

Spiritual Readiness in the Age of EABO

Closing the gap between the Commandant's intent for spiritual fitness and the commander's implementation at the small unit level

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***"America's military has no preordained right to victory on the battlefield."*¹**

—Secretary of Defense James Mattis

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The Marine Corps is America's "force-in-readiness," manned, trained, and equipped "to respond quickly to a broad variety of crises and conflicts across the full range of military operations anywhere in the world."² As such, the Corps has long recognized spiritual fitness to be a critical component of developing the warrior ethos.³ Indeed, Gen John A. Lejeune articulated this point nearly one hundred years ago with his famous statement, "there is no substitute for the spiritual in war."⁴ Sensing a progressive decline in the priority given to spiritual fitness in more recent times, the 37th CMC, Gen Robert A. Neller, tasked then-Chaplain of the Marine Corps RADM Brent Scott to revitalize Gen Lejeune's vision through a spiritual fitness initiative.⁵ Since then, this initiative has begun to take root. The current CMC, Gen David H. Berger, joined his predecessor in authoring an ALMAR reaffirming the significance of spiritual fitness for force readiness and effectiveness. At the institutional level, this affirmation has resulted in the

spiritual being formally incorporated into the framework of total fitness under the aegis of the Marine Corps Human Performance Branch.⁶ These developments make perfect sense not only in general terms of the Corps' historical trajectory but especially in light of Expeditionary Advanced Base Operations. Gen Berger's concept of Marines operating in small units dispersed throughout the battlespace demands a force that is not only physically and mentally fit, but also spiritually ready to stay in the fight in the face of prolonged adversity in isolated environments. The problem-set is, in this way, akin to that of special operations forces formations, and their collective experience over the past two decades only underscores the need to attend to the spiritual.

Despite all these recent developments, however, there remains a considerable gap between the CMC's clear grasp of the importance of the spiritual component in force readiness and what actually happens at the typical small unit level.⁷ The purpose of this article is to highlight and analyze this gap. Although specific

recommendations are beyond the scope here—this article is not intended to be a how-to guide—we are primarily focused on sketching out a conceptual framework that could be used to close it. To do so, we begin with our analysis of the problem, considering lessons learned from a parallel example (i.e., MCMAP), and conclude by exploring what it might look like to apply these concepts to spiritual fitness to optimize force readiness to achieve the commander's intent.

Problem Analysis

With the emergence of Expeditionary Advanced Base Operations as the Marine Corps' guiding principle, we begin with a simple, yet significant point: spiritual readiness will be more, not less, vital for the Marine Corps in the years ahead. The future operating environment will be characterized by uncertainty and global competition with peers or near-peers across the spectrum of warfare.⁸ Accordingly, Gen Berger released his *Commandant's Planning Guidance (CPG)* in 2019 for the Marine Corps to ready itself to meet this

“While the importance of physical, mental, and social fitness are more recognizable, spiritual fitness is just as critical, and specifically addresses my priority to build character and instill core values in every Marine and Sailor.”⁹

—Gen David A. Berger

challenge.¹⁰ Five priority focus areas dominate his narrative and provide a framework from which Marines can provide measurable outcomes in the future fight in any clime and place.¹¹ Of these five pillars, Gen Berger mentions that command and leadership remain foundational elements of ensuring mission success across the spectrum of conflict and that leaders must care for Marines physically, emotionally, and spiritually, both in and out of combat.¹² Whereas caring for Marines' physical and emotional well-being is already ingrained in leadership curricula throughout the professional military education (PME) spectrum, the spiritual component remains elusive for most Marine Corps leaders. As the Marine Corps modernizes and transforms itself to fight the wars of the future, spiritual leadership and resiliency will become even more imperative throughout all levels of the Marine Corps.

