of teams will operate and defend the networks that support our military operations worldwide.

These three teams constitute the cyber force that will defend our networks, defend military forces, and be prepared, if asked, to defend the nation. Our most immediate priority is keeping the .mil domain secure, but in the event of a domestic cyber crisis, our cyber forces will work in support of the Department of Homeland Security and the FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation], who lead our nation's response in the .gov and the .com domains. To ensure this force is able to operate at network speed rather than what is often called swivel chair speed, we now have a playbook for cyber. The president signed a directive that codifies how each part of the government will respond in the event of a serious cyberattack.

Under this directive, the Department of Defense has developed emergency procedures to guide our response to imminent significant cyberthreats. We're updating our rules of engagement, the first update for cyber in seven years, by the way, and we're improving command and control of our cyber forces. We have more work to do, but these important steps significantly strengthen our ability to defend the nation at network speed.

So let me talk a bit about cyber—as that was the threat of cyber and our response—let me talk for a moment, though, about cyber as an asymmetric advantage. While cyber may be our nation's greatest vulnerability, it also presents our military with a tremendous asymmetric advantage; the military that maintains the most agile and resilient networks will be the most effective in future war. This is the kind of force we're building for the future, a force that I've described as Joint Force 2020. Each service is doing its part: cyber is strengthening the Air Force's ability to achieve global reach; the Army is preparing to fight on a battlefield that is as much defined by cyberspace as it is enabled by it; the Navy is putting its entire work force through a cyber emergent program; and the Marine Corps is smartly integrating cyber across the Corps.

Collectively, the services are making the investments necessary to ensure that the joint force can operate in cyberspace as it operates in the land, sea, air, and space domains. This includes recruiting the right people for our cyber workforce, establishing common standards across the joint force, and achieving a higher degree of coordination in how we invest and how we manage our critical cyber resources.

The next step is making our networks joint. Today, the Department of Defense operates 15,000 networks. We're consolidating this sprawling mass of IT [information technology] into a common set of enterprise services, all based in the Cloud. The new joint information environment, as we call it, will deepen collaboration across the services and missionaries; it will also be more secure, helping ensure that the integrity of our battle systems prevail in the face of disruption. As part of this new joint information environment, we're building a secure 4G wireless network that will get iPads, iPhones, and Android devices online in 2014.

In fact, I have here today with me a secure mobile phone and data processor that allows me to operate in the SIPR [Secure Internet Protocol Router] environment, both phone and data, no matter where I am. Now, it's not where it needs to be yet, but it's an incredible first step, and has the potential to revolutionize command and control. This phone, by the way, I think, would make even Batman and/or James Bond a bit jealous, and I did have to keep an eye on Peter as you stood up here glancing at it enviously. [*Laughter*]

With tools like this, the Smartphone generation joining our military will help us pioneer a new era of mobile command and control. This revolution will empower our greatest resource—that is, the ingenuity of our people and the philosophy of mission command that we all embrace.

To help unleash the potential for user-driven innovation, a federated app [application] store will allow any DoD [Department of Defense] user to write and share phone and tablet applications. By using "off the shelf" technology, we're bringing the full force of the technology revolution into the classified environment.

So what's an important next step? Let me talk about cyber legislation and diplomacy. Although we've made significant progress embracing cyber within the military, our nation's effort to protect our critical civilian infrastructure is lagging; too few companies have invested adequately in cybersecurity. I worry that adversaries will seek to exploit that chink in our nation's armor; to them, our economy and our infrastructure are softer targets than our military. One of the most important ways we can strengthen cybersecurity across the private sector is simply by sharing information.

Right now, threat information runs primarily in one direction: from the government into the operators of critical infrastructure. Very little information flows back to the government. That has to change; we can't stop an attack unless we can see it. I'm confident that indicators of a pending attack could be shared in a way that preserves the privacy, the anonymity, and the civil liberties of network users. I understand that the country is debating the proper person, purpose, [and] limits of intelligence collection for national security, but let me be clear that these are two entirely different issues.

One is collecting the intelligence necessary to locate foreign terrorists and their potential domestic coconspirators; the other is sharing information about malware to protect our critical infrastructure from a different kind of attack. We can't allow these separate debates to become conflated. The reality is that, every day, adversaries are injecting malware into our networks; the worst of this malware is equivalent to cyber bullets and bombs. We must share what it looks like so that we can stop it before it detonates. Ultimately, it will take legislation to significantly strengthen our ability to withstand cyberattacks while safeguarding civil liberties.

Information sharing is just one way to be safer; improving cyber standards is another. Still a third is to work with other nations to set norms of responsible behavior in cyberspace. One of our most important dialogues on that topic on cyber is with China. During my visit there last month, I reinforced the need for us to address cyber in the working group that Secretary [of State John F.] Kerry proposed. We're poised to begin that process and hopefully to make some progress in meetings that begin next month.

Avoiding miscalculation in cyberspace is another important goal. Our agreement to open a cybersecurity link with Russia is a step in the right direction, a step that we should eventually take with others.

In conclusion, as you see, we have our work cut out for us as a military, as a government, as a nation, and as an international community. The rise of cyber is the most striking development in the post-9/11 security environment. Not only are military systems being targeted by tools that can cause physical destruction, but adversaries can increasingly hold our nation's critical infrastructure at risk. As a result, our military must be ready to defend the nation, and to do so at network speed. We're doing everything we can inside the military to be ready to operate in cyberspace.

I call on our elected officials and the private sector to match that urgency. Together, we must place this nation on sure footing against a cyberthreat. I thank you for giving me the opportunity to address you today, and I look forward to your questions.

Article from *Joint Force Quarterly* (National Defense University Press) "From the Chairman: Leadership in Historic Times"

4th Quarter 2013, Issue 71

It is a great privilege to serve as your Chairman for another term. Together we will continue to protect our nation and honor our profession.

Over the past 2 years, we have served together on the leading edge of historic changes. We are transitioning from two conflicts and rekindling the skills necessary to provide options against a broad range of threats. We are transitioning tens of thousands of our veterans and their families back into their civilian communities. We are dealing with the reality of deep and rapid budgetary transitions as well. We're going to see what we're made of in the months and years ahead.

When *Joint Force Quarterly* published its first issue in the summer of 1993, it featured a military leader who was in the midst of dealing with the transitions of his era. General Colin Powell wrote of his time as Chairman, "Walls have come down, empires have crumbled, new nations have been born."

We recall those days when the Cold War ended. The Joint Force had performed brilliantly in Operation *Desert Storm*, but those of us who served in that conflict realized that Service coordination and interoperability still needed to improve. As just one example, it was in *Desert Storm* that I first operated in a joint environment, and I had been in the Army for 15 years. Today, we know a lot more about each other, and we operate together far more effectively. Truly, the walls have come down. We are more joint today, but not yet joint enough.

We will continue to explore the opportunities for increased jointness because we should and because we will have to if we are to provide the range of options necessary to protect the Nation in uncertain security and fiscal environments.

It is also worth noting that the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1993, Admiral David Jeremiah, described the post–Cold War world as "teeming with nascent crises." I have described today's world as more dangerous than at any time in my career because of the increasing number of actors—state and nonstate—that can do us harm. In any case, no matter how we describe the security environment, it will be the enduring quality and dedication of our Servicemembers that will allow us to prevail.

Soldiers, Sailors, Marines, Airmen, and Coastguardsmen are serving together today all over the world. General Powell's maxim that "we train as a team, fight as a team, and win as a team" is even truer today. As we confront competing security priorities and declining resources, we cannot short-change our commitment to jointness either in training or in operations.

Leadership got the Joint Force through its post–Cold War challenges 20 years ago, and it will get us through today's challenges as well. I have witnessed firsthand the courage, dedication, and determination of our nation's military leaders at every level—leaders who, even as I write this message, are lacing up their boots and departing the security of forward operating bases in Afghanistan, strapping themselves into jets to fly combat air patrols wherever and whenever needed, steaming through waters within range of increasingly capable adversaries, diving to unimaginable depths of the ocean, or simply serving in places where few would willingly go.

One hundred and fifty years ago, on the first day of the Battle of Gettysburg, General John Buford was asked if he could hold Seminary Ridge against a numerically superior Confederate force until the main body of the Union Army could establish itself in defensive positions behind him. He replied simply, "I reckon I can." He did, of course, and those serving with him may arguably have saved the Union on that fateful day through their courage, valor, and perseverance.

In that spirit, those of us privileged to lead today must act with similar courage, valor, and perseverance. We will be tested.

I have been asked often whether I think we can manage all of the challenges we will continue to face. I reckon we can. I am proud to continue to serve with you.

Remarks at Reagan National Defense Forum
The Ronald Reagan Presidential Library

Simi Valley, California | November 16

It is great to see so many folks here with whom we'd share time, Deanie [his wife] and I, over the years, on the very important matter of national security. And I took to heart the theme of this conference, which is looking out into the future and answering the question about how we make sure that we can continue to provide peace through strength.

So a couple of thoughts. I hope to provoke additional discussion throughout the conference. I want to tell you about my nephew, Colin McNally. Colin McNally is a

young man, lives in Northern Virginia, and he's an artist, and he's an artist who works for a nonprofit on finding missing children. And his particular skill as an artist is, he does age progression. So he takes a picture of a young man or woman who's missing, young child who's missing, and then he helps law enforcement by progressing their image into the future where they should be now to help law enforcement potentially locate them.

So about two weeks ago, I was having dinner with him, and he had just been featured on the show *20/20* for his work because he's a very capable artist. But I said to him, "Colin, why do you even have a job? Because isn't it true that computer imaging and computer technology is such now that can't a computer do what you do?"

And he said, "Well, Uncle Marty," he said, "it can do part of it. It can take the face as it exists and it can make it older, but," he said, "there's art in this." And he said the art involves finding relatives, identifying mannerisms, understanding the family so that you understand that it's not just the child who's progressing, but the characteristics that might come from outside of his immediate family. And what I got from that conversation—he was such a humble man—it occurred to me that he had a great respect for the past, and he had a humility about the future in his responsibility to try to age progress these missing children. So one of the thoughts I'd like to leave with you today is, it occurred to me that I probably ought to be at least as respectful of the past and as humble about trying to predict the future as Colin McNally. We all should be.

To quote Bob Dylan, "The times, they are a-changing." Rising and reemerging powers, new relationships across the globe among the governed and the governing, internal religious differences surfacing after centuries of being suppressed. And do I have to remind us about a roller-coaster fiscal environment?

Now, to reflect on the theme of this conference, on the margins of all this change is a healthy debate about how to define strength. But that debate will remain healthy so long as it doesn't become perpetual debate. I've learned that we can ask the men and women of the United States armed forces to accept change. They actually will embrace change. But we do them considerable disservice when we ask them to accept seemingly endless unpredictability.

In the discussion about war and its future, there are some words that are beginning to concern me a bit. Words like "discretionary," words like "limited," words like "de-escalation," words like "control." Now, I've walked battlefields—the battlefields of our own Civil War. How many of us remember, by the way, that the Civil War began with President [Abraham] Lincoln calling up a hundred thousand volunteers? That's how it began; that's not how it ended.

I've walked the battlefields of Little Big Horn, where General [George A.] Custer grossly underestimated the enemy he was seeking to run down. To Islandwana in South Africa, where the British, after sending an expeditionary force to suppress a Zulu uprising, were roundly defeated. And in fact, on that battlefield is a monument that haunts me. The words of it read like this: "Tell those in England, you who pass us by, that here, faithful to our duty, her soldiers lie."

To Korea, where this year, of course, we celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the armistice—a war, by the way, that no one thought would happen—and more on that in a moment. And finally, to Vietnam. Some of you may remember, on the tenth of November, 1964, Robert McNamara declared the following: the US will never send combat troops to Vietnam. There is hubris in the belief that war can be controlled. War punishes hubris. That's actually worth remembering.

Now, we do have peace through strength today. The question for me and for you is, will we have it tomorrow? It's not clear that we will. We are currently accruing risk, and we're consuming readiness. I'll explain. There's four reasons we're accruing greater risk. One is what's sometimes called the security paradox, the paradox being that the risk of state-on-state conflict or existential threats or large conflict is actually at historic lows, but the proliferation of technologies and the ability to wage conflict, to injure, to destroy, in the hands of more and more troops, more and more individuals, has never been greater.

Think of cyber if you'd like to share in my personal nightmare, and of course, we are all wondering how the domain of space will evolve over time. The second reason we're accruing risk—a drive for immediacy. Immediacy is part of our lives now. Everything has to be fixed immediately. Everything has to be somehow controlled. You all carry an iPhone; you have instant access—or at least some of you do, I suppose—you all have immediate access to information, which, by the way, when you're in the business of governance, leads to the idea that we should have an immediate solution. And immediacy can be a real problem when one thinks about strategy and the application of resources.

Now, neither of those really have anything to do with this thing called sequestration, but our unpreparedness does somewhat. Those of us that have fought the last ten years of conflict knew that after this form of warfare—this thing called counterinsurgency—we would have to rekindle lost skills—skills of maneuver, skills of integration, of suppressing enemy air defenses, skills of combined warfare, on the move and moving architecture—logistic architecture, communications architecture, intelligence architecture. And we have not had time, frankly, to rekindle those skills, and it is this thing called sequestration and its impact on readiness that I'll mention in a moment that's actually exacerbating what was already going to be high risk.

And finally, if we do go all the way to this thing called the Budget Control Act levels and sequestration, we'll lack depth but the fight-tonight force will remain ready. America's sons and daughters are not going to say no when something happens. The fight-tonight's forces will remain ready, but we'll have less depth. Think of a basketball metaphor if you don't want to take my word for it, this lack of depth. You'd really like to have twelve fully capable and fully prepared basketball players to enter a tournament. We'd probably end up, if we go to full sequestration, with six or seven, in my estimation.

We're also consuming readiness for a single reason, and that is, we're out of balance. Supply and demand—how much should we have forward, how much rotational, how much in the homeland? We're simply out of balance after ten years of war, and second, we

can't move money around at the pace and with the flexibility we need to move it around among our accounts. We can't move it from manpower to infrastructure to training and modernization, and that's beginning to create a significant problem.

If this Budget Control Act level goes the full ten years, the first half of it will be characterized by a lack of readiness, and the back half will be characterized by a lack of depth, and that's where we're headed.

Now, there is good news. The good news is that meeting or reversing these conditions is entirely within our control—that is to say, the people of the United States. I'm going to tell you that there are some things we must do in the next few years: some things we should do, and some things we absolutely should not do. The things we must do: We have to control manpower costs, and we're going to need help to do that. And I don't want to do it every year.

If anybody here thinks I want to be the chairman that goes down in history for having carved up pay and compensation and health care, I assure you I do not. I don't want to be that chairman. The problem is, there's going to be a chairman that has to do it. There's going to be a commandant that has to do it. There's going to be a SOCOM [US Special Operations Command] commander that has to do it. So my view is, we should get on with it, but we should do it once, not every year.

Second, we do have to retrain to tasks that we've recently ignored. That would be true, again, whether we're dealing with sequestration or not. And finally, we have to recapitalize and modernize equipment that we've used over the past twenty years—not ten at levels that we never estimated they would be used.

Now, those are the things we must do. What are the things we should do? We should take advantage of a crisis. Never waste a crisis. In other words, we should grip this crisis to do institutional reform. We should drive ourselves to bring the joint interdependence, and we should seek greater integration with capable and willing allies. Now, here's the point. Whether we do these things is entirely in our control. Unlike other powers, we're not hostage to others for our fortunes or our future.

If we have the will, we can come to 2025 maintaining peace through strength with a military that is dominant, decisive and agile. The question for all of us is, will we? And if you think we won't, are we prepared to accept a lesser US leadership role globally with all that entails? Now, recalling my suggestion that we should be humble about our predictions of the future, I want to note at this point that we as a military are resilient to uncertainty and danger because of the character of the men and women who serve.

I'll tell you a little bit about the Battle of Chattanooga, which occurred on the twenty-fifth of November of 1863—150 years ago this month. At the battle of Missionary Ridge, [General Ulysses S.] Grant, the commander at that battle, had given pretty explicit orders to his Union troops to push to the base of the mountain of Missionary Ridge and seize the trenchline of Confederate forces there. As he watched from afar—and he had no reserve—one of the reasons he was being cautious and deliberate is, he had no reserve—no depth, and so the men attacked. They seized the first line of trenches; they realized they were still being shot at from the next line of trenches up the hill, and one further

up the hill from that, and they pressed on. And eventually, they washed over Missionary Ridge and prevailed in the battle, despite, by the way, the orders of Ulysses S. Grant.

Herman Melville wrote a poem about it, and here's what he says: "A kindling impulse seized the host inspired by the elastic air. Their hearts outran their general's plan. Though Grant commanded there—Grant, who, without reserve, can dare, and said, well, go and do your will, and measured the mountain then. So master-riders fling the rein, but you must know your men." You know must know your men.

We know the men and women who serve, and when some people ask me, why isn't sequestration harder? It's because of those who serve. They are not going to slow down just because their general said they don't have any depth. We should remember that they trust their country and they trust us. We are the most formidable force in the world today because we are the best trained and because we develop leaders. We equip men, not simply man equipment.

As you consider the definition of strength in your discussions, remember that it starts with the nation's commitment to those who volunteer to serve. Now, a few parting thoughts. I told you I'd mentioned some things we absolutely must not do. First and foremost, we must never accept a fair fight. If we convince ourselves we can carve this force up and we can satisfy prevailing in a conflict—let's call it a football game—7-3, shame on us. We should be seeking to prevail 50 to nothing. That's what we owe the men and women who serve. Never accept a fair fight. Second, we can't lose our global network of friends and allies. And third, we simply can't believe too strongly in our ability to control conflict. We can do less, but we can't do less well.

Now, I mentioned that this year marks the sixtieth anniversary of the armistice that ended combat operations in the Korean conflict. There is a brilliant history of that conflict written by T. R. Fehrenbach. If you haven't read it, you should. At the beginning of the book, it describes the disbelief, the overconfidence, and the unpreparedness that characterized the beginning of the Korean War, a war fought just three or four years after we had established ourselves as the most formidable fighting force on the planet. The very last two sentences of Fehrenbach's book are as follows: "He reminds us, it is while men talk blithely of the lessons of history that they ignore them. The lesson of Korea is that it happened." Thank you for your attention today.

Remarks at Deputy Secretary of Defense Ashton B. Carter's Farewell Ceremony

Washington, DC | December 2

It's my honor to begin the festivities today as we celebrate, I do mean celebrate, the career and accomplishments and contributions of Dr. Ash Carter, who has served most recently as our deputy secretary of defense to a quite an impressive gathering of people. Can't be much getting done in the government right now, at least in the executive branch. Well actually, all over the government probably not much getting done. But, I do want to welcome you all here.

I speak on behalf of the Joint Chiefs, and we're going to give Dr. Carter an award here in a moment, our highest award to a civilian in recognition of what he's done for the force. And of course the Joint Chiefs, who [are] seated right there in a row, do look very behaved right now, [but it's] not always that way.

But I do want to make mention of the fact that you, Dr. Carter, that your impact on us as a group and individually has been absolutely remarkable—and we can't thank you enough for the things you've done, but more on that just in a moment.

The first thing I want you to know though is, I took the time to Google "Ashton" before I came here today, and you'll be interested to know that when you Google "Ashton" you get three returns: Ashton Kutcher. Can we get the picture of Ashton Kutcher up there? There we go. Ashton Kutcher has been described as "hot," but kind of a mediocre model-turned-actor. You also get Ashton Irwin. Ashton Irwin is also "hot" but a mediocre drummer for an Australian boy band.

Then of course you get Ashton Carter, who has been described by some as a "middle-aged uber-wonk." And in the words of Politico, [he] "makes think-tankers hearts flutter." In the words of Paris Hilton, "Now that's hot." However, "hot" in DOD [Department of Defense] terms takes on a completely different meaning. Issues are hot. Suspenses are hot. Regions are hot. And I can tell you that no one has handled the heat like Dr. Ash Carter.

We're proud of him. We're thankful for what he's done, and we're very appreciative of the way you've done it. Not just what you've done, but the way you've done it. It's lucky for us that you have worked without glamour or fame behind the scenes to make sure through good management and common sense and discipline that we are an organization that continues to adapt to the challenge that we find in front of us.

He did it all again without fanfare. In fact, I think he's been called the "Least"—the most-important least-known figure in Washington, or some language to that effect. And I agree with that. He did have a moment, a brief recent brush with fame when he decided to give back a fifth of his paycheck during the recent furloughs and he in fact became known as the superhero of sequestration. I don't know if that's a title I'd actually aspire to have myself, but it worked for you I think and we did in fact respect his willingness to put skin in the game, to be personally invested and to think big when many around him were thinking small.

So, you see that picture right there of him being piped over the side by a great group of sailors on a recent trip, and farewells are always a sign of how much we value leadership, service, and big decision-making. And in that context, Dr. Carter, it's my great pleasure on behalf of the Joint Chiefs to present you with the Joint Distinguished Civilian Service Award.

Remarks at the Veterans Treatment Court Conference

Washington, DC | December 4

Two hundred and thirty years ago today, George Washington bid farewell to his beloved Continental Army at Fraunces Tavern in Newburgh, New York. And if you remember your history, the Army at the time was a pretty dispirited group. They had begun to disband. Not only [the Army], but the nation actually faced a great deal of uncertainty. But Washington himself expressed a great deal of faith both in them and as well in his country. And this is what he said to them as he bid them farewell. He said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable."

So I think it's worth remembering that the integration of veterans back into society and the care of veterans is really as timeless as our country itself. And I think that's especially true to remember today as we begin to deploy fewer and fewer men and women into harm's way, after twelve years of repeated deployments and very intense combat. And so I've made it one of my four focus areas as chairman to continue to find ways to improve the way that we integrate our great young men and women who serve back into their communities. [*Applause.*]

And that's one of the reasons I really was so excited, genuinely excited to come over here today to thank you for what you do with the Veterans Treatment Courts to help those who are most vulnerable at the time of their greatest vulnerability, as they reintegrate. So as I said at the very beginning, thank you for that.

I also have taken on board the part of the responsibility—we've all got a responsibility, but my part of it is to make sure that we continue to remind America what these young men and women bring back into their communities, because there are stereotypes that somehow always emerge after conflict, and it does denigrate the service if we brand them with stereotypes. What they are, by the way, is they're adaptable. I tell people that the military I joined back in the early 1970s is nothing like it is today. But it's not even anything like it was in 2003.

These young men and women who serve today have actually changed the way that we conduct military operations. They had to because the enemies we confronted didn't comport themselves necessarily to our particular organizational designs and our particular way of waging war. But they did. Over the course of time, they became extraordinarily adaptable to the environment in which we placed them.

They also demonstrated uncommon courage. If you had told me back in the late 1990s that the all-volunteer force, which, by the way, was never actually designed for protracted conflict—if you had told me that the all-volunteer force could sustain itself and the families of the young men and women and serve for this long with repeated deployments, I frankly believe I would have disagreed with you. And yet even today, with 54,000 or so serving in Afghanistan and hundreds of thousands deployed elsewhere around the world protecting our interest, they and their families continue to bear under that strain of sacrifice and family separation.

Third, and importantly, this group, this generation is resilient. And if Nick's story didn't paint that picture, I don't know what could. Resilient, get knocked down—not to sound like Chumbawamba, the famous singing group, I get knocked down, and I get up again. Some of you are too old to know that song. [*Laughter.*] But they do. They are an extraordinarily resilient group. And so when I talk to veteran support organizations and I talk to employers, I make sure they know that it's not that they should reach out to veterans as an act of charity; they should reach out to veterans because what they get is someone who will contribute in an incredible way to their organizations. [*Applause.*]

So we're going to do a little question-and-answer here, but I do want to end by thanking you yet again—where you sit in the kind of universe of challenges that veterans face, you fulfill a very important role in helping make sure that these young men and women can become once again productive members of society, because at the end of the day—and this is also a matter of history—we, the people of the United States, citizen Dempsey and his citizen peers across the country, we will actually define and shape the image of the veterans of this ten-year period of conflict. And I think it's an image that should be shaped and should be celebrated because I think that this group will have demonstrated, not only in what they've done in uniform but what they can do in society, that they have been an extraordinary group of citizens as well as soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, and coastguardsmen.

Thank you very much for what you do. We'll keep at it at our end. Thanks to all the veterans present here today. And now I'd be happy to take your questions.

2014
SELECTED WORKS

Article from *Joint Force Quarterly* (National Defense University Press) "From the Chairman: Mount Up and Move Out"

1st Quarter 2014, Issue 72

The Joint Force remains unrivaled. We deter threats, assure partners, and defeat adversaries. We are strong—and our nation is secure—because we commit to being the best led, best trained, and best equipped force as our non-negotiable imperative. You, the men and women of the Joint Force—all volunteers—are the Nation's qualitative military edge. We are who we are because of your commitment and determination. The world is not getting any safer, but we are becoming more adaptable.

We are facing three transitions—to a different force posture, to a smaller defense budget, and for some, to civilian life. We can only lead through these transitions with the trust of the force, our families, and the American people. This midpoint of my term as the 18th Chairman prompts an assessment of our work so far and informs the work we still have to do. I would like to update you on my focus areas and how I intend to guide our activities for the next 2 years. It builds on what you have already accomplished. I am confident that, together, we can fortify the foundation for the future force.

Achieve Our National Military Objectives

At its core, our military keeps the Nation free from coercion. Whether at home or deployed, the Joint Force deters adversaries, protects our critical infrastructure, preserves the free flow of commerce, responds to crisis, and builds partner capabilities. The Joint Force's enduring power comes from our ability to balance our response, rotation, and reset activities. Despite the current budget uncertainty, we must prioritize threats, articulate risk, and allocate resources in support of a systematic and sustainable strategy. We have to provide the Nation options. These options depend on the creativity of our people, the readiness of our forces, and the risk we are willing to underwrite.

Achieving our national military objectives also requires that we develop and evolve our relationships with our interagency and international partners. The cooperative practices we establish will play a large part in our success. The lessons we learned during the past 12 years are being applied today and will help us adapt to the challenging days ahead. The combat-tested quality of the force—from battlefield leaders to combatant commanders—will continue to guarantee U.S. security over the next 2 years.

Develop Joint Force 2020

The Joint Force of tomorrow must be able to achieve our national security objectives against a threat that is increasingly difficult to define, even as we reduce budgets. We must use this period of transition to renew our commitment to the cornerstone of our military advantage—innovation and leader development. We need to reassess what capabilities we need most, rethink how we develop and aggregate the Joint Force, and reconsider how we fight together. We must develop a research and development strategy that maximizes our ability to nurture promising technologies and to rapidly and efficiently build them out into the force.

Fundamental to Joint Force 2020 is interoperability. Our capabilities, tactics, techniques, procedures, and terminology must translate across the Services, the interagency, and with our partner nations. Becoming the force of the future demands that we develop, test, and refine concepts for the future fight. We must mobilize the entire Joint Force Development enterprise to forecast those capabilities. We know that we will be a smaller force and that we must adapt to be increasingly agile. Our task is to carry forward those lessons learned from yesterday into the context of today.

Renew Our Commitment to the Profession of Arms

Our profession is grounded in our sacred oath to defend the Constitution. We remain committed to defending the Nation and the values it has pursued for more than 200 years. We must hold true to these enduring values of service even as we remake our force and its capabilities. Our force is as diverse and rich in experience as it has ever been. Twelve years of war have created a generation of leaders experienced in joint and interagency operations. The future force will require the skills and knowledge of both our battle-tested veterans and the contributions of new Servicemembers who bring fresh skills and perspectives to new ways of warfare.

The cornerstone of service must remain dignity and respect among all members of the force. The mortar is leadership. We must set the example of extraordinary character and exceptional competence at every echelon. We must seek and share best practices to combat sexual assault, suicide, and high-risk behaviors. We will implement 360-degree reviews for all general and flag officers on the Joint Staff to make us aware of our strengths and weaknesses and enable us to grow as leaders of the Joint Force.

These reviews serve as overt reminders of the uncompromising standards of our conduct and the enduring tenets of our oath. We contribute to our profession by reinforcing these principles every day.

The ethical decisions and proper behavior of each member of the Joint Force mold our professional reputation. Each one of us—from the private to the general—represents the whole of our profession. Our actions speak louder and echo longer than our words.

Keep Faith with Our Military Family

We keep faith with the Nation by making sure the Joint Force is the best led, best trained, and best equipped in the world, ready to meet any mission. The health and well-being of our people is critical to our national security and the future of the force.

We must prioritize and synchronize our support to reflect the needs of today's military family, which is as diverse as the Nation it serves. We must ensure we are investing in the right services at the right time while adapting for the future needs of the force. We are committed to being upfront and honest about the tough choices we face and the changes that will occur, as they affect our people personally.

We must also consider what our military means to the people it protects—our fellow citizens—and how the last 12 years have had an impact on the way we relate to them. On our part, we must actively dispute labels often applied too generally across the force and inform a richer conversation about the character of those who volunteer to serve. We also have a duty to the Nation to listen. Our fellow citizens have different perspectives that we need to hear and understand. Military service is about stability, meaning, and variety, and we must continue to inspire those who will volunteer to serve in the future.

