

Peace Economy News

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Summer 2014



Storm Clouds in St. Louis: Boeing Faces a Tough Future

by **Charles Kindleberger**
PEP Board Member

It is hard to remember a time when the McDonald Douglas Corporation, and then Boeing, didn't play a major role in the St. Louis economy. This was in large part because of the fighter planes produced: the FH-1 Phantom, F2H Banshee, the F 101 Voodoo, the F-4 Phantom, the F-15 Eagle, the F/A 18 Hornet and the E/A Growler.

Now a crisis is at hand. The Pentagon has cast its future with the troubled F-35. It and almost a dozen other countries want to buy 2400 of these planes which come in separate versions for the Air Force, Navy and Marines, and are manufactured by Lockheed Martin.

Never mind that the F-35 is \$163 billion over budget and seven years behind schedule. Or that it may well cost around \$200 million a plane versus a "mere" \$52 million for the Super Hornet. Or that many of the F-35s being manufactured today will need to be retrofitted. Or that testing of the Navy's version of the plane on aircraft carriers hasn't started.

After production of about 500 planes over the last 15 years, the F/A-18 is no longer the latest and greatest, despite the fact that it has been upgraded in terms of radar, range and "stealthiness." Recent experience is that many other coun-



tries don't seem to want the plane either – Japan, India, Brazil, South Korea are among those that have taken a pass.

In the near term there are still around 50 F/A-18s to be built for the Navy, and another 10 for Australia. This will keep the line open for a couple more years.

Moreover, with strong congressional lobbying, there appears to be the probability of a few more E/A-18 Growlers, a similar plane outfitted to conduct electronic warfare.

The FY-15 House Defense Appropriations Committee bill is reported to include \$975 million dollars for 12 such planes. These were on the Navy's wish list, although they were not in the Pentagon's budget. Also there is a program to

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Storm Clouds in St. Louis



Charlie King performs at PEP's annual concert and silent auction.



Pakistani-American journalist, Rafia Zakaria, speaks on situation in Pakistan after "Dirty Wars" showing.

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convert older F/A-18C models into the E/F Super Hornets.

There are some additional things that can be done. Boeing has already announced that it will move some 400 information technology and 300 research and development professionals to St. Louis from Seattle. No doubt a certain amount of additional work could be moved.

On a longer term basis, Boeing has joined forces with Lockheed-Martin to design and build a new bomber that is high on the Air Force priorities list. The Pentagon talks about buying 100 new bombers in the next decade or two, a contract estimated to cost around \$55 billion.

Where that money would come from in this era of sequestration, whether Northrup-Grumman, builder of the B-2 bomber, could be beat, and, if successful, where the Boeing-Lockheed plane would be built are all unknowns.

Of course, overriding these issues is the more fundamental question as

to why we need a new fleet of extraordinarily expensive bombers. What scenario might call for this terribly costly weapon, given our 450 ICBM, 72 submarines, 2300 fighters (with a lot more to come), 20 B-2, 68 B-1 and 74 active B-52 bombers?

With \$86 billion in annual revenue and 168,000 employees, the Boeing Company is doing fine. Less clear are prospects for their 15,000 workers in St Louis.

A similar challenge happened before in St. Louis in the early 1970s when the end of Vietnam spending, the end of Project Apollo, development costs of the new 747, and the government's decision to cancel a supersonic plane all caused major cutbacks.

PEP's predecessor (the St. Louis Economic Conversion Project) worked with local governments, consultants and the DOD Office of Economic Adjustment to assist in that painful transformation. It would seem that hard times lie ahead. PEP stands ready to help again.

Peace Economy News

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A Quick Look at the Defense Lobbyists

by **Charlie Edelen IV**
PEP Board Member

It's pretty well known that the gears of Capitol Hill stay greased by a well-oiled lobbying machine. But how much do we know about the many lobbying firms that slide legislation through committees and the faceless lobbyists they employ?

Not much is given freely, and the lobbying underarm of government would prefer to keep it that way. Thankfully, OpenSecrets.org provides resources to track the flow of money from large defense and aerospace corporations to lobbying firms' bottom lines.

Let's take a look at the top five defense contractors, how much they spend on lobbying, what firms they hire and how much overlap there is between them. All the numbers being reported are 2013 figures and can be found at opensecrets.org.