Leaders at the highest echelons clearly understand the significance of spiritual fitness to force readiness. Gen Neller points out the importance of spiritual fitness in *ALMAR 033/16*, stating that

[r]esearch indicates that spiritual fitness plays a key role in resiliency, in our ability to grow, develop, recover, heal, and adapt. Regardless of individual philosophy or beliefs, spiritual well-being makes us better warriors and people of character capable of making good choices on and off duty.¹³

Four years later, Gen Berger released

ALMAR 027/20, titled “Resiliency and Spiritual Fitness.”¹⁴ In his message, he discussed how spiritual fitness is at the core of individual character and resiliency and indicated how this component of total fitness aligns with his *CPG*. Moreover, he urged leaders to serve as models to their subordinates while “championing” efforts to instill spiritual fitness “in order to advance character development across the Marine Corps and in support of [his] *CPG*.¹⁵ The intent of both the 37th and 38th CMCs is clear: Marines and sailors must optimize their spiritual fitness if they are to increase readiness by building and maintaining “the toughness and resiliency necessary to adapt to, overcome, and recover from every situation Marines and sailors face in their careers.”¹⁶ However, what is less clear is how leaders *champion* spiritual fitness when they themselves have not been

2030 edits force structure to support a more agile and flexible force designed to operate in contested spaces. Shifts in rank structures, MOS composition, and mission essential task lists of traditional Marine Corps formations and echelons speak to how the Marine Corps is adapting to the required changes needed to operate and remain resilient in these developing complex environments. For example, staff non-commissioned officers will replace non-commissioned officers as the squad leaders of the traditional infantry squad, while 21st-century foraging classes and practicums are becoming part of the core curriculum at The Basic School. These changes, among many others currently in play, represent the CMC’s mandate to increase agility, maneuverability, and lethality while remaining resilient to adversarial actions across all warfighting domains.

Resiliency, therefore, is not merely a matter of hardening networks and enhancing weapon systems to defend against kinetic or cyberattacks. Rather, resiliency must be present at every level and in every human warfighting machine to be able to rebound from blows that impact the human spirit. Without resiliency in the austere, isolated, and dispersed environments envisioned by the CMC, Marines and sailors may easily fall victim to things that degrade and erode the character and combat effectiveness of the individual, as well as the fighting ability of the unit as a whole. Therefore, it is critically imperative that Marine leaders be able to instill resilience in Marines at every rank to improve warfighting capability on present and future battlefields. Just as the Marine Corps prepares its most junior officers and junior NCOs to ensure their Marines and sailors are physically and emotionally fit to accomplish the mission, so too must the Marine Corps prepare their most junior leaders to be comfortable addressing and championing spiritual fitness among their peers and the Marines and sailors in their charge. To succeed and win battles in the future, the Marine Corps must continue setting up leaders for success at the small-unit level in order to prepare the Marines and sailors to be resilient and thus spiritually ready and fit for the fight. After all, *America*

Therefore, it is critically imperative that Marine leaders be able to instill resilience in Marines at every rank to improve warfighting capability

deliberately trained to do so. Spiritual fitness is not currently integrated in any systematic or thoroughgoing way into the curricula of officer and enlisted PME schools. It is not an element by which new Marines are evaluated at Officers Candidate School, The Basic School, or the recruit depots. Not surprisingly, there is a significant gap between the CMC’s intent regarding spiritual fitness and execution at the small-unit level.

Gen Berger laid out a bold new vision for the Corps in his *CPG*.¹⁷ Focusing on expeditionary naval warfare, he stresses the need for a proficient and resilient force, dispersed into small units operating within the range of precision enemy fire across archipelagos in a contested littoral environment.¹⁸ *Force Design*

has no preordained right to succeed on the battlefield.¹⁹

This is the point, however, where we encounter a disconnect. Although there is no large-scale, peer-reviewed study to draw conclusions from, consistent observations from the Fleet suggest that the mandate to generate a spiritually fit and ready force is not being met at the small-unit level. An informal survey of a few dozen battalion and squadron commanders suggests that the typical unit commander is not aware of the CMC's ALMARs and, more importantly, is not yet the champion of spiritual fitness that Gen Berger envisioned. Few are the Marines that are fully cognizant and comfortable with the concepts espoused by the CMCs, and fewer still have incorporated the content of their ALMARs into the daily life of their units. For instance, even when a commander was intimately familiar with all the relevant documents and had completely embraced them, spiritual fitness had never explicitly been mentioned as a discussion topic at any of this commander's meetings with subordinate leaders. Likewise, although the subject is given some amount of formal instruction time in PME schools from the Lance Corporal's Seminar on up, it disappears in the day-to-day life of the average FMF unit because of a myriad of "higher priority" tasks and demands.