I have been impressed with what the Joint Force has accomplished in my 2 years as Chairman, over 12 years of war, and throughout my 39 years of military service. But there is more work to be done, and I need your help to do it. Together, we can ensure we remain the most respected profession, the global leader, and the Nation's strength.

I'm proud to serve with you.

Remarks at the National Defense University Fort Lesley J. McNair

Washington, DC | January 14

I'm delighted to be back. This is an event I look forward to each year, and sometimes more than once a year. It's part of my responsibility clearly to go to the war colleges, go to the military academies and exchange views, but I do mean exchange views because I consider it part of my personal campaign of learning. So I need to do a little learning from you today. I can only do that if I stop talking at some point.

So I will go through my remarks but I hope as you hear them, you either react to something I've said or you have something else in mind and you're waiting in ambush. But however it works out I look forward to having a conversation with you.

So thanks Phil for the introduction. So it's good to see General Gregg [F.] Martin, who I actually personally like to think of as Dean Martin even though he's the president of the university. [*Laughter.*] And I actually am he glad he didn't introduce me today because it gets me all fired up and I always lose track of what I'm about to say. I'm actually going to try and solicit him to be my speaker at my retirement ceremony, which could come at any moment. [*Laughter.*]

Let me recognize the staff and faculty of this wonderful institution of higher learning, so if you're a member of the staff or faculty, would you do me a favor and stand up. Let's give them a round of applause.

I really appreciate what you do to give these men and women the opportunity to think. And not only the men and women of our own country, but of course the sixty-six partner nations that are represented here today. Thank you all by the way for your service and for continuing to lead an uncommon life. I hope that's the way you think of your service in the military profession. I know it's not a journey you take alone by choosing this uncommon life—you also ask your families to share some of the sacrifice, so if you wouldn't mind, I would ask you to thank them for me, the next time you have the opportunity to do so.

I'm keenly aware that this year for you here at National Defense University, National War College, and the Eisenhower School is more about sacrifice flies than it is about family separation on the softball field. But it's also a year where we give you time to think deeply and broadly, and I hope that you're taking advantage of that time. Some of you, I know, got here through the keen competition of the Air Force assignment system, others through the blind luck of the Navy's assignment system, and if you're here from the State Department, I have no idea how you got here. [*Laughter.*] But I am glad you're all here.

Each of you have been identified as an important member of our nation's future strategic leadership, and that's the truth by the way. And that's whether part of our nation's future strategic leadership or your own countries. I can't tell you how many of my fellow chiefs of defense are National War College, National Defense University, or one of the other schools in the system are graduates. So, your presence here is recognition of contributions already made and also a bit of adding to the responsibility that you're now going to have to take on behalf of your nation, and that's worthy of your reflection.

You clearly need to reflect on how the attributes that got you here will translate into what the nation needs of you as you migrate out of here, and we do really expect you to reflect on that. As I did when I was a student here. You should also reflect on the degree to which the relationships you formed this year, however you formed them, will also be an important part of your future. And when you have done some of that introspection, you'll have a glimpse into my life. Because you see being the chairman actually requires me to be more reflective and much less reflexive. If you don't understand the difference in those two words, you're in the wrong place.

So reflective is good, reflexive is not so good in terms of strategy. And that includes, by the way, an understanding of, and an appreciation for, history. It means cultivating and sustaining relationships within and across governments and institutions, and it means having a vision and understanding how you can manage that vision and help it fit into the vision of our elected leaders, and that gets to the issue of civil-military relations, which you may be interested in speaking about.

So I have done some time reflecting lately; it's a good time for me to do it actually. I'm just really into my second term as the chairman. We have a budget for the first time since I've been chairman, and more importantly I'm just back from a visit overseas and to the CENTCOM [US Central Command] and EUCOM [US European Command] areas of responsibility and so I have a renewed bit of energy on what we're trying to do and a renewed optimism on how it's going because of contact with the

men and women who are out there on point for the nation. My big takeaway from the visit overseas by the way is that I would rather be where they are or where you are or I would rather be a shepherd for that matter than to be the chairman. Actually I'm kidding about that. [*Laughter.*]

You know a lot of people do say to me, "Boy, why would you ever want to be chairman at this particular moment in our history?" And the answer to that is somewhat self-evident, I think. We come into service, military or governmental service, because you want to make a difference. That may not be exactly why you start off a career, but ultimately it's why you finish a career and if you ever did want to make a difference in your lives, in military or in governmental service, I think now is about as most important a time in my forty years of service. So I'm actually quite privileged to wear, to continue to wear the uniform and be your chairman. And look, our nation, and really our world, needs our leadership, our collective leadership, and needs every good idea you have and a thousand more because the challenges we face are really legion.

Now we could debate, we probably will actually, debate about whether the challenges today are more difficult or more dangerous than they were when I was a student here in 1996, but how that debate evolves really doesn't matter in the sense that there are challenges. You will be the men and women who have to deal with them. So it is a time for our collective leadership.

Truthfully, the big takeaway from my recent reflections is that we face a deficit that's larger than our budget, and that is a deficit of understanding between those of us who serve in uniform and our fellow citizens. Now this isn't the typical concern about losing contact with America. Because I don't think we've lost contact with America at all. Don't get me wrong—the American people not only appreciate but manifest their appreciation for us in very powerful ways. And they trust us as an institution more than any other institution in America. But it's really a lack of understanding about our role not just during times of war, but in everyday life and the everyday business of protecting our national interests and promoting our values. That is, that's the part I think that we potentially have to renew our interests and renew our energy in articulating.

There is less understanding, I think, and I worry the American public as a result doesn't really understand what they're buying with all of the significant budget authority that they do grant us. Even though it's slightly smaller than in recent times, the support that we have earned and have been given by the Congress of the United States and the elected leaders of our fellow citizens is still significant, very significant. They mostly do it on faith that we're making the right decisions. Now I am confident that we are making the right decisions, but I think that increasingly as you migrate into the ranks of senior leadership, you'll be challenged to articulate and to be persuasive about that. And that's why in the time remaining to me, I'm going to increase my commitment to have a conversation with our national leaders and the American people about the purpose of their military, not only in times of war, but in peacetime as well. That conversation, by the way, should also occur internally because I'm sure you're well aware there are young captains and ensigns and petty officers and staff sergeants out there who are also wondering,

because all they've known for the past twelve years is conflict in Iraq and Afghanistan, wondering what's next. And we owe them an answer to that.

I'll need the remainder of my time as chairman to actually fully unpack the definition of military strength and how it interrelates, and must interrelate, with other instruments of national power. And look, that interrelationship between the military instrument and other instruments of power is going to be different for each of the countries with whom we partner. Many of whom are represented here today. And I also think it's probably self-evident that the military instrument is going to need to be more dynamic and more versatile than at any time since I began serving in 1974.

Importantly, I believe that this discussion is actually part of a discussion, a bigger discussion, a discussion about the role of government in the United States. You can see it playing out in our political environment here in DC, notably, but across the country. Now we're on pretty solid ground in that regard by virtue of our Constitution, which makes it clear that the need to provide for the common defense is the first responsibility of the government, but the debate can and should continue and it's also a discussion about the role the military instrument, the discussion about the role the military instrument is part and parcel of a discussion of the role of the United States in the world. A discussion I hope you're having inside of National Defense University. What role should the military instrument of power play in our foreign policy, and we can have a conversation about that in the Q and A [question and answer session].

As I fulfill my responsibilities, I share my views on the trends and on what history tells us, and I constantly remember the old adage that history doesn't repeat itself, but it often rhymes. And I've expressed views that are built on my relationships I've built over the years, and that I've cultivated both at home and abroad. So I would like to share just a few observations with you, and then ask you to think about what it might portend. I've described just now a bit about the unique properties of the chairmanship, but the other side of being the chairman is the reality that I actually don't have any money or authority. Despite what you might read on Facebook. [*Laughter.*]

In fact, I feel a little bit like I did when I started out as a second lieutenant, when I was commissioned back in 1974. I felt like I had enormous responsibility, but I didn't have very much authority. That's kind of what it's like being chairman—you have influence based on the relationships that you forge and to the degree to which you can be persuasive.

By the way, back in 1974, we were, in those days, fighting communism. Now in our worldview of the time, communism was a lifestyle that was forced upon innocents across the world. We were in an ideological fight between good and evil, and between freedom and oppression, and between choice and mandate. My first posting was to Germany, where Europe had become the bulwark against this negative influence, and not surprisingly then, as it's not a surprise to you now, the military instrument was under budget pressure at home. But I was fortunate because units in Germany, some of you may remember, were actually well provided for and in fact fully prepared for a wide-ranging conflict that we expected could occur.

On the other hand, Europe was, at that time, only thirty years after World War II, and that's not a long time. It seemed like it at the time, but it's not a long time in history. We're still sorting itself out, and Europe was eager for stability and, importantly, for prosperity. Now most European nations, you recall, had gravitated toward the democratic ideas, in no small measure due to the amount of aid that the United States had provided to them. But, it was something then, although you can't feel it today, that we couldn't take for granted; even then, we had to work very hard, especially hard in those days, on our European alliances. And even then, this ideological fight that I had mentioned, the fight between communism and democratic principles, required all the instruments of power to work together. We had to fight to sustain our relationships, we had to fight to train, we had to fight to prepare, all of which though took an entire, whole government approach.

Once the alliance, the NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] alliance, moved forward with one voice, we were able to harden our edge against that common threat and on the basis of common interest. And we brought the potential of the military instrument to prominence as we upgraded it frequently through the 1970s and into the 1980s. We incorporated the very best technologies from research and development. The Soviet Union tried to keep up, you recall, but a massive influx of new defense technology and spending caused them to eventually buckle under their own weight.

That was an important lesson for those of us of that generation. And that lesson was, we could out resource a potential adversary and, in so doing, fundamentally buy down risk to our nation. When the Cold War ended in the early 1990s, it became even easier to buy down risk. Because our threats had become disparate and really nonexistential, so we could really do more with less. And so we scaled back in the 1990s on our military, and still no country could threaten our vital national interests.

And then of course September 11 happened, and we found out that the homeland was no longer a sanctuary, and that the threats were far more disparate, diverse than we had potentially realized. When we stared into the face of that global terrorist threat, it became clear pretty quickly we had a different kind of problem. Angry, radical individuals, syndicates and affiliates don't have embassies, they don't have formal economies, they don't present accessible military targets, but my cohort of Cold War generation leaders were migrating at that point, myself included, into positions of influence and not surprisingly initially we reached for the same tool we had been accustomed to wielding and attempted to buy down risk.

Maintaining the idea, of course, through all this that we would certainly rather take the fight to a foreign shore, an away game if you will, then to try and have to defend the homeland within the confines of the homeland. Now, looking back at the last ten or twelve years, we have been militarily successful, and our intelligence apparatus has been absolutely incredible. But aggrieved individuals remain and continue to propagate new and even more complex threats.

Many of you, from our partner nations around the globe, understand that fully and have experienced it even inside of your own countries. By reflecting on it, this fight is actually less about ideology. If the communism-democracy, if the "ism"-conflict of my

early career was one kind of fight, this feels a little less about ideology, although there is the radical, religious aspect of terrorism. But it feels a little bit less about ideology than it is simply about changing the status quo. As a result, we see some pretty surprising bedfellows collaborating on this change. Rising powers, nonstate actors, criminal organizations, religious groups and a handful of ideological agitators, all with accumulative strategy to simply change the way the world does business. They don't collectively agree on what they want, only on what they don't want.

As the architect of the status quo, the United States therefore responds when North Korea enters one of its provocation cycles. We surge when Iran makes threatening gestures. We anguish over conflicts in Syria and South Sudan. Threats have changed, not revolutionary maybe, but are more evolutionary and have become somewhat of a devolution of high technology. So you've got this really interesting nexus of high-tech and low-tech, and this disparate threat that makes it very hard to pin down exactly the approach. We, on the other hand, have gone from being a force oriented early in my career on high-end, high-intensity deterrence to a far more flexible and expeditionary force, and we better be thinking now about the "what comes next" because there is always something that has to come next.

Interestingly the military instrument, while it has always been an instrument to achieve a political end, in some ways it's more often used now to prod, to test the waters, to see what shakes out, to change the dynamic. Our weapons and our forces have become more precise. Indeed, we often describe them as surgical, and as military leaders we've allowed some to begin to believe that precision is the same as control. It's not. This is of course a fallacy. We don't deal in Newtonian terms of equal and opposite reactions; we work in a quantum world where a tactical judgment can have a butterfly effect on a strategic relationship.

This isn't the first time in our history, by the way, that we thought we could exert exquisite control over warfare. In fact, on this day in 1942, [Franklin D.] Roosevelt and [Winston S.] Churchill began the Casablanca Conference, whose noteworthy outcome was the demand of the unconditional surrender of the Axis powers. The thought was, by punishing the instigators of the war so severely, it would allow, and this is a quote from that conference, "conquered populations . . . to be again the masters of their destiny" and that the "people" would assert control. But I saw some of the result of that approach in my early career. There was significant angst in Europe in those days.

Then, as now, transition to democracy was kind of messy, and it required a certain amount of patience. It was achieved in Europe clearly, but only eventually. Although now it seems like it happened immediately. During my career, another thought for you, I've seen patience waning, in some cases disappearing entirely. What I've come to understand over forty years, it's not just about the people gaining control, it's about wrestling control away from centralized power and redistributing it, often to those unprepared to manage it.

The challenge for our nation and for our military is how to navigate through this very uncertain and unstable world, and I tell you all of this because it is you who will have to ultimately figure it out. I've seen incredible changes in our armed forces over the course

of my career. I came into an all conscript force, and it took years for the force to become fully volunteer, with all of the meaning of that word, and with that change came a rise in professionalism, and in my view, in discipline.

We are today a thinking, adaptive institution, deeply invested in leader development of the young men and women who will eventually lead it. That's why you're here. And that's the edge we have to protect, especially in the face of declining budgets and increasing dynamism in the international security environment. That means we'll have to accept some risks; we can't buy them all down. So that we can seize initiatives and make sure that windows of opportunity remain open and windows of vulnerability are closed.

In fact, going forward the force that you lead will have to be more agile than the one I currently lead. We'll have to be able to throttle up force and just as quickly throttle it back. We'll have to embrace change, not just accept it or riskier elements. And while we have achieved a degree of certainty in our budget for the next two years, we still don't yet have the full flexibility we need to rebalance the force for the challenges that we see ahead. We'll buy back some readiness in the near term and we'll overt a short-term crisis, but we still need to address the long term pressures.

Our servicemembers, you, your families, and our veterans need to understand what we're doing and why, and as I mentioned earlier, America needs to understand why. And lastly, even America, not just those who serve, but America also wants to know where our profession is headed. And I imagine that a few of you would like to know the answer to that as well.

As a start, the country must know that the men and women who serve have the soul of the servant and that the only entitlement we feel is that we are entitled to serve the nation. Fortunately, very fortunately, most of you, most of your peers and most of those out there every day serving signed up and understand just that.

So I end where I began. All of us must reinforce the reasons that our nations put their trust in us, and we must demonstrate the same tenacity, resilience, and creativity that our people bring to the fight, those on the forward edge and then come back to lead at home. That's what I've signed up to do in my last two years. I hope it's what you will sign up to do as you leave this great university, and I will continue to have that conversation with those with whom I interact as I hope you will with those who you interact. So that collectively we can understand and make sure the nation understands what military strength is, but also importantly what it is not.

I'm proud to serve with you. Thanks very much.

18th Chairman's 2nd Term Strategic Direction to the Joint Force
January 17

The United States Armed Forces remain unrivaled. We deter threats, assure partners, and defeat adversaries. We are strong—and our Nation is secure—because we commit to being the best led, best trained, and best equipped force as our non-negotiable imperative.

The men and women of the Joint Force—all volunteers—are our Nation's qualitative military edge. We are who we are because of your commitment and determination. And you are supported by strong and resilient families. These things are true, not because they are easy, but because you have dedicated your lives to the service of our Nation.

The world is not getting any safer, but we are becoming more adaptable. We are facing three transitions—to a different force posture, to a smaller defense budget, and for some, to civilian life. At the same time, we are facing a historic convergence of fiscal challenges. As a Nation, we are making choices to restore the economic foundation of our national power.

Our profession demands that we anticipate the defense needs of the Nation and remain attuned to the risks of a growing diversity of threats. Our profession continues to evolve, and we will lead its evolution in the 21st century. We can only lead through these transitions with the trust of the force, our families, and the American people.

This midpoint of my term as the 18th Chairman prompts an assessment of our work so far and informs the work we still have to do. I'd like to update you on my focus areas and how I intend to guide our activities for the next two years. It builds on what you have already accomplished. I am confident that, together, we can fortify the foundation of the future force.

Achieve Our National Military Objectives

At its core, our military keeps the nation free from coercion. Whether at home or deployed, the Joint Force deters adversaries, protects our critical infrastructure, preserves the free flow of commerce, responds to crisis, and builds partner capacities.

The enduring power of the Joint Force comes from our ability to balance our response, rotation, and reset activities. Despite the current budget uncertainty, we must prioritize threats, articulate risk, and allocate resources in support of a systematic and sustainable strategy.

Implement and sustain national strategic guidance

First and foremost, we will always defend the Nation. We will meet our commitments in Afghanistan.

We will continue to counter threats to U.S. interests from violent extremists and actively defend against Weapons of Mass Destruction and cyber attacks. We will provide military support to the U.S. Government's pursuit of transnational criminal organizations, particularly along our southern flank.

Even as we perform these important missions, we must also prepare for emerging threats around the globe. We will deepen and strengthen military-to-military relationships throughout the world.

Adapt readiness to preserve military options for the Nation

We have to provide the Nation options. These options depend on the creativity of our people, the readiness of our forces, and the risk we are willing to underwrite.

Achieving our national military objectives also requires that we develop and evolve our relationships with our interagency and international partners. The cooperative practices we establish will play a large part in our success.

Our prioritization of security interests drives our military planning efforts and the flexibility of resources. To generate a variety of practical options in the future, we must consider the posture of our forward-deployed and rotational forces, as well as the capacity of our Guard and Reserve forces to mobilize in support of contingencies. We will also institutionalize the new security requirements to protect U.S. diplomatic facilities abroad.

Apply wartime lessons learned to provide best military advice and inform U.S. policy objectives and strategic guidance

The lessons we learned during the past 12 years are being applied today and will help us to adapt to the challenging days ahead. The combat-tested knowledge of the force—from battlefield leaders to combatant commanders—will inform the key strategic documents we will develop over the next two years.

This frontline wisdom will enhance the dialogue in operational theaters and across U.S. interagency decision-making processes. We must communicate our capabilities and requirements to our Nation's senior leaders and strengthen our civilian-military relationships as we provide military options and articulate risk. This is the Chairman's unique job description, but the Chairman does not shoulder this responsibility alone. When I meet with the Nation's leaders, I bring with me the sum total of the expertise and experience you provide every day.

Develop Joint Force 2020

The Joint Force of tomorrow must be able to achieve our national security objectives against a threat that is increasingly difficult to define, even as we reduce budgets.

Our military does not face this challenge for the first time in its history, but these decisions are new for most of us. Moreover, our decisions will have historic impacts. We must use this period of transition to renew our commitment to the cornerstone of our military advantage—innovation and leader development.

We created the aircraft carrier from existing capabilities after World War I and developed stealth technology after the Vietnam War, during periods of similar budget reduction. In both cases, a vision of the future guided research and development efforts, and both technologies continue to contribute to our decisive advantage.

We need to reassess what capabilities we need most, rethink how we develop the Joint Force, and reconsider how we fight together. To sustain our strength, we will continue to protect investment in decisive capabilities, develop leaders who can adapt in the security environment of tomorrow, and innovate how we operate jointly.

Advance a fuller vision of Joint Force 2020

We are also increasing our effectiveness by more deliberately integrating Special Operations Forces, improving Mission Command capabilities, and moving toward a global Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance network. We must also advance and integrate the capabilities provided by remotely-piloted systems across all domains. We will harden organizations against stress on their technological systems, and train organizations to be resilient should their technological systems fail.

Our investments in cyber and a new Joint Information Environment are changing how we fight and defend the Nation, including its critical infrastructure.

We must develop a research and development strategy that maximizes our ability to nurture promising technologies and deliver them out into the force. The technology bets of today, if made skillfully, will enable the force of tomorrow to remain decisive. Becoming the force of the future demands that we develop, test, and refine concepts for the future fight. We must mobilize the entire Joint Force Development enterprise to forecast those capabilities.

Undertake reforms that drive jointness further

Fundamental to Joint Force 2020 is interoperability. Our capabilities, tactics, techniques, procedures, and terminology must be able to translate across the services, the interagency, and with our partner nations. We must define and enforce interoperability standards for future capabilities and build joint exercises and war games that evaluate our ability to operate across the Joint Interagency Intergovernmental and Multinational environment.

We know we will be a smaller force and that we must adapt to be increasingly agile. Our task is to carry forward those lessons learned from yesterday into the context of today. We must also establish clear interoperability standards for innovative technologies to succeed in meeting the needs of the force quickly and efficiently. Innovative solutions to joint capability gaps must be developed horizontally, across the Joint Force Development enterprise, industry, and academia, and vertically, from headquarters staffs to the warfighter.

Renew Our Commitment to the Profession of Arms

Our profession is grounded in our sacred oath to defend the Constitution. We remain committed to defending our Nation and the values it has pursued for more than 200 years. Generations of men and women have fought to preserve this ideal in times of peace and war, and some have given everything to protect it.

We must hold true to these enduring values of service even as we remake our force and its capabilities. The times ahead will require more of each one of us. The cornerstone

of service must be dignity and respect among all members of the force. And the mortar is leadership. We must set the example of extraordinary character and exceptional competence at every echelon.

We will uphold the leadership, learning, and service that are the pillars of our uncommon profession. Each of these initiatives reinforces a building block of our profession. It will take each of us leading from the front to maintain it.

Maintain high standards of professional excellence

The ethical decisions and proper behavior of each member of the Joint Force mold our professional reputation. Each one of us—from the private to the general—represents the whole of our profession. Our actions speak louder and echo longer than our words.

We will continue to champion the core values of the Profession of Arms, highlighting excellence in core competencies and leader attributes. We cannot overlook our obligation to one another. We must seek and share best practices to combat sexual assault, suicide, drug and alcohol abuse, and other high-risk behaviors.

Maintain the high standards of education and training

Our force is as diverse and rich in experience as it has ever been. Twelve years of war have created a generation of leaders experienced in joint and interagency operations. The future force will require the skills and knowledge of both our battle-tested veterans and the contributions of new service members who bring fresh skills and perspectives to new ways of warfare.

New accessions and combat veterans alike possess diverse skills and frames of reference relevant to the warfare of tomorrow. Education will serve as a hedge against surprise, much as it has during previous interwar periods. Professional Military Education [PME] should adapt to meet these dynamic needs. As we continue to advance "One University" initiatives at National Defense University, we will update the joint PME curriculum across the force to emphasize key leader attributes. We will also explore how best to adapt our learning institutions to serve a global Joint Force, evaluating degree accreditation and distance-learning delivery methods.

Maintain the high standards of military leaders

We will implement 360 degree reviews for all general and flag officers on the Joint Staff, to make us aware of our strengths and weaknesses and grow as leaders of the Joint Force. I will also extend these reviews to the Combatant Commanders and senior officers inbound to the Joint Staff, as well as to the O-6 and equivalent civilian personnel on the Joint Staff. These reviews serve as overt reminders of the uncompromising standards of our conduct and the enduring tenets of our oath. We safeguard our profession reinforcing these principles every day.

Keep Faith with Our Military Family

We keep faith with the Nation and with those who serve by making sure the Joint Force is the best led, best trained, and best equipped in the world, ready to meet any mission. We have earned pride in our exceptional performance over our years of combat, but we can't presume that we have earned a blank check.

We must balance our commitment to the Nation with the commitments we have made to the entire Military Family—Active Duty, Reserve, Guard, Veteran, Retiree, and families alike. The choices ahead must reinforce the enduring nature of our profession. We must preserve the legacy of military service and promote the intangible rewards, while remaining aware of the inherent risks, of this uncommon life. Trust remains the bedrock of our profession and defines how we keep faith with our Military Family.

Earn the trust of our people

The health and wellbeing of our people is critical to our national security and the future of the force. We also know that we need to make changes to how we support and compensate the Military Family to ensure the All Volunteer Force remains sustainable in the future.

We are committed to being upfront and honest about the tough choices we face and the changes that will occur, as they affect our people personally. We will stay engaged and continue to adjust and improve how we will meet the needs of those who sacrifice to defend the Nation.

Earn the trust of our families

The force can commit fully to their duties when they know their families are safe and supported in the ways they need most. During the past decade, the philosophy of military family support has been one of "letting a thousand flowers bloom." Now, with fewer resources, we must optimize how we care for the Military Family and realign our support services to be as agile as the force they serve.

We must prioritize and synchronize our support to reflect the needs of today's Military Family, which is as diverse as the Nation it serves. We must ensure we are investing in the right services at the right time while adapting for the future needs of the force.

Earn the trust of our fellow citizens

The establishment of a professional military comprised entirely of volunteers is one of our Nation's finest achievements. It's been so effective that it can be taken for granted. We must consider what our military means to the people it protects—our fellow citizens—and how the last 12 years has impacted how we relate to each other.

On our part, we must actively dispute labels often applied too generally across the force and inform a richer conversation about the character of those who volunteer to serve. Our stories are as diverse as our people. We owe it to the Nation to tell those stories. We also have a duty to the Nation to listen. Our fellow citizens may have different perspectives that we need to hear and understand.

The public's interest in our Military Family, which has been so strong over the last decade, may begin to wane as we conclude our operations in Afghanistan.

But the needs of the military families reintegrating into their civilian communities, our Wounded Warriors, and our Gold Star Families will remain for years to come. How we discuss and engage these issues must reinforce the Nation's trust in military service. Military service is about stability, meaning, and variety, and we must continue to inspire those who will volunteer to serve in the future.

Our Nation counts on us to lead our way through the challenges we face. I have been impressed with what the Joint Force has accomplished in my two years as Chairman, over 12 years of war, and throughout my 39 years of military service. But there is more work to be done, and I need your help to do it. I trust you and I have confidence in you. Our continued commitment and work together will ensure we remain the most respected profession, the global leader, and our Nation's strength.

I'm proud to serve with you.

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2nd Quarter 2014, Issue 73

Representing Servicemembers who make up today's Joint Force is my greatest honor as Chairman. As the principal military advisor to the President of the United States, Secretary of Defense, and the National Security Council, I work to develop a shared understanding of our capabilities and the Nation's needs in order to provide sound advice and to represent the views of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. To be effective, I must build relationships of trust with those elected to make decisions about the use of military force. But I did not begin to establish relationships with civilian leaders only when I became Chairman.

Long before I came into this position, I believed that the responsibility for managing the relationship between the military and those we serve falls to every one of us who are privileged to wear our nation's uniform. Whether it is a lieutenant interacting with a local mayor on behalf of her Soldiers or my own interaction with national-level civilian leadership, one of our most important responsibilities is to inform decisionmakers about who we are and what we do.

Teamwork in a Complex World

Our nation's security depends on more than just military prowess. Our informational advantages, economic strength, and diplomatic power all play essential roles in keeping America secure. Our nation requires all of these instruments, and we are strongest when they work in concert. But this is not a simple task.

In my nearly 40 years of service, I have witnessed the increasingly precise application of force. In close coordination with other instruments of power, our nation has used the military to shape environments, empower diplomacy, and help achieve national objectives in complex and uncertain situations. As our weapons become ever more precise, it is tempting to choose force as the preferred instrument of power. Precision, however, does not always translate into control over a situation. Carl von Clausewitz reminds us that "war is the province of chance," and because our profession is about the management of violence, it is our responsibility to explain the capabilities—and limitations—of what force alone can achieve.

Gaining a shared understanding of how the instruments of national power must integrate to achieve objectives requires frequent and substantive dialogue. This dialogue must be based on a solid foundation of mutual trust, and that trust is not built overnight. It can be lost in a minute, so it must be constantly reinforced.

The Ultimate Source of Power

Building relationships of trust with our counterparts in government service is essential, but we must also sustain the trust between those of us in uniform and the country we have sworn to defend. All of our power, whether diplomatic, military, or economic, is ultimately derived from the American people.

Our men and women in uniform must always trust that as long as they remain in harm's way, the Nation will ensure they have what they need to complete the mission. In fact, my moral obligation to those serving is to ensure that when we send them to defend the Nation, they will be trained and ready to accomplish the mission. The American people have demonstrated their appreciation for us in very powerful ways. And they trust us as an institution more than any other institution in America. But at the same time, I think there is a deficit of understanding between those of us who serve in uniform and our fellow citizens.

This is not the somewhat overstated concern about losing contact with the American people. The deficit of understanding concerns the very role of the military. The Armed Forces have been on a war footing for more than 12 years, and we have an entire generation of military leaders who have known nothing else. As we return to our garrisons, we must reengage with our fellow citizens. While interest in the military peaks during times of war, building trust and a true understanding of the capabilities and limitations of military power takes time and constant engagement. We must encourage a shared understanding of what our profession means not only during times of war, but also in everyday life and in the everyday business of promoting our national interests. In a world of rapidly evolving threats and challenges, it is important that we strengthen that dialogue with the American people.

