

General Mark Clark - Marshal Mascarenhas de Moraes Lecture Series Speech
"Brazil and the United States: Framing Our Strategic Partnership in the Context of the 21st Century"

LTG Robert L. Caslen, Jr.
Rio De Janeiro, Brazil
5 September 2010

Agradeço ao Exército Brasileiro pelo convite para conversar com vocês hoje. É uma honra e um prazer estar aqui hoje. Obrigado pelo convite. (*I thank the Brazilian Army for the invitation to speak with you today. It's an honor and a pleasure to be here today. Thanks for the invitation*).

Let me first begin by expressing how truly excited I am to be in this wondrous and dynamic country, and more so to have the opportunity to speak with you today. It is my distinct and unique privilege to have been invited by the Brazilian military to participate in the General Mark Clark - Marshal Mascarenhas de Moraes Lecture Series...a collaborative program between the Brazilian Army and the United States Army...designed to strengthen the ties between two of the world's most robust democracies. In this spirit of dialogue and exchange I will open the floor for questions at the conclusion of my remarks today. Prior to beginning my remarks, I want to stress the importance of this program and relationship between our two Armies. From an American Army point of view, the importance of this mutual enterprise is demonstrated by the fact that this program is under the direct supervision of our Army's Chief of Staff, General George Casey.

As we both embark into an unknown future that will likely be characterized by persistent conflict, this lecture series, and more so our mutual strategic partnership, will likely become increasingly important as we collectively address the security and humanitarian issues affecting our hemisphere, as well as the world at large.

The primary goal of this Lecture Series has always been to build and strengthen the strong bilateral relationships that exist between our two Armies. This series also serves to fortify the natural bonds of friendship and cooperation that exist between our two countries. Our countries, and Armies, and we as individuals, have much to share and learn from one another. The personal friendships that we form here serve as the basis of the positive relationship between our Armies' at large. Building off the mutual respect and constructive dialogue generated in forums such as this, we continue the noble work of our predecessors by strengthening our countries' mutual friendship and spirit of cooperation.

Said another way, our Armies' future success in the world's complex, uncertain and competitive operating environment will increasingly rest on our ability to effectively cooperate, collaborate, and coordinate our actions and efforts by, with, and through one

another. As we collectively venture into the 21st Century, where the world continues to face a myriad of threats, multi-national operations will become the norm rather than the exception. Whether we are confronting the threat of violent extremist movements, responding to natural disasters, countering drug smuggling, or stabilizing failing nation states, the need for strategic partnerships has never been more pronounced. Within this context, our Armies must continue to remain committed to our strong and mutually beneficial strategic partnership.

Brazil and the United States are natural friends. Our countries' beginnings are much the same...as former European colonies built and shaped through the toil and sweat of immigrants and our native peoples. The hard work, perseverance and strong moral ethic of our forefathers helped shape our two countries' beginnings and define our national characters. Indeed, our forefathers were men of substance and courage...bravely conquering the untamed frontiers of the New World and making new lives for themselves and their families. In many cases, they immigrated to Brazil and the United States seeking the realization of their dreams of freedom and prosperity. Our forefather's blood, sweat and tears forged civilization out of wilderness, and earned them the freedom to control their own destinies. Of equal importance to our similar heritages are the unique bonds that we share with the native peoples of our lands. Their traditions, values and contributions were equally vital in defining and forging our national identities. Regardless of their cultural backgrounds, our forefather's collectively understood the heavy price that must be paid to earn and maintain their freedom...**yet**...they still choose to ultimately reject any vestiges of foreign rule. Their legacy to us...was the eventual establishment of two radically new governments onto the world stage...governments elected by and subservient to their **people**, and committed to the ideals of freedom, equality, and justice for all. Entrusted with this awesome legacy we must continually strive to be good stewards to uphold our forefathers' principles and ideals.