Northrop Grumman spent \$29.4 million spread among 14 lobbying firms; Boeing spent \$15 mil-

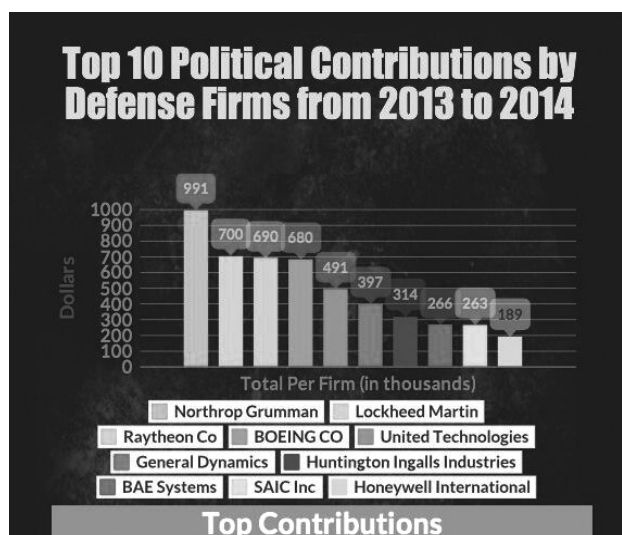
lion among 15 firms; Lockheed Martin spent \$14.35 million on 26 firms; General Dynamics spent \$11 million on 27 firms; Raytheon spent \$7.6 million on 14 firms. Keep in mind, this is only in 2013.

The table below takes a look at a handful of cherry-picked firms, their revenue in 2013 and just a few of their clients.

These numbers may look underwhelming, but what is truly amazing is the sheer number of companies, cities and other organizations these firms represent.

As king of the mountain, Podesta Group lobbied for 139 different organizations. DLA Piper – who brings in significantly less revenue – still represented 59 organizations. It isn't surprising that so many large military corporations share the same lobbyists.

While they do sometimes com-



pete against one another for large contracts, all in all they share the same self-interest: making sure there's more contracts.

Which lobbying firm raked in the most corporate cash in 2013? Patton Bogg LLP at \$39.76 million. They're followed by Akin, Gump et al at \$33.73, who is followed by Podesta Group. After that, there are dozens more who made over \$10 million. The lobbying firms and their minions will certainly keep the contracts coming.

Lobbying Firm	2013 Lobbying Revenue	Sample Clients
Podesta Group	\$27.8 million	Bechtel, BAE Systems, General Dynamics, Boeing, Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman
DLA Piper	\$8.34 million	Raytheon, others
Clark, Lytle et al	\$5.15 million	Boeing, Halliburton, Koch Brothers
Shockey Scofield Solutions	\$3.43 million	Boeing, General Dynamics, Halliburton
American Defense International	\$2.81 million	General Dynamics, Northrop Grumman, Raytheon
Denny Miller Assoc	\$2.49 million	Boeing, General Dynamics, Raytheon
Innovative Federal Strategies	\$2.39 million	General Dynamics, Northrop Grumman, Raytheon

Defense Budget Debates are Intense,

by **Charles Kindleberger**
PEP Board Member

What do the A-10, EA 22, the George Washington aircraft carrier, the C-130 Avionics Modernization Program, basic military pay, housing allowances, military commissaries, etc. have in common? Answer: The Pentagon doesn't want to spend as much money on them in FY 2015 as the House of Representatives does.

As this newsletter goes to press, the House has approved H.R. 4435 – the Howard P. “Buck” McKeon National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2015. Impressively, the House Rules Committee allowed votes on 162 amendments, many of which PEP members favored; however, the final vote wasn't close – 325 to 98.

Close behind has come the House Defense Appropriations Bill for 2015 which was passed on June 20, 2014. At the same time, the Senate Armed Services Committee is moving forward. The President has threatened to veto the legislation, unless many changes are made before or during the House-Senate Conference Committee process.

More than 30 Administration concerns are spelled out in Office of Management and Budget (OMB) “Statement of Administrative Policy” dated May 19. In general, the concerns have to do with money and the authority of the Executive Branch of government. OMB argues

that the House bill would eliminate \$50 billion dollars in savings over the next five years, all as contained in the President's defense budget.

Here is a quick look at many of the issues:

Guantanamo Detainees. This is an old debate. The House wants to prohibit the use of money to transfer any Guantanamo detainees to mainland USA and to prohibit money for any facility construction or modification that would house such detainees.

Compensation. The House believes that there should be a larger pay raise for military troops (1.8 percent) versus the President's budget (one percent). House members are not interested in reforming Housing Allowance provisions or subsidy of Commissaries and Medical Support policies, claiming that there should be no cuts prior to release of a special commission report next February on Military Compensation and Retirement Modernization.