Moving Forward Together

The military theorist Ardant du Picq once stated that four brave men who do not know each other would not dare to attack a lion, but that four less brave men who know each other well would attack resolutely. Today's Joint Force enjoys the best of both worlds. It

is comprised of women and men who have repeatedly demonstrated physical and moral courage, and among the Services there is an unparalleled trust and understanding developed over the last 13 years of war. We have realized the vision that General Colin Powell laid out for the Joint Force just over 20 years ago: "We train as a team, fight as a team, and win as a team."

The development of our joint capabilities is a great achievement, but it will not be enough. In an uncertain world, it is vital that we expand the concept of teamwork to include our brothers and sisters in uniform and our civilian counterparts. Understanding among those of us in the military and our fellow servants in the diplomatic corps, our civilian policymakers, and, most importantly, the American people is essential to our ability to effectively provide for the common defense.

And that is why in the time remaining to me, I plan to increase my commitment to have a conversation with our national leaders and the American people about the capabilities of their military, not only in times of war, but also in times of peace. I encourage you to do the same. It falls on each of us to sustain the trust and confidence of those we serve and with whom we serve.

Excerpt from Bloggers Roundtable Interview on Sexual Assault in the Military

Washington, DC | April 10

Question: Yes, sir. My name's Tom Goering. I'm a retired Navy master chief, and I'm with navycs.com.

I was reading *USA Today* and on the third of April of this year, Susan Page wrote an article where she was talking to Senator [Kirsten E.] Gillibrand from New York. And in that statement, they were talking about the legislation that was trying to go through last year that would have taken—matter of fact, I'll quote the article [and Senator Gillibrand]—"the reason we're urging that this decision not be made by commanders, in other words, bringing sexual assault to further investigation, but by well-trained military prosecutors is because we want justice that is blind. You want to rely on an objective review, something that's professionally done. . . . You'll have more transparency, more objectivity and hopefully more reporting of crime, meaning there will be more investigated, more going trial and more convictions."

My question, sir, is if that legislation does get the five additional votes that's going to be needed to gothrough the Senate and it becomes law, does it stop there? Do we take all disciplinary issues out of the commanders' hands? Is this a slippery slope, sir?

Thank you.

Dempsey: Well, thanks for your question. First, I want to assure you and anyone listening that we haven't been fighting against the very tough questions we've been asked

by several members of Congress—many, maybe even most members of Congress—on this issue, and what we've been trying to do is provide our best advice on how we can get after it. And it's always been my view, having almost forty years of service now, and we've been through some very extraordinarily challenging times in those forty years, beginning with—as some of you may remember— racial incidents, with a very serious drug problem, with the integration of homosexuals into the ranks in an openly serving way, with same-sex benefits. And in every case, the way we've led our way through those issues is through relying upon commanders to do what they are held accountable to do, which is lead and to lead equitably and to lead aggressively to make sure we have the kind of command climates we need.

Now, are there places where we have come up short? Absolutely. I don't think that's the case across the board. And so in my conversations about this issue with our members of Congress, I've made it clear that it's my strong belief that these issues must be solved with commanders, not around them.

And to your question about a slippery slope, I suppose it could be. By the way, one other thing about the specific issue of sexual assault, if I thought that after a period of renewed emphasis on this, or if it occurs that after a period of very intense and renewed emphasis on this that we can't solve it, I'm not going to fight it being taken away from us. I want to solve the problem. I just happen to think that we can solve it best with commanders at this point. If that is demonstrated to be ineffective, then I will no longer provide advice that suggests it should stay in the chain of command. I actually think we will find, though, that the chain of command is best suited to deal with it. And incidentally, prosecution rates and rates of taking issues to trial demonstrate that I think we can best solve this with commanders.

Is it a slippery slope? I guess it could be. You know, once you take a particular offense out of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, there could be some questions about why wouldn't you take more or in fact most. But I think we can deal with those questions as they occur. For now, I just want to solve the problem. And at this point in time, we've been given the opportunity to do so with the chain of command.

Remarks at the National Memorial Day Concert

Washington, DC | May 25

Recently, I received a note from a mother whose daughter is buried at Arlington. She wanted to share some of the things she'd learned at the loss of her daughter.

She learned that the grief never really goes away. At any instant, a smell, a color, a song, a date on the calendar can take you right back to that first, raw moment when everything changed.

She learned that if there's any secret to grieving, it's that there can be room for sorrow and joy, sadness and hope to exist in the same space at the same time.

And she learned that grief is not a lack of faith, nor a sign of weakness. It is the price of love. That love—she says—is yours to hold forever.

Memorial Day is foremost about remembrance, of America's sons and daughters from every corner of our country, in every branch of service who gave their lives so that we may live free.

But it's also about love and about hope.

It gives us—the living—a chance to cherish the freedom we may now hold dear and embrace the future we may now dare dream.

It gives us the opportunity, all citizens, everywhere, to recommit to our national purpose to secure the blessings of liberty.

Let it also renew a national commitment to usher home the men and women returning to our communities, and firmly stand by those still supporting missions around the globe.

Behind every one of them are their pillars of love and hope at home, a parent, a spouse, a son, a daughter, a community, all doing their part to take care of America.

So, I'd like to ask all of the family members here and at home to please stand and accept our deepest gratitude for your service.

On behalf of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a grateful nation, we say thank you!

Article from *Joint Force Quarterly* (National Defense University Press) "Investing in the Minds of Future Leaders"

3rd Quarter 2014, Issue 74

As the Joint Force prepares for the challenges and opportunities of tomorrow, our focus is not simply on military power and platforms. We are laser-focused on leadership. It is the all-volunteer force and its leaders—our people—who remain our greatest strategic asset and the best example of the values we represent to the world.

To deliver the future force the Nation needs, we must develop leaders who can outmaneuver, out-think, and out-innovate our adversaries, while building trust, understanding, and cooperation with our partners. This demands leaders who can think through complexity, who are adaptable and agile, and who can build teams to accomplish missions. Our leaders must also be able to successfully navigate ethical gray zones where absolutes are elusive.

As we chart the course and speed for leader development within the Joint Force, the most direct way to build and reinforce the Desired Leader Attributes is through our military education institutions, including our joint professional military education (JPME) schools.

But we cannot stop there. Being a leader requires a dedication to lifelong learning. I believe that if we are not maneuvering outside our intellectual comfort zone, we are stagnant and falling behind. We can never allow ourselves to be too busy to learn.

Innovation and Agility

General George C. Marshall advocated two things during the interwar years: education and innovation. Because of the demands of the last 13 years of war, however, we have not been signaling that we value education as an essential element of leader development. That is changing. We now describe PME [professional military education] as a significant investment in—and not a tax on—the individual and the Profession of Arms.

To the extent that education is a strategic resource, the investment in our PME programs will determine the effectiveness of our profession and the security of our nation.

For today's leaders, understanding the challenges of the global security environment is not an option. It is not a theoretical exercise. It is our life's work. We ask our men and women to help solve some of the world's hardest problems in its hardest places. The more we understand the history, culture, and power dynamics in play, the better and more enduring the results.

Our charge, then, is to leverage the diverse experiences of our combat-tested Soldiers, Marines, Sailors, Airmen, and Coastguardsmen in our classrooms. We have to keep challenging them with our curricula. And we have to channel their intellectual curiosity into broad-based mental agility that can be applied to an environment that is complex, ambiguous, and uncertain.

Leading Educational Change

Our PME systems have to embrace change or risk irrelevance. We know that a quality faculty is the center of gravity in quality, relevant education. Our educators should be our best and brightest. For our uniformed cadre, we cannot allow schoolhouse assignments to be seen as a career dead end. Rather, these assignments should signal a commitment to intellect dexterity that will be important in higher levels of responsibility. Similarly, we must be able to attract civilian faculty members who have a record of accomplishment in their particular fields.

This is important because when we consider that we will have to think our way through complex challenges, the power lies in the integration of faculty and student. This juncture is where the big ideas are incubated, fueled by innovative research. Every relationship and every idea matters, especially when those things are applied to the toughest struggles we face today.

Looking Ahead

Drawing down the force, we will not allow ourselves to be both smaller and less smart. We must better match our PME programs with our Desired Leader Attributes and with our experience. As author Clarence Day states, "Information's pretty thin stuff unless mixed with experience." Therefore, we are reinvigorating our commitment to tailored education—exploring how best to adapt our learning institutions to serve the diverse talent of our men and women and to cultivate agile thinkers in a global Joint Force.

For example, at my direction, the National Defense University (NDU) is embarking on a transformation of its JPME programs. We are mapping Desired Leader Attributes to the

curriculum to ensure we are delivering them. We are focusing on the professional interests and learning objectives of our students. We are more closely connecting the University to the practitioners of strategic art. The goal is an integrated learning experience—a personalized partnership between the University and the student. By adapting, NDU will remain one of the preeminent senior leader development institutions in our nation. This is not to gloss over the challenges we face in our PME institutions. Change is tricky. At the same time, I am optimistic because of the dedication of our men and women to solve the challenges of today and tomorrow. And I am confident because through these uncertain times, we have men and women who are passionate about learning, leading, and making a difference.

Remarks at the Center for Strategic and International Studies Pacific Forum

The Pacific Club

Honolulu, Hawaii | July 1

For more than forty years, this group has been taking the long view, looking beyond the urgent and bringing together great minds to think through the intersection between ideas and policy that affect the entire region.

As the Asia-Pacific continues its remarkable rise, it will only become more important for us to gather and discuss the security challenges that will in fact shape this region's future, but also will shape the world's future.

I also took note that this forum was established in 1975, the year after I graduated from West Point. Looking around, I can't tell—actually I think I know who's aged better, you, not me. But it is a privilege to be here at the forty-year point with you.

As you know, the Rim of the Pacific exercise is currently underway, and it's operating throughout and around the islands. RIMPAC [Rim of the Pacific] is the world's largest maritime exercise with twenty-two participating nations, to include China and Brunei for the first time. There are forty-seven ships, six submarines, more than 200 aircraft, and roughly 25,000 personnel involved, so we're very proud of that exercise.

Over the next few weeks, that multinational group will build relationships, establish interoperability, and increase proficiency across a broad mission set. Everything from live-fire exercises, traditional military operations on the one hand, and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief operations on the other.

RIMPAC—with its full spectrum of operations—is a perfect backdrop for us to consider the greater implications of the global security environment and how it relates—it requires us to think broadly about the way we apply the military instrument of power in this century.

I don't have to tell you this, but the US military is the most powerful, versatile, and sophisticated in our history. It's also one of the most flexible and adaptable tools that our nation has at its disposal and available to our elected leaders. And it has to be—to address the complex world in which we live.

We shape behavior simply by our presence. We can bolster a diplomatic initiative; we can support a partner or deter an adversary. We can share intelligence, sustain reconnaissance, and provide security. We can bring humanitarian support and medical care—as many of you know we did when Typhoon Haiyan struck the Philippines just last year.

Our broad array of capabilities is necessary, because every situation, every region, and every crisis we face is different. Many are linked, but each one requires a unique and nuanced approach.

In my role as principal military advisor to the president and the secretary of defense, I must articulate how our military instrument can be used to provide options and to achieve outcomes that support and protect our nation's interests.

More specifically, I must be clear about what effects our military can and cannot achieve. And I must represent how fast we can do it, for how long, at what risk, and with what opportunity costs.

More abstractly, I must also consider how our military action or inaction contributes to—or detracts from—another important instrument of our national power and that is America's enormous power of emulation.

As you may recall, on this day in history, twenty-three years ago in 1991, the Warsaw Pact was officially dissolved in Prague. NATO's [the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's] counterweight, the Soviet Union, was no more. Several members of the Warsaw Pact turned to and became members of NATO. Some formed other collective security agreements with what is now the Russian Federation.

In any case, what was at the time hailed as a triumph of the West actually turned a well-defined balance of power into something far more ambiguous. The security environment changed in ways that we didn't realize, and in some ways we did and in some ways we didn't realize. It was actually our first step into a far more complex world.

Let me briefly review some of the challenges that we now see across the globe.

Starting here in the Pacific, we see a rise in the tide of nationalism. I'm going to use a maritime—it seems fitting—a maritime metaphor here. So here in the Pacific, we see a rising tide of nationalism. The power of nation-states is increasing as national sentiments toward nationalism coalesce. Assertive territorial disputes are sparking an increase in tension and creating greater chances for miscalculation.

The Asia-Pacific, as you well-know, is poised to be the economic engine of the twenty-first century. Traditional power-on-power relationships will shape the region and ultimately decide if it will achieve its potential.

By contrast, in the Middle East and North Africa, the tide of nationalism is receding at a remarkable rate. We see the norms of statehood being superseded by centuries-old religious, ethnic, and tribal tensions.

As the region wobbles along a fault line that extends from Beirut to Damascus to Baghdad, state power continues to ebb. In this environment, the traditional use of military power rarely yields expected results. Finding effective ways to deal with this paradox is one of the many challenges before us.

Europe, on the other hand, appears to be at a slack-tide with a desire for greater unity on the one hand and an instinct for national self-interest on the other.

As the European Union and NATO face transnational, extremist threats along their southern flank, Russia flexes its might and stokes ethnic impulses along Eastern Europe's periphery.

Russia is employing a tactic that I describe as proximate coercion. They're using non-traditional military groups, cyberspace, and the threat of conventional force to subvert and misinform to achieve their objectives.

Indeed, Europe is approaching an inflection point where decisions to follow either the instinct for collective or individual interests could transform that region into a very dangerous operational theater.

At the same time, power continues to diffuse beneath and beyond the state. Terrorist groups and other nonstate actors possess unprecedented ability to inflict harm. Rogue nations continue the pursuit of weapons of mass destruction. And cyber is the fastest growing, the least understood, and potentially the most perilous factor that connects us all. We must continue to aggressively learn and understand how it affects all of our instruments of power.

At the nexus of these complex and differing environments is the growing interconnectedness of all the regions of the world through technology and trade. In fact, it's almost impossible to isolate the turmoil in one region from creating effects on the others.

It's in this complicated context that the military provides options—in concert with the other instruments of national power—to affect outcomes that produce and protect our national security interests. These outcomes can be thought of in two broad categories: insurance and assurance.

First and always, our military is America's insurance policy. Our most fundamental task is to protect the homeland and our citizens. We keep the nation immune from coercion.

We must stand ready to take direct combat action when asked—at any time, in any place, against any adversaries. That's what the American people expect. We will continue to organize, train, and equip the force principally to serve that purpose.

Our adversaries rightly fear our dominance in the air, on the ground, and from the sea. When all of our options remain on the table, our ability to change the course of events is undisputedly superior to any other.

Even as our force gets smaller, we must ensure it maintains—that we maintain our most vital capabilities and that we stay the best trained, the best equipped, and the most versatile force on the planet.

Our military is also used, as you well know, to assure our allies and partners—to reinforce an international order that is characterized by the free flow of commerce, open access to markets, and absence of great-power conflict.

The US military largely underwrites this order through our ability to sustain sufficient, credible combat power–forward, and through our ability to project power from the homeland.

Today's security environment presents more assurance than it does insurance challenges. We really don't face an imminent or likely existential threat—our ability to insure America is not at risk.

However, our allies and partners are seeking assurances—our assurances.

I've spent the better part of the past several weeks in engagements around the world in Afghanistan, NATO, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, the United Kingdom.

In every case, in every theater, there's a growing demand for our assurances against an increasing number of threats. There's an increasing appetite for our leadership to help maintain the international order.

Frankly, our ability to provide this assurance is at risk due to a growing deficit between supply and demand. It's necessary that we make wise decisions about where and how to apply military power. Each action now comes with greater opportunity cost, that is, the trade-off of another action somewhere else due to constrained resources. Each choice requires us to assess—and accept—increasing degrees of risk with our eyes wide open.

The supply-demand imbalance demands that we bring our military instrument of power back into balance with itself. We must seize more efficient and innovative ways to use military force to an appropriate effect. How we lead at this strategic inflection point is just as important as the military capability we provide.

First, we must become more agile in how we employ our forces. A smaller force needs to move more quickly and be able to aggregate and disaggregate more efficiently in order to shape and deter.

We are working to become more joint and more interdependent both within our own services and with our closest allies. We're adapting our Global Force Management process—that is the way we distribute the force around the globe—and we're taking a much more careful look at how we measure and report our readiness. We want to become more predictable to our allies and more confusing to our potential adversaries. Our presence across the globe will be dynamic and purpose built.

Second, we must expand our understanding of and our approach to building partner capacity beyond the norm of bilateral operations. The security environment demands greater emphasis on regional and multilateral operations and approaches. This will create not only a higher degree of legitimacy, but it also will allow us to leverage the skills and knowledge of our partners and their collective advantage.

At the same time, an important lesson of our recent wars is that building partnership capacity requires time and a credible partner.

Our partners must demonstrate leadership with legitimate ambitions and goals for sustaining economic development, building their own institutions, and fostering inclusiveness. When time, patience, and investment come together and stay together, we do make a difference.

Partnering is a hallmark of the US military, and it will be even more important tomorrow than it is today. It enhances our allies' and partners' strength and it reduces

our risk. It also increases the net contributors to our collective international security and shapes outcomes toward common purposes.

Our relationships in the Asia-Pacific are actually a prime example. For more than sixty years, our alliances with Japan and South Korea have been the foundation of peace and prosperity in the region.

Earlier today, I met with my Japanese and South Korean counterparts to discuss the common threat of North Korea and other challenges we face in the region. This was the first time in history that the chiefs of defense from our three countries have met together in person in that context.

This sort of trilateral engagement reflects our commitment to come together and to leverage converging interests. And it illuminates, I think, a future path, a path where partnerships can evolve through persistent engagement from building capacity to sharing responsibility.

Third, and underpinning everything we do, we must continue to build trust as the most important and most powerful component of the military instrument of power.

Gaining trust takes time, and it can be lost almost in an instant. Sustaining trust may be the most difficult, yet the most important objective, and it's a two-way street.

Fostering trust belongs to all hands, from our most senior leaders to our newest recruits. Trust is the foundation of the military profession. It's the glue of our partnerships. And it actually is what holds the environment together.

No matter whether we're fighting together or training together, we're always building relationships. Every day, in big and small ways, we're building trust. And we really do it exceptionally well.

Relationships of trust remain paramount in the Asia-Pacific, in particular. That's why sustained mil-to-mil engagements and exercises like RIMPAC—to bring it back to where I started—are important to strengthen the bonds for our shared future.

To close, I want to be clear what the military instrument is and what it is not.

The military instrument of power is the insurance policy that underwrites our freedom and safeguards America's interests. It will continue to assure an international order which values security and prosperity.

Our military is one instrument of America's power, but it is not the only one. The military instrument of power must be used in concert with other instruments of power in order to achieve our goals.

The decisions on whether, how, and when to use military power are some of the most important and the most fateful that we can make.

When called, our military stands ready to preserve and promote the nation's interests. Our men and women in uniform will ensure that we stay the most powerful military in history.

Our people are—and always will be—our greatest strength. And I appreciate the hospitality that this state has shown to the many men and women who have served here.

I'm fully confident that our future leaders will think and innovate as we seek to turn today's challenges into tomorrow's opportunities.

Our men and women in uniform continue to amaze me, and they represent our nation in an exceptional manner. I'm enormously proud to serve with them.

And with that, I look forward to your questions.

Remarks at the International Security Assistance Force Change of Command

Kabul, Afghanistan | August 26

Good evening, ministers, ambassadors, colleagues, especially General [Joseph F.] Dunford and General [John F.] Campbell. I'm going to forego my remarks because I think sometimes these events are as much about images as they are about words. And I'll share with you the images that I will carry back with me today.

The two flags of the United States and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan flying side by side and listening to the national anthems played, the NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] flag behind me, the forty-eight flags of the coalition surrounding us. The monument to those who have given their lives in this cause.

And last night, flying in from the United States, I landed and took a helicopter across Afghanistan at night over your beautiful capital city for the first time in several months, and I was struck by the life that was evident on the streets of Kabul. And it caused me to believe that Afghanistan is marching toward the light. I'm confident that with this coalition and with all of you who are at some level responsible for delivering on the promise that Afghanistan holds, and these two military leaders, one who is about to leave and one who is about to take up the task, I'm confident Afghanistan can continue to march toward the light.

Joe Dunford, there is no higher compliment that one military leader can pay to another than the very simple "well done." You know what you've done and everyone in this audience knows what you've done. You've served with great courage, great commitment tirelessly, given every ounce of your being to this country as has your family. Ellyn back in the States has been wonderfully supportive, and all of us in uniform and those of our elected officials who have appointed you could not have been more proud of the job you've done.

And J. F. Campbell, on your third tour in Afghanistan, another man who is deeply committed to this mission who has a vast amount of experience and who will be a great partner to Afghanistan during his tour as well. And please give our best to Anne who is now at home caring for your family while you're over here caring for this great family of people who have gathered together for the future of Afghanistan.

Bismillah al-Rahman al-Rahim [In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful], and God bless us all.

Remarks at the University of Notre Dame

Notre Dame, Indiana | September 6

We have in the world two heavyweights that we have to address in almost anything we do. One is China and one is Russia. You heard a lot about our rebalance to the Pacific. That's not a choice, frankly, it's an imperative. Why is it imperative?

By 2050 there will be 9 billion people on the planet. Seven billion of them will live between China and India. So this is not about somebody woke up one day and said, "You know what? I'm a little tired of the Atlantic right now." [*Laughter.*] And the Middle East, I'm really tired of that. Let's rebalance to the Pacific.

We've got to rebalance our efforts to the Pacific. The question is, how quickly and how? And it's not just the military. It's got to be a whole-of-government enterprise. And we'll eventually do that. It's hard to do it when you're thinking about the ISIS [Islamic State of Iraq and Syria] threat or about a reasserting Russia in Europe, but it is an imperative. So the two heavyweights are Russia and China, and almost everything we do globally we consider the second- and third-order effects in our relationships with Russia and China, as well we should.

The second two are two middleweights. One is Iran and one is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, or North Korea. Iran because Iran has established a Shia theocracy in the Middle East and has aspirations to be a hegemon or the dominant regional player in the Middle East. And we have significant interests in the Middle East that would not be well served if Iran achieves that purpose.

What gets most of the notoriety is Iran's nuclear aspirations, and you're well aware of the negotiations that are ongoing to try to diplomatically, and with economic pressure and with a military option on the side, to convince Iran that that would not be in their best interests or in the globe's. We're making some progress. It's like any big, heavy diplomatic lift on an issue so complicated. It's every bit that complicated and eventually it will have to go to the Congress of the United States. And of course Iran is also extraordinarily active in cyber and aspires to use cyber as an asymmetric counterweight to our conventional weight. So Iran is not just about nuclear weapons and is a middleweight to be reckoned with, and we're on a path to do so but we can't take our eye off of it.

And as I said, the other middleweight is Korea, North Korea. We have 28,000 young men and women in uniform living on the Korean Peninsula and 4,600 families living on the peninsula, so the security of the peninsula is not just a matter of an alliance obligation. It's also the fact that we have enormous economic ties to South Korea. We have hundreds of thousands of businessmen who come and go, and many of them live on the Korean Peninsula. So we've got a huge stake in maintaining stability on the Korean Peninsula and supporting our Republic of Korea allies.

And that got harder when the youngest leader on the planet became the leader of the DPRK [Democratic People's Republic of Korea], and you see he's an erratic fellow. He's a little bit—not a little bit—he's unpredictable. I think that he took the people that had surrounded his father and he, for the most part, purged all of them so that he is mostly

making up his own strategy and executing his own campaign. That makes him dangerous. And they are seeking to develop capabilities, some of which might eventually be able to actually reach out and touch the homeland: road-mobile missiles.

So we've got our eye on that, and we're working in using all of the instruments of power, national power—economic, diplomatic, information, and military—to make sure that North Korea doesn't achieve its intentions and that we can sustain our overmatching capabilities. But again, it bears watching. So two, two.

The next two are two networks. It's a mistake to just think of al-Qaeda or to think of ISIS or to think of al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula. Al-Qaeda just announced a new one, the al-Qaeda of the Indian Subcontinent. We've got the al-Qaeda of the Islamic Maghreb in North Africa. We've got Ansar al-Sharia. And we've got al-Shabab. And we've got Boko Haram. And I'm sure if I insulted somebody in the audience because I didn't have your favorite terrorist group, correct me afterwards. [*Laughter.*]

But the point is, these groups are a manifestation of something much bigger. They're a manifestation of decades—and I suppose a historian would maybe even persuade me centuries—of underlying tensions that have never been reconciled: underlying inequalities, underlying religious issues internal to Islam.

By the way, Deanie [his wife] and I lived in Riyadh for two years together, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and I've spent five or six years of my recent life in the Arab world. I've studied deeply into Islam as a religion, but also political Islam as a movement. And one might argue that there is an internal reformation of Islam that's actually the underlying cause of these groups, who are hijacking what would otherwise be benign revolutions as these autocratic movements are tossed aside. But there's enormous instability in the Middle East and will be, I think, for a generation. Generations are normally timed to about twenty years.

So ISIS is getting all the attention right now. Many of you have children, and some of them are in the back of the room in uniform. But it's like little kids' soccer, if you've ever seen a little kids' soccer game. You know, where's the ball? And everybody goes after that ball. And, the coach is dutifully on the sidelines saying, stay in your position. And everybody is running over to the sidelines chasing the ball.

We really can't do that. ISIS is bad. They're dangerous. They're a near-term threat to the region, clearly, and a longer-term threat to the globe, including us. But it's not the only game in town. It may be the most ideologically conservative and radical in town, with brutal tactics. They're incredibly effective in the media space, so they have this kind of phenomena that has surrounded them. But they're part of a network of radical movements that use terrorism as a tactic.

We kind of lump them in, say they're all terrorists, but they've all got a different agenda apparently. And they work together when it suits their needs, and they don't when it doesn't, and you can't paint them all with one brush. And so as we look at these threats in the Middle East, notably from radical Islam and its outgrowths, we just have to be very thoughtful about it so that we apply the right tool at the right time, and over the right length of time, in order to make a difference. And so that's the network of violent extremists.

The other network is one right here in our hemisphere, and that's the network of transnational organized criminals that run fundamentally on the funding provided by the sale of drugs from South America through Central America up into the homeland, but also increasingly from South America over into West Africa. That network might be actually more dangerous, at the end of the day, although it's starting to make that case, and that network is often thought of in policy terms as a drug network, but it's much more than a drug network.

It's a railroad, and you know that a railroad will carry whatever it is paid to carry. It will carry drugs, it will carry arms, it will carry unaccompanied children, it will carry weapons of mass destruction, it will carry terrorists. And there is a nexus for a connection between the incredible money generated by that network into the terrorist networks that I described before. It's hard for us to actually track it. You might say, come on, you've got the most sophisticated intelligence apparatus in the planet. Of course we do, but it doesn't mean we see everyone.

One of the things we have difficulty seeing is that connection between the financial power of this criminal network and the power of kinetic strength and ideology of the terrorist network, but that connection is there. And we continue to learn more about it, and frankly we haven't for several years, in my view, done enough against that network, the one that runs north-south largely on the back of criminal activity, but it also points out some of the complexity of separating law enforcement issues from military security issues. The distinction is becoming blurred, frankly.

Now, by the way, we're working through that—[we have] great relationships with the FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation], DEA [Drug Enforcement Agency], all the other agencies of government, the Department of Homeland Security—and we're going to have to get closer as we go forward because our adversaries actually look at us and see us as a nation of laws, and they can, on occasion, exploit some of our laws in order to do the things that they do against us.

And then the last one is actually a domain. So I said two, two, two and one, and the one is cyber. And "cyber" is among the most misunderstood words, I think, in the American English language. And we love it because it empowers us, and it provides us information that is mind-numbing for someone who grew up in Bayonne, New Jersey, with a black rotary phone and a wire stuck into the wall. [*Laughter.*] But now we are connected all the time everywhere with access to almost everything, and that's wonderful.

In so doing, you expose some of your privacy, and I think you know that. But we've got issues at the national level. We're trying to just understand how to reconcile several of our values—freedom of information, privacy, and security—and we've got to keep working on it.

Frankly, we've made modest progress but not nearly enough progress. It comes down to two things, frankly. One is security standards. There are no standards, really. Now there's a huge debate about whether the central government should impose standards on cyber and if they do, won't it in some way undermine the wonder of the Internet, which

is openness? Yeah, probably, but we have got to figure out where that sweet spot is. You can't leave it entirely exposed.

By the way, I have my own protection of my own network, but I'm also plugged into your network for about 90 percent of my administration and logistics functions. So I can protect my information and my technology until I go to a defense contractor and say, build me an F-22 fighter, and then his network is actually subject to attack, and he moves all that technology, and the next thing you know, the Chinese have an aircraft that looks just like the F-22. [*Laughter.*]

So we've got a problem with that, and frankly we've been debating it for a long time. I fear it might take a crisis for us to be serious about it, and if that's what happens, we'll deal with it.

So I said security, a hard issue. Even harder is information sharing. There is no incentive for those of you in the audience that have corporations. In fact, you're disincentivized from sharing cyberattack information with us. I don't have responsibility to protect you—and I protect our dot-mil domain or enterprise. There are others protecting dot-gov and others protecting dot-org and others protecting dot-com. But frankly, the collaboration among those security agencies is good. It is. But it's also voluntary and episodic, and it needs to be standardized and mandatory. If they're going to be protected.