As democracy's, committed to the rights of mankind, war has never come easy for our peoples. Brazil, like the United States, reluctantly entered World War II only after it was attacked. The Brazilian Expeditionary Force under the command of what one day would become the Eastern Military Command, comprised over 25,000 Brazilians from all over Brazil, and distinguished itself, side-by-side with their American counterparts, in the mountains and valleys of the Italian peninsula. Battlefields with names such as Monte Castello, Montese and countless others evoke a sense of reverence and honor, and attest to the bravery and sacrifice of your countrymen.

Despite the cataclysm of war, World War II served as a defining experience for our Armies' relationship. Our shared sacrifices on the battlefields of Italy served as the foundation for our collective collaboration and cooperation. Indeed, this lecture series,

represented by its name, is a product of our World War II partnership. We need to look no further than the Brazilian Airborne Brigade to find another example of our Armies' history of collaboration and cooperation. In 1944, Brazilian Army Colonel Roberto de Pessôa graduated from the United States Army's Airborne School at Fort Benning, Georgia. Upon his return to Brazil, Colonel de Pessôa led the initiative to establish the Brazilian Airborne School based on the Fort Benning model.

World War II had a tremendous impact on both our societies. Much like the United States, Brazil found itself reinvigorated and energized by the influx of returning Soldiers. Our homelands, isolated from the ravages of war, saw our economies fueled by the industrialization and infrastructure improvements brought on by the war. However all this was not without a price.

The United States at the conclusion of World War II found itself thrust into a position of global leadership. This was an alien role for the people of the United States, who traditionally favored isolation from the political intrigues of Europe. However, with the democracies of Europe left in ruin after World War II, the United States was the only Western democratic country with the capacity to defend the free world from the threat of Soviet aggression. We were only able to assume this role due to the strength of our economy, our industrial capacity, military might and abundant natural resources. Confronted with this stark reality and the expectations of other nations in the west, the United States had no other option but to shake off its isolationist tendencies and proactively advocate for and defend the free peoples of the western world against the menace of Communism's global ambitions. This fundamental shift in American foreign and defense policies represented a dramatic change in the way America perceived the world around it, and indeed how the world viewed the United States.

The United States role in the Cold War is well known, and I will not digress into a history lesson on the subject. However, I raise this point to highlight a parallel of sorts that exists between where the United States found itself after World War II, and where Brazil finds itself today. Some pundits would argue that Brazil, much like the United States in the wake of World War II, finds itself as a de facto regional hegemony within the Western Hemisphere.

The facts supporting this argument are compelling...Brazil's economic strength, exemplified by its dynamic, robust and expanding economy fueled by its vast natural resources, has become a force within the global economy. Indeed, Brazil's economic prowess is demonstrated by its representation in the G20, and annual attendance at G8 summits. Brazil is increasingly viewed as a political leader on the world stage. Brazil, with its long history of social tolerance and inclusion, has become one of the world's champions in terms of human equality issues. Sensing Brazil's emergence onto the

world stage, the countries of the Western Hemisphere are progressively looking to Brazil for political, social and military leadership and assistance. Evidence of this reality can be seen in Brazil's active role in the mediation of political, trade and humanitarian issues affecting the countries of our hemisphere. Brazil's emphasis on building consensus with multiple other nations through peaceful dialogue can be seen through its economic initiatives with neighboring and regional states. As a founder and full member of Mercado Comum do Sul (MERCOSUL), Brazil has worked to break down trade barriers in South America and promote unhindered trade and commerce amongst all the signatory states. Additionally, Brazil has taken a prominent role in the establishment of the Union of South American Nations, which aims at creating a European Union-like multilateral economic and political model in South America. Brazil's Armed Forces' have not been immune to this shift in Brazil's importance. Your military's noble humanitarian efforts in Haiti have brought the Haitian people hope in the wake of the despair brought by January's earthquake. Your growing role in stability and humanitarian missions, such as Angola, Haiti and East Timor typify your increased prominence on the world stage.

How Brazil assumes its new role as a regional power is a question that you as military professionals must ask yourselves...because after all you are part of the equation. Much like the United States after World War II, you find yourselves confronted by a world that desperately needs your strength, leadership and strong values. Brazilians must decide how, and in what capacity, they as a nation will engage the region – yes, and even the world. This transition will not be easy, nor will it come without costs.