Retirement of Weapon Systems. The House wants to keep a lot of systems.

• A-10 Warthog. DOD would be prohibited from spending funds to retire this popular close ground support plane, resulting in an OMB estimated loss of \$4.2 billion dollar in savings over the next 5 years. Nor is the Administration pleased with the idea of funding this plane out of the Overseas Contingency Operations

(OCO) budget that was created to support the Iraq and Afghanistan wars.

• Naval Cruisers. DOD wants a phased modernization program for 11 cruisers and three dock landing ships into the 2030s. The House wants to move faster, with money for modernizing two cruisers in the FY 2015 budget.

• Avionics Modernization. DOD wants to replace the C-130 Avionics Modernization Program (AMP), which is provided by Boeing, with a less expensive alternative. The House says no.

• USS George Washington. Upgrading this aircraft carrier, a process called “Refueling and Complex Overhaul (RCOH)” will cost around \$3 billion over four years, as well as all the operational expenses (crew and planes) that go with an aircraft carrier. DOD says if sequester remains in effect in 2016 (it is the law after 2015), the USA won't be able to afford a fleet of 11 aircraft carriers. The House Appropriations committee is considering \$789 million for the aircraft carrier in FY 2015.

Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC). Fear on the part of politicians is again evident in the House prohibition of any money being spent on the planning process necessary to close a military base. The Pentagon won't be able to “right-size its infrastructure,” something that would seem highly desirable in an era with less and less money and new priorities.

Especially Approaching an Election Year

Missiles. The House Defense Authorization Bill has distinct views on missiles.

- Retention of Missile Silos. The House would require the Secretary of Defense to insure that each of the 450 ICBM silos has a deployed missile, at least in a “warm” status. The Administration argues that this would “tie the hands” of current and future presidents as well as interfere with testing and maintenance.

- Missile Defense of Allies. The House requires deployment of short range air and missile defense capability in Poland and deployment of the Aegis Ashore site in Poland by 2016. The Administration objects that this “would infringe on the President’s ability to conduct foreign policy.”

- East Coast Missile Site Planning and Design. The House wants \$20 million to go towards initial work on an east coast missile site. The Administration says that the work would be premature and perhaps a complete waste.

Alternative Fuels. The House bill contains a variety of sections that would curtail the use of alternative fuels by the military, despite its past leadership initiatives in this area.

Nuclear Fuel and Weapons. The House bill has upset the Administration with a variety of requirements relating to our nuclear strategy.

- Mixed Oxide Fuel Fabrication Facility. The House requires the Secretary of Energy to keep build-

ing this particular facility to dispose of unneeded plutonium. The Administration wants to explore other more cost effective alternatives.

- Plutonium Pit Production Capacity. The House requires the Secretary of Energy to accelerate pit production rates ahead of requirements. The Administration says production should only go as fast as the Nuclear Weapons Council recommends.

- Second Line of Defense (SLD). The House wants to reduce funding for this component of the Global Nuclear Detection Architecture. The Administration claims that SLD implements key parts of the President’s nuclear security agenda.

- Prototypes of Nuclear Weapons. The House wants the directors of national security laboratories to submit a multi-year plan directly to them. The Administration argues that review and approval of the plan should be the purview of the Secretary of Energy.

- Long Range Stand Off Weapon. The House wants to accelerate the program with production by 2025. The Administration says that there needs to be a more deliberative, less costly process.

- Defense Environment Cleanup. The House wants to prohibit further contributions to the Uranium Enrichment Decontamination and Decommissioning Fund. The Administration believes that this fund is critical if we are to clean up shut down uranium enrichment plants

There are lots of other controversial issues: changes to the National Guard; expenditures of DOD funds on the National Guard; limitation on funds to certify flights by the Russian Federation under the Treaty on Open Skies; restrictions on funds spent on nuclear security cooperation with Russia; setting conditions on negotiations with Iran; DOD Management; Quadrennial Defense Review resubmission; limitations on spending until DOD submits a report on Special Operations Forces; limitations on spending on the Unmanned Carrier-Launched Airborne Surveillance and Strike System (UCLASS); funding reductions for the production of Littoral Combat Ship (LCS); delays to implementation of the Military Health System Modernization Study; acceleration of military land withdrawals and transfers; reduction of authorized personnel strength of the Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board and more.

Perhaps many House members have thought seriously about the military implications contained in the new Defense Authorization bill. What is clear is that they have fought hard for existing weapons, bases, compensation programs, all that are important to their supporters.