So I worry a lot about cyber, and I think that as we go forward, we'll try to articulate why and try to find our way toward a more consistent approach to our cybersecurity.

OK. Two in one. There you have it. You can be the chairman right now. [*Laughter.*]

OK, let me take your questions.

Remarks at the Pentagon Wreath-Laying Ceremony
The Pentagon
September 11

Mr. President, Mrs. [Barack H.] Obama, Mr. Secretary, distinguished guests, thank you for being here this morning.

I want to offer a special welcome to the families and friends of those we lost on these grounds thirteen years ago today.

We know these memorial ceremonies—and you've been through many—are especially tough, emotion-filled moments for you.

It takes a great deal of courage to come back here so thank you for being here.

Not long ago, I received a note from a mom whose daughter is buried just across the way at Arlington [National] Cemetery. She said the pain of losing someone you love—even years later—never really goes away.

At any instant, or a smell, or a color, or a song, or a date on the calendar like today can bring into stark relief that first, raw moment when everything changed.

She said if there's any secret to grieving, it's that there can be room for sorrow and joy, sadness, and pride to exist in the same space at the same time.

And she learned that grief is not a lack of faith, nor a sign of weakness. It is the price of love.

Today is foremost about reflecting and about remembering . . . and about the love for the 184 lives that ended here at the Pentagon and those that perished in New York and in Somerset County.

Today is also about strength and about resolve.

We find strength in the children who lost parents on 9/11 and who have blossomed into fine, young adults and are now making their own mark on their world.

We find resolve in the men and women that 9/11 roused to step forward to defend our country—a generation that has served in Iraq and in Afghanistan.

And today offers us—all of us—the opportunity to rededicate our own lives to the causes of our great nation . . . and its great future.

For as one of our nation's leaders said, "We could easily allow our time and energy to be consumed by the crisis of the moment, of the day . . . but we must also lay the groundwork to help define the future."

It's now my privilege to introduce the person who spoke these words and strives to live them every day, our nation's secretary of defense, [Charles T.] "Chuck" Hagel.

Joint Force 2020
White Paper
Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance
September 11

CM-0260-14
11 September 2014
MEMORANDUM FOR UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR INTELLIGENCE
CHIEFS OF THE MILITARY SERVICES
COMMANDERS OF THE COMBATANT COMMANDS
CHIEF, NATIONAL GUARD BUREAU
DIRECTOR, DEFENSE INFORMATION SYSTEMS AGENCY
DIRECTOR, DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
DIRECTOR, NATIONAL GEOSPATIAL-INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
DIRECTOR, NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY
DIRECTOR, NATIONAL RECONNAISSANCE OFFICE
SUBJECT: Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance Joint Force 2020 White Paper

1. The following Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) Joint Force 2020 White Paper provides my vision for how we must shape, grow, and integrate our

ISR capabilities to remain effective and relevant in future operating environments. The paper includes eight initiatives to advance ISR capabilities, force effectiveness, and community efficiency.

2. I appreciate the input you provided. This helped refine my understanding of this complex issue. I look forward to continuing to work with you as we posture ourselves proactively and appropriately.

Martin E. Dempsey
General, U.S. Army

1. Introduction

The use of aircraft changed how military forces viewed their battlespace, providing situational awareness far beyond the perspectives of their ground and naval forces. For our current and future forces, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) plays an even greater role, not only in how we maintain situational awareness but in how we conduct operations and employ our forces against the adversary. However, despite the incredible proliferation of airborne ISR systems, they are just one element in the full spectrum of our intelligence collection capabilities, ranging from the individual Service member up to numerous space systems and global communications networks. These ISR assets provide us with more data than a previous generation would have believed possible. However, they now present a massive challenge: to build ISR capabilities that rapidly provide Warfighters and decision makers with fused intelligence they can act on, rather than proliferating a multitude of systems that may only bury these users in data. This ISR force must provide ever-improving access to the most difficult targets, operational flexibility, responsiveness, interoperability, survivability, increasingly greater precision, and affordability. As we plan, acquire, and implement the ISR capabilities for the future, the following key principles will guide how we build this ISR force.

With the Capstone Concept for Joint Operations (CCJO): Joint Force 2020, I describe my vision for how the future Joint Force will posture to protect U.S. interests and respond to a wide range of challenges and threats in a complex and changing security environment. This white paper serves as an annex to the CCJO, outlining a vision for the future of ISR that we call ISR Joint Force 2020. To achieve an integrated ISR Joint Force 2020 requires a combination of initiatives targeted at improving the most important and challenging aspects of this problem by examining factors that have changed our warfighting culture while articulating a sense of how we will maintain our advantages in war. We know that other states and actors are pursuing advanced and resistant technologies and procedures. Beginning this effort today will help us avoid losing the decision superiority that we have long enjoyed in understanding the adversary and battlespace in which we all operate.

ISR Joint Force 2020: The whole of the Department of Defense (DoD) intelligence components: this phrase is not used to describe a specific organization or body but is the panoramic grouping of personnel, processes, equipment, and other resources under the umbrella of DoD ISR.

2. The Need for ISR Joint Force 2020

To achieve an effective, efficient ISR Joint Force for 2020, it is critical to pinpoint where and how ISR can be improved, not just in capability but in acquisition, development, force management, and across the full spectrum of operations. Being attentive to the current and future operational, strategic, and fiscal environments is key. We will work closely with Combatant Commanders (CCDRs), the Services, the Intelligence Community, interagency offices, and our foreign partners to ensure we account for their requirements and contributions to our strategic objectives.

Since 2001 we have presided over a vast and growing enterprise of ISR systems and operations, ranging from seemingly ubiquitous unmanned aerial systems to innumerable sensors, platforms, and processing systems operating in every military environment. Some of these systems, while extremely effective in relatively permissive environments, will be highly unsuitable for operations against a modern military force. Therefore, while we will continue to field mature, high-payoff, low-risk, low operating cost systems in low-threat environments and capture their proven combat tactics and procedures, we will also develop and field sensors and systems designed to penetrate and survive in high-threat areas. In fact, many of our newest, most advanced combat systems are highly dependent on cueing from ISR systems to put their weapons on target. Consequently, these ISR systems should communicate rapidly and securely to combat systems and operators, despite the adversary's efforts to degrade them.

The ISR Joint Force 2020 construct should focus on networked joint ISR solutions rather than platform-centric sensors and processing, exploitation, and dissemination (PED) methods. It should encourage the integration and innovation of multiple sensors to provide the fidelity and redundancy required to support rapid and sound decision-making. Additionally, sustaining global leadership in a fiscally constrained environment will demand new paradigms, strategies, and concepts of employment. As the Joint Force adapts to new resource realities, our development and employment of joint ISR capabilities should likewise seek to rationally balance fiscal affordability with operational risk. The development of ISR Joint Force 2020 should maximize return on investment by ensuring cost considerations are weighed appropriately against risk and military utility. To this end, I see four main factors driving our need for an ISR Joint Force in 2020:

Lack of Common Data Standards

ISR systems, due to the way they are developed, fielded, and operated, frequently produce data that is not compatible with data derived from other ISR or combat systems. While this approach to building and fielding systems is often successful in relatively narrow mission areas, it produces a force that does not fully take advantage of our networks or fully support our stand-off and precision weapon systems. Despite the many successes associated with the explosive growth in our joint ISR capabilities over the past decade, we still lack a true "joint ISR enterprise" to facilitate the effective, efficient, and secure movement of information across all domains and among joint, Defense, national and multinational intelligence mission partners and allies. Proprietary systems, networks,

formats, and protocols impede effective data integration and system interoperability in our ISR Joint Force. The result is the inefficient and less powerful use of our collective capabilities. The development of ISR Joint Force 2020 should enable the global agility, flexibility, and cross-domain synergy essential to Global Integrated Operations. For example, in order to ensure joint integration is executed across the Department of Defense for geospatial intelligence (GEOINT) capabilities, I directed, via CJCS Instruction 6212.01F, Interoperability and Supportability of Information Technology and National Security Systems, that the GEOINT Functional Managers Seal of Approval processes should be followed. Without a similar course correction across the Services and other force providers, and in coordination with the Intelligence Community, these inefficiencies will continue.

Disjointed Management of the ISR Force

The current joint force of ISR personnel, sensors, platforms, and networks is so vast, diverse, and distributed that managing their effective employment represents a large and growing challenge for the Department of Defense. This challenge is further complicated by the rapid growth of the geographically dispersed DoD reachback PED enterprise, government-owned/contractor-operated systems, contractor-owned and -operated systems, Service- organic assets, non-program of record systems, and a new generation of combat sensors that feed the common operational and intelligence pictures. The development of ISR Joint Force 2020 should create effective joint ISR management processes and structures to improve operational effectiveness, unity of effort, and return on investment.

Parochial ISR Architectures

While we have made progress in system and data interoperability, we still lack a common joint ISR architecture that allows data to be moved from all domains and across multiple platforms and sensors rapidly, efficiently, and effectively. Proprietary systems, networks, formats, and protocols impede integration and interoperability when fielding sensors, processing capabilities, analytic tools, and storage systems. The development of ISR Joint Force 2020, in conjunction with our emerging Mission Partner Engagement framework, will enable unprecedented access to common mission networks for operational planning and execution with U.S., Coalition, allied, and other mission partners.

Increasing Threats to Systems and Communications

The ISR Joint Force 2020 will face increasingly sophisticated adversaries capable of challenging our ability to operate effectively with assured command and control in every domain. The lethal and nonlethal threats to our platforms, sensors, communications, and underpinning infrastructures, particularly at the seams between systems and data streams, continue to grow rapidly in sophistication and scale. This increasingly puts at risk our ability to effectively operate across the full spectrum of operations, from humanitarian assistance/disaster relief to anti-access/area denial missions and environments. The development of ISR Joint Force 2020 should leverage advances in increased security, flexibility, and resilience gained through our Joint Information Environment and

Cyberspace initiatives to ensure our future ISR concepts, forces, systems, and architectures can operate and prevail in every operating environment.

3. ISR Joint Force 2020 Vision

In the CCJO, I outlined the eight key elements of globally integrated operations. One of them is the necessity for flexible, low-signature, or small-footprint capabilities; this element includes ISR. The Joint Force should fully integrate ISR into operations, leveraging it as a force multiplier to increase the effectiveness of other military capabilities. We should also continue to improve our capability to process, fuse, analyze, and utilize large data sets. Some means to achieve these ends are straightforward, while others require bold and innovative approaches.

To support Joint Force 2020, sensors, platforms, communications systems, processors, and analytical applications must be:

Diverse

Sensor and platform diversity is critical to successfully operating against a wide range of target sets, in numerous operational scenarios, and in a variety of threat environments—permissive, contested, and denied. While we should protect certain niche capabilities, this diversity should not necessarily equate to the need for a variety of Service-specific systems.

Instead, I envision a diversity of ISR capabilities across Service lines through the joint development and acquisition of ISR sensors (human and technical) and processing capabilities. This joint approach is an avenue through which we will gain and maintain financial and operational efficiencies in 2020 and beyond.

We should also ensure that our ISR workforce consists of the right mix of Active Duty, Reserve Component, and civilian personnel. By rightsizing the diversity of our professional ISR corps, we will posture the Department of Defense for sustainable and continued innovation as well as operational success.

Interoperable

ISR Joint Force 2020's systems architecture will be modular to increase inventory flexibility. Interchangeable sensors; plug-and-play technologies; interdependent people, processes, and systems; and common interfaces will increase interoperability and utility. Collection assets should be able to "tip and cue" other sensors to focus capabilities at critical moments. Most important, ISR Joint Force 2020 will invest significantly in joint processing architectures and common networks. These architectures and networks should be fully capable of operating within sophisticated and complex Coalition environments and digesting large amounts of data. Currently, ISR assets collect more data than the Services, Combatant Commands (CCMDs), Joint Intelligence Operations Centers, Joint Task Forces, Combat Support Agencies, and the Intelligence Community can adequately process and exploit. To mitigate this problem, ISR Joint Force 2020 will invest in joint, federated, and automated solutions for processors and data synthesis. PED will be sensor and platform agnostic, with federated and collaborative joint ISR

architectures leveraging reachback to technically proficient and operationally focused analysts worldwide.

Survivable

ISR Joint Force 2020 will consist of sensors, platforms, and communications systems that exist across all domains (air, land, sea, space, and cyberspace) to be survivable in a range of operational environments including anti-access/area denial environments. This means stealthy platforms, longer-range active and passive sensors, secure assured communications paths, and energy effects (e.g., lasers, jammers, nuclear/nonnuclear electro-magnetic pulse, and high power microwave protected/survivable system architectures) to ensure that mission-focused and actionable sensor data reliably reaches operational decision makers. In addition, we will continue to emphasize the integration of intelligence estimates during the development of our combat systems to ensure critical vulnerabilities are not created as DoD postures itself to gain overall force efficiencies.

Efficiently Managed

Global Force Management (GFM) processes enable the Department of Defense to make proactive, informed force management decisions and integrate DoD force assignment, apportionment, and allocation actions. Currently, ISR sensor and PED requirements and associated resources (systems, software, and people) are managed separately, resulting in mismatches in collection, processing, and analysis capacities. In order to streamline these capabilities, we should review and modify the management of ISR sensor and PED requirements within the GFM process to ensure they are appropriately synchronized and prioritized.

Furthermore, policy and doctrine should be updated to reflect that finite ISR capabilities can be rapidly re-missioned across CCMD boundaries, thereby maximizing the employment of scarce resources. This will demand increased rigor in deliberate planning to optimize ISR assignment, apportionment, and allocation decisions. Within ISR Joint Force 2020, an ISR Functional Management Group will be charged with synchronizing the development, fielding, and employment of complementary military and national-level ISR activities across the Department of Defense and other governmental agencies. This multiagency group will champion rapid fielding to long-term programmatic initiatives to bridge existing ISR sensor capability and interoperability gaps from national down to tactical-level systems to maximize coverage. If adequately resourced and given the requisite authorities, the Joint Functional Component Command-ISR or another existing ISR organization is well postured to assume this role.

Simplified Programmatically

The Services, CCMDs, Joint Staff, and Office of the Secretary of Defense have commissioned numerous organizations and studies designed to make ISR more efficient and to

ensure commanders' needs are fulfilled. While many of these entities serve unique ends, many of them also overlap—or worse, conflict. To more rapidly achieve an interoperable, survivable, and diverse Joint Force in an increasingly constrained fiscal environment, we must make difficult choices about how to acquire and employ sensors and processing capabilities. This may mean accepting greater risk in some areas in order to focus on our most critical intelligence requirements. Therefore, our collective analytical and production efforts (including targeting of fixed and mobile targets) should be synchronized and holistic to ensure we efficiently develop and field complete, end-to-end capabilities rather than an array of incompatible or competing systems.

Multinational

ISR Joint Force 2020 will benefit from the integration of multinational Coalition ISR to a much greater extent. We will pursue a strategy that seeks to diversify the current U.S.-centric ISR paradigm by supporting and leveraging the ISR capabilities of our Coalition partners. This will require continued collaboration and information sharing with our partners to ensure they and we can fully exploit their potential to support our common objectives. Enhancing our partners' capabilities will help mitigate some of the risks we may be forced to accept with our own ISR limitations.

4. The Way Ahead for ISR Joint Force 2020

Over the next year, we will begin to implement several measures to effectively posture ISR Joint Force 2020. I will ask DoD leadership to think differently about the way we have developed and implemented ISR forces in the past and move toward more joint solutions, from sensor acquisition to employment and processing. These solutions cannot be worked by the Department of Defense alone, however. While the Joint Staff will be a visible leader in this effort, collaboration with the greater Intelligence Community, CCMDs, the Services, and partner nations is a vital necessity.

Initially I will focus the Joint Staff on the following key initiatives to advance our ISR capabilities, force effectiveness, and community efficiency:

- In coordination with the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence (USD(I)) and the Combat Support Agencies, provide requisite authorities and adequate resources to a multi-agency ISR Functional Management Group to synchronize DoD and national-level ISR efforts from the national to the tactical levels and closely coordinate ISR development, fielding, employment, and automation efforts.
- Lead a comprehensive inventory of DoD ISR sensors and joint processing infrastructure and personnel (including national-level, Combat Support Agency, DoD theater-level, Service Component organic, interagency, and Intelligence Community assets) worldwide. The ISR Functional Management Group will leverage the data to map requirements to directed mission area tasks (e.g., Unified Command Plan (UCP)-directed) and to determine gaps, unnecessary redundancies, and inefficiencies between where we are and where we need to be.

- Review the rapid acquisition process to incorporate cost-benefit analysis. When operational needs dictate expedited procurement, enforce interoperability standards through all phases of ISR system development and fielding.
- Evaluate all ISR acquisition programs to determine if they duplicate current/programmed efforts. Combine or integrate duplicative ISR systems in development and enforce collaboration among the Services on unmanned systems and associated training, basing, and logistics support requirements. In addition, cancel duplicative ISR studies and combine duplicative ISR organizations to reach a broader joint consensus of how to achieve ISR Joint Force 2020.
- Continue initiatives to drive increased rigor in deliberate ISR planning and assessment to support assignment, apportionment, allocation, and procurement decisions. The incremental steps in the Fiscal Year 2015 Global Force Management Allocation Plan Planning Order—such as defining the linkage between requested ISR capability and the CCDRs' UCP-assigned missions and their UCP-derived priority intelligence requirements should be the first of many steps to move us from unconstrained to optimized ISR planning.
- Build upon ongoing ISR baseline requirements-focused reviews by leading development of a requirements-based global ISR investment strategy that integrates CCMD ISR strategies and baseline requirements with DoD, national, commercial, and allied sensors and worldwide PED capabilities.
- Require planning documents to address ISR PED needs. The Joint Staff will review and revise as necessary intelligence planning, GFM, and collections management processes to minimize gaps and better determine ISR force sufficiency requirements.
- Work more aggressively to focus on PED. In coordination with the Director of National Intelligence, USD(I), Combat Support Agencies, and the Services, challenge stakeholders to develop more efficient PED processes, invest in appropriate training and equipping of analysts, engage in automated PED efforts, and include PED considerations within CCMD deliberate and crisis planning efforts. Work with our interagency partners to initiate the interagency policy process that leverages ISR assets of our allies and select partners. Make gains in ISR capacity by fully leveraging existing allied ISR agreements. Pursue integration of foreign fielded or developmental ISR assets into expanded sharing arrangements. By offering to take on additional requirements of our allies, seek to gain in return increased access to data from partner systems currently off limits. Selectively develop combined ISR acquisition programs where each investing partner has a commensurate share of tasking and collection.

5. Conclusion

The advancement of ISR platforms has changed how we conduct operations by giving us new advantages over our adversaries. ISR Joint Force 2020 will challenge our cultural expectations, but it is critical to achieving our objectives in Joint Force 2020. To derive the most value we can from our ISR capabilities—to create a force that enhances jointness, incorporates multi-intelligence technology, is interoperable and survivable, and relies on integrated PED of collected data—we must share a common vision and sacrifice proprietary systems for a more powerful collective capability. Doing so will render successful globally integrated operations and will ensure our ISR capabilities respond to the challenges of 2020 and beyond.

Remarks at Newman's Own Awards Ceremony
Hall of Heroes | The Pentagon

September 24

Thanks very much, I think this is our third year in a row to be privileged to be part of this ceremony to celebrate the public-private partnership that actually is what helps us continue to take care of young men and women who serve, of all the services.

A couple things for the man from *Military Times*: I would be happy to download or block your four new [*laughter*] depending on how you treat the eighteenth chairman of the Joints Chiefs of Staff. [*Laughter.*] And it is delightful to see Susie [Schwartz] again after having given her life of service right along with Norty [retired general Norton A. Schwartz, the former chief of staff of the Air Force], you're still doing it and we're proud of you. Sir, it's great to see you. I just want you to know that Winston Churchill is before my time.

Oh, and by the way, Susie, I'll sign up for almost anything after 30 September of 2015. In case some of you don't know, that's my retirement, so I'll sign up for almost anything that makes sense to me, that does make sense to me by the way. I'm talking about the Invictus Games, and I think you'll find the Joint Chiefs will be eager to find a way to do that.

But that's not why we're here today. First, I want to thank Mary and Sandy [Mary and retired Admiral and Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff James A. "Sandy" Winnefeld Jr.] for hosting the event last night that allowed in a social setting these great folks to be recognized, and I want to welcome, obviously, my wife Deanie. She can vouch for the fact the competition is stiff; she gets these giant binders, and I can hear her over there grumbling. By the way, she does all the work on the substance, and I get them and I look at the grammar. No, I'm kidding [*laughter*]. I don't do that. But she does tell me how difficult it is to separate, maybe not all 200 or so, but certainly that top sixty gets pretty challenging.

We're just back from a long trip that took us to France, to Lithuania, and then to Croatia, and I only mention that because wherever, whenever I go, it reminds me not only of all the different places and things that the United States military and its armed forces do around the globe. But also the esteem—it's more than esteem really—they almost count on us in ways that are so profound that I continue to be surprised.

You wouldn't think you would be surprised by that after forty years, but they really do count on us for not just leadership, but also to be a role model, frankly, their militaries, although some of them won't admit it. I won't tell you which of those three countries I just mentioned won't admit it. But they always ask—they don't say it in these words—but what is your special sauce, or maybe I should say your special salad dressing or something. [*Laughter.*]

But why are you so special? And I actually know the answer to that question. The answer to that question is that we make a commitment to lead an uncommon life and that includes the man or woman in uniform and their families, and we have a special relationship with our nation and that relationship is manifested in this context by an extraordinary public-private partnership that allows us to take care of those who serve not only while they're serving but for life. I'm telling you, you don't find that kind of commitment, which really is a reflection of the trust relationship that we have with America.

You don't find it anyplace else, and I think it's another opportunity today to remind ourselves what does make us special. It's not the shiny new objects and the equipment—that's just a function of the fact that our economy allows us to have what we need as a military. It's really about the people, and it's about the people that support the people. And so, as I try to remind myself frequently, we couldn't do it without you, and so the five of you that will be recognized today and the 200 or so that submitted applications, my compliments to all of you.

My Irish heritage compels me to remind myself that today is the 289th birthday of Arthur Guinness [the Irish brewer and founder of Guinness beer] [*laughter*]. So there's probably something pithy in that reflection—there's power in a pint, maybe Guinness is good for you. I'm probably going to get a little hate mail that I'm touting Guinness here instead of Budweiser, but what I would say about that is that if this were a pub, the first Guinness would be on me. Fortunately, it's not but I do want to tell you that there's power in what you do.

It can be big or small, but there's genuine power in it. So I want to congratulate Mary Joe [Myers]. It's just like old home week, which is another indication of the long-term commitment of our leaders and their spouses to the service of their country long after they retire. Maybe not that long.

But, I do want to congratulate Newman's Own Incorporated for being a partner in this, and I note that it's their fifteenth anniversary. I think based on what you see us doing around the world, I suspect that it's apparent to you as it is to me that we're going to need to be partnered for fifteen more years, and fifteen more years beyond that because wherever the United States armed forces are needed, we'll be there and when we're there

it puts some of our families in positions of disadvantage and sacrifice and we owe it to them and to the country to continue to make that kind of commitment.

So, congratulations on fifteen years and the commitment for another fifteen beyond that. And to those of you that were selected in what Deanie has told me was a very difficult competition, you are being recognized today and I'm sure you would reflect on the fact that the five of you represent the other 200 and the commitment to continue to help soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines and coastguardsmen and their families and veterans. We really do appreciate what you do. I want to congratulate the five of you and assure you that we will be looking to remain in this close partnership for a very long time.

So, thank you all for being here today to help us recognize them in this Hall of Heroes. I suppose we ought to reflect on the fact of their service and sacrifice—the men and women whose names adorn these walls. It's an appropriate place really to do this ceremony because you may not want to bear the title but let's at least describe your actions and your commitment as heroic. Thanks very much.

Article from *Joint Force Quarterly* (National Defense University Press) "From the Chairman: Commitment to Service"

4th Quarter 2014, Issue 75

Representing America to the rest of the world is something that we all take great pride in. We know what a privilege it is to represent our country overseas. Of course, representing our nation is not an experience entirely unique to the military.

I recently had the honor of presiding over a dog tag exchange with our country's best basketball players as they were preparing for the 2014 International Basketball Federation World Cup. Servicemembers from across the joint force presented a set of dog tags to each member of Team USA. Sergeant Major Bryan Battaglia, USMC, presided over a similar ceremony in June for the national soccer team as it was departing for Brazil. In both instances, the athletes and Servicemembers were honored and excited to be a part of the ceremony.

Dog tags are an iconic symbol of the military and have been representative of the sacrifices inherent in military service since their debut on the battlefields of the Civil War. For the men and women who wear them, dog tags are a personal and profound reminder of what it means to represent the United States of America. They are a symbol of courage and a representation of the trust we share with our teammates, our leaders, and the Nation that supports us.

On the front of these particular dog tags are the American flag and the words "Leadership, Service, and Teamwork." While these are values we hold dearly in the Profession of Arms, they are also shared values that are important to all Americans.

Service has always been fundamental to being an American, and the greatness of our nation stems from our collective willingness to serve others. Across our country, police officers, firefighters, teachers, coaches, pastors, Scoutmasters, business people, and many others serve their communities every day. No matter the uniform, the desire to contribute permeates every corner of the United States. Exchanging these dog tags highlights that common commitment to our country and its ideals.

Serving Together

Over the past decade, the American people have provided unwavering support to our military family. For that strong support, I am extremely thankful. Looking ahead, we need to think about how we will continue to connect with America. The American people appreciate what we do when we are called on to fight in faraway places. Less understood are the ways we continue to serve in our communities when we take off our uniforms—whether at the end of the day or at the end of our careers.

These dog tag exchanges are the first step in a Department of Defense initiative to inspire an enduring commitment to service and to enrich local communities across America through the influence of the U.S. military and the popularity of American sports. Through this Commitment to Service, athletes and members of the military will work together—on panels, workshops, and service projects—to make a difference in our communities.

Commitment to Service tips off this Veterans Day with service projects conducted in partnership with the National Basketball Association. This initiative with the NBA [National Basketball Association] is one way we can help others better understand the military and find innovative ways to address the needs of the communities in which we live and work.

These efforts will showcase the pride that all of us have in representing our country, whether in athletic attire or a military uniform. Servicemembers and athletes will work side by side to serve their communities and demonstrate the value of not only military service, but also service that aims to better our country and contribute to the common good.

Sparking a Commitment to Service

This is not a military appreciation program focusing on what Americans can do for Servicemembers. Rather, Commitment to Service focuses on what we can do with our fellow citizens *for* America. It is a program of appreciation by the military for our great nation and the communities that support us. Through Commitment to Service we can continue to serve others and help foster a broader spirit of service across the country.

Every day I am honored to put on my uniform and represent the Servicemembers who make up today's joint force. For the last 3 years, it has been my privilege to tell the story of your military service to the American people. Often untold, however, is the story of your commitment to our local communities and your willingness to continue service, even out of uniform. Over the course of the next year, I will be highlighting the contributions, beyond their military service, that Servicemembers and Veterans make

to our communities. The Commitment to Service initiative is one way of showcasing those contributions.

I hope you will join me in this effort.

Message on Military Action in the Ebola Crisis
The Pentagon

October 21

As you know, our nation has called upon our military to help contain the Ebola virus in West Africa. In answering that call, we're doing what we do best—leveraging our unique capabilities to support the international and the US effort in response to this crisis. This mission is a national security priority.

While our mission in West Africa will not include direct patient care, the safety and health of the men and women of our joint force—and our families—remains of the utmost importance to me and the Joint Chiefs.

We're making sure the men and women who deploy are provided with the right training and the proper protective equipment. We have ensured the highest medical and safety protocols are in place before, during, and after deployment. During deployment, the chain of command will conduct daily temperature and symptoms checks. Prior to bringing them home, we will conduct controlled assessments based on the degree to which they've been exposed and risk. We will also ensure daily monitoring by leadership for twenty-one days upon return to quickly identify any signs of illness. And we continue to assess any possible precautions.

Our training and equipment is the best in the world. And our leadership and our discipline will ensure that we accomplish our mission effectively and safely. While we have every interest in keeping this terrible disease an away game, domestically we will also have a team of medical experts on standby to assist our civilian professionals if they're needed.

I thank you for what you do every day—with professionalism and with courage—on behalf of our nation. I'm proud to serve with you.

Remarks at the Center for a New American Security

Washington, DC | November 21

I'm tempted to begin by asking if Arnold [Punaro] can be a little more clear about how he feels about things and who gave him coffee this morning. [*Laughter.*] A lot of familiar faces in the audience, who I hope remain friendly. First of all, my compliments to Michele [Flournoy] and to the CNAS [Center for a New American Security] team for convening a

conference and then having a campaign plan to talk about these particular issues. You know, it's easy to get consumed in the crisis du jour, as we say, the crisis of the moment, but I think a close examination, the reflection and the discussion about civil-military relations and then the all-volunteer force are probably the best defense to ensure that we maintain good relations and that we maintain the all-volunteer force. So what I'll do is, I'll just share some thoughts with you about those two topics and then get to your questions, because I'm at a little bit of a disadvantage not knowing what you've already been talking about. I certainly don't want to be repetitive. So what you'll get here for a few minutes is the things that allow me to think about civil-military relations and about the all-volunteer force.