Brazil's greatest football player, Pele, once said, ***"I've come to accept that the life of a frontrunner is a hard one, that he will suffer more injuries than most men and that many of these injuries will not be accidental."***

As a Soldier who has been at the tip of America's foreign policy, I can attest to the fact that Pele knew what he was talking about. Despite the costs, Brazil will someday naturally fulfill their leadership role on the world stage. As Brazil makes this transition, you merely need to look to your own history for direction. Much like your forefathers...let your strong democratic and moral values be your guideposts as you embark into this undiscovered frontier of your history.

Although the future operating environment remains undefined, we can always look to the lessons of today, in order to learn from them and to help guide us toward the future. Along those lines, please allow me to share with you a few of my Army's observations after 9 years of persistent conflict for the United States Army:

Currently, the United States finds itself locked in an unrelenting ideological conflict against a global extremist network that is fixed on creating anarchy within the International system. As General Casey stated when he took the reigns as Chief of Staff of the United States Army, "This foe will not go away nor will they give up easily, and the next decade will likely be one of persistent conflict. At stake are the power of our values and our civilization, exemplified by the promise of America, to confront and defeat the menace of extremist terrorists."

General Casey's comments on the likelihood of persistent conflict are revealing. The prospects of persistent conflict are even more pronounced when you examine the underlying contributing factors. The side effects of the world's unchecked population growth, enabled in part by humanity's advancements in technology, agricultural science and medicine, are beginning to manifest themselves within the world's operating environment...and this trend will only become more pronounced in the future.

Over the next twenty years, populations within the world's urban cores will likely double as rural populations increasingly migrate in search of economic relief and opportunity. Governments will find themselves increasingly strained to provide the basic resources and services that their populations demand...creating the potential for failed nation states where extremism often finds sanctuary and takes root. On a macro level, nations will progressively compete for the world's limited resources...creating an atmosphere where state-on-state conflict remains a distinct and pronounced outcome.

Globalization has brought prosperity to the world, but the end results are not equitable. Within this context, the disenfranchised populations of failing and failed nation states become tractable and ripe for extremist ideologues. Technology and mass communications makes this task of exporting extremism and terror all the more easy for the enemies of freedom.

We must do all we can to build partner capacity in failing nation states on the verge of collapse to ward off the seeds of extremism. The two things that keep me up at night are the prospects of failed nation states and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction into the hands of terrorists and hostile, rogue nation states. Unfortunately, there exist no simple or absolute answers to these threats, and they both require our continued focus, vigilance and proactive actions to ward off the threat posed by them.

The 21st Century has seen the character of conflict evolve. Iraq and Afghanistan have taught our Army the lessons of this evolution on how nation states wage war against an asymmetrical, decentralized enemy that blends seamlessly into the native culture. This fight requires adaptive and agile Soldiers and leaders that can instantly make the right decisions in an uncertain, complex and ever-changing operational environment. The balance of success in these counterinsurgency conflicts is resident in

the support of the native people and our collective ability to apply all the instruments of national power. Without the support of the resident population and a concerted, coordinated and focused Interagency effort, the prospects of success are unlikely, if not impossible.

A more troubling example of the evolution of conflict comes in the form of the Israel's intervention into southern Lebanon in 2006. Hezbollah, a non-state actor, supported by two nation states providing them state-of-the-art weaponry, and operating in a third state [Lebanon], was able to withstand the full weight of the Israeli military. Hezbollah's military performance and ability to survive the Israeli onslaught was hailed as a victory throughout much of the Arab world. Hezbollah's perceived success against Israel will likely serve as a catalyst to other non-state actors in their dealings with nation states, and is likely a harbinger of the hybrid threats that will confront nation states in the 21st Century.

Within this context and in order to address these types of threats, land forces of today must build the requisite skill sets and capacities required to be successful in protracted conflicts across hybrid threats. Even though we in the United States have been fighting a counterinsurgency in two Theaters for the last 9 years, we also recognize our responsibility to provide ground forces in support of other Combatant Commands and to fight in full spectrum operations. Furthermore, we must be capable of performing these operations in two broad mission sets: wide area security and combined arms maneuver. The distinction is important in helping us understand our capability gaps, identify our training deficiencies, and acknowledge our leader development challenges.