It is not hard to imagine why this disconnect might exist. There are at least two identifiable problems. The first is the hard reality of competing priorities. In the contemporary DOD universe filled with an innumerable and ever-growing list of policies and programs, all of which are formally tracked, inspected, and reported on, something has to give. Units often struggle to complete the long list of required annual training events in addition to completing their basic mission. In other words, there is simply not enough bandwidth left, and the nice-to-haves of being able to focus on spiritual fitness give way to the mandatory reporting items. With a thousand administrative tasks, training and equipment readiness, and concerns over force preservation, it is not surprising that commanders are less than ideally focused at the small-unit level on the spiritual fitness of their Ma-

rines, let alone fitting in specific training to close the gap between the CMC's intent and small-unit reality.

The other problem is that the subject matter is inherently challenging. However real are its effects upon Marines and their units, the spiritual element is essentially intangible. It is fairly obvious when a Marine is *physically* unfit

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to fight battles but much less so when he is *spiritually* unfit. As well, the subject of spiritual fitness is wrapped up in the constitutional freedom of religion and any discussion of it can become a matter of undue legal concern regarding the Establishment Clause.²⁰ As a result, many commanders simply shy away from speaking about spiritual fitness for fear of offending someone. Can a commander, for instance, point to his own example of faithful church attendance and daily devotions in the Bible as an example of spiritual fitness? The answer happens to be yes, but hesitancy on such matters remains, nevertheless. Finally, there is also some confusion regarding the relative roles of the chaplain and the commander in this domain. This uncertainty was addressed in the *2016 ALMAR* where spiritual fitness was formally identified as the commander's responsibility, with support from chaplains. Indeed, long-standing policies make clear that even a specifically religious entity such as the Religious Ministry Program is ultimately the responsibility of the unit commander; however, much of the day-to-day supervision and delivery of religious ministry is delegated to the chaplain.²¹

"MCMAP is a synergy of mental, character, and physical disciplines with application across the full spectrum of violence. In concert with proven Marine Corps leadership, rigorous training in these three disciplines enhances the Marine both on and off the battlefield."²²

—Marine Corps Order 1500.54A

Lessons Learned from MCMAP

What, then, would it take to close the gap we have identified between the Commandant's intent and reality regarding spiritual readiness?²³ To begin to imagine what would be involved, consider an example of how the institution has done this sort of thing in the past: the Marine Corps Martial Arts Program (MCMAP). Clearly, there are similarities and dissimilarities involved in the MCMAP analogy but our intention here is primarily to provoke thought and move the needle on getting spiritual fitness more widely known and practiced in the Marine Corps.²⁴

The Marine Corps has always understood the importance of close combat and the need to teach combatives. Indeed, the title "Leatherneck" is directly related to the Corps' engagement with the issue—in this case, protection from slashing attacks—in its early history. However, this focus waxed and waned over the decades. Formally introduced to the Marine Corps in 2002, MCMAP "aims to strengthen the mental and moral resiliency of individual Marines through realistic combative training, warrior ethos studies, and physical hardening."²⁵ As a successor to the Marines Corps' previous combative training, Linear Involuntary Neurological

overriding Engagement, MCMAP aims to combine and emphasize the importance of the physical domain as well as the mental and spiritual domain of warfighting. In 2002, MCMAP's goal was to create physically and mentally ready Marines of strong character given the current state of world affairs and the anticipated demand of the force at the initial onset of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Now two decades later, the Marine Corps is once again at a pivotal state of change requiring a mindset change in leaders and Marines across all ranks. Where the Marine Corps developed a program to test the physical, mental, and character disciplines in a holistic martial arts program twenty years ago, the Marine Corps must once again look for creative and revolutionary ways to emphasize spiritual discipline.

Before the official establishment of MCMAP, Marine combative proficiency was only as good as the unit leader's desire to incorporate Linear Involuntary Neurological overriding Engagement training into its daily training programs. Senior leadership occasionally reminded all hands that close combat was important, and some individual small unit leaders took the initiative to promote hand-to-hand combat proficiency in their units, but this was more the exception than the rule. Corps-wide, there was a considerable gap between the commander's intent and the reality on the ground.