Civil-military relations first. It's a timeless question—at least timeless in the sense of United States history and the history of our profession, the military profession, which I think it's probably fair to date that back to the post–Civil War period. And I'm going to read you a couple of quotations in a book. I'll then tell you what book it is, but this quotation. Before I became the chief of staff of the Army, knowing I was going to matriculate, I suppose is the right word, into that position and become a member of the JCS [Joint Chiefs of Staff], I began to study the body of knowledge on this topic.

And this book was written in 2006. But here's a quote that caused me to be a little bit contemplative about the challenge I was about to undertake: "In typical American fashion, the civil-military crisis was not between the civilians and the military but between contending groups of civilians, each with supporters in the military." So that's one quotation. We can chat about that, if you like, and what it means, but I think it's probably pretty self-evident.

And the other one that struck me was that, hearkening back to Arnold's point about how difficult it is to find support for reforms within the military, which then create tensions between the Congress of the United States and the military, it says: "This experience illustrates that the nature, the speed, and the direction of military reform and professionalization were dictated primarily by the need to conform to the nation's deliberately fragmented and contentious constitutional system—its intentional rocky road of reform."

So that book, by the way, is called *John M. Schofield and the Politics of Generalship*, and he was reflecting on the post–Civil War period in the United States. So first thing I think we should probably agree on is that this is a debate—you're going to have a campaign plan, you're going to discuss this, you're going to focus on it, and at the end of it you'll have to start over again, because it's timeless. And it should be. And I think that's probably an important place to start.

Secondly, civil-military relations are by their nature—as it says in here, the "rocky road of reform"—the rocky road of civil-military relations is somewhat intentional, right? And so I think that we should—and as part of your journey here—decide how much friction. You know, by the way, a physicist in the room would point out, you have to have friction to move, right? So there's going to be some friction. The question is how much and how is it managed, I think.

I read something a while ago. I wish I could remember the author. I think I do, but I'm afraid if I say her name it might be the wrong author and then I'll both give her too much credit and not give credit to the appropriate author. But she was talking about the nature of the civil-military relationship as being kind of two cultures passing in the night. And she described it this way. She said because of our upbringing in the military, when confronting a problem we tend to want to know, what exactly is the objective? What are we trying to achieve? And then once you know what you're trying to achieve, we go through this rather exquisite process of building a campaign plan to achieve it with intermediate objectives and milestones and resources required and so on and so forth—almost mechanical a way.

The folks with whom we interact—that is to say, our elected officials—generally are more interested in what options they have when confronted with a problem. So the conversation goes something like this: "OK, general, we've got this problem, and we'd like you at the next meeting to present some options on how to address it." And then the general says, "OK, we can do that. What exactly are you trying to accomplish? What's the objective?" And they say, "Well, before we know the objective, we want to know how to take the first step. So what we'd really like you to do is come next time and help us understand the first step and maybe some limiting principles and how many options and at what varying degrees of risk." And then we say, "OK, we can do that, but where do you really want to end up?" And I'm telling you, this can go on for months, actually. [*Laughter.*] Right? And it doesn't mean that we're smart and they're not or they're smart and we're not. It's just we come at this literally from two very different cultures.

People say to me, "Are you the same chairman today that you were three years ago?" The answer to that is no. One of the things that I have learned is in fact to find ways to bridge that gap between these two very different cultures and to also help educate our younger officers, the next generation of generals and admirals, because it can be a source of enormous frustration when we speak past each other about whether we start with options or we start with objectives.

The other thing is, some of the things that cause this friction, this necessary friction in civil-military relations, is the debate about whether war is timeless—not timeless—whether it's unlimited or limited? My particular observation over time is that war is always defined more by its limitations than its excesses. And actually, I can document that. There was a book that I actually helped commission when I was the Training and Doctrine Command commander called *Between War and Peace*. And we looked back at eighteen different campaigns in our history, and we asked that question. What are the principles that can be drawn from not only the conduct of the campaign but also, importantly, how it ends? Because we know a lot about how to start campaigns and start conflict and we probably study inadequately that other piece of it, which is how do you end a particular kind of conflict? And there are some principles on how you end it. But one of the principles is that warfare has always been defined by its limits, not by its excesses. So that's another thought that might help you in discussing civil-military relations.

The third is, probably more than any of my seventeen predecessors, I think that I would describe my advice and my participation inside of the national security architecture as strategy in public. In other words, almost nothing today—there are probably a few examples [that don't fit]—but almost nothing today, whether it's policy or strategy, is conducted in private, in secrecy, and without some significant degree of public scrutiny.

Now, if you believe in democracy at its extreme, you'd say, that's good, actually, right? I mean, hoo-ahh, as the Army would say. [*Laughter.*] We want to make sure that there's buy-in from the body politic and the people of the United States. And clearly, as Citizen Dempsey, I understand that. But the degree of scrutiny and the degree to which strategy is developed in public today just makes it more difficult to actually provide military advice and have that advice either be accepted or rejected in time. In other words, there's an immediacy now, not only in accomplishing tasks, but in planning for them that just makes it more difficult. And I'm not railing against this. In fact, this wouldn't make any difference were I to rail against it, but I would say that policymaking and strategy making in public—and I'm using that as a metaphor, rather than a reality or a fact—but there is far more public interpretation, participation, scrutiny—pick your own word—on the development of strategy, and what it does is it makes it more difficult to provide military advice because you can never forget that whatever advice you're giving is probably going to be played out very shortly thereafter in public. It's not something that would cause me to change anything I say or anything I do or anything I advise, but I'm always aware of it. I think that'll probably be even more prominent in future chairmen, but I think for now, I would declare myself the first of the next series of chairman to have to deal with this in such a significant way.

The other thing about civil-military relations is they really are built on the foundation of candor and all of my predecessors—the ones that are still alive—when they came and helped me understand the job, the single consistent, persistent theme was candor. Before you take the job, that doesn't sound all that challenging, frankly. But it is—not the candor part of it, but actually figuring out for yourself what it means to be candid in the context that I just described for you. And the harder the issue, or the more complex the issue, the more likely it is that it's going to be hard to center yourself, when you have to constantly seek to center yourself. But I will say that relationships are really dependent upon candor and, to that extent, if you accept that, then I think you'd have to accept the fact that one of the jobs of the military in this thing called civil-military relations is to build relationships. And by the way, I think it's more our responsibility than our elected officials. It's not 90-10; you know, we don't own 90 percent of the responsibility, but we certainly own more than half of the responsibility. We're the career professionals—we have the expertise and skills, that's what makes us a profession and, therefore, in terms of building relationships, we own more of that responsibility. I think that's appropriate, and I think there are times when we've done that well and there are probably times when we haven't done it well enough, but it is what leads to candor and it's candor that leads to good civil-military relations.

The element of time is also a factor in civil-military relations. Here's a quotation that I carry around with me as well in terms of the impact of time on giving military advice about conflict resolution: "Time matters in interpretation of conflict." To use an analogy from the world of finance, an investor making a long-term investment does not expect decisive short-term gains. However, war as a concept tends to associate the battlefield with brutal, finite outcomes whose results are immediately apparent. And that's not the case; meaning you can't link those two things together. The sense of immediacy is overwhelming today in everything we do, and it impacts military relations. So one of the things I've begun to do as I've grown into the job and worked to provide the best military advice to the secretary defense, National Security Council, and the president himself is think about pace as a factor because if you don't think about pace going into a particular challenge, it will quickly draw you forward. Incidentally, I don't want to open the door for questions about our counter-ISIL [Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant] strategy—although the door's probably already open—but I will say that the consideration of pace has been an important factor in my advice to the president and his feedback to me on our counter-ISIL strategy.

I just saw the movie *Fury*. I don't know if anybody's seen it—anybody seen the movie *Fury*? It's worth watching. I wasn't sure how they were going to make a two-and-a-half-hour movie out of a four man tank crew, but they managed to do it. It's a little bit like *Saving Private Ryan*, but there are some really profound thoughts in that movie. I actually was quite taken by some of the quotations in the movie, so I copied one down that I'll share with you because it does also have an echo of civil-military relations. Here's the quotation: "Ideals are peaceful. War is violent." Now how would that impact on civil-military relations? There is a sense in the American way of war to try to balance our values with pragmatism. I like that about us, actually. Makes it hard to be decisive sometimes, but in our country and probably in a few others, there is this desire to balance our idealism with pragmatism. And if that quotation is accurate—"Ideals are peaceful. War is violent"—you can get a sense for why sometimes there's an inclination to put limits on warfare and find ways to put limiting principles into the advice we give.

Again, none of these things in isolation are enough for you to say, that's the key. There is no single key in civil-military relations. It's really about all the things I've just mentioned and then being able to find a way to knit them together into advice, into relationships, into strategy, and so forth.

The last thing I'll tell you before I move on to the all-volunteer force and then take your questions: I'm going to give you another quotation that kind of gets at the position in which we find ourselves vis-à-vis the matching the national security strategy of the United States with the resources necessary to accomplish it. Here's this quotation, then I'll tell you who said it and when: "The secrets of our weakness are secrets only to our own people . . . The secrets of our weakness are secrets only to our own people." That was said by General Douglas MacArthur in 1925. So, how do we say, history doesn't repeat itself, but it echoes? Boy, it does echo. That quotation gets at the fact that it's extraordinarily difficult to communicate with the American people on the impact of resource decisions.

That's what Arnold and a few of the others were kind of unemotionally discussing here just moments ago.

But the Chiefs and I all feel very strongly about the responsibility to try to articulate the impact of resource allocation decisions, and it's a fine line to do so. If you're too enthusiastic about it, you're accused of being just another special interest group trying to feather your own nest at the expense of the American people. If you're too silent about it, you will quickly find yourself with threats that you're unable to deal with and the purpose of the military is to keep the nation immune from coercion. That's our job and we have to articulate it. But it's about balance, isn't it? And I think that, as you confront the question of civil-military relations, the issue of balance has to be part of the conversation.

OK. Let me jump to the all-volunteer force just for a moment. I have a couple of slides up here. Flip through—OK, there you go. So that young man right there is in Monrovia, and he's saluting an aircraft taking off and this is our effort to assist the international community—it's other agencies of our government going to deal with the Ebola crisis in West Africa. Go to the next one. This very tall guy here—you can probably tell which one is me [*laughter*]. This guy's a National Guardsman out of Alaska. He's out of the Air Guard now. Believe it or not, he's running a tattoo parlor, but he was at the time a parajumper [pararescueman] when I met him. That's the guys that hang off the side of a perfectly good helicopter on a wire rope and pull people to safety. This guy had been in Afghanistan, up in the Hindu Kush, had pulled twelve members of a unit from the 10th Mountain Division off of the side of a mountain at about 14,000 feet. That's Pike's Peak, for those of you that are familiar with altitude. And he did it twelve times, lowered himself down twelve times, brought up somebody twelve times. Four of them died in his arms, eight of them survived. And while he was doing this, about four or five times there was machine-gun fire that ricocheted off of the wire rope. The wire rope, by the way, is about a half-inch, a half-inch wire rope. Unbelievable courage.

After I finally could figure out how high [he was], I said to him, what was it like? What were you thinking? He said, "You're going to think you've heard this before, but frankly, I didn't give it much thought. I mean, these were my teammates in the joint force, by the way, Air Force/Army, and they needed my help and I went and got them.

By the way, he was awarded the Silver Star for his efforts. But my comment about the all-volunteer force fundamentally, if you don't remember anything else, is it's the right force for this nation and we can't take it for granted.

Go to the next slide.

So there's another aspect of it, though. It was all the things that they described here. We have to pay it appropriately, we have to train it exquisitely, we have to equip it better than anyone—it's all that. The other thing about the all-volunteer force, though—as the leading voice, if you will, for professionalism, not the only voice, thankfully, but the leading voice—is I also want to make sure that our all-volunteer force understands that service is not just about being in a combat zone. It's not. If you want to stay connected to the American people, you can't do it episodically. And at some point, the cheers at

half-time and the free tickets and the yellow ribbons are going to be in the past. And what we better figure out is that the American people want you to be in touch with them all the time.

So we've got a pretty significant initiative right now called Commitment to Service, where we encourage our men and women in uniform to literally think about giving back not just when they're in combat, but when they're just back in their communities. We're working with the NBA [National Basketball Association]. This happens to be at a place called City Harvest in New York City, where they go around to various grocery stores at the end of every day and they pull off that which otherwise would be thrown away. There's 1.3–1.4 million people in New York City living under the poverty level. They provide about 50 million tons of food to soup kitchens and food banks a year. And it was extraordinary to be there with soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, and these NBA players.

And the reason the NBA, by the way, has signed up for it is they recognize that these extraordinary athletes, and affluent athletes, don't really have a sense of service. Together, we're trying to make that case. The bumper sticker is, the world's best athletes teaming with the world's best military to keep giving back. We got to do more of that, frankly, as we go forward.

Let me tell you one other thing about—go ahead and shut the slide off. So one other thought on the all-volunteer force. I mentioned this book about John Schofield. I'll mention one other that I think is worth your effort while you're taking on this topic of the all-volunteer force. Let me just give you a few words and then see how you react to them: war, armed conflict, area of active hostilities, and combat. Can you tell me the distinction among all those words? Yeah, probably. We could probably unpack it. I'm not going to take the time to do so. War, armed conflict, area of active hostilities, and combat.

But I'll tell you to whom it doesn't matter very much: them. It just doesn't matter that much what we call it. I was in Iraq a week ago, and the first question I got at a town hall meeting was, "Sir, are we in combat?" I said, "Yeah, you're in combat" And they said, "Well, why can't we get a combat patch?" Well, the reason is that we kind of have tied ourselves into a policy knot a bit. And we're going to untie that knot, based on that question from that young man.

But when we think about the all-volunteer force, it's a pretty clever, innovative group of young men and women, and we owe them some clarity, on everything from policy to pay compensation, health care, equipment, training opportunities, readiness. Frankly, right now, we're not delivering. And we just have to keep at until we do.

How about these three: the long war, persistent conflict, persistent engagement? By the way, that's a progression. About ten years ago we were talking about the long war, and then we said, you know what, that doesn't feel very good. I don't want to be at war for a long time. And we said, how about persistent conflict? And that lasted for a few years. And now the term of art is persistent engagement. Same problem. We really have to make sure that we're not, frankly, a little too cute by half in describing what we ask the all-volunteer force to do.

By the way, I'm getting nothing for the following endorsement. [*Laughter.*] There's a book by an English professor at West Point called Elizabeth Samet, and it's called *No Man's Land*. And the reason I want to tie what I just said together to that book is as follows.

Having taught West Point cadets and watched them go off to war and come back, and go off and come back, and go off and come back, and go off and come back, she says we've created a sense of commuter wars. We're commuting to war. And when we come back, it's increasingly challenging to reintegrate into the society because the society has very little feel—and "feel" is the right word—for what happens in those periods when you are deployed. And the periods when you're home are almost a little too short in order to actually ground yourself. And so she describes that what we've done to the all-volunteer force—well, not what we've done to it, because she's very pragmatic about the fact that the all-volunteer force is doing what the nation needs us to do—but she says we really ought to think about the fact that these young men and women live their life in kind of no man's land. And what she means by that is, kind of between war and peace.

And that's what she's saying to us. Think about this fact that you've got these young men and women in some kind of perpetual state of transition between war and peace, and do whatever you can, is her message, to make that life for them clearer and more understandable as you go forward into the kind of things that we try to do that they were talking about here a minute ago.

The last thing I'll tell you by way of thinking about the all-volunteer force and the young men and women who currently serve is that you probably noticed that sometimes our doctrine will be borrowed by other nation states, right? And sometimes our technology will actually be "borrowed" [*laughter*] by other nation states. Let me tell you the one thing that no one in the world can copy, and that's the human dimension of the United States armed forces. You can't copy it. Cannot copy it.

So as we continue to adapt to the different challenges we face, some of which are state on state, many of which are state on nonstate actors, as we look to the future in a constrained-resource environment, whatever that ultimately means, we can't forget that. You can't forget that it is the men and women who populate the armed forces of the United States who are the decisive advantage, because you can't copy the human dimension.

Let me pause there for your questions.

2015
SELECTED WORKS

Article from *Joint Force Quarterly* (National Defense University Press) "From the Chairman: The Posture Paradigm"

1st Quarter 2015, Issue 76

For the first half of my 40 years in the military, we were largely a *readiness*-focused force. We deployed for exercises and demonstrations to send signals to the Soviet Union and to reassure allies. Certainly, we had forces forward based in Europe and the Pacific. But mostly we trained our forces in the continental United States, building readiness in case we had to fight "the big one."

After the Berlin Wall fell and the Iron Curtain was furled in 1991, we reevaluated the cost and size of our military and changed our readiness-focused paradigm to a *presence*-focused one. Now the greater good was in avoiding conflict—shaping, assuring, and deterring through forward presence. As soon as a Service had a unit ready, it deployed and it went someplace. The general mindset was that if we did not use it, we did not need it.

Today, with the number of complex global security issues we face growing and with resources shrinking, neither of these paradigms is adequate. A Joint Force with global responsibilities and finite resources must prioritize threats and balance today's risks with tomorrow's uncertainty.

This is not to suggest we must "do more with less." Rather, in the highly dynamic security environment that we operate in, we must adapt how we lead, engage, and posture around the world in a way that is more strategic and more sustainable.

A More Agile Force

In developing strategy, we have stated that in the face of constrained resources, we are going to be more *agile* and more *innovative*. As we unpack these words, we challenge ourselves to see just how agile we currently are and identify innovative opportunities to become even more so. We can certainly improve our agility in decisionmaking; we tend to be very agile in a crisis but not as agile in our daily operations and long-range planning. We also need to be more agile in the ways we manage our forces—that is, how we dynamically and purposefully employ assets around the globe. We must better identify opportunities that generate the greatest advantages and results using the right tools, in the right places, and with the right partners.

Most of our Joint Force works in either the realm of combatant commands or of the military Services. There is always tension managing the force. The combatant commands tend to want as much forward-positioned force structure as possible not only to shape, deter, and assure and but also to "fight tonight" if required. The Services want to support the demand, but they also have a responsibility to sustain the readiness and health of the force. This is a healthy tension in my view, but one that can get out of balance.

Becoming more agile requires finding sustainable ways to manage the global force to deter adversaries and reassure allies while not destroying readiness. Concurrently, it means giving the combatant commands a clear understanding of what is possible in terms of resources, balanced with the needs of the Services to maintain a healthy force, as well as constantly assessing risk to mission and risk to force.

A More Dynamic Global Operating Model

As we look back at the assumptions underlying the balance in our force posture since the end of the Cold War, it is clear our global posture is not—and should not be—immutable. Nor is it one size fits all. Posture evolves over time and should change to adapt to the global security environment and the threats that we face.

Accordingly, we are in the process of adapting our global force management mechanism from strictly demand-based to something more resource-informed, thereby allowing the Joint Force to protect U.S. national security interests in ways that are different, more deliberate, and more sustainable.

At its core, this means determining the proper mix between *forward-presence forces* in geographic combatant commands and *surge forces* based in the continental United States and U.S. territories. We have kept an eye focused on forward, highly ready forces in part because we have grown accustomed to the big payoff. But now we have to reconsider our "stance" to ensure we maintain our "balance."

This we know: our Joint Force must be able to dynamically reconfigure and move rapidly, integrating capabilities and partners across domains and boundaries not only to respond to emerging events, but also to surge ready forces from the continental United States or among geographic theaters to seize and maintain the initiative.

The details of how we are going to do this are very much part of the ongoing dialogue. We are discussing how to baseline theater presence, we are determining what innovative ways we can apply to maintain forward presence as we rebuild our readiness, and we are thinking about how best to prioritize capabilities to preserve flexibility. Any choices in these areas must improve our ability to seize opportunities that demonstrate U.S. leadership and strength to allies, partners, and adversaries.

I encourage you to become a part of this dialogue. The decisions we make now will define our future for decades to come, both in terms of how we react to crises and how we can help shape the international environment.

Call to Continued Service Letter
February 2

To All Who Have Served in Uniform Since 9/11,

You and your families stepped forward as volunteers when our Nation needed you, and you excelled. For over a decade of war, you demonstrated the courage, resilience, and adaptability that are the hallmarks of the American military. Thank you for wearing our Nation's uniform.

Your dedication to those serving on your right and left has been unwavering, and your commitment to a cause greater than yourself has been inspiring. Be proud of what you have done for your country and for those people in other countries who share in the dream of a better future.

Over the last 13 years, you have written a new chapter in American military history while honoring the legacy of the generations of veterans who served before you. Their sacrifices paved the way for our welcome home—we build our legacy on their shoulders. It is appropriate to recognize and thank them as we join their ranks.

It is also appropriate to follow the example they set when they took off the uniform. Those previous generations of veterans understood that they had an opportunity—and a responsibility—to continue serving. Your generation will also help guide our country's destiny.

While the transition to civilian life brings new challenges, the American public stands ready to welcome you home. As a veteran, your country still needs your experience, intellect, and character. Even out of uniform, you still have a role in providing for the security and sustained health of our democracy. No matter what you choose to do in your next chapter, you will continue to make a difference. The opportunity for leadership is yours.

We trust that you will accept this challenge and join ranks with the business leaders, volunteers, and public servants in your communities. You have made your mark in uniform and represent the strength of our Nation. We know you will do the same as veterans, setting the example for the next generation of veterans to follow.

We thank you and your families for your service and for your continued dedication to the United States of America. It has been our greatest privilege to serve with you, and we look forward with pride to what your future holds. We know it will be extraordinary.

Sincerely,

James A. Winnefeld, Jr.
Admiral, U.S. Navy
Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Joseph F. Dunford, Jr.
General, U.S. Marine Corps
Commandant of the Marine Corps

Mark A. Welsh III
General, U.S. Air Force
Chief of Staff of the Air Force

Paul F. Zukunft
Admiral, U.S. Coast Guard
Commandant of the Coast Guard

Martin E. Dempsey
General, U.S. Army
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Raymond T. Odierno
General, U.S. Army
Chief of Staff of the Army

Jonathan W. Greenert
Admiral, U.S. Navy
Chief of Naval Operations

Frank J. Grass
General, U.S. Army
Chief of the National Guard Bureau

Remarks at the Texas A&M University Sixtieth Student Conference on National Affairs

College Station, Texas | February 19

My wife Deanie and I and our traveling team are delighted to be here. And thanks very much to both of you gentlemen for the introduction, for the mentorship over the years.

You all here at Texas A&M are in incredibly good hands in terms of understanding your country, the way it operates—or, in some cases, doesn't—and the challenges that we face and how best to address them with General [Randolph W.] House and Ambassador [Ryan C.] Crocker, who are both truly American heroes. And they have inspired me in my career, as I'm sure they will for you.

Let me tell you, first of all, thanks for being here. Your presence here seems to me to indicate that you have a genuine interest in a couple of things very important to me. One is our country and another is its security. So I hope what we have a chance to do here today is interact on that basis. And I'll just say a couple of things by way of kind of setting the table for what will be the follow-on exchange.

The first is, interestingly, when I looked at the acronym for SCONA [Student Conference on National Affairs] and noticed "national affairs," I thought it might be worthwhile to start by saying something about who we are as a nation, because it seems to me you want to understand that if you're going to have a conversation about what we should be doing. First you have to understand who we are, and then maybe you can expand the aperture a bit to talk about what we do as a nation.

And interestingly, Ambassador Crocker in his introduction triggered a memory I have of a recent encounter with one of my counterparts from another country across the globe, who in one of our visits said to me: do you know what sets you apart? And I don't think he meant me. I actually think he meant America. And he said: it's the dash. I said, what are you talking about, the dash? He said, the dash sets you apart.

He said, you are a nation of Irish-Americans, of German-Americans, Polish-Americans, Jewish-Americans. You are a nation of diversity. You're a nation where, in my case, the son of Irish immigrants can become the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. And he said: that's what sets America apart, the fact that you are inclusive, that people choose to integrate into your society. And actually, it was a really important moment for me in understanding how others see us—sometimes maybe not as complimentary. Some people are in fact quite jealous. And some people actually find that dash very, very threatening to them.

But that really is who we are. And my advice to you today, in this week when you talk about national affairs, just remember who we are before you start talking about what we should do, because I think that touchstone, if you will, that principle, that foundation is probably really important. As we interact with the rest of the world, I think we have to remember where we've been and make sure that shapes where we're going.

OK, so how does the chairman of the Joint Chiefs think about the national security interests of the United States and how to protect them? I'll give you a little mnemonic

device. I use four numbers: two, two, two, and one. And I'm not going to dwell on them. You may want me to in the Q and A [question and answer session], and I'm happy to do it. But two, two, two, and one: two heavyweights, two middleweights, two networks, and one domain.

Two heavyweights: Russia and China. Russia, by the way, is trying to obliterate the dash in Eastern Europe. They don't want people to be Russian-Estonian, or Russian-Latvian, or Russian-Lithuanian, or Russian-Ukrainian. They have lit a fire of ethnicity and nationalism that actually threatens to burn out of control. In so doing, they are threatening our NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] allies.

As a result, we have to make sure that we both reassure our NATO allies, harden them against the threat that they face, and then try to assist Eastern Europe, writ large, to include non-NATO nations in suppressing this effort to rekindle fires that haven't burned in Europe in sixty or seventy years.

OK, that's the heavyweight. That's one heavyweight. The other one's China. By the way, I'm not predicting for you open conflict against any or all of these countries or groups I'm about to name, but they are the context in which we should think about our security. The other heavyweight is China, clearly.

China is reemerging on the global scene—very strong economic country, becoming militarily strong. Has some historic territorial issues with their neighbors. Also has some internal issues they're working through. Pretty tough to manage 1.4 billion people and keep them on a glide slope to prosperity. I think we're going to be able to work with China—we'll be competitors, but that doesn't mean we'll have to be adversaries. And we're working hard to do that. But that's the other heavyweight. So the two heavyweights, Russia and China.

The two middleweights—Iran and the DPRK [Democratic People's Republic of Korea]. Iran—when you look at the Middle East and the South Asia region, there are actually only three countries that have been countries for millennium, for thousands of years. They are Turkey, Egypt, and Iran. And the three of them together are bordering one of the most unstable pieces of real estate on the entire planet.

As you well know, we're working with Iran and with a group of partners to try to convince them of a diplomatic path to nuclear capability, but a nuclear capability that is not threatening to become a weaponized nuclear capability. We're working hard on that. But we should all remember, that's not the only issue we have with Iran right now. Iran is a state sponsor of terrorism through its activities with Lebanese Hezbollah, Hamas, as well as the IRGC [Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps] Quds Force.

They are very active in trafficking weapons. They are very active in cyber. And they are active in other ways that threaten our interests. So we are working hard to reach a negotiated settlement on their nuclear program, but we shouldn't forget that there are other issues which cause us concern about Iran. And those are going to have to be worked. So that's one of the middleweights.

By the way, their presence at the entrance of the Strait of Hormuz, that connects the [Persian] Gulf, and now, through the Houthi expansionism in Yemen, their influence

in the Bab-el-Mandeb and the Red Sea, they will have to be part of our equation going forward. Not sure exactly what that means yet, but it will have to be accounted for. So that's Iran.

DPRK: opaque, unpredictable, led by a man who has increased the level of provocations on the [Korean] peninsula, who may or may not stay in that provocative stance. That's a matter of concern to us. Nuclear, on a path to develop intercontinental ballistic missiles that could actually threaten the homeland at some point if deployed. Threatens our close ally, the Republic of Korea. We've got 28,000 soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines on the peninsula and about 4,000 families. And so we have a great deal of interest in both protecting our allies in the region, but also those families. So that's the other middleweight—also active in cyber, by the way, as we well know.

The two networks. One is the one that has been up until now broadly described as al-Qaeda, but as you know, there have been others who are competing for this radical ideology, anti-Western, fomenting the internal challenges of Islam's Sunni and Shia, and now stretches really from al-Qaeda, to ISIL [Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant], to al-Nusra, to al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula, al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Sinai, Libya, into the Sahel and all the way down into Nigeria.

And that's a network, not a network that is coherent and unified all the time, but that partners with itself; shares tactics, techniques, and procedures; shares an ideology that is anathema to the kind of freedom and that dash that I talked about at the beginning. And that network is transregional. It will take a generation or more to be defeated. And it will take persistence on our part, and working closely, and most often, through partners and hardening our allies in order to deal with it.

And importantly, we've got to counter their message. And I don't mean me and you. I mean the people in the region who are most threatened and who have the greatest at stake really need to up their game in countering that message. But it stretches from western Pakistan to Nigeria—one network. It's really a consortium, if you will.

OK, the other network is actually one we don't talk about much. We probably should talk about it more. And that's the transnational organized criminal network that runs from our Southern Hemisphere into the United States, but also increasingly runs from our Southern Hemisphere over into Western Africa, up the Sahel, and into Southern Europe.

