

SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE – DEFENSE

POSTURE STATEMENT OF
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18TH CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
BEFORE THE 114TH CONGRESS
SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE
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Chairman Cochran, Vice Chairman Durbin, members of this Committee, it is my privilege to report to you on the state of America's Armed Forces, the changes in the global security environment, and the opportunities and challenges ahead.

I am exceptionally honored to represent the men and women of our Armed Forces. Those who defend this Nation and the families who support them remain our most valuable national treasure and our competitive advantage. Deeply experienced from fourteen years of continuous deployments in harm's way, our All-Volunteer Force has been adaptable and resilient beyond expectation. Our men and women in uniform have performed around the globe with extraordinary courage, character, and professionalism. I am grateful for the continued support they receive from this distinguished body and from the American people.

What makes America's Armed Forces who we are is our *ability to provide options* to the national command authority and our elected leaders to keep our Nation safe from coercion. The American people and our Allies expect that of us.

Our military remains strong today. However, with threats proliferating, resources declining, and sequestration just months away, our ability to assure our allies is in question and our advantages over our adversaries are shrinking. *This is a major strategic challenge affecting not only our military, but ultimately, America's leadership in the global world order.*

With your support, we can – and we must – sustain our military's decisive edge by prioritizing investments in readiness, training, modernization, and leader development. We must make the tough, but necessary choices in our strategy, our structure, and our resources for our Nation's future. Our men and women in uniform and the American people are trusting us to get it right.

Joint Force Operations

It has been an extraordinarily busy time for America's military. During the past twelve months, the men and women of our Joint Force have been on point around the world. They have maintained our enduring global commitments, bolstered long-term partnerships, and responded to new threats.

Over the past year, the Joint Force continued to support the Afghan National Security Forces through the first democratic transfer of power in Afghanistan's history. My regular visits to Afghanistan reinforce just how much our coalition and Afghan partners have accomplished together over thirteen years of significant investment. The end of 2014 marked the completion of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission. While Afghanistan is headed in the right direction towards a fully-functioning inclusive government, the path is neither a straight line, nor is it short. Moving forward with NATO's Resolute Support mission, our remaining force of about 10,000 troops will assist our Afghan partners in strengthening the Afghan institutions, systems, and processes that will support long-term security and stability—ultimately giving the Afghan people the opportunity to succeed on their own.

At the same time, the force has maintained pressure on Al Qaeda, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), and other violent extremist groups both directly and through our partners where US and allied interests are threatened. We have reinforced our commitment to our NATO allies in Europe in the face of Russian aggression. We have helped to address urgent humanitarian crises such as the Yazidi refugees trapped on Mount Sinjar and the Ebola outbreak in West Africa. We have maintained an active presence in the South and East China Seas, while remaining prepared to respond to provocations on the Korean Peninsula. And we have campaigned against sources of instability in Africa and in Latin America.

We have also postured with our interagency partners to reinforce security to our homeland—to include providing ballistic missile defense, countering persistent threats of terrorism, and improving our defenses against cyber-attack on government networks and critical infrastructure.

In the near term, we will sustain – in some cases adjust – these commitments around the globe to protect our national security interests. And, while our global mission requirements have decidedly gone up, we will manage all of these demands with constrained resources. Consequently, we will have to assume higher risk in some areas to create opportunity in others.

The Changing Security Environment

Our understanding of the security environment carries important consequences for our Nation and for our military. It drives our strategy and budget, shapes the size, structure, and capability of the force, and affects where and when we send America’s sons and daughters into harm’s way.

Last year, I stated that the global security environment is as fluid and complex as we have ever seen. That has certainly played out over the past twelve months. We have seen significant shifts in an already complex strategic landscape—increasingly capable non-state actors who are taking advantage of the internal conflict within Islam *and* the reemergence of states with the capability and potentially the intent to constrain us. This is *increasing the strain on the international order*.