Aggressive lobbying is understandable, but it sure makes it hard for the Administration to modernize the Pentagon in an environment with fewer federal dollars. Let’s see if the President is serious about a veto.

Can the U.S. Strengthen the Safety Net?

by Charles Kindleberger
PEP Board Member

Earlier this year there was evidence of concern for the nation's poor. Fifty years after the beginning of President Johnson's "War on Poverty," politicians on both sides of the aisle proclaimed that ending poverty was still an important national goal.

Then in early March, President Obama submitted his annual budget. Its proposed expenditures stayed within sequester limits. His budget contained poverty reduction and economic growth measures, while continuing a reduction of the federal debt.

Immediately the Republican leadership in the Congress declared that it was not a serious document.

On April 1, Congressman Ryan unveiled a new 10-year budget. His "Path to Progress" appeared to be a repeat of previous budgets in which two-thirds of the proposed cuts would come from programs designed to assist low and moderate income individuals.

Over 10 years his budget would cut Pell Grants for low and moderate income college students by \$125 billion and SNAP (food stamps) by another \$125 billion. An additional \$500 billion would be cut from unspecified mandatory programs (things like Medicare and Medicaid) as well as \$791 billion in non-defense discretionary programs (things like education, research, law-enforcement, early child care and low income housing assistance).

Defense would be increased by \$483 billion over 10 years. The Affordable Care Act would, of course, be repealed; Medicaid would be cut by 25 percent and conveyed as a "block grant" to the states. Individual and corporate tax rates would top out at 25 percent, causing an estimated revenue shortfall of \$5 trillion (Urban Institute and Brookings Tax Policy Center).

This is a budget that may find use during the election season, but with a Democratic Senate and President, in terms of actual enactment it too is DOA. Is any progress on safety net programs possible this year?

Wouldn't it be great if the House and Senate could focus on smaller specific steps? Here are some for consideration.

Earned Income Tax Credit. The EITC was put in place by President Gerald Ford in 1975 and has long had bi-partisan support. Even Congressman Ryan's report indicates that it is an "effective tool for encouraging and rewarding work among lower-income individuals." The EITC could be made more effective in several ways including allowing single men and women to participate.

Job Training. Who can deny that finding work is central to the fight against poverty, and that many of the unemployed (especially the 2 million long-term unemployed) need new or upgraded skills? At minimum, Congress should reauthorize the Work Force Investment Act that expired in 2003.

Child Care and Development

Block Grant. The Senate voted to reauthorize this program with a vote of 97 to 1. It would encourage health and safety standards for child care centers and allow more day care assistance, thereby providing more opportunity for poor people with young children to work.

Emergency Unemployment Compensation. House Speaker Boehner said he would not consider an extension for the 2 million who continue to search for work after their initial 26 weeks have run out unless the extension was paid for. Several months ago it was reported that the Senate had reached a bipartisan agreement allowing a five month, retroactive EUC measure that would be financed.

Financial Security Credit. This innovation would allow low income families to place all or part of their tax return into a savings account. Those who maintained the deposit in the account for at least eight months would receive a matching amount up to \$500.

Is it naive to think that any of these programs could be implemented in an election year? Maybe, but the polls tell us that the American people are upset. A recent Pew Research Center/USA Today survey revealed that almost 70 percent think that the government should do either "a lot or some" more to fix the gap between the rich and the poor. About two-thirds recognize that over the last 10 years and longer the gap between the very rich and everyone else has increased dramatically.

Why We Go to Capitol Hill: Advocating Peace

by **Jasmin Maurer**
Executive Director

Summer is a time for vacations and barbecues. But on Capitol Hill, it's also the time to mete out the Defense Appropriations budget. This is why PEP has been in full swing planning our annual trip to DC.

You've most likely gotten our letter with this year's annual appeal (you can read the appeal in full at peaceeconomyproject.org).

PEP Congressional Lobby Intern Jacob Chappell and I have collected your signatures, and we're taking them to DC this July because Congress needs to hear from us.

We don't think they're serious about truly protecting our national security. To us, security means taking care of our people at home.

But the House passed a Defense

Appropriations bill in June at \$491 billion. That's \$200 million over the president's request.

The administration has also requested \$58.6 billion for the Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO) budget. While it is down from the original \$79.4 billion, it is still much too high.

The OCO was designed to fund the wars in Afghanistan and then in Iraq. Now that the wars are ending, there's no need for this fund.