Transnational organized crime—they generate more money than most countries on the face of the Earth. And if you wonder where that money goes, so do I. So do I. And I think there's very clearly a nexus between the wealth that's generated by the movement of weapons and drugs and human trafficking, and incidentally, it is network in that sense—it's a railroad. I mean, it's much more than a railroad, but I'll use the metaphor, the analogy of a railroad. And it'll move whatever you ask it to move, if you're willing to pay the price.

And so there is a nexus between this global network of terrorism and this global network of criminals. And we need to continue to unpack it. We need to do more in our Southern Hemisphere. We need to do more with Mexico and especially that narrow

isthmus in the area of Guatemala where it can be choked off. We need to do more in the maritime domain. We probably need to work with NATO to do more in the Gulf of Guinea off of the west coast of Africa. We're working with the French in the Sahel.

And we probably need to take a look at NATO's southern flank with them because what makes a network different than a state actor, when you're dealing with a network you've got to keep pressure on it across its entire length. It doesn't do any good just to pinch it here.

You've got to press it across its entire length. You've got to interdict its financing. You've got to interdict the flow of foreign fighters or criminals. And it takes a really broad effort with partners to deal with networks. So that's the second network, the other one being this transnational global terrorist network.

The domain is cyber. My guess is you probably know more about cyber than I do. But I probably know a little more about cybersecurity than you do. And I can tell you that we've got a lot of work to do. We've made some strides, some pretty significant strides, militarily in particular in terms of defending ourselves, meaning our military—the dot-mil enterprise. But the country is more vulnerable than it should be.

And I'm telling you this because it's not a military issue uniquely or solely. Ninety percent of my logistics enterprise, 90 percent of our ability to flow forces and to distribute this incredible network of aircraft that we have, 90 percent of that rides on commercial Internet providers. So if they're vulnerable, I'm vulnerable. And I don't like being vulnerable.

So what we're trying to do, with the Congress of the United States, is we're trying to work toward some kind of legislation that would raise standards somewhat. Now, you know, there's an issue there of cost and who should bear it. But we do need something that causes a more common set of standards on Internet security.

The other issue is information sharing, that is to say if you're being attacked and you know it, you need to be incentivized to tell the central government that you're being attacked so that if there are things we can do to either block it or attack it in turn, we would have that option. Right now, there's disincentives to that in corporate America. And we've got to break that barrier down.

Now, look, I've got it. There are huge privacy issues at stake here. There's also the notion that the Internet was designed and built and conceived as free and open. And I love that, actually, about it. It's the power of it. But it's also become a bit of a vulnerability, not just for us, but for our partners around the world. So if you think about it this way, so you don't think I'm up here banging away on the hard-line view of this in terms of the Internet, think of it this way when your time comes to either support or not legislation on the Internet: it's about give and take. Just remember those two words.

Then let me ask you a question. How much of your privacy do you willingly give up on the Internet today? You don't have to answer that. You know how much privacy you give up. You give up almost all of it. If you're ordering something on Amazon, they're going to help you. How many people on Facebook? OK, I rest my case. I need go no further. You are willingly surrendering some of your privacy.

All we're going to have to ask of the American people in terms of legislation is: how much will you allow us to take—might it be your phone number? Might it be metadata, ifyou're familiar with the term? We've got to come to grips with that. And by the way, if the American people decide, no, we're not willing to allow the central government to have any take, you get to stay vulnerable. Someday it's going to actually be a huge security issue. So that's the domain.

Two, two, two, and one. Let me just end by telling you something. You're all here, future leaders, in some cases current leaders, in your current positions. Many of you are going to be future leaders. Let me offer you a thought. There are three traits that I'd like you to take on board in terms of leadership.

One is expertise. We really can't afford mediocrity. So if you have the notion that you're going to get into the United States military or, for that matter, go to Wall Street and be mediocre and just get by and collect a paycheck and give it a half effort, that's not what we need.

The challenges I see before us are going to require exceptional effort and expertise. So you need to commit yourself right from the start to being the best fill-in-the-blank that you can be. If you're going to be a pilot, then for God's sake, try to be the best pilot you can be. Try to be the best infantryman you can be. Try to be the best sailor you can be—expertise, expertise.

The second thing is humility. Leadership is a privilege. It's not an entitlement. And in some cases the way we've gotten ourselves cross-threaded with the American [people]. By the way, the United States military is the most popular institution in America. And it's been my goal to keep it that way. You know, we've had some ups and downs, frankly, but I think in the main the trend lines are still north and not south. That takes a degree of humility about what it means to be a leader.

Leadership is really a privilege. It's not an entitlement. Never forget that. Never forget that. And also never forget, especially those of you in here that will matriculate into the military, make sure you have a rich understanding of what this notion of civilian control of the military means. Again, one of the things about our military that is absolutely unique is the degree to which we subordinate ourselves to the policy decisions of our elected leaders. It keeps us great.

And the system has friction build into it intentionally. By the way, we live up to it all the time. But it is important to understand what it means and to practice it. And that takes humility. When someone doesn't take your advice, it takes humility to concede the fact that they don't have to. So give that some thought.

The third one is courage. It's probably obvious to you. I don't have to talk too much about physical courage. Physical courage actually comes naturally. It's kind of part of our ethos. Moral courage should be natural and should be part of our ethos. It's not always the case. And moral courage is the more difficult of the two forms of courage. Moral courage means potentially putting yourself in harm's way for your future, for your own advancement, for your own ambitious because the time came or comes when you have to take an unpopular stance on the basis that's the morally right thing to do.

So moral courage. I would always ask you to have a touchstone, because if you don't you could fall victim to relativism. You know, I get a kick out of—I don't get a kick out of it, actually. It kicks me. But Ambassador Crocker and I used to have this conversation in Iraq when we were dealing with the Iraqis.

We'd say to the Iraqis, "Look, this is our red line. You've got to do this or we're not going to do that." And then the next thing you know, you find yourself over here. "OK now, dammit, that's the red line. You don't do this, we're not going to do that." And then next thing you know, we're over here. And you say, "How did I get over here when I said my red line was back there?" So you have to be careful, frankly, in the world in which we live about succumbing to complete relativism. And it takes moral courage to do that.

Let me end by telling you that I'm very proud that you're here. We've been extraordinarily impressed with Texas A&M University Corps of Cadets. It's great to see some of our colleagues and partners and friends from the Republic of Korea here with you. *Katchi kapshida*, which in Korea means "we go together," as they know. [*Applause.*]

So congratulations on this conference, Katie [Scott]. They tell me you're the energy behind it. Well, that's a lot of energy, by the way. [*Laughter.*] And I've learned that where Katie tells me to go and line up, I do it. And generally I have been well-served by that advice.

So, look, thanks for being here. I'm looking forward to your questions. And gig 'em Aggies.

Article from *Joint Force Quarterly* (National Defense University Press) "From the Chairman: Defining Duty"

2nd Quarter 2015, Issue 77

Throughout over 40 years of service, I have maintained a list of principles to judge my actions against. Chief among these principles is duty. I have reflected and written on this topic throughout my career, and I strongly believe the concept of duty is central to the Profession of Arms. Indeed, it seems to me to be *the* cornerstone of the uncommon life to which we have dedicated ourselves.

Entrusted by society to apply violence on behalf of the Nation, we have a moral imperative to understand and uphold our solemnly sworn duty to "support and defend the Constitution." It is worth a conversation about what duty entails.

Our duty as Servicemembers resides in two primary responsibilities. First, we keep the Nation free from coercion. Second, we support our elected leaders as they perform their constitutional duties. To fulfill these responsibilities requires continued and lifelong development of three important traits: expertise, humility, and courage.

Expertise

Military leaders have a duty to understand the use—and the limitations—of the military instrument of power. We must be unrivaled experts in the application of force on behalf of the Nation.

At the tactical level, our teams and units require highly skilled leaders who accomplish their assigned missions with the greatest chance of success and minimal risk to the force. In this, we should always overmatch our adversary. To this end we must remain persistent students of the art and science of war, continually honing our skills as individuals, small teams, and units.

At the strategic level, civilian leaders depend on our advice and expertise to assist in the development of national strategies consistent with our long-term national objectives. Our role is to offer options in discussions regarding the best use of military forces. We provide the "how we" and "can we" for any given situation, but we are not ultimately responsible for the "should we." That is, and always will be, a decision rightfully belonging to our elected leaders.

Our duty as military members is to accurately assess risks and present our best military advice with clarity and candor—whether planning a small unit–level attack or testifying about military posture before Congress. To fulfill these responsibilities, we must be trusted, and professional expertise is the necessary foundation of this trust.

Humility

Humility is the constant companion of expertise. Lifelong learning requires acknowledging gaps in our expertise, examining our successes *and* failures, and admitting both our strengths and weaknesses. This can be particularly challenging in a culture that prizes success and values immediately providing answers. Humility allows us to step back, set our ego aside, and embrace new ideas.

It takes humility to acknowledge that our civilian leaders do not have to accept our advice wholesale. Military leaders must have the humility to recognize that our senior leaders balance multiple competing demands. I can say with confidence that civilian leaders want to hear our advice. They know they owe it to the American people to consider all information and to weigh the risks before deciding on a particular course of action—and they take that obligation seriously.

For our part, we must recognize that the military is only one instrument in an array of national power. Frankly, it is often not the most important or appropriate instrument. In developing plans, policies, or budgets, there are always legitimate and competing considerations, and our civilian leaders are responsible to weigh and integrate these competing considerations. We must remember national security is but one aspect of a much larger set of choices.

Courage

Duty performed well requires courage. Certainly our line of work requires the physical courage to act in the face of grave bodily danger. Yet doing our duty also demands moral courage—that is, resolve in the face of ambiguity.

We intuitively understand acts of physical courage—honoring and rewarding those who display such acts. In praising these physical acts, we reinforce their importance to our concept of duty. It is not clear that we do the same to reinforce and cultivate moral courage. Duty may require us to advocate an unpopular position. It may require us to risk our personal ambitions. Duty may require the courage to act decisively or to show restraint.

In today's environment of ubiquitous communication, there is an inexorable pull to blog, tweet, comment, and post. Such media can host laudable professional expression, but some may be seduced by reading their name in print or receiving recognition online. Tempting as it may be to enter the limelight, we should consider that courage may require us to remain quiet professionals.

In policy development, disagreement is not disloyalty. Debate is healthy when conducted with professionalism and in the proper forums. But it is inappropriate to become a salesman for policy or to circumvent proper channels for discussion.

In the end, courage demands that we remain objective, unemotional, and apolitical.

An Uncommon Life

Clearly, a life devoted to duty—and the foundational traits of expertise, humility, and courage—is an uncommon life. Yet as Saint Augustine reminds us, "In doing what we ought we deserve no praise, because it is our duty."

Our commitment to a life of duty should give us no sense of superiority or entitlement but rather a deep sense of responsibility. Our duty as members of the military profession is an act of service best accomplished with a servant's soul. We must remember our military does not exist for its own sake. It exists for the Nation it serves.

Remarks at Military Child of the Year Ceremony

Arlington, Virginia | April 16

I'm delighted to be here, and if that invitation is true, then you're not done with me yet. And note to self—don't follow Jason Brown up here. I really mean that. As you can imagine, I get invited to do a lot of speaking engagements, and there are not many that are as personal as [*inaudible*]. So my deep compliments to you and to your family. In fact, my wife Deanie's not with me here tonight for the first time, and that's because she's with our youngest daughter who is at any moment going to deliver our ninth grandchild. I have to tell you, I love my grandkids, but they're not as well behaved as your kids. You and [*inaudible*] and whatever you're doing, you ought to bottle it and infuse it into those sweet potatoes. It really was nice to sit at the table with Tim [Farrell] and Jason and Catherine [Blades] of Aflac.

And Mike [Emanuel of Fox News] of course, who has done such a great job being the MC [master of ceremonies]. Who has also done a great job delivering news to America at a time when it's pretty complicated to deliver news to America. So thanks Mike, for your support.

I am, in fact, a huge fan of Operation Homefront and what you do to support our men and women in uniform and our military families. It really is always an honor to be here over the past four years, and I maybe even snuck in as the chief of staff of the Army, as I look back on it now. And I said, a sergeant's not here with you tonight, but sends her regards. We are here tonight to recognize the six really incredible awardees that Jason just described. What's so great about this event is we're truly celebrating all of our military children. Every day, I have the pleasure of interacting with the moms and dads of our military children. I pass by their desks when I walk through the Pentagon and see their pictures; I see their children's pictures, on the walls in frames and tacked up against the dividers that separate their work spaces. As you follow your parents around on this incredible journey, each of you serves the nation, that is to say the children and the family members who also serve our nation, in their own, very special, way. The parents in the room are so very proud of their children, and what I sense and what I feel deeply is that the children are just as proud of their parents.

So, on nights like this, it's great to see you all in person and together and meet those amazing military children who have been identified from among your peers to receive this award tonight.

As some of you know, I'm a student of history, so I'll begin with an interesting fact that will be used when you go back to school, because at some point you should actually go back to school. One-hundred and eighty-seven years ago this week, Noah Webster published the first American dictionary—what became known, over the course of time, as Webster's Dictionary. When Noah Webster was a child, he loved learning about words and where they came from, but his school didn't have the resources to answer all of his questions. So several years after going to college and after having fought in the Revolutionary War, he created his dictionary to improve the education of future generations.

Now, when I was young, I remember asking my mom for help spelling a word, and she would say, "Look it up in the dictionary." And I actually never understood that, because I couldn't if I didn't know how to spell it [*laughter*]. But she was Irish and so seriously, if you don't know how to spell the word, how can you look it up in the dictionary?

So, reflecting now on this generation. You all have it actually a lot easier because all you have to do is start typing it, and then somebody will auto correct it and put in a word that you never intended to have in there in the first place.

A lot has changed since the days of Webster's original dictionary, but some things actually remain the same. If you look up "excellence," or look up the word "character," or look up the word "service," they mean exactly the same thing today as they did 200 years ago, in that first edition of Webster's Dictionary.

These are the qualities that actually define us as Americans and what make America great. And these are things that make all of you—our military children—so absolutely and extraordinarily special.

And that reminds me of a story. A few years ago, there was a soldier—it happened to be a soldier. I'm the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, so it could have been a sailor, or an airman or a marine or a coastguardsman, but it happened to be a soldier who returned from, it's a true story actually, who returned from Afghanistan after being deployed for a year. And many of you know how hard it is for your moms, dads, or siblings to be gone for so very long. It's hard on both the servicemembers, and it's hard on the families, and it's especially hard on the children. But as difficult as it is when they're gone, the homecomings are absolutely fantastic experiences. I'm sure many of you remember going to meet your mom or dad, if you're a military child, at the airport or in the fitness center or the hangar or wherever the ceremony happens to be held and the anticipation and the overwhelming excitement when you see your loved one returning for the first time and you get to rush to them and grab them around the neck and welcome them back.

Well, on this particular day, when I was commanding the 1st Armored Division, this is when this occurred; we were doing these repetitive ceremonies in this huge hangar. And on this particular day there was this huge crowd assembled waiting for this particular aircraft to discharge its load of servicemen and -women back into the waiting arms of their families. But there was this young girl who was sitting off to the side and she was waiting, as well, for her parent I suppose. She probably wasn't more than seven or eight years old. And she looked over and saw there was this one soldier coming off of this plane and out of the formation who, there was no one there to greet him, and it turns out there was plenty of reasons there was nobody there to greet them, but this little girl actually felt awful for the fact that nobody was there to greet this soldier and so just before she went to her own father, she ran over to this soldier and said "Welcome home" and gave him a big hug. She told him, "Thanks for serving," and I've never forgotten that because somehow this young girl just understood that there was something going on here that was special and extraordinary and she wanted to be part of it. It wasn't just about her or about her family, but about the military family. And I'll never forget that, and it was an extraordinary moment and one that I think defines what makes military children so extraordinary in our lives.

So that's what makes the military child so important. And here's a word for you to look up. Ready for this? Self-abnegation. Now look, I've got a masters in English from Duke University, right? So, you've got to find words that really make no sense at all. That no one will ever use correctly in a sentence, and frankly that no one really cares about. But there is a word actually called "self-abnegation," and it means being willing to put others first in the service of a greater good. You can look it up or you can Google it, whatever you choose. So whether it's creating a dictionary for future generations, or a military family putting their reunion on hold to welcome someone else back, or walking away from an NFL [National Football League] career to help feed families in need like our keynote speaker, Jason, the people that truly inspire us, when you reflect on it, are those who make service to others a priority.

Our awardees tonight have done exactly that. They've pursued excellence. They've made it a priority to serve others. They've inspired us. And they've done it with character.

The nation is depending on each of us to do the same—to continue this American tradition, and it is a uniquely American tradition, of excellence and to make our mark in life, in the service of others.

I'm really, incredibly proud, honored, to be the chairman of such an incredible fighting force and the incredible military families who support them. This nation asks a lot of each of you, of each of us, and you continue to prove day in and day out that you are strong, that you are resilient, that you're full of love for our country and for each other. Our winners tonight, those of you who have been recognized among your peers, are perfect examples of the stellar quality of military kids, and we're so very fortunate to have you in our military family.

God bless our military families, God bless their children, and God bless America.

Remarks at the West Point Graduation

West Point, New York | May 23

Thank you very much. It's great to see you again. I told you I'd be back and I hope you did what I told you which was use sunblock, ChapStick, and hydrate. It's a spectacular day here in the Hudson Valley in this sacred place and with this national treasure. This national treasure to which I refer are these 994 young men and women in front of us who today will join in the endeavor to keep our nation safe and allow us to live our lives the way we want to live them. I'll say more about that in just a moment. [*Cheers.*]

I want to thank the Chief of Staff of the Army [Raymond T.] "Ray" Odierno, his wife Linda who's across the way there, and our Secretary of the Army John McHugh. Ray Odierno and Linda have led this Army of ours through some extraordinarily challenging times over the last four years. And he and I will end our tours of duty at about the same time. Ray, I just want to tell you how much I admire what you have done as the chief of staff of our Army. Thank you very much. [*Applause.*]

And Secretary McHugh, we were battle buddies for 149 days or so, but he's been at this for six years, so everything I just said about the chief of staff, add two years to that and you'll know the kind of heavy lifting that Secretary McHugh has done on behalf of our Army. Sir, God bless you and thanks very much. [*Applause.*]

And to the Caslens and the Thomsons and the Trainors and their beautiful wives, your leadership is evidenced everywhere in this great institution, the United States Military Academy at West Point, and I couldn't be prouder of the job you do on behalf of all of us who count so much on the young men and women that come out of this academy. So to the academy's leadership, how about giving them a round of applause? [*Applause, cheers.*]

You see? I practice what I preach. [*Laughs, cheers.*]

I'm going to go back to the podium, but before I do, I want to make sure you're actually ready to graduate and it's not entirely clear to me, so I'm going to test, I'm going to test my theory here.

So I'm going to sing. This is New York, right? We're in New York state, I think? [*Laughter.*]

And of course, if you're in New York state, you have to know the song "New York, New York." And the first line is "Start spreadin' the news," and the next line is "I'm leaving today." So I'll gauge whether you're actually ready to go as follows. I'll sing the first line; you'll sing the second. It would be very clever of you if you sang it together [*laughter*]. You ready?

[*Sings*] "Start spreadin' the news . . . "

Class of 2015: "I'm leaving today." [*Laughter, cheers.*]

Dempsey: Now somebody right over here got way ahead of everybody. [*Laughter.*] So you just wait until I point, okay?

[*Sings*] "Start spreadin' the news . . . "

Class of 2015: "I'm leaving today."

Dempsey: All right! You're ready. [*Cheers, applause.*]

OK, so I can see it now. Twenty years from now, two decades, at your twentieth reunion, somebody will ask, "Do you remember who spoke at our graduation?" And because of that little exchange right there the Class Goat will be the one to remember, and he will speak up loudly and confidently and say, "Yeah, it was Sinatra!"

You know, I've been really privileged to address some of our nation's most prestigious universities over the past four years, but today obviously has very special meaning for me. I enjoy a special relationship with this class. We have shared a four-year journey on behalf of our country. So as the guy who currently occupies one end of the Long Grey Line speaking to you who are about to lengthen it with your graduation, I offer you the highest and simplest complement of our profession: well done.

Let me begin by reminding myself, but also you that we get nowhere without help.

If you look around the stadium today and think back to your days in high school, academy leaders, staff, faculty, coaches, parents, grandparents, sponsors, friends, and relatives—each of them have brought you to this day and should share in that accomplishment. They are as proud of you as I am of you, and I'm also proud of them.

One of West Point's great lessons—if, or when we recognize it—is that we don't accomplish anything by ourselves and that's as true of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as it is for you. So today is an opportunity for you to recall how many people have shaped your life and to think about how you will always find time in your future to say "thank you" for those who support you, to include the young men and women who will serve under your leadership.

Now, three moments today will continue to shape your life but in ways you just can't imagine yet: your graduation, your commissioning, and your first salute. Let me say a word about each.

Graduation. Today, you demonstrate that you actually were good enough to graduate from the preeminent leadership university on the planet. [*Applause.*]

You now own the West Point brand. Today, as the superintendent said, you join the remarkable classes of 1915 and 1965 who left West Point 100 years ago and 50 years ago, respectively, and marched into history during periods of great complexity and danger.

Now begins your time, another period of complexity and danger. History does not repeat, but it does rhyme. History may or may not find you. It may find some of you or it may find all of you. You can't know, so you just have to be ready. And I realize that you've got a lot going on in your mind today and you may not be able to appreciate that.

So I'll provide you a phrase that will help you remember that in the future, and that phrase is, "Don't believe me, just watch." Or, as you may have heard it, [*sings*] "Don't believe me, just watch!" [*Laughter.*]

And, yes, for those of you who are listening carefully, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs just rocked Bruno Mars at your graduation. [*Laughter, applause.*]

Actually, as far as I'm concerned, you can forget Bruno Mars, but remember this. History awaits you. We need you to be exceptional even among the graduating classes who are already out there across the globe serving and protecting us today. We don't expect you to be superhuman, but we expect you to try.

Let me say something about your commissioning. Soon after your hats hit the ground, you're going to take an oath. Not to a sovereign ruler or to a political party, but to a set of ideas embodied in our Constitution. This is one of the things about the United States military that sets it apart from all other militaries across the world. Second lieutenant bars weigh only a few ounces, but the weight of what they represent is profound.

Very soon, America will trust its sons and daughters to your care. They're out there, even now, awaiting your leadership. As you take your commission, you take ownership of our profession. You have to commit to the team, lead with the soul of a servant, win no matter what stands in your way, because our way of life depends on it.

And then a word about the first salute. Immediately following your commission, you'll accept your first salute as an officer. It's symbolic of the respect and trust that exists between leader and led within our profession. In return, you will give the individual who salutes you a dollar indicating that they can count on you to earn their trust, not just today, but every day throughout your career.

I want to show you something.

Let me start with the background of this story. When I graduated forty-one years ago, I asked Master Sergeant Bernie Henderson, who was a noncommissioned officer in the Department of Military Instruction, to take my first salute. He had been a mentor of mine as part of third class armored training at Fort Knox. And throughout my cadet career, he was the one I always went to ask about what it means to have a relationship with noncommissioned officers.

He took my first salute. I signed a dollar bill and handed it to him. By the way, we went our separate ways, and I lost track of him. Last June, I got a package in the mail. In that package was this frame with this dollar bill with my signature on it, and a note. The note said,

"Dear General Dempsey,

I told you I would return this to you when you made general.

Sorry it took me so long to send it back you.

Sincerely, Bernie Henderson." [*Applause.*]

That was his way of letting me know that I had earned his trust. Among the many awards and citations and gifts I've received throughout my career, it is one of my most treasured possessions.

I came here today to deliver to you the simplest, but the most important message you will ever receive while wearing the uniform of our Army.

We trust you.

We trust you to win our nation's wars, to be leaders of character and competence and consequence.We trust you to leave our profession better than you find it.

As I shake your hand on this stage today, I'll give you each a dollar bill that I have signed. In the years ahead, as you confront the challenges ahead, I hope you'll remember not who gave it to you, but what it means.

God bless the West Point class of 2015, our Army, and this great country.

Remarks at the National Memorial Day Observance Arlington National Cemetery

Arlington, Virginia | May 25

Thanks very much. Let me begin by thanking the President's Own [US Marine Corps Band] and Mastery Gunnery Sergeant Kevin Bennear, who did that rousing rendition of the national anthem. How about we give them one more round of applause? [*Applause.*]

Mr. President [Barack H. Obama], Secretary [of Defense Ashton B. "Ash"] Carter, members of Congress, veterans, and fellow Americans, good morning and welcome. We come together in this anointed place, on this appointed date, to honor our fallen warriors, those champions of freedom who made the ultimate sacrifice for our nation.

And I especially want to thank their families on behalf of the men and women of our armed forces. I want you to know that you are always in our hearts. We along with a grateful nation remain inspired by your strength and remarkable courage, and I want to make special mention of my teammates from the tragedy assistance program for survivors whose family members and children are here celebrating their Good Grief Camp. God bless you guys. [*Applause.*]

I'm often asked by my fellow countrymen and -women how to appropriately honor our fallen. They wonder how they can best pay tribute to those laid to rest beneath our flag, so that we may stand freely beside it today.

I tell them simply to remember.

Our great nation has set aside today for this very purpose: to remember. To remember how our fallen stood with courage and to memorialize their devotion to America and her principles. But the sun will set on this day and disappear behind the foothills of Virginia, and in the morning when it rises over the Potomac, what then? What should we do?

Remember.

Tomorrow, when you resume life's daily routines, take a moment to think of the families who will return home and leave their loved ones here in this sacred place. Think of the families of those brave souls in cemeteries at home and abroad, in unmarked graves on distant battlefields, and in the tranquil blue seas. Think of the empty chair at their dinner table and the one less voice of laughter in their house. And what of next week, and next month, what should we do then?

Remember.

When you see our star-spangled banner waving over your child's school or local shopping center or in front of your neighbor's home, take a moment to consider those men and women who gave their lives for the principles that make America great. Upon seeing a Purple Heart license plate or hearing the national anthem at a sporting event take a moment to think of those who did not survive their wounds, who did not return home, who can never again salute the flag or share in the freedoms we experience each and every day.

These are the acts of remembrance, daily rituals of reflection handed down to us by families of the fallen for generations. Remembrance, like love and trust, only truly exists in our actions. It's not a place we visited or a simple sentiment. Rather, it's a debt of attitude that shapes the way we live our lives.

Let us pledge today to make a habit of these acts of remembrance as an example for the generations that follow. And a year from today, on the last Monday of May, we will reconvene on this hallowed ground to reaffirm our promise to always remember.

May God give rest to our fallen and our missing, solace to their families, and blessings to the United States of America.

Thank you.

Remarks at Warrior Games

Quantico, Virginia | June 28

Thanks very much. Deanie [his wife] and I are honored to be here for the fourth consecutive year at this event and at which I will soon present the Chairman's Cup representing the team that came and gained the victory. But as it's been said many times—you've all inspired us and gained your own personal victories and for that, we're deeply appreciative.

I must say I'm a little amazed that someone would say that the rules of baseball are impenetrable, [someone] who counts cricket as one of your national sports. [*Laughs, cheers.*]

But I do want to welcome the team from the UK [United Kingdom] especially. I welcome you all. It is great to have you here, and we look forward to continuing this athletic competition in the future. And speaking of that, these games for years were held at the Air Force Academy and the Air Force and the academy did a wonderful job sponsoring them.

Then the Joint Chiefs and I began thinking about the fact that we should make the rest of the country accessible to you, and each service should be able to sponsor these games and demonstrate their commitment, their personal touch, and benefit from having you around them. And my compliments to the United States Marine Corps, as has been said, because you have done an absolutely marvelous job of hosting these games and set the bar pretty high for whomever will take on the opportunity to host them next year. So again, a round of applause for the United States Marine Corps.

Forty-three years ago today, President Richard [M.] Nixon declared from that point forward, the armed forces of the United States would be peopled by volunteers. Many of you are not old enough to remember that day, but I am. And I remember wondering what exactly would it mean to have a force of all volunteers. I'll tell you what it has meant.

It means that every one of you are personally committed to your own development, to the development of your teams, to the development of your services, and to the protection of the country. Every one of you takes that on as a personal responsibility. There's no one in this audience, no one in uniform who's been impressed into service. We're all volunteers, and that has been inspirational in so many ways.

While we're sitting here today, your fellow servicemen and -women are serving in Iraq, they're in Afghanistan, they're on the seas and under the seas, they're in the air. They're doing what you know they need to do so that we're back here living our lives as we want to do and we all know the service and sacrifice of those who serve and their families.

But on this particular day, besides being inspired by the entire joint force, I just want to add my own voice and tell you how inspiring it is to see you. And those pictures behind me a moment ago are truly worth a thousand words. And in that spirit and in the spirit of getting down to what you really came here for tonight, which is to find out who is the ultimate warrior and which team will walk away with the chairman's trophy, I now step back from the podium, and I'm prepared to make the presentations. God bless you all.

Article from *Joint Force Quarterly* (National Defense University Press) "From the Chairman: An Interview with Martin E. Dempsey"

3rd Quarter 2015, Issue 78

On January 7, 2015, Dr. R. D. Hooker, Jr., Director of Research and Strategic Support at the National Defense University (NDU), and Dr. Joseph J. Collins, Director of the Center for Complex Operations in the Institute for National Strategic Studies, interviewed General Dempsey at NDU. Giorgio Rajao and Joanna E. Seich transcribed the interview.