In what I often term the “heavyweight” category, Russia’s coercive and destabilizing actions have threatened NATO’s eastern flank. Russia is investing deeply in advancing their capabilities across the board, especially in Anti-Access Area-Denial (A2AD) and cyberspace. Meanwhile, China is also fielding new defense platforms at a startling pace. In almost everything we do globally, we must consider the second- and third-order effects on our relationships with Russia and China.

In the “middleweight” category, Iran seeks to be a hegemon in the Middle East. Beyond Iran’s nuclear aspirations, as one of the world’s leading exporter of arms, Iran employs surrogates and proxies in many places across the globe. Iran is also becoming increasingly more active in cyberspace. We have significant interests in the region that would not be well-served should Iran achieve their purposes.

North Korea is the other “middleweight.” Cyclical provocations by North Korea have increased the risk of potential miscalculation. We must use all instruments of national power to ensure North Korea does not achieve its intentions. We have a large stake in maintaining stability on the Korean Peninsula and supporting our Republic of Korea ally.

We are also seeing power in the international system shifting below and beyond the nation-state, particularly across the network of radical movements that use terrorism as a tactic. This network extends across an already unstable Middle East and North Africa, vis-à-vis the complex situations we have seen unfold over the last year in Libya, Gaza, Iraq, Syria, Nigeria, and Yemen. Within the trans-regional terror network, we have seen ISIL gain prominence in Iraq and Syria, while inspiring existing radical franchises like Al Qaeda affiliates and Boko Haram to rebrand themselves into an even more aggressive ideology. That is what makes this movement so dangerous.

With our partners, we must keep relentless pressure across the entire network with our full suite of capabilities to include intelligence, building partners, and in some cases, direct action. At the same time, we must be careful not to fixate on a single group, nor paint these violent extremist groups all with one brush. We have to apply the right mix of tools of national power at the right time, over the right length of time, in order to make a difference. Even more challenging is keeping pressure on a network that adapts and metastasizes. Overmatch in size and technology matters,

but *the rate in which we can innovate and adapt relative to these non-state actors matters more*. This is a generational challenge.

Running north and south in our own hemisphere, the well-financed transnational organized criminal network is growing extraordinarily capable. Beyond a drug trafficking network, it is capable of moving anything from arms and unaccompanied children to terrorists and weapons of mass destruction. This network deserves more attention not just because of its effect on the social fabric of our country, but because of the effect it could have – and is having – on the security of our Nation.

In cyberspace, our adversaries have become increasingly more capable, attempting to level the playing field in this critical domain. While we have expanded authorities and capabilities to defend our military networks, critical civilian infrastructure and private sector companies are an Achilles' heel in our Nation's security. Together, we must reconcile these issues. To this end, cybersecurity legislation that facilitates information sharing and encourages public-private partnerships is required to ensure our continued security and prosperity. Staying ahead of our adversaries in the cyber domain will require a concerted effort of the whole nation.

Across the board, *as the international order trends towards instability, strategic risk trends higher*. And, while our potential adversaries grow substantially stronger, most of our allies are growing more dependent on sustained US assistance. I believe these trends will continue.

We must bring to bear every tool of national power in America's arsenal in coordination to address these emerging trends. Likewise, deepening relationships of trust with our allies and building the capacity of our partners to be more *self-sustaining* will be even more vital in the years ahead.

Preparing the Joint Force

Within the context of the rapidly evolving security landscape, the Joint Force of the future will require exceptional agility in how we shape, prepare, and posture. Here are my five guideposts to sustain and improve the force:

The All-Volunteer Force (AVF)

Our competitive advantage is our people and their adaptability. I firmly believe that our Nation needs a professional All-Volunteer Force (AVF). The AVF is the right force for this Nation and the Nation should never take it for granted. Conversely, the force has earned the trust and confidence of the American people and must renew that contract daily.