Once MCMAP was formally established and gained momentum as a valuable tool for developing combat-ready Marines, the program gained more and more traction with unit leadership and reflected in the physical, mental, and character abilities of the individual Marine. What began with the physical MCMAP belt was soon enough translated into other incentives in terms of promotion points and performance measures for a combat-ready Marine and unit. Like every other reportable and tracked program, MCMAP proficiency is subject to reporting and inspection. The net effect of this effort, formalization, and incentivization of a program is that MCMAP has successfully become part of the modern-day Marine Corps organizational culture. Moreover, MC-

MAP promotes Marines who are already not only physically disciplined but also mentally and characteristically disciplined as well. When formalizing how to incorporate a spiritual discipline into daily Marine life, MCMAP provides an example of how the Marine Corps developed and instituted a new strategy to revolutionize the way Marines thought about individual and unit combat readiness.

If Marines are to be distributed across the battlefield ... it is incumbent ... to train an appropriate number of lay leaders to support these formations.

"To ensure the continued health of our collective character and identity and maintain our reputation as elite warriors, I am reaffirming the importance of spiritual fitness. All Marines and Sailors must tend to their individual character in order to keep the ethos and reputation of our Marine Corps intact."²⁶

—Gen David A. Berger

Framework

What could the Marine Corps do to implement spiritual readiness in such terms? Obviously, we must acknowledge

the inherent complexity of this subject as we discussed briefly above. One cannot test for spiritual fitness in garrison conditions in the same way that military knowledge or physical fitness can be tested. There is no one, simple pathway to attaining spiritual readiness, and we therefore cannot merely cut and paste a solution from another program like MCMAP. However, we can use this example to understand some of the essential elements for the successful and sustainable implementation of such programs.

First and foremost, if the Marine Corps wanted to elevate spiritual readiness to the level of the physical in terms of organizational priorities, there would have to be a comprehensive buy-in among company- and battalion-level commanders. Apart from this buy-in, all other efforts would ultimately prove ephemeral. Thankfully, all Marines now have some basic introduction to the concept of spiritual readiness in initial and subsequent formal training. What is lacking, however, is the champions of spiritual fitness the CMC imagined. Sustained advocacy by senior leaders toward junior officers and SNCOs would go a long way toward accomplishing this goal.

Secondly, the spiritual element would have to be incorporated in a far more thoroughgoing way across the PME spectrum. Currently, the subject is included in the curricula as a stand-alone instructional item; it ought to be integrated across the curricula as a recurring and persistent element of how battles have been won in the past and how they will be won in the future. Young officers at The Basic School, for instance, could be evaluated on their ability to lead their Marines into greater spiritual readiness.

Thirdly, there would need to be staffing infrastructure enhanced or created to support this development. The obvious starting point is to revitalize the use of religious lay leaders.²⁷ If Marines are to be distributed across the battlefield in smaller and more numerous formations than ever, making it even more difficult for chaplains to be present in person, it is incumbent upon the Religious Ministry Program to train an appropriate number of lay leaders to support these formations. Of course, this only covers the

specifically religious aspect of spiritual fitness. So, as there are MCMAP and force fitness instructors in every small unit, perhaps there might be something like spiritual fitness instructors to augment lay readers in the non-religious spiritual realm.²⁸

Fourthly, there would have to be a mechanism to monitor progress. At this point, even those who are completely comfortable with religion and spiritual matters might object that these things are simply not capable of being measured.²⁹ Yet, all real things are capable of being measured somehow, if only indirectly. In the case of spiritual readiness, the ultimate test of the human spirit happens only on the battlefield. However, one can work backward from that to take note of the factors that could rightly be expected to produce a spiritually-ready Marine. Along these lines, the Marine Corps already has a reasonably useful self-assessment tool for spiritual fitness that includes various elements such as regular participation in religious services or non-religious spiritually enriching activities. Marines could potentially take this self-assessment on an anonymized online database, and commanders could then be given a basic indication of where their unit is spiritually. Whether this tool or something like it could be appropriated for use as an organizational metric is a controversial question for others to decide. However, one thing is clear: if spiritual readiness is as important as we think it is, there must be some means—however indirect—for commanders to gauge whether their units are spiritually fit or not.