Joseph J. Collins: Can you tell us how your views on the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have evolved over your assignments as division commander, Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq [MNSTC-I] commander, acting U.S. Central Command commander, U.S. Army Training and Doctrine commander, Chief of Staff of the Army, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff? That is an impressive set of perspectives on these wars.

General Martin E. Dempsey: I'd like to start with a vignette. I arrived in Iraq late June 2003 and took command of the 1st Armored Division. I had watched developments from Riyadh, where I was the program manager of the Saudi Arabian National Guard. There, I was being fed a pretty steady diet from my Saudi interlocutors about what was going well and what was not. I was also getting fed a heavy diet of Sunni Islam, obviously, and so I, like Bing Crosby, went on the road to Baghdad.

When I got to Baghdad, there was a sense of constant transition almost to the point of turmoil. For instance, I arrived just after Lieutenant General [David D.] "Dave" McKiernan pulled out the CFLCC [Coalition Forces Land Component Command]. If you remember the CFLCC story, he was told, I wasn't in the room, but I was led to believe LTG McKiernan was told by Secretary [Donald H.] Rumsfeld to take as much risk going out as coming in, which sounds like something Secretary Rumsfeld would have said. So CFLCC had literally taken this command and control architecture, unplugged it, and went back to Kuwait in the process of redeploying. V Corps, as you recall, was left behind with General [Ricardo] "Rick" Sanchez. And my sense was that V Corps was little suited as a command and control headquarters, understaffed and under-resourced, fundamentally a tactical headquarters.

My sense was that we were a bit adrift frankly, at least in Baghdad. I can't speak to what was happening in Mosul, Ramadi, or Diyala Province. But in Baghdad, there was a bit of almost discovery learning, about what it means to have gone from this exquisite maneuver across the desert from Kuwait to Baghdad, to now being fundamentally responsible for the safety of a city of 7 million people, 75 square miles with a river running through it, and with deep ethnic and religious tensions.

I was trying to learn as quickly as possible what the mission was going to be because it was, quite frankly, unclear. The Iraqi army had been disbanded and de-Ba'athification had occurred. General David [H.] Petraeus at this time famously asked, "How does this thing end?" It was a fair question.

General John [P.] Abizaid came to see me around the time I took command, and I had a candid conversation with him about my initial observations, and I asked him as CENTCOM [U.S. Central Command] commander: "What is my mission, how would you articulate the intent?" And he replied, "Look, you're going to have to take this armored division, you're going to have to adapt it so that it can provide stability operations capability. . . . I don't have to tell you how to do that." But he added, "That's job number 1: how do you take this organization that you have and tailor it in order to provide a safe and secure environment in Baghdad?" I replied, "That's a pretty heavy lift, a safe and secure environment in Baghdad." He also asked, "How long do you think we have here?" I knew exactly what he [was thinking] because he's an Arabist; he'd been a scholar and an Arabic speaker. And I knew that he was asking whether the United States had a shelf-life here, or was this something we could consider doing in perpetuity, if necessary. From my experiences in Saudi Arabia, I answered, "Three years." He stated, "I think you're right."

That was in 2003. Since then, I have realized in a conflict that either creates or inherits a failed state—in a conflict where the issues are historical as opposed to topical, in a conflict where religion is a factor—you separate yourself from your adversaries by *innovation*, not necessarily by size and technology. The rate of innovation and adaptation is likely to be the most important quality of a military campaign, not the things we normally focus on, such as Force Management Level [FML]. It seems like a recent thing with this administration, but we have been debating FML from the very start with Secretary Rumsfeld. We debated and negotiated resources before we debated and negotiated objectives. That's my observation of my time between 2003 and the end of the Iraq War. You might place this observation on the negative side of the ledger, debating resources rather than objectives, but when objectives change, we should simply recognize this and adapt accordingly. Sometimes changing objectives is portrayed as mission failure, when in fact in a protracted campaign the likelihood of renegotiating objectives is 100 percent.

On the positive side we were able to adapt. One could argue some were late to need, but the changes we made in intelligence gathering, assessment analysis, exploitation, and dissemination were important. When I visited a combat outpost on the Pakistani border in 2008 as the CENTCOM commander, Captain McChrystal, Stan's [Lieutenant General Stanley A. McChrystal's] nephew, was in command. The captain had more access to national technical means and all kinds of intelligence in 2008 than I did as division commander in 2003, and that's not hyperbole. So we did make a lot of great adaptations to all of the battlefield functions, whether fires and maneuver or command and control, and we began to describe it as mission command. We decentralized, we began to empower the edge, and we began to develop the leaders who could work, seize, and execute initiatives. We began to improve intelligence functions and logistics. We learned a lot about contractors on the battlefield, some good and some bad. But we made a lot of incredible adjustments over time.

Let me finish by going back to the somewhat negative side. Architectures in organizations begin to develop a momentum of their own, and it becomes difficult to disassemble them. The architectures themselves become self-fulfilling. I didn't think we were ever

going to get out of Baghdad with all of the architecture—intelligence, logistical, command and control—we had built there.

Moreover, we probably retained a little too much control for a little bit too long. We probably didn't make our relationship with former Iraqi Prime Minister [Nouri] al-Maliki as transactional and conditional as it should have been. As a result, we began, toward the end of the campaign, to be talking past one another. So that's kind of the front end and the back end.

On the MNSTC-I side, which is right in the middle for me from 2005 to 2007, I know some of your questions relate to a particular one: Can we actually build and develop indigenous forces to take control of their own country? Here is where I find myself today on this question. If we take ownership in every sense of the word, which we did in the early days both in Iraq and Afghanistan, and then try to begin to build an indigenous force in an institutional design to control it—that is to say not only tactical-level fighters but also the logistics architecture, intelligence architecture, school systems, and the ministries—that's far more difficult than making the indigenous force own it from the beginning with our enabling it.

So you might ask, what would you do differently. First of all, I would have absolutely not disbanded the Iraqi army, and I would have absolutely not de-Ba'athified. We lost all of the bureaucrats who knew how to run the country. And I would have, in a transactional and conditional way, made it clear how we would help the Iraqis regain control of their own country, put it back on its feet. But there would have been no doubt from the start that it would be their responsibility and not ours.

The enduring lesson about MNSTC-I is this: The art of campaigning and building a foreign military is establishing ownership and managing that from the start. If you take too much ownership too soon, it is almost impossible to give it back.

R. D. Hooker, Jr.: I interviewed a Combined Security Transition Command–Afghanistan deputy commander who believes that we tried too hard in both Iraq and Afghanistan to make those militaries like our own. Do you agree or disagree?

General Dempsey: I have thought about that a lot. Early on that was indeed a valid criticism. I remember going to visit Bernard [B.] Kerik, who was the senior Coalition Provincial Authority [CPA] police trainer. Kerik was passionate about not wanting the military involved in the training and only wanted occasional support with resupply as we conducted patrols in Baghdad, thus assuring the police stations were getting what they needed. He was training them to be beat cops, traffic circle cops, training them in law enforcement techniques. Then they graduated, went out into the streets of Baghdad, and were slaughtered.

Kerik left and the next guy that came in—I can't remember his name—I went to him and said, "Look, this can't be a competition, but I'm telling you the police you are producing are not going to stand and fight this insurgency because they're underarmed, they don't have protection around their stations, [and] they're getting slaughtered in the streets." So we forged a partnership. [Years later] I came back as commander of MNSTC-I.

The next guy who came in was actually open-minded about having the police effort subordinated to MNSTC-I. It was on my watch that we gained oversight not only of the army but also of the police, and we were able to harmonize the efforts. But to your point, there's no question that early on we were trying to create these forces in our image. I don't regret that actually because we probably had to see if that was possible before we adapted.

We also had coalition partners that would take sectors of Iraq. The boon and bane of a coalition, as you know, is that it is a coalition—so everyone gets a voice. The boon is they're there, and you get 26, 28, or 45 flags. But there's no doubt in my mind, I can give you chapter and verse, that the way the British were developing the security forces in Basra was different than the Poles were developing security forces, and it was different than the way the [U.S.] Army was developing security forces in Diyala Province, different than the way the [U.S.] Marines were developing security forces in Al Anbar. Even in our own Service we had different approaches, a different way of partnering. Now is that a strength or a weakness? Initially it was a weakness because we were a little inconsistent. I think over time, however, we were able to harmonize that.

I remember visiting a country—I won't mention which country but it wasn't ours—and I went to its training center for the Iraqi security forces, and the trainers had a [significant amount of] instruction on drill and ceremonies. You see, the Iraqis loved to march—I mean they loved to march. But it wasn't doing them much good to keep them alive. But because they loved to march so much, and they were well behaved when marching, this particular partner was spending a lot of time teaching them how to march.

Hooker: Many sources, including the recent RAND study by Linda Robinson, have discussed the tension between civilian decisionmakers and their military advisors in making wartime decisions, particularly in the formation of objectives and the development of strategic options. What has been your experience, and what is your advice to pass on to successors?

General Dempsey: I think the system is actually designed to create that friction in decisionmaking. Our entire system is built on the premise that we require friction to move [forward]. Physics even says that. You have to have friction before the wheels on a car make contact with the road and propel it forward. So our system is designed to create a certain amount of friction, and it succeeds. There are always [institutional] equities, or the objectives as articulated by the Department of State and USAID [U.S. Agency for International Development]. One of the debates in Iraq early on was which comes first, economic development or security. It was a chicken-and-egg argument. Those were heated debates about whether we should lock down the country and then kind of loosen the reins on it and do economic development in a secure environment, or whether we should invest mightily into transitioning state-owned enterprises into private-owned enterprises. I can remember really serious, important, and constructive debates about that dichotomy. It was a false dichotomy, but it was presented as a dichotomy nonetheless.

First, I would advise future leaders that friction and disagreement in decisionmaking is not a negative. Frankly, you should embrace friction. What I found was, and I can't

put a percentage on it, but in general the person at the table with the most persuasive argument tends to prevail in those environments.

Let me segue to an important factor. There is an article, I don't know who wrote it, but it was written in 2013, and it focuses on the uncanny ability of military and political leaders or elected officials to talk past each other. In the military culture, as you know, we spend decades learning how to do campaign planning, and we start with a well-stated and clear objective. Then we build a campaign to achieve that objective, with intermediate objectives and milestones along the way. Then we come up with three courses of action: high risk, medium risk, and low risk. We pick the middle-risk option and execute. If you are an elected official, the likelihood of your conceiving a well-crafted and well-defined objective at the beginning is almost zero. Rather, as an elected official, your first instinct is to seek to understand what options you have.

So militarily I know I've got it, I have a nuclear option, but let's just park that for a moment. What other options do I have in this magnificent toolbox called the U.S. military? What tools do I have that I can apply pressure with, that I can manage escalation with, and that I can integrate with the other instruments of national power? Elected officials are hardwired to ask for options first and then reverse-engineer objectives. And the military is hard-wired to do exactly the opposite.

Now what do we do about that situation? Nothing frankly. But that is the environment that we live and work in. I learned that pretty early on. I learned it by reading [Bob Woodward's] *Obama's Wars* [Simon & Schuster, 2011]. I read it not to get inside information on the intrigue or the kiss-and-tell aspect, but I wanted to try and understand why Woodward was able to find the seam between the advice that was given to the President and his willingness to accept that advice. And it came down to what I just described: it wasn't articulated that way in the book, but that's what I drew from the book. When you read a book, the author wants you to take what you want to take from it, and not necessarily what he is trying to give you. But I've decided that we're just hardwired differently. Knowing that, I think it's incumbent on us to work inside that culture and not to rebel against it. [This is a factor] in my relationship with the President, in my relationship with the JCS [Joint Chiefs of Staff], and it informs my relationship with the COCOMs [combatant commands] as I try to manage demand and supply. It has been quite helpful to me.

Getting back to the question, my advice to my successors is get to know how our government functions. Don't come to Washington thinking you're going to get Washington to conform to your beliefs because that is generally never going to happen. You have to have a moral compass, but you have to understand the way people in this city make decisions. Also, you must understand that most big decisions are made in conjunction with budget cycles, not in conjunction with current events. If you want to change something in our system of government, you change it in the budget. Can you do things in between budgets cycles? Of course you can; we built in a certain amount of flux, but big changes are [usually] made in budget cycles, and that includes big changes in campaigns.

Collins: If we could just follow up on that. You talked about the surge process in Afghanistan, and of course there was a surge process in Iraq. Any reflections on things

that you have in your own personal knowledge or that you've learned from those particular cases in terms of decisionmaking?

General Dempsey: To thread that, or to link that back to the question about the RAND study and whether friction is a negative or a positive, the way that Multi-National Force–Iraq [MNF-I] was constructed was [that it would be led by] a strategic 4-star—[General] George [W.] Casey at the time, later David Petraeus— and two 3-stars. The two 3-stars were the Multi-National Corps–Iraq [MNC-I] commander, and me as the MNSTC-I commander. Both 3-stars had equal access and equal voice to the strategic command. MNC-I measured his success on levels of violence, but the MNSTC-I commander measured his success on the development of the Iraqi security forces. When the question of the surge came up, the advice of the MNC-I commander, not surprisingly, was that in order to drive down violence, he needed five brigades. (By the way, I may be off by a couple. Initially it was only two brigades, then eventually it went to five brigades.) And my advice was that we probably should knock violence down, but let's be careful on how we do it because we could give the Iraqis the idea that every time violence spikes, we would rush in and retake control of things. We could be actually setting back the development of the Iraqi security forces. Or, stated in another way, I said, "Look, we have two options here, General Casey. You can double down on [U.S.] activities and you will probably knock the violence down pretty quickly, or you can double down on the development of the Iraqi security forces. In other words, embed at greater numbers, enable at greater numbers, but actually make them responsible for pushing the surge and bringing the spike in violence down. And my advice is the latter: we have said that our exit strategy here runs through the Iraqi security forces. So if you want my advice as the MNSTC-I commander, I think we ought to double down on the Iraqis and not double down on ourselves."

That is exactly how the conversation went. Somehow along the way I've been painted with the brush of being anti-surge. I was never anti-surge. My question was simply who was going to surge. And my advice as the MNSTC-I commander was that the surge ought to be carried out by the Iraqis. It is debatable whether they could have pulled it off, but we had two separate 3-star commands in Iraq for that purpose. The decision was taken to dial down on our efforts, and I saluted, and we executed. Did it work? It did actually; it knocked the level of violence down, and the surge gave decision space for the Iraqi government, but it failed to take advantage of that space. One might make the case that they failed to take advantage because we had sent the message that if they get into trouble, we will rescue them. And I believe that, too; if you're trying to restore stability to a failed state, do you do it or do they do it? And the surge sent a signal that if something really went badly, we would take control of it, and then we would give them another chance. The other way to do it would have been violent; it would have taken longer. I'm not suggesting I was right and they were wrong, but I think I was there to give exactly that advice. And I gave it.

The other way of considering the surge as the right course of action is to look at the transactional and conditional nature of relationships, especially in that part of the world. What actually made the surge work? Again, this is debatable, but in my judgment, what

made the surge work was less about the introduction of additional U.S. forces and more about the fact that we co-opted the Sunni tribes by paying them and arming them on the promise that the Iraqi government would absorb them into their security forces. Well, okay. It didn't happen. And because it didn't happen, the loyalty of the Sunni tribes went to us and not to the Iraqi government. Once we took the other decision to stop paying them and stop supporting them, and they didn't have a safety net in the Iraqi government, I think we are where we are today somewhat as a result of that. But that's controversial.

I do think the structure of MNF-I was designed so that the strategic command would get advice on both sides of the equation, which is how much should we do and how much should they do. It was my responsibility to argue for what they should do. I made the case, and the decision went the other way. History will decide if this was correct.

Collins: The other question was the Afghanistan surge. You touched on that with your mention of [Woodward's] *Obama's Wars*. In crafting options for those situations, should the most senior military people address all the options, or only the options they think are the ones that are going to work?

General Dempsey: The one thing that has to be clear: every option in military doctrine has to be suitable, feasible, and acceptable. I could never conceive of a circumstance where I would either recommend or, if asked, support an option that I didn't find to be feasible, acceptable, and suitable. But with that said, in particular because of what I've said earlier, I want to make sure this is not lost because I have been giving a lot of thought to this. In the use of the military instrument of power against state actors, we differentiate ourselves by size and technology. We are bigger, badder, our tanks shoot further, penetrate more deeply, and can operate at night in a way that our adversary cannot. So we overmatch with size and technology in state conflict. Training, good leadership, and [a] better logistics system—all of these are important.

When you talk about conflict against nonstate actors, and that is really what we are talking about here, we were fighting an insurgency on behalf of a government. We were fighting an insurgency on behalf of Iraq and an insurgency on behalf of Afghanistan, simultaneously trying to restore their abilities to govern. In that kind of conflict, the use of military [forces] against nonstate actors, I think size and technology matter, but what matters more is the rate at which we innovate. The rate of innovation becomes a better predictor of success than the Force Management Level, for example. Size matters, but the rate at which we can innovate, adapt, and respond to changes in the environment matters more.

In that context, this is where I answer your question. The options are far broader in conflicts with nonstate actors because decisions are temporal in a way. If I am right about the need to adapt more frequently, then the last thing we want to do is flop in there with 150,000 [personnel], 12 mega-forward operating bases, [and then] begin to funnel in TGI Friday's and Baskin-Robbins.

When I look back, conflict against nonstate actors does not lend itself to industrial-strength solutions. And I'm not sure exactly what I would have done differently, but I

would have been far more expeditionary, far more austere, and far more attuned to the need to [innovate and adapt] than negotiating the Force Management Levels. For example, in Afghanistan we did surge, and that one ultimately may have had a better effect than the one in Iraq, but even in conducting that surge, we surged traditionally with BCTs [Brigade Combat Teams]. We took BCTs and surged for 12 consecutive cycles. By so doing, the industrial machine began to crank, and we started to build big FOBs [forward operating bases]—and big FOBs increase demand, demand increases requirement for money, etcetera. There is probably a way to redefine *surge*, but we looked at it through the lens of Force Management Levels. I wasn't in the system at the time. I was the TRADOC [U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command] commander, but the President was told: "Look, it's 40,000 or nothing; 40,000 or let's get out." That is how it was portrayed. Is that right, though, is that really true, 40,000 or let's get out?

So we have to be a little less dogmatic in conflict against nonstate actors than we are in conflict with state actors. When we are in conflict with a state actor, it tends to be more existential, it tends to be a little clearer on how you differentiate yourself, and therefore I think the options become a little crisper. I don't find the options to be that crisp in this kind of conflict, and therefore we have to be more thoughtful and more open to negotiating them, remembering that we have to have a moral compass.

And by the way, I have one tenet that I generally rely on in making recommendations in places like Iraq and Afghanistan, and here it is: A squad's work for a squad. If you want me to do X, here is what I think I need to do. If you think I need to do it for less, then I am going to do less. My military advice is what you can accomplish with a squad, what can you accomplish with a battalion, what can you accomplish with a brigade, and we will not ask a brigade to do a division's worth of work. That is it, and we have had some success in discussions that are built on that principle.

Hooker: Historians are going to wrestle with whether the outcomes of the Iraq and Afghanistan campaigns were fundamentally ascribable to the military effort or civilian effort. There is a narrative that asserts the military was asked in both conflicts, at least once we got into the counterinsurgency game, to secure the population, and it did that fairly well. The military was able to build up large numbers of host nation military units that took over the transition. But the failure of the campaign was the inability of the host-nations, both in terms of the capacity and in terms of rule of law, to carry their loads. That was the vulnerability we were never able to overcome. Do you see it that way?

General Dempsey: Remember earlier when I said that in conflict against nonstate actors in failed states or failing states, I have come to believe that support needs to be transactional and conditional. I believe that because, generally speaking, in these failing and failed states the issues are societal—they are not political issues. Sometimes they begin as political issues, or they'll start as representational—for instance, the fruit vendor in Tunisia self-immolating because the government wanted to tax his fruit stand. It starts political, but it goes pretty quickly to sectarian issues, to religion, and ethnicity because these are historic impulses that have been suppressed for generations. In those

environments, it's absolutely predictable that the "victor and vanquished" mentality will quickly come forward. Those who have been suppressed will see themselves as victors, and they will come and vanquish those oppressing them, and I think whether we are asked to conduct military operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria, [or] Nigeria, that "victor-vanquished" instinct is the dominant societal instinct. If I'm right about this, then there can be no unconditional support, in my opinion, because unconditional support will simply reinforce the "victor-vanquished" paradigm as it emerges.

So let's fast-forward to Iraq today. Some people are saying, "Why aren't you doing more, and sooner?" Our support needs to *remain* as support and *not* ownership. Furthermore, support needs to be conditional. If the Iraqi government does not meet its commitments to create a more inclusive political environment and to address some of the grievances of the Sunni and Kurd populations, then nothing we do will last. It will be painting over rust. We have eight lines of effort, two of which are military, and generally the military lines of effort leap out in front—and I do mean leap. That is who we are, right? If it is worth doing, it is worth overdoing. The military lines of effort will always be achieved. And that can be detrimental to the other lines of effort. I don't know if that answers your question, but it is why I believe now that the use of the military instrument of power in issues of nonstate actors and failed states needs to be far more conditional and transactional than anything we do with state actors.

One more thing: [U.S. interests must lead.] The tragedy of human suffering and the situation in Syria is awful, but I will also tell you the use of the U.S. military instrument of power without consideration of what I just described can actually create more harm and even further suffering, I think.

Collins: We have also had some grand failures in intelligence, in particular in the war in Iraq. One criticism, that in particular of General Michael [T.] Flynn, is that we are here fighting among people and we do not know much about them, and intelligence is not focused on that problem. How do you see intelligence functioning and its level of proficiency both operationally and strategically in Iraq and Afghanistan?

General Dempsey: The Intelligence Community was slow in adapting to what really mattered in the environments we found ourselves in. Back to the difference in state actors and nonstate actors: if I'm right about the fact that you differentiate yourself in a state conflict by size and technology, then the intelligence architecture is going to build itself in such a way to determine where capabilities are placing you at a disadvantage. In an environment with nonstate actors, where it is all about innovation, then you have to understand the factors that would cause you to need to innovate, and they largely reside in societal factors. You try to drive the insurgency or the terrorist group from the population. Mike [Flynn] was right; we could list the deck of cards or the wiring diagram of any number of organizations and networks in Iraq and Afghanistan, but if we were to ask a commander on the ground in Afghanistan to tell us something about this particular tribe in this particular valley and who are its affiliates, that was often discovery learning. Every time we had to RIP [relief in place] out a unit, it was discovery learning again,

so we fell into a bit of the 12 1-year campaigns instead of one 12-year campaign. Mike's article actually helped a lot with that, and we had done some things with TRADOC, with the HTTs [Human Terrain Teams], not without controversy by the way.

My TRADOC G2, a guy named Maxie McFarland, who passed away recently, was instrumental in developing and fielding the HTTs. It was his brainchild to reach out to academia, to anthropology, to form these teams and to offer them to BCTs. We would try to keep them there so the HTT would stay in the last 6 months of a brigade, and the first 6 months of a new brigade, so there was continuity. And they paid big dividends. We got this, and it was controversial still, because of the notion that we were perverting science, using science to the detriment of culture rather than to the benefit of it. But it was addressing the question you asked: how do you learn about the environment? And that is one answer.

This is in the spirit of learning lessons and not throwing stones. It took a while for the Intelligence Community to adapt to help us—that is to say the tactical commander to understand the environments—but there was progress. Now the question is whether can we sustain it. Or is the institution likely to forget that the understanding of culture, religion, and economics of a local society is important? I hope not, and with all the chiefs we seem to be committed to making sure that we don't forget those lessons, but often the institution will. It is like a rubber band; you stretch it and then you let it go, and it will go back to its normal form or shape. I'm afraid some of that might occur, if we are not careful.

My successor will face state and nonstate challenges in about equal measures. One thing Jim Baker [Principal Deputy Director, Strategic Plans and Policy, J5] helped me think through [is] the meaning of the reemergence of Russia. I was feeling kind of constrained by Russia, and the President asked me, "Can I meet my [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] Article 5 responsibilities?" And I replied, "Mr. President, that is a great question, so let me get back to you." I was feeling uncomfortable about the ability of our forces to use forward basing because in the last 10 years the Russians have developed some capabilities that actually could coerce and constrain us.

Jim pointed out that the world looked similar to that of the early years of my career. And there was truth in that. During the first 15 years of my career, 1974 to 1989, Russia was a near-peer competitor, not just nuclear but also conventionally. We were constrained, and our military planning took into account the fact that we were constrained in military operations by a near-peer competitor. We didn't like it, but we learned how to deal with it. The next 20 years, 1989 to 2009, had no constraints. So most of the officer corps today lived in a world where they were unconstrained. No one could prevent them from doing anything they wanted to do. But guess what? We are back to what is probably normal, I think, in the course of recent events—that is, to where you have near-peer competitors in certain domains, and then you have to account for this in military planning.

So my successor will have to deal with the reality of state actors who can now coerce and constrain us, as well as nonstate actors. So, to your point, I don't think the pendulum will swing entirely back to Russia or China as peer competitors, but I think the institution will have to adapt to have aspects of both in them.

Hooker: How should future senior officers who are combatant commanders or the Chairman view their role in the highest councils of government? Are they there to provide the best military advice only, or are they there, as [Carl von] Clausewitz noted, to be both the statesman and general?

General Dempsey: When you become a senior military leader, you have multiple responsibilities, one of which is to give the best military advice possible, and another is to help the force. But there is a third one, too. I have the responsibility to contribute to foreign relations strategy as a statutory advisor of the National Security Council. In my early days, we would go around the room, and the staff would be talking about something I didn't want to talk about. Pick a topic. Whatever it was, as it came around the room for me, I would say, "I am here as your military advisor; that is not a military issue." And the President would say, "Yes, but you are here, and I want your view on this strategic issue that has national security implications."

If you are going to understand how decisions are made in our government, you must build relationships, and if you're going to build relationships, you have to demonstrate a certain gravitas. You've got to be able to have a conversation about grand strategy, not just military strategy. If I had to give advice to my successors about job number one in terms of being influential inside decisionmaking boardrooms, it would be that relationships matter most of all. If you can't develop a relationship of trust and credibility—credibility first and trust second, because trust is earned—then you won't be successful in contributing to our national security strategy.

Collins: You come down almost exactly at the same point JFK did after the Bay of Pigs. He wrote instructions to the Joint Chiefs that said very much what you just said in the last 2 or 3 minutes. We have had a number of issues having to do with detainees' enhanced interrogation. Some of those shoes have not dropped yet for the Department of Defense, military commissions, and so forth. Were these problems inevitable, or did we get off on the wrong foot? If 10 years from now we have another situation akin to the situations in Afghanistan and Iraq, what would you tell your successor about the lessons and how we did it in these two cases?

General Dempsey: The detention operations have to be included in any campaign plan that includes the use of military force because we can't ever put a young man or woman in the position where there's no possibility of detention. The alternative is capture and release, or kill not capture.

I think this is what happened in these conflicts regarding detention operations. You know what they say about campaign assumptions: if the assumptions are flawed or invalid, the campaign has to be adapted. That's why you make assumptions about campaigns. So one of the assumptions I think we made, again I was in Riyadh when all this was being developed, but I think one of the campaign assumptions, probably driven more by political aspirations than the reality, was that [we would] go into Iraq and we would be welcomed because we would be seen as liberators, and we could take as much risk getting out as we took getting in. One of the risks we took going in was that we went

in with fewer forces than the commander thought he needed to accomplish the task. Fewer forces mean fewer capabilities. We didn't have the number of MPs [military police] that we probably needed to account for detention operations because we didn't think that we'd be detaining enemy personnel. Or if we were detaining, we would be turning them over to I don't know whom, but the assumptions were flawed. So yes, we got off on the wrong foot, but we also hadn't done detainee operations since 1991.

But if you remember in 1991, the 96 Hour War [the Gulf War], I can remember as part of VII Corps accumulating large numbers of Iraqi soldiers surrendering, and we pulled them down into Saudi Arabia into temporary camps. But I think we repatriated them within weeks, not months. And so if you go back to the time before when we did detainee operations, you have to go all the way back to Vietnam, so there was a lot of rust on that function. If there is a lesson here, it's the lesson that comes to us instinctively, which is to address the worst-case scenario. We always do that, but we're talked out of it sometimes, and I think in the case of detainee operations in future conflict, we shouldn't allow ourselves to get talked out of that function.

Collins: Are enhanced interrogation techniques a bigger issue for the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] or the Department of Defense?

General Dempsey: Our issue was an initial lack of doctrine. Then we had the terrible incident in Abu Ghraib, and then the Army republished its doctrine and from that point forward, we had no further problems.