As part of strengthening the AVF, the Joint Chiefs and I are committed to offer everyone in uniform equal professional opportunities to contribute their talent. We are removing the legacy gender-based barriers to service that no longer make sense. The Services are progressing through validation of occupational standards and are on target to recommend final decisions to integrate remaining closed positions or any exceptions to policy by the end of the year.

To keep the AVF on a viable path, getting our personnel costs in balance is a strategic imperative. Ultimately, we need to make sure that we can continue to recruit, retain, equip, and train the best fighting force on the planet and fairly compensate America's best for their service.

We owe our men and women some clarity – and importantly, predictability – on everything from policy to compensation, health care, equipment, training, and readiness. Frankly, right now we are not delivering. Settling down uncertainty in our decision making processes will help keep the right people in the Service. To this end, I want to continue working with

Congress to address the growing imbalances in our accounts in a sensible, holistic way that preserves the All-Volunteer Force well into the future.

As such, we are looking closely at the recommendations of the Military Compensation and Retirement Modernization Commission. We are pleased that the commission supported our request to grandfather any changes to retirement pay for those currently serving and retirees. And we will continue to place a premium on efforts that support wounded warriors and mental health.

We will also keep working with the Department of Veterans Affairs, other agencies, veteran service organizations, and communities across the country to make sure those who are transitioning home and reintegrating into civilian life have access to health care, quality education opportunities, and meaningful employment. This especially includes those with enduring mental and physical challenges. I appreciate Congress for recently passing legislation to improve the access of veterans to mental health and suicide prevention services.

This remarkable generation is not done serving. As such, earlier this year, the Joint Chiefs and I signed a *Call to Continued Service letter* that will go to all transitioning service members, encouraging them to keep serving the Nation in their communities. Our collective effort to enable our veterans and their families to continue contributing their strengths is a direct investment in the future of America.

Preserving Jointness

Our military has become more integrated operationally and organizationally across the Services and across the Active, Guard, and Reserve components, especially over the past decade. However, the institution tends to work like a rubber band—if you stretch it and then release it, it will return to its normal form and shape. This is especially true in a resource-constrained environment. This tension comes at a time when

our ability to win together through jointness is at its peak. The Joint Chiefs and I are committed to preserving the strength we have gained as a more seamless force. We are likewise committed to preserving the vital relationships with our interagency partners.

Additionally, across the Services, we are resetting how we train and develop our forces for conflict across the spectrum. For the past decade, the Joint Force primarily focused on counterinsurgency centered in the Middle East. As we work to institutionalize the lessons of our recent wars – for example, by establishing building partnership capacity as a competency of the entire force, not just Special Forces – we are also working to restore balance and strategic depth in our capabilities. This includes those critical conventional areas that were deemphasized over the past decade by necessity.

Concurrently, we are adapting how we engage and posture around the world in ways that are more dynamic, more strategic, and more sustainable. We are reevaluating how we employ our assets around the globe to better identify opportunities that generate the greatest advantages. And, we are developing new approaches across and within commands in how we assign, allocate, and apportion forces inside a broader interagency construct.

We are also adapting our learning institutions to maximize the diverse talent of our men and women and to better cultivate agile thinkers for a global Joint Force. Within our Joint Professional Military Education (JPME) programs, we are mapping desired strategic leader attributes to the curriculum to ensure we are delivering them.

And, we are undergoing an integrated, Department-wide effort to identify and invest in innovative ways to reverse the erosion of US technological superiority—ensuring that our military remains dominant now and in the future. We are seeking innovation not only in technology, but also in leader development, wargaming, operational concepts, and business processes.

The Defense Industrial Base

Our Nation cannot sustain the world's finest military without also *sustaining the world's strongest and most innovative defense industrial base* (DIB).

An enduring source of strategic advantage, we count on the defense industry to be able to research, develop, produce, deliver, and maintain the world-class weapons systems on which our military has long relied.

I remain concerned that an unstable budget environment will promise long-term damage to critical segments of the DIB, most significantly in the small businesses that support our Nation's defense. Furthermore, sequester-level cuts will lead to a hollow DIB that no longer holds all of the critical design and manufacturing capabilities our military needs.