Finally, there would have to be an inducement to move the needle on the dashboard. No doubt, this is an even more difficult issue, drought with legal complexities. At this point, however, we are simply imagining what a thorough-going organizational embrace of spiritual readiness might look like rather than making specific recommendations. The Marine Corps in its relevant publications already speaks as if spiritual fitness is expected of all Marines. It simply does not yet act as if we meant it. In general terms, what this might look like could be along the lines of physical fitness. If a Marine joins as an elite athlete in some sport,

we are thankful for it. Marine Corps PT is not a challenge to them, and they achieve outstanding PFT scores simply as collateral. We do not discourage them, but without sacrificing the mission, we give them the opportunity to continue training and competing at whatever level they are capable of. On the other hand,

What remains is for the Marine Corps to furnish them also with the framework to make this happen in the spiritual arena ...

if someone is not already an athlete, we teach them generic fitness. Likewise, if Marines already belong to a specific religious tradition when they join, they would be encouraged to participate in the activities related to it. If they had no religion, they would be encouraged to cultivate a non-religious spirituality or else explore options in terms of religion.

Conclusion

In 2018, Secretary Mattis stated with typical forthrightness that “America’s military has no preordained right to victory on the battlefield.” His blunt assessment provides the point of departure

“The soldier’s heart, the soldier’s spirit, the soldier’s soul, are everything. Unless the soldier’s soul sustains him he cannot be relied on and will fail himself and his commander and his country in the end.”³⁰

—GEN George C. Marshall

for this discussion on the importance of spiritual fitness to ready Marines for future battles against peers/near peers in expeditionary advanced base environs. Simply put, to address the rapidly changing dynamics of future warfare and to remain a viable force capable of defending against malign actors across all domains, the Marine Corps must produce Marines and leaders capable of carrying on the fight far away from higher echelons.

The Marine Corps is America’s “force-in-readiness,” manned, trained, and equipped to respond quickly to a broad variety of crises and conflicts across the full range of military operations anywhere in the world. As such, the Corps has long recognized spiritual fitness to be a critical component regarding warfighting prowess and resiliency. However, while the Marine Corps has always understood the importance of physical fitness as a component of total fitness and been willing to take the necessary steps to ensure that this component of total force readiness is maintained at a high level, the same cannot yet be said for spiritual readiness. As discussed above, the recent CMCs have recognized very clearly the critical importance of the spiritual not only to win the Nation’s battles but to win wars. However, a variety of issues have prevented this from being implemented at the small unit level. To close this gap, the institution must be willing to take the kind of steps it has done to implement other challenging, multi-faceted programs such as MCMAP. Small-unit leaders already know how to eliminate deficiencies in all manner of training priorities, as they bring to bear their leadership training and use the tools the institution gives them. What remains is for the Marine Corps to furnish them also with the framework to make this happen in the spiritual arena because, as GEN Marshall rightfully points out, *the warfighter’s heart, soul, and spirit are everything*.

Notes

1. See James N. Mattis, *Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: 2018).

2. Headquarters Marine Corps, *MCDP 3, Expeditionary Operations* (Washington, DC: April 2018).

3. Ibid. For a definition of spiritual fitness, see the Marine Corps' webpage on resilience at <https://www.fitness.marines.mil/Resilience/>. Spiritual fitness is described as an “[i]dentification of personal faith, foundational values, and moral living from a variety of sources and traditions help Marines live out Core Values of Honor, Courage, and Commitment, live the warrior ethos, and exemplify the character expected of a United States Marine.”

4. Gen J.A. Lejeune, *The Reminiscences of a Marine*, (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1930).

5. See Hope Hodge Seck, “Corps to Add ‘Spiritual Fitness’ to Professional Education,” *Military.com*, October 18, 2016, <https://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/10/18/corps-to-add-spiritual-fitness-to-professional-education.html>.

6. Ibid. See Staff, “Marine Corps’ Top Enlisted Leader Presents Human Performance at Tactical Athlete Summit,” *Marines* November 9, 2021, <https://www.marines.mil/News/Press-Releases/Press-Release-Display/Article/2838109/marine-corps-top-enlisted-leader-presents-human-performance-at-tactical-athlete>. Human performance is maximized by improving the “physical, mental, social and *spiritual* fitness—total fitness—of Marines.” [Emphasis added.]