So linking it back to your last question, the key here is to continue to refresh our doctrine in order to manage the functional area. As we shrink the force, we have to be careful not to eliminate that capability. A lesson of this conflict will be that leaders need to be involved. Again, I was in Baghdad, and the only thing I controlled in Abu Ghraib was external security, but I'm pretty sure I'm correct in saying that we just turned it over to the MPs to manage without proper oversight. So leadership matters whether you're talking about combat operations, detention operations, or intelligence operations. Remember, I described that scenario in June 2003 when we actually didn't settle in on a definition of the enemy, an organizational principle to design against it, and a campaign that acknowledged that this was going to take some time. Even in August 2003 we were talking about the possibility of being home by Christmas. So we didn't grasp the fact that this was going to be a protracted campaign until October. So think about the time between March and October—that's 6 months. So there's a 6-month period of indecision there, and that's where some of these bad habits, worse than bad habits, this misconduct began to manifest itself. There was a list of enhanced interrogation techniques, but Abu Ghraib was clearly not a problem of enhanced interrogation—it was misconduct.

Collins: General [Daniel P.] Bolger states clearly that the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have been lost. In fact, that is the title of his book [*Why We Lost: A General's Inside Account of the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014)]. And senior military leaders bear much of the responsibility. He suggests that we should have left Afghanistan and Iraq somewhere within the first 6 months. Would such a thing have been possible?

General Dempsey: No, that's not who we are as a nation. I wish things were that simple. Imagine being able to just go in and crush that which you can find, declare that you've accomplished your task, and care nothing about what you leave in your wake and withdraw. But that's not the American way of war, not to sound too much like Russell Weigley [Distinguished University Professor of History at Temple University and noted military historian], but that's not the American way of war. The American way of war tends to be that—out of a sense of not only obligation and responsibility to protect, although that is not really doctrine, but also compassion—we assist those who have been defeated to reestablish themselves in a more moderate and inclusive way. As far as whether we made mistakes, I take no exception to that, but I consider it more about learning than about negligence. And I think as we learned, we changed. Now to Bolger's point about whether we stayed there too long, 6 months certainly was not possible. If he would have said in the book that we should have had an idea as to how long we were willing to make this commitment from the start and that should have informed our thinking about how to organize the campaign, I accept that, but 6 months is absurd.

Hooker: Can you compare your experience working for three different Secretaries of Defense? Do you have any thoughts on varying styles of civil-military negotiations from one to the other?

General Dempsey: All very different. As Chief of Staff of the Army and at CENTCOM, I had the opportunity to work with Secretary [Robert M.] Gates. So really I've had some close relationships with Gates, [Leon E.] Panetta, [Charles T. "Chuck"] Hagel, and [Ashton B. "Ash"] Carter. First of all, I don't think I've changed who I am to adapt to them, but I have adapted the way I interact with them and that's probably an important distinction. I'll give you some examples.

Secretary Gates was a voracious reader and a very close reader. You could give him a read-ahead document and you could expect that when you engage with him, he would have some close and crisp questions. He let the written word inform him, and so when you engaged with him one on one or in a meeting, it tended to start at a higher level.

Secretary Panetta was a man of uncanny instinct. Even before reading something or discussing it, he had been around so long and had had so many experiences inside of government—whether in the White House as Chief of Staff, in Congress, or as the Director of the CIA—that he learned less by reading and more by interacting. He also believed deeply in relationships. So if you were able to forge a relationship with him and you gained his trust, it made the interactions extraordinarily collegial.

So going from one to the other—understanding that the written word was important—I focused a lot on, especially when I was at CENTCOM, I wrote my own weekly reports, organized them and selected [the precise] words, and I managed the length of report in a way that I knew would match Secretary Gates's way of learning. With Secretary Panetta, I'm not sure; I may have given him maybe three documents in 18 months or in 2 years. In any case, he probably knew what I was writing before I wrote it, and what he really wanted was to engage me on it. So we had a very close relationship built mostly around the time we spent in his office.

Secretary Hagel also comes from a background of long government service, whether it was as President of the USO [United Service Organizations], Deputy Director of the VA [Veterans Administration], an academic at Georgetown University, the Senate, and Secretary of Defense. He has [...] a greater instinct not for detail but for the theory of the case. He likes to understand not only the tactical question, but also how that question fits into a broader frame. If Secretary Panetta was the quintessential extrovert, Secretary Hagel was kind of the quintessential introvert. That doesn't mean he's without humor. He's pleasant, he's engaging, he's compassionate, and extraordinarily connected to soldiers. Not only soldiers [but also] the lower ranking enlisted [of all the Services] expressed their deep disappointment that he's leaving. Somehow he actually found a way to make a connection with the sergeants, petty officers, Airmen, and ensigns that was quite remarkable. He is one of them. He doesn't care for detail, and he doesn't care for big groups, whereas with Panetta, you couldn't put enough people in the room for him because he could just own it, honestly. He was a remarkable facilitator of huge audiences. Secretary Hagel was much more comfortable with smaller groups. He also likes to read, and so he's kind of a hybrid of Gates and Panetta. Secretary Hagel is a one-on-one guy. He does his best thinking, his best work, and his best interaction one on one. So back to the question. I think I'm still the same person I was 3 years ago, but I'm a little savvier. I've adapted the way I interact with these leaders based on the way they learn, and you have to figure that out.

Collins: In our crowdsourcing of strategic lessons of the wars, a number of folks are saying that when we look back through history on a grand scale, foreign expeditionary forces in counterinsurgency operations are successful only in rare circumstances. The British were successful in Malaya, but then again the British were the government, so there was no sanctuary. The United States was successful in the Philippines in 1902, but again it was the government, and again there was no sanctuary. But other than those two cases, many experts claim that this cannot be done. We have now been involved in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Vietnam. How should your successors think about this in the future? Is this the sort of mission we have to still prepare for, or is this something that is beyond the pale?

General Dempsey: If you mean by "beyond the pale" large-scale intervention against nonstate actors or insurgents and failing states, let me use Iraq as an example.

Today, I'm at bat for the third time in Iraq. I was literally in Iraq sitting on what we later called Route Tampa in the aftermath of the 96 Hour War, blocking that major highway that runs from Kuwait to Baghdad. I sat there for a couple of months. You remember the debate about whether we should have pursued the Republican Guard and end the event right then and there, or whether we should have settled for the narrowly defined objectives in the [United Nations] Security Council resolutions and so forth.

The 96 Hour War accomplished the objectives, and as a result, we ended up leaving for the first time in the central region a large force that was there both as a deterrent and a reassurance for our allies. Prior to 1991, we had a permanent naval base in Bahrain, but

I don't think we had a permanent land base (we may have had access to some air bases). We weren't in Qatar and we weren't in [the United Arab Emirates]. One might argue that although the Gulf War looks to have been a lot cleaner, it did result in a requirement to place a pretty significant footprint there that has put a strain on the force ever since.

Then we go from 2003 to 2011, and I think we've wrung that out as much as we can, but here's what I think is different this time when we talk about our reentry into Iraq. I think we've got it about right, which is to say, we've made it clear that we will support and enable, that we'll keep the eight lines of effort apace, even if some of them will get a little ahead of each other on occasion. But we're not going to take ownership of Iraq again. And I think that we can accomplish this task with a light footprint and the use of some of our key enablers, but we've got to have resolve and courage. If the government of Iraq proves to be incapable or unwilling, we've got to be willing to dial it back. In other words, it has to be conditional; it just can't be unconditional in this kind of environment because we have other options to deal with the terrorist threat, but Iraq doesn't have any other options to deal with this insurgent threat.

I would like to tell you that large-scale intervention during insurgencies will be a thing of the past, but we have to retain the capability. That's why we've established building partner capacity as a core competence of the entire force, not just special operators. Security force assistance as part of theater campaign plans is prominent in the Phase 0 side of operations, but I don't think we should size the force to counterinsurgency; we should size the force for treaty obligations against state actors and then retain enough slack in the system so that we can ensure readiness.

We're getting ready to enter a huge debate about the correct balance of forward stationing, rotational deployments, and readiness of standing forces. Right now, the model we have produces readiness and deploys contingent upon combatant commander demand signals. That's especially true in the Air Force, the Navy somewhat, pretty much true in the Marine Corps, and except for a handful of brigades, pretty much true in the Army. So we have everything distributed globally, but if there were some major contingency or if there were something that would surprise us that would exceed the capacity of a particular COCOM to deal with it, the only place to get forces and readiness would be from some other COCOM. There's almost nothing stationed in CONUS [the continental United States] that is unused capability or readiness, so we've got to go back and address that.

Prior to 1991, we were a lot bigger—781,000 in the Army alone. We would have a fraction of the force forward deployed, and we would have these big Reforger exercises, for example. The forces would be stationed mostly inside CONUS, and the idea was that these forces would be at various degrees of readiness, but more or less ready in CONUS for deployment into contingency operations and the forward presence part of it wasn't the priority. The priority was the readiness part of it.

Since 1991, the paradigm's reversed. The priority now is forward presence to include rotational presence, thereafter security cooperation, Phase 0, Phase 1— that's the priority now. Phase 3, combat, we're taking risk, frankly, because we've got much less than we

probably should have in readiness in CONUS.

I'm not suggesting we're going to flip it again. Some would argue that we should flip the paradigm back to where we prioritize surge capacity and readiness as the primary effort. I don't think we'll do that, but I think you'll see us try to rebalance it.

The part of the force that tends to be forward is the part that is most capable of doing the kind of things you're talking about in terms of counterinsurgency, counterterrorism, building partner capacity, and so forth. As we change the paradigm, we have to figure out a way to make sure that the training that supports the new paradigm accounts for both maneuver warfare and low-intensity conflict.

I think my successor will probably have to refresh the military lexicon a bit. You said before that Bolger said, "We lost Iraq and Afghanistan." This statement implies we didn't win in Iraq and Afghanistan. Yet one of my premises is that the definition [of winning] is frequently redefined in [the current] environment. Saying categorically "win" or "lose" seems to be far less applicable to those kinds of conflicts than it is in a high-intensity conflict with a peer competitor that is trying either to take your territory or deny your freedom of movement.

Hooker: Is it a mistake to think in terms of war termination, or are we in the middle of an ongoing conflict, maybe less than a war, but a conflict that is unlikely to end anytime soon and that we ought to adapt to?

General Dempsey: You remember back in the early part of the last decade the phrase "the Long War." That phrase attracted antibodies of all kinds [. . .] fiscal antibodies, political antibodies, and intellectual antibodies. Then George Casey kind of led the charge on use of the phrase "persistent conflict." And his view, if you don't want to concede that this is actually a war in the strictest or loosest definition of the word, you should at least accept the fact that we're going to be in persistent conflict. Of course, eventually that fizzled as well. I don't remember exactly why that one fizzled, but it hasn't actually been replaced. If we have indeed ended the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, what do we have? We still have Soldiers and Sailors and Marines deploying in harm's way. If you're a pilot flying over Iraq, the distinction between combat advising and no boots on the ground is meaningless.

We've had some success, but there's work to be done on acknowledging and understanding what runs from Western Pakistan to Nigeria: a group of organizations that sometimes work with each other and sometimes operate independently, depending on their objectives, that are trying to take advantage of lack of governance almost everywhere, that are playing to this victimization psychology, and that use the tactics of terror. And there is a fine line here: are these people terrorists, or are these people using the tactics of terror? What we've discussed, both inside the military and with the administration and Congress, is that this threat [. . .] of violent extremist organizations—most of which also happen to be radical Islamic organizations—we as a nation just haven't had a conversation about that. I've been accused of being anti-Islam by some and pro-Islam by others. I guess in that sense I'm succeeding in managing the conversation. But the point is there are violent extremist organizations that are using a religious ideology to brand

themselves and to gain support from disenfranchised populations, both Sunni and Shia.

As long as this conflict persists, every 10 years or so a new generation will be sucked in. And until this cycle is broken—and that cycle is likely not to be broken exclusively and not even primarily with military force—the despair, lack of hope, lack of inclusive governance, and grotesque economic disparity will continue, and the U.S. military will be called upon to have a role in addressing it.

How we define that role is to be determined. Right now, we're defining it one country and one group at a time. In fact, if you look at the way our country plans are written for the counterterrorism, if you look at the way the State Department organizes itself and interacts with us, interacts with the combatant commanders, it is one group, one country at a time. But it's a common threat. We have not successfully helped our elected officials address this threat in its totality, and until we do and until we can actually find the right vocabulary, I think we will continue to be effective at containing the threat and to the greatest extent possible and keeping it from our shores, but we will not be effective at ultimately defeating the threat until we capture the right framework, which is actually transregional, and until we capture the right vocabulary. That's not to suggest, by the way, I think that absolutely the wrong thing would be to agree that it's transregional and find the right vocabulary, and then decide that we're going to invest enormous military resources to stabilize all of these countries and put them back on a firm footing for their future. Because that won't happen. They will allow us to do that—you know many of them will. We'll be embraced initially, then disdained and attacked ultimately by the very people that we think we're helping.

You asked a great question right at the beginning of this interview about the future of counterinsurgency. Is it possible to build an indigenous force that will actually take control of its own destiny? I don't know. But I think that's the path to addressing that challenge in the future. In my judgment, the wrong answer is for elected officials to ask me the question they often ask, which is, "What are we [the U.S. military] going to do about it?" I get that all the time: "What are you going to do about Syria?" Here's my response: "I'm going to try my best to find a way to integrate the military instrument of power with the other instruments of government and look for our diplomats to form coalitions and find a political path that we can enable with the use of military power."

Remarks at Army Change of Responsibility
Joint Base Myer-Henderson Hall
Virginia | August 14

Thank you all for being here for this great celebration of two terrific Army families. I'll begin by adding my compliments to the Old Guard and Pershing's Own for everything they do for their country—often and always with distinction. Let's give them another round of applause. [*Applause.*]

I'm honored be a part of this occasion and to see so many distinguished guests and friends, to include many great leaders of our military, past and present.

Ray [General Raymond T. Odierno, the outgoing Army chief of staff], congratulations. It's a privilege to be a part of this ceremony to thank and celebrate you and Linda [Mrs. Odierno] for thirty-nine years of exceptional service . . . and to welcome [General] Mark [A.] and Hollyanne Milley.

I'm up here representing two groups—one the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the other, the former chiefs of staff of the Army—and I would like to begin by expressing the most profound compliment that professional military officers can share with each other, and that is simply, "well done."

Linda, it's appropriate to begin by thanking you for your strength and compassion for soldiers and their families and for being a rock for Ray, beginning, of course, with your high school days in New Jersey, and especially through those fifty long months—more than four years—in Iraq and for so much more. The grand arc of your beautiful military family represents to Deanie [his wife] and I everything that's great about being part of this military and about part of being a military family, and I want to thank Tony, Katie, Mike, and you for your incredible sacrifice and service, and for your resilience.

Our nation throughout its history has looked to its generals to lead soldiers during life and death struggles in the defense of the United States and in support of the principles we cherish. We're especially fortunate when history aligns leaders of talent, passion, and courage with our nation's greatest challenges, which is certainly the case during your tenure, Ray Odierno.

The West Point Class of 1976 is alleged to be well-represented here today. You ever notice that they always put them off to the side so they can't get into any mischief?

From his days on the fields of friendly strife, Ray's been a soldier of the highest character, respected up and down the ranks for his relentless drive, his sharp, strategic mind, and most of all, his complete devotion to putting first our men and women in uniform and their families. He's always believed that developing them into tomorrow's leaders is our greatest strength and our best investment in the future.

And whatever the challenge, Ray's always raised a passionate voice on their behalf, and he's given it to us straight—sometimes in words that I can't repeat in this setting.

Ray, you stand among the giants—quite literally—of our Army's history. And you've cast a long and lasting shadow across the Army and the joint force.

You leave behind an institution full of exceptional leaders capable of confronting the most complex challenges we face ahead, and I thank you deeply for all you've done for our beloved Army and for building the bench behind you. Your mark is not only in the history books as the thirty-eighth chief of staff, but also on the hearts and souls of thousands of lives you've touched in Iraq and across the globe.

[*Sound of aircraft flying over.*] So, first a B-52 and now a C-17 . . . they must like you.

Deanie and I wish you, Linda, and your entire family the best in an extraordinarily well-deserved retirement. Personally, we look forward to seeing you in North Carolina at the RPL, which is code for the "Retired Pentagon Location."

This reminds me that it's a good time to end by remarks because nothing I say can compare to the symbolism and image you see before you.

I'll end this way. Mark, now it's your turn. As an Army, we'll continue to learn and adapt. Smaller than at any time in our lifetimes. Different, certainly. The best in the world—you better believe it. Doing what the nation asks . . . absolutely.

In doing so, there's no more important mission than ensuring America's sons and daughters are ready—the best led, the best equipped, and the best equipped force on the planet. I know you understand that, and Deanie and I thank you and Hollyanne and your family for taking on the task. Our nation has placed its trust in you both, and so have we. You're an inspired choice to lead our Army into the future, and you're going to be terrific. Army Strong!

Remarks at the POW/MIA Ceremony
The Pentagon
September 18

Good morning.

"Those unwell and far away,
Those who never lived to see,
The end of war and victory,
And every friend who passed our way,
Remembered as of yesterday,
It's absent friends we miss the most,
To all, let's drink a loving toast"

Distinguished guests, Secretary [of Defense Ashton B. "Ash"] Carter, good morning and thank you for being here.

My wife Deanie and I extend a special welcome to the former prisoners of war and their families, to the families of those still missing in action, and to all who remain dedicated to bringing them home. It's a great honor to share this day with you.

I wish my opening words were my own. Rather, they come from the poem "Absent Friends" by World War II veteran and celebrated poet William Walker. And although I didn't pen the words myself, I deeply understand their sentiment.

On my desk, less than one-hundred yards from where I'm standing now, sits a small wooden box. And inside that box are small laminated cards with a picture of every servicemember lost in Iraq under my command from 2003 and 2004. And on that box are inscribed three simple words: "Make it matter."

I carry 3 of the 132 cards in my pocket all the time. That's all the inspiration I need to make my decisions matter, to make their sacrifices matter, to make my life matter.

And what I'd tell you is this—the lives and the sacrifices of those we honor today matter. I know they matter to you, who carry their memories in your hearts. They matter to me. And they matter to our nation.

One of those lives of consequence—those lives that matter—was that of First Lieutenant Alexander Bonnyman Jr., United States Marine Corps. Seventy-two years ago, while fighting in the Pacific, First Lieutenant Bonnyman gave his life for this country. And although posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions, he was never recovered from the battlefield. Until now.

Next Sunday, thanks to the passionate work of many people working with and in the military, he'll be laid to rest with full military honors in his family plot in Knoxville, Tennessee. His daughters and surviving family will be in attendance. And a loss laced with uncertainty for so long will have some measure of closure.

Every family deserves that same closure. And every one of our missing deserves to come home.

I'm wearing an Army uniform today, but I am the chairman of the Joint Chiefs. And I've always been fond of the Marine Corps saying *Semper Fidelis*: "Always Faithful." They don't just say it—they live it. First Lieutenant Bonnyman certainly lived it. For Marines, then and now, it's more ethos than slogan.

So too, the words "we will never forget" are more than just a slogan. They are a powerful animating force for those individuals and organizations who dedicate their purpose to fulfilling our nation's promise, a promise to unite every prisoner of war and every servicemember still missing in action with their loved ones.

And "we will never forget" is a constant call to "make it matter," to stay the course until the job is done, until every family is made whole again.

And now ladies and gentlemen, it's now my privilege to introduce my battle buddy and our nation's secretary of defense, Ashton Carter.

Remarks at the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Change of Responsibility Ceremony

Joint Base Myer-Henderson Hall

Virginia | September 25

Thanks, Lizzy [Yaggy]. Being your friend and the lead vocalist of the TAPS Kids will always be among my most cherished memories in my time as chairman.

And by the way, for everybody here today, I want everybody to know that that's the first time the president ever made me cry. [*Laughter.*] So lest you think we've had this kind of back and forth over the course of time, that's a first.

And whoever had the over and under on how long it would take me to cry, it was when my son introduced or read my retirement order, so there you go. I think my classmates had a few side bets going. [*Laughter.*]

Let me begin by thanking everyone for the kind words and the recognition. To tell you the truth, it rubs a bit uncomfortably against my conviction that duty is its own reward and that those called to serve should seek no recognition for simply doing their duty. We all owe this great country our very best and our fellow citizens our very best. It was humbling to accept this job four years ago, and it's humbling to relinquish it today.

Mr. President [Barack H. Obama], thanks for being here and for allowing me to advise you. I've been honored to work with you and your national security team. I know this is a very busy and a very important week for you, but then again they're all very busy and important weeks for the president of the United States. I also want to thank you in particular for allowing me to release my inner leprechaun from time to time during National Security Council meetings. And, importantly, for allowing two Dempseys into the Situation Room at the same time. I should have included this in my chairman's risk assessment. [*Laughter.*] By the way, I hope you were able to get that good word in for me with the Pope. [*Laughter.*]

I also want to thank the twenty-second, the twenty-third, the twenty-fourth, and the twenty-fifth secretaries of defense, with whom I served over the past five years. Seriously? [*Laughter.*] I really do appreciate them for their service to the nation, for their support to men and women in uniform and their families, and for teaming with the Joint Chiefs to protect this nation. You are all great patriots and prodigious leaders.

There is no way I can explain what the past forty-one years have meant to me in the next few minutes, and the next four years will be ably led by the nineteenth chairman. So I'll focus on the moment, right here, right now, surrounded by so many family and friends. Let me start by thanking the Old Guard, the Joint Honor Guard and the great military bands assembled here. I have been and will continue to be your biggest fan and your strongest advocate. You remind us of our history, and you set the cadence of our march into the future. You are outstanding soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines and coastguardsmen, serving right here in our nation's capital. You inspire us. Thank you for providing the images and the sounds that will ensure we will always remember this day. Ladies and gentlemen, please join me in thanking them. [*Applause.*]

I note with great esteem the presence of our service chiefs, our combatant commanders, their senior enlisted advisors, the directors of the Joint Staff, my senior enlisted advisor, the chiefs of defense from some of our closest allies, and as well some of the spouses of our closest allies and military leaders. Few know the burdens you bear, willingly and even enthusiastically, for our countries. Deanie [his wife] joins me in thanking you for your service and sacrifice, and most of all for ensuring the readiness of the young men and women we send into harm's way in the name of freedom.

I'm honored by the presence of civilian leaders from across our government. In particular, I thank my teammates from the Department of Defense, the service secretaries, and the National Security Council staff. I will tell you that the glamour of working issues at this level wears off quickly. But I will always remember with fondness the camaraderie forged in the difficult work of national security.

I also think you'd agree with me that the protocol team today has done an extraordinary job, as they do every day. They are quiet professionals whose lot in life means that they get only an A or an F. Well, mark this ceremony down as another A. I wish I could introduce you to my personal staff. In a job like this, at such a frenetic pace and with so much travel, we've become a family. Deanie and I have said goodbye to them privately, but I will just add one more thank you. You made me a better chairman and left an indelible mark on our hearts in the process.

In the audience today are friends from elementary school and high school, the great West Point class of 1974, pride of the corps. [*Cheers, applause.*] From the National War College, and even from my Capstone class, apparently I made the right decision when I decided not to study too hard so I could make a lot of friends. [*Laughter.*] I have both mentors and protégés here. As I've become older, I realize that the distinction between them blurs. We've learned from each other. I'll tell you this, Deanie and I came into the military for each other, but we stayed in the military because of you. I admire you all.

There are friends here from the storied "Fighting 69th" New York Army National Guard [the 69th New York Infantry Regiment] and from USA Basketball, stars from the worlds of entertainment and professional sports who have traveled with us around the world, and superstars from the many private organizations dedicated to support our military, their families, the wounded, and our veterans. You've all touched our hearts, filled our souls, inspired us, and made it an extraordinary four years. We are privileged to call you friends. Another [Irish poet William Butler] Yeats quote: "Think where man's glory most begins and ends, and say my glory was I had such friends."

I know in my heart that Martin Joseph Dempsey, Thomas Joseph Sullivan, and Bridget Devenney Barber are all proudly looking down on us today. And they are probably up there whispering far too loudly, "For God's sake, I just hope he doesn't start singing." [*Laughter.*] My mom is sitting right over there thinking to herself, "I told you so." If there's a more soft-spoken, respectful, humble woman on the face of the Earth, I'd like to meet her. Thanks for inspiring us to be humble, to always give just a little more than an honest day's work, to have courage, and to live a life of faith. We love you, mom. [*Applause.*]

Marjorie Sullivan is sitting at home in Florida, a little too frail to be with us here today, but she has been an unwavering champion and safety net on more than one occasion for our family throughout our career. We love you too, Mims. I have a big family. And remember what I said about protocol earning their A. Kind and loving aunts and uncles, brothers and sisters, nieces and nephews, in-laws and out- laws, far too many to single out. Though I haven't seen much of you through the years, it's pretty darn remarkable how little we've changed. Thanks for all the support.

I said I wouldn't reminisce, but I'm going to make one exception. At about this time in September 1974, I reported as a second lieutenant to the Armor School at Fort Knox, Kentucky. In preparing my remarks today, I was struck by how much my emotions today remind me of my emotions then. In September 1974, just like today, I was a little nervous, I was humbled to wear the uniform of an Army officer, I was eager to get started on a new career, and I was in love—[*coughs*] pardon me—I was in love with a girl named Deanie. [*Applause.*]

I fell in love with Deanie when she was fifteen. It took her a few years to come around to the idea. But I was sure that whatever life brought my way, I wanted to experience it with her. Here's the thing about Deanie, she's the only one more passionate than me about military and their families. She's a better leader than I am. She has far more energy than Einstein predicted could be packed into a five-foot two-inch body. And she has shown an amazing patience during the trials that accompany a military life. In every way, she has made me a better person. Because this has been her career just as much as mine, it's fitting and proper to say that we are both retiring today. Congratulations, Deanie Sullivan Dempsey. [*Applause.*]

So I'm almost out of water to choke back the emotion, which means I must be near the end. What we're really doing today is transferring our passion for the standard US Army nine-man infantry squad to our own squad of nine adorable, talented, and exceptional grandchildren. They are, in order of seniority: Kayla, Mackenna, Luke, Alexander, Hunter, Finley, Braden, Samuel, and David. Now, if you want to know what our principle goal in retirement will be, it's to be the best grandparents we can be.

Now, lest they think we've forgotten them in the flush of affection for our grandchildren, I should note that we love our own children and their spouses. [*Laughter.*] They have served our country too. Deanie and I have made twenty moves, most of them with the kids, and they have been courageous, adaptive, resilient, and willing to share their parents with a larger military family. It's been a joy watching them grow up, although until recently we did have some difficulty convincing them that the Mayflower wasn't a moving van. [*Laughter.*]

I'm very happy that the J-3 allowed my son, Chris, to escape the National Military Command Center to attend the ceremony. And as I said, Megan and Caitie have also served. As did Shane who, along with Julie and Kory formed the best trio of in-laws we could ever imagine. I know a little something about leadership, and you have it all, as well as many other extraordinary qualities that make you great couples, great parents and great patriots. We very much enjoy your company, we look forward to seeing more of you, and we hope the feeling is mutual. [*Laughter.*]

"Who fights for freedom, goes with joyful tread," [said American poet] Joyce Kilmer. It has been my honor to walk with joyful tread alongside soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines and coastguardsmen as chairman for the past four years. They are truly the best in the world at what they do. They are our nation's most precious treasure. They and their families inspire us. Today, we entrust them to our new chairman.

You may know that the Irish are somewhat stingy with compliments and generally reserved in the use of adjectives. When Irishmen truly respect someone they say simply: you're a good man. Well, you're a good man, [General Joseph F.] "Joe" Dunford. As I depart, I do so with great confidence that you and Ellyn are in the right place at the right time, and at the right time for our nation. Thanks to you both for taking on yet another challenging task for our nation.

Speaking of challenging tasks, there is a sense today that America's future is fraught with uncertainty and that the fabric that binds us is being mightily tested. However, I leave with tremendous optimism and absolute confidence in who we are and what we stand for. Our nation and its armed forces remain the world's foremost symbols of strength, of hope, and of freedom. The generation that is now blessed to serve will do its duty and will ensure that our nation remains strong. I thank God for sustaining me for these forty-one years, and I pray that he keeps us all strong. It has been my privilege to wear the cloth of our nation. To all who will continue to serve after me, I ask only this, in parting: make it matter.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CCJO	Capstone Concept for Joint Operations
CCMD	combatant command
CDC	Core Data Center
CENTCOM	US Central Command
DLA	Desired Leader Attribute
DOD or DoD	Department of Defense
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
EOC	Enterprise Operations Center
FOB	forward operating base
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ISR	intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance
IT	information technology
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
JF2020 or JF 2020	Joint Force 2020
JIE	Joint Information Environment
MNSTC-I	Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDU	National Defense University
PED	processing, exploitation, and dissemination
PME	professional military education
USO	United Service Organizations

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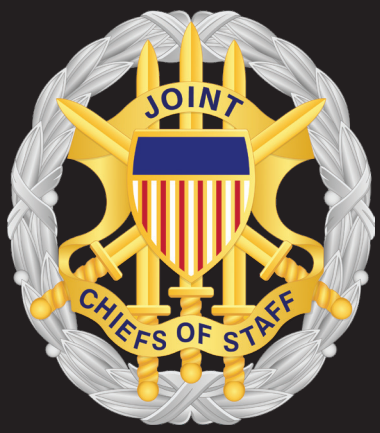
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