A strong, efficient, and technologically vibrant defense industry is fundamental to securing our Nation's defense.

Our Allies

Our alliances remain paramount to our own security. We are far more effective when we have a global network of capable partners with shared values. Our Allies and partners provide vital basing and access, offer complementary military capabilities, and help shape outcomes towards a common purpose. Improving partner capability and capacity in targeted ways is an important component of our military strategy.

We are continuing the rebalance to the Asia Pacific as part of our government's larger priority effort to foster stability and growth in that region. We have old and new partners in the Asia Pacific and we will continue to develop our relationships, engage more at every level, and shift assets to the region, over time.

Europe remains a central pillar to our national security and prosperity. NATO has the capability and must sustain the will to address the threats to its eastern and southern flanks. In the near term, we will continue to reassure allies and improve NATO's readiness. Over the long term, we will adapt our strategies and structures to meet new realities. NATO is and will remain the most important and most capable alliance in history.

In every theater, we must *guard against a slow erosion of our alliances* and be careful not to shunt the steady work required to sustain these ties. Remaining the security partner of choice increases our Nation's collective ability to safeguard common interests and support greater stability in weaker areas of the world.

The Profession

Rekindling our understanding and our resolve as a profession continues to be one of my foremost priorities as Chairman. On and off the battlefield, we must always be good stewards of the special trust and confidence gifted to us by our fellow citizens. We owe it to the American people and to ourselves to look introspectively at whether we are holding true to the bedrock values and standards of our profession.

The vast majority of our force serves honorably with moral courage and distinction every day. But failures of leadership and ethics, and lapses of judgment by a fraction of the force show that we still have work to do.

We are seeing substantial progress in sexual assault prevention and response, however, we will remain laser-focused on reinforcing a climate where sexual assault is unacceptable, not just because it is a crime, but because it is completely counter to our core values.

All of these issues have my ongoing and full attention. We know *we own the profession* and must reinforce the enduring norms and values that define us to continue to be a source of trust and pride for our Nation.

Resourcing our Defense Strategy

I stated last year that the balance between our security demands and available resources has rarely been more delicate. The National Security Strategy (NSS) released earlier this year addresses some of our top concerns—the decline in military readiness, the strategic risk that will result should sequester-level cuts return, and the need to pursue greater integration with our Allies and partners. *We need the full proposed President’s Budget (PB) for Fiscal Year 2016 to support this strategy and to maintain the military the American people deserve and expect.*

PB16 reverses the decline in national defense spending of the past five years and helps ensure we can manage risk, meeting near-term defense needs while preparing for the future. It represents a responsible combination of capability, capacity, and readiness investment—leading to a Joint Force that is global, networked, and can provide options for the Nation. As the risks to our national security are increasing, this budget resources the force to remain capable, ready, and appropriately sized—able to meet today’s global commitments and prepare for tomorrow’s challenges.

The Joint Chiefs and I fully support the PB16 budget. It is what we need to remain at the *lower ragged edge of manageable risk* in our ability to execute the defense strategy.

However, *we have no slack, no margin left for error or strategic surprise.* And, we remain concerned that we still lack support for the reforms necessary to ensure that the Joint Force is combat ready and that we can preserve military options for our Nation into the future. We need

budget certainty and we need flexibility to reset the force for the challenges we see ahead.

Congress – and the American people – challenged us to become more efficient and to determine the *minimum floor* we need to be able to do what the Nation asks us to do. PB16 is that answer. Funding lower than PB16, especially if sequestration-level cuts return next year, combined with a lack of flexibility to make the reforms we need, *will render the overall risk to our defense strategy unmanageable*. In other words, our Nation’s current defense strategy will no longer be viable.

I ask Congress to support the entirety of this budget and end the deep, indiscriminate cuts that sequestration will impose.

Thank you for your enduring support.