The Pentagon has been relying on the slush found in the OCO for years to get around budget cuts brought on by sequester. They've been using the excess funds there to fund non-war related items.

It's time for Congress to bring an end to the Pentagon slush fund.

And that's not all that we want. In our appeal we have highlighted

three major areas where savings can be found in the Pentagon budget: Weapons Procurement, Weapons Research and Missile Defense.

And this is just the tip of the iceberg. The U.S. once again looms on the edge of military involvement with Iraq. Air or drone strikes would result in more civilian casualties and devastation to a country that is still in the process of recovering from the recent U.S. invasion.

It's time we spent more time thinking about the worth of human lives, both abroad and in our own country. Congress has no problem continuing to cut safety net programs and services that our nation's poor depend on.

But the Pentagon budget? Well those cuts are somehow the harder sell. And that's why we continue to go to Washington, DC.



Successes, Triumphs, and Building Peace

This past year has been an exciting ride for PEP, full of programs, research and organizing efforts. Here are a few highlights from the past year.

Economic Conversion Research

This year, we've been reaching back to the roots of our organization, to the days of the St. Louis Economic Conversion Project. Around the country, peace organizations are drawing inspiration from the 90s Cold War military drawdown and economic transition work.

Although still in the research stages, we've been looking at how we can help educate and potentially organize to make transition a reality in St. Louis once again.

We're nervous about production lines coming to a close at Boeing, and believe that we can once again transition to a green, peaceful civilian economy.

In-District Lobbying

Headed by intern, Ricky Shah, we teamed up with Missouri Progressive Vote Coalition to visit with our legislators at home. We had meetings with the offices of Congressman Lacy Clay, Congresswoman Ann Wagner and Senators Claire McCaskill and Roy Blunt to further our message for a more peaceful economy. We asked them how we could work together to ensure that we build an

economy that works more effectively for Missourians. We also were able to share what we had uncovered about conversion and its ability to help us break free from the military-industrial complex.



Board Chair Abbe Sudvarg and PEP Director Jasmin Maurer leaflet for Tax Day

New Coalition Starts: Drone Free St. Louis



Around a year ago, the St. Louis Police Chief made the announcement that he wanted to purchase and operate a drone for the St. Louis Police Department. PEP and Instead of War saw the all too familiar trend of police militarization being

taken to a whole new level. From a variety of discussions a new coalition, Drone Free St. Louis, was formed to attempt to stop police drones in our city.

The group, which is made up of organizations and individuals who oppose the use of drones by the St. Louis Police, has been hard at work. This past spring the coalition held a four-part panel se-

ries, Drones and Donuts, that addressed the following subjects: Militarization of the Police, True Costs and Safety, Impacts on Communities of Color and Mass Surveillance.

This panel series led to a core group of dedicated activists that is now working to stop funding to build a Real Time Intelligence Center (RTIC) in the new police headquarters. The RTIC is planned to be a central location manned by the police department to monitor cameras, license plate readers and drones, if we get them, in the city of St. Louis. A lack of adequate privacy protections for citizens and the impending threat of police drones has Drone Free St. Louis energized to stop this central surveillance hub.

To get more information about Drone Free St. Louis' campaigns, contact dronefreestl@gmail.com or visit the website, dronefreestl.org.

A Year in Review for PEP: 2013-2014



Susan Spit-Fire Lively performing at Women for Peace

Women for Peace

Women for Peace recently held its fourth performance, changing locations to MoKaBe's Coffee-house. The program is produced by Susan Spit-fire Lively, a local spoken word artist who volunteers her time and energy into putting these performances together. Started by former intern, Katerina Canyon, the performances are a dedication to women affected by gender violence by local poets.

Charlie King

Charlie King celebrated 50 years as a singer and 40 as a song-writer in 2014 when he joined us once again at Nerinx Hall for our annual Charlie King Concert and Silent Auction. Although the weather threatened to keep us away, we were able to hold the concert before any ice storms hit. We thank Charlie for his continued support of the Peace Economy Project and to

everyone who joined us.

Dirty Wars

If you weren't able to join us last fall for our "Dirty Wars" showing, we recommend you take a look. The documentary by Jeremy Scahill skims the surface of what his book by the same title covers.

With the help of Amnesty International St. Louis and Instead of War, we were able to show the documentary at Webster University. We also welcomed Pakistani-American journalist, Rafia Zakaria, who was able to share her insights into the damaging effects of America's covert war programs in Pakistan.