7. See Maj Andrew P. Kettner, “Spiritual Fitness: An Unseen Element of Fitness,” *Marine Corps Gazette*, June 2020, <https://mca-marines.org/wp-content/uploads/Spiritual-Fitness.pdf>.

8. See i.e., Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Operating Environment 2035: The Joint Force in a Contested and Disordered World* (Washington, DC: July 2016); Department of Defense, *2018 National Defense Strategy* (Washington: 2018); and Raphael S. Cohen, Nathan Chandler, Shira Efron, Bryan Frederick, Eugeniu Han, Kurt Klein, Forrest E. Morgan, Ashley L. Rhoades, Howard J. Shatz, Yuliya Shokh, *The Future of Warfare in 2030 Project Overview and Conclusions* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2020).

9. See General D. A. Berger, *ALMAR 027/20, Resiliency and Spiritual Fitness* (Washington, DC: December 2020).

10. Gen David H. Berger, *38th Commandant’s Planning Guidance* (Washington, DC: July 2019).

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Gen R.A. Neller, *ALMAR 033/16 on Spiritual Fitness* (Washington, DC: October 2016).

14. *Resiliency and Spiritual Fitness*.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. David Barno and Nora Bensahel, “A Striking New Vision for the Marines, and a Wakeup Call for the Other Services,” *War on the Rocks*, October 1, 2019, <https://warontherocks.com/2019/10/a-striking-new-vision-for-the-marines-and-a-wakeup-call-for-the-other-services>.

18. *38th Commandant’s Planning Guidance*.

19. *2018 National Defense Strategy*.

20. Legal Information Institute at Cornell Law School definition of the Establishment Clause: “According to The First Amendment’s Establishment Clause prohibits the government from making any law ‘respecting an establishment of religion.’ This clause not only forbids the government from establishing an official religion, but also prohibits government actions that unduly favor one religion over another. It also prohibits the government from unduly preferring religion over non-religion, or non-religion over religion.” Available at https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/establishment_clause.

21. Department of the Navy, *OPNAVINST 1730.1E* (Washington, DC: April 2021); and Headquarters Marine Corps, *MCO 1730.6f* (Washington, DC: August 2018).

22. Headquarters Marine Corps, *MCO 1500.59A, Marine Corps Martial Arts Program* (Washington, DC: September 2019).

23. According to CAPT Steven Moses, CHC, USN in a June 28, 2021 email, the Chief of Chaplain’s Office has developed a definition for Spiritual Readiness that is expected to be used in the Professional Navy Chaplain Instruction and eventually in OPNAV, MCO, and SECNAV Instructions. The definition is as follows: “Spiritual Readiness (SR) is the capacity for mission accomplishment that results from the warfighter’s connection to the transcendent, defined by (1) a connection to the divine; (2) participation in a community of faith; (3) sacrifice for the greater good; and/or (4) the pursuit of meaning, purpose, value, and service. SR is an element of military readiness that is created, increased and sustained by Professional Naval Chaplaincy. SR is measured in commands by access to a chaplain; service member’s engagement with the Command Religious Program; and the training, equipage, facilities, and resources of the Religious Ministry Team.”

24. Capt Jamison Yi, “MCMAP and the Marine Warrior Ethos,” *Military Review* 84, no. 6 (2004).

25. *MCO 1500.59A*.

26. *Resiliency and Spiritual Fitness*.

27. Department of the Navy, *NTTP 1.05.1M/MCRP 6-12B, Religious Lay Leader* (Washington, DC: May 2016).

28. See e.g., *Spiritual Fitness: An Unseen Element of Fitness*, *supra* note 7.

29. Jeff Schogol, “‘Spiritual Fitness’ is Not Just about God, Sergeant Major of the Marine Corps Says,” *The Marine Corps Times*, November 27, 2017, <https://www.marinecorps-times.com/news/your-marine-corps/2017/11/27/spiritual-fitness-not-just-about-god-sergeant-major-of-the-marine-corps-says>.

30. *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, ed. Larry I. Bland, Sharon Ritenour Stevens, and Clarence E. Wunderlin, Jr. (Lexington, VA: The George C. Marshall Foundation, 1981). Electronic version based on *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, vol. 2, “We Cannot Delay,” July 1, 1939–December 6, 1941, (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).



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