You may have noticed that our Army for the past several years has been embroiled in an internal debate as to whether our Army should be optimized for irregular threats or for major combat. In the future operating environment that I have described, this is an increasingly irrelevant argument. We must have the requisite capability to successfully operate freely across the full range of the spectrum to conflict in order to successfully face any contingency that should arise.

The future operating environment requires us to organize, train, and equip our forces to conduct Full Spectrum Operations including Offense, Defense, and Stability Operations to meet any and all contingencies whether they present themselves as hybrid non-state actors or hostile nation states.

You may be asking yourselves how can we build an Army with the flexibility required to be successful in such a context. The senior leadership of the United States Army has been asking itself the same question. What they have come up with are six key imperatives that must be resident in our future force:

1. **Versatility** – the ability to do a range of things
2. **Agility**- the ability to change mid-stream
3. **Lethality**- the ability to inflict overwhelming deadly effects on our enemies
4. **Sustainability** – our ability to provide our forces the materials needed
5. **Expeditionary** – the ability to deploy worldwide
6. **Interoperability** – the ability to operate with other forces, agencies and organizations

Key amongst these imperatives is versatility and agility. They are essential to producing the agile and adaptive leaders and institutions to be successful in the context of the 21st Century. It interesting to note at this point, that the imperatives set forth by our Army leadership essentially mirror the imperatives enumerated within Brazilian National Strategy of Defense– this is yet another example of our shared view of the future. The similarities do not end there. Like the United States Army's Capstone Concept, Brazil's recently published Transformation Strategy outlines and articulates how the Brazilian Army's must transform itself to meet the challenges of the 21st Century

As democracies subject to the approval of its citizenry, the prospect of persistent conflict in the foreseeable future is a difficult proposition for our Armies and our citizenry. Consequently, as servants to our civil authorities, we must ensure that we do all we can to warrant their trust and confidence. As governments, we must ensure that we identify and support vulnerable states by building the resident capacity to ward off hybrid threats. Additionally, we must engage our Allies and friends to assure their continued support. As a military, we must be able to be trained and ready to deter and defend against hybrid threats and hostile state actors. Our forces must have the interoperability required to operate with other forces, agencies and organizations.

The wide area security mission set establishes the conditions necessary for humanitarian relief, peacekeeping, counterinsurgency, counter-narcotic operations, and homeland security operations, such as border security. This particular mission set I am sure is of great import to the Brazilian Army, as you face the challenge of securing your vast borders and protecting the Amazon basin. Wide area security operations should be an area of focus for future discussions and dialogue between our leaders.

The combined arms maneuver mission set follows traditional models that mass combat power at the decisive point on the battlefield in conflicts that usually involve state-on-state hostilities, but will increasingly involve hybrid threats as well. That is, hybrid threats that will present themselves in combinations of regular, irregular, terrorist, and criminal forces often acting together. And it is in these types of environments with these hybrid threats that our leaders will not only be planning and conducting combined

arms maneuver mission sets, but they will also find themselves simultaneously conducting wide area security missions.

The Army must retain the ability and proficiency to develop the situation through action. Our experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan have taught us the bitter lessons of our over-reliance on the promise of technology. Technology is a powerful combat enabler, but it has its limitations. To be successful in counterinsurgency operations one must have an understanding of the context of the society...this is not accomplished in front of a computer screen, but through face-to-face interaction with human terrain of operating environment.

Further, we need the cognitive and developmental models to cope with complexity of the world's operating environment. These tools are essential to maintain our situational awareness of the world around us...we must endeavor to be ever cognizant of the winds of change before they hit us with their full weight. Iraq and Afghanistan have taught us that our traditional planning processes were inadequate to account for the complexity and fluidity of the contemporary operational environment. As a result we have introduced the concept of Design into our leader development curriculum as an important augmentation to our Military Decision-Making Process. The concept of design allows the Commander to "understand" and "visualize" complex situations and issues, and to frame them and then develop a methodology which becomes the foundation on which campaign objectives and strategies are built. Planning without framing or understanding, and execution without collaboration up and down the chain of command, leads to solving the wrong problem and wasting resources.

To better understand this cultural context we at the Combined Arms Center, at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, have begun the process of redefining and rearticulating our command and control warfighting function as Mission Command. Mission Command is the exercise of authority and direction by Commanders supported by their staff using the art and science of command and the operations process, to integrate all Warfighting Functions in order to execute Full Spectrum Operations in a complex and ambiguous environment. Mission Command uses mission orders to enable commanders, leaders and organizations to remain agile and adaptive, exercising disciplined initiative within the Commander's intent. The commander's role of understanding this incredibly complex environment, visualizing the outcome and how it will be achieved, describing this vision, directing and leading, and assessing progress, all the while building teams among modular organizations and joint, interagency, international military partners catapults the commander of today to levels of command and control far beyond traditional ways of the post cold war.

Mission Command is also about understanding, sharing, and mitigating risk. As we decentralize capability, authority, and responsibility to lower tactical echelons, we must not decentralize all the risk as well. Commanders must trust in their subordinates' ability to perform their missions and allow them the freedom of action required to be successful...they cannot be micro-managers. Commanders must remain in constant dialogue with their subordinates and mitigate risk as necessary...that is the essence of Mission Command.

Confronted by the harsh realities of the 21st Century operating environment, our leaders today at every level of the Army face extraordinarily complex and uncertain situations on a daily basis. Confronted by these unique and taxing circumstances our leaders invariably make the right decisions time and again as a result of their training, values, and collective ethic.

This outcome is not merely arrived at by chance. Our experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan have taught us that successful leaders must be armed with the intellectual understanding, agility and adaptability to understand the context of the operating environment in which they operate in order to make prudent decisions. These intellectual traits are not innate in most leaders, and must be cultivated and nurtured to maturity through the educational process. Our Army's heavy emphasis on professional military education in our leader development strategies, stressing the principles of military art and science, as well as espousing our collective military ethic, are essential to developing the leaders required to successfully confront the ambiguities of today's operating environment.

As you can see we in the United States Army have thought long and hard about how our Army will deal with the complexities of the 21st Century and we are eager to share our experiences with our friends and allies. More so, we are keenly interested in learning from your experiences and ideas about the future.

In closing, the future lies undiscovered. It is up to us to help shape and define it. This task will require adaptive and agile leaders from both our Armies, our continued hard work and collaboration...and above all our collective focus. The stakes are high as I'm sure you know.

The demands of the 21st Century will require our agility and adaptability to remain relevant in the world's increasingly competitive operating environment. We must remain committed to our strategic partnership, and we must continue to seek avenues that will strengthen our organizational bonds and partnerships. I am confident that **together** we will be successful in this endeavor.

Finally, I ask that we all remember those service members from Brazil and the United States that are, at this very moment, standing watch for us around the globe in the name of freedom and democracy.

May God Bless them.

And may God bless our great nations: Brazil and the United States.

Thank you very much!

[4055 words = ~31 mins]

(Pause for applause)

As promised, permit me now to share a few questions that keep me up at night:

- Is deterrence possible in the competitive security environment I've described?
- How does a nation wage war against a non-state actor that resides in a neutral or friendly third country?
- How do we build partner capacity to mitigate the likelihood of a failed state?
- How do we transform our doctrinal and educational systems to produce the agile and adaptive leaders required for 21st Century Full Spectrum Operations?
- How do we implement the cultural shift required within our Army to create an atmosphere of trust...where commanders freely abdicate the requisite amount of responsibility to subordinates to enable the realization of the mission command concept within a Full Spectrum Operations context? ***If you would like to know more about this concept I would encourage you to read the Brazilian Edition of the May/June 2010 Military Review.***
- And, most importantly, do you have any idea where the United States Football Team can find a few young Strikers to keep up with the Brazilian team on the pitch?