Tax Day/GDAMS

Many of us know April 15 as Tax Day. But April 14 is also the Global Day of Action on Military Spending (gdams.org). We celebrated the only way we know how, by drawing attention to U.S. budget

priorities. We started off April 15 with Missouri Progressive Vote Coalition chalking at local post offices, leaving behind messages about what our federal income tax dollars fund. We then joined the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to hand out the War Resisters League Pie Chart in Clayton.

Bike for Peace

Hailing all the way from Norway, Bike for Peace rode on through St. Louis from Kansas City to Washington, DC. Their mission was to promote the Mayors for Peace initiative, which calls for global nuclear disarmament. Working with Kansas City Peace Works, we were able to ride to the weekly Peace Vigil at College Church to share their journey with those in St. Louis as well as gain a meeting with Mayor Shelley Welsch of University City.



Bike for Peace at the weekly peace vigil at College Church.

Arrests Targeting Communities of Color

by Rachel Cramsey
PEP Board Member

Since the early 90s, the United States has witnessed a doubling in its prison population. Today the U.S. imprisons a greater percent of its own citizens than any other country in the world. The U.S. currently outranks China, Japan, Rwanda, Kazakhstan and Belize.

What is spurring this incline? Research points to the War on Drugs as the primary catalyst. In the 90s, the law came down harder on those convicted of drug crimes, adding years to their sentences and imparting a “three strikes” rule that said if a person is convicted for a third time of a drug crime, (s)he could receive a sentence of 25 years to life behind bars.

Thirteen states now carry out three strikes laws. As a result, new prisons have had to be built to accommodate those convicted of drug crimes.

Michelle Alexander’s “The New Jim Crow,” originally released in 2010, investigated the transformation of racial oppression from schools and restaurants to the prison system. Alexander argued that prisons are how those in authority maintain control over the black community.

Under the guise of the War on Drugs, police received permission to pull over or interrogate people who raised suspicion, which has been fraught with racist and classist undertones. It’s not a coincidence that more black people are convict-

ed of drug crimes than whites.

According to Paul Waldman of The American Prospect, black prisoners made up nearly 40 percent of the state prison population in 2011. In his research, Waldman found that whites were more likely to be guilty of property crimes, while blacks and Hispanics were typically sentenced for violent crimes.

Federal prisons’ majority population is drug offenders. The war on drugs has been faulted as targeting members of minority groups and those living in impoverished neighborhoods.

Private contracting of prison work has also been a factor in the rising population. The prison-industrial complex has morphed into a lucrative business. Private prisons are able to pay less than minimum wage, and those jobs are being carried out by prisoners.

Investors who were at one time part of low-cost international labor are being propositioned to put their support behind the prison-industrial complex. Inmates are manufacturing military equipment and clothing, art supplies, medical supplies, home appliances and other market items.

Those investing in prison labor are big corporations; IBM,

Boeing, AT&T, Dell, Intel, Hewlett-Packard, to name a few.

The prison-industrial complex will continue to threaten our communities and gain more power if it’s not called into question. Its profitability and the increasing sentences have already separated teenagers from their families, fathers from their children. We are losing a large part of our population to the prison industry.

In the meantime, schools have closed, displacing students, while new prisons are built in their place. Black and hispanic youth are primarily pulled into the school-to-prison pipeline, adding their families to those impacted by the prison-industrial complex.



The Militarization of our Police Force

by **Jamala Rogers**

Originally published in The St. Louis American on April 17, 2014. Republished with author's permission.

Recently a black family was awakened to the thunderous sounds of their front door crashing in and Gestapo-like footsteps fanning throughout their home. It was the St. Louis SWAT Team with no search warrant or explanation of their intrusion.

This is just one example of the militarization of domestic police which has accelerated over the years with little public scrutiny or restraint. And now, Police Chief Sam Dotson wants to add drones to his arsenal.

The mother in the no-knock raid was temporarily put in hand-cuffs and the father was thrown on the floor. Their juvenile son was taken to police headquarters and questioned without the presence or permission of his parents.

The first Special Weapons and Technical (SWAT) team was unleashed in Philly around 1964. But it was the LAPD who perfected the SWAT team, making history with its first significant target being the Black Panthers.

It became clear that SWAT was designed as a response to the social unrest of the 1960s, particularly the anti-war and black liberation movements; it was referred to as a counter-insurgency tactic.

Radley Balko, author of "Rise of

the Warrior Cop," says that the number of SWAT team raids has soared from a few hundred annually in the 1970s to more than 50,000 per year by 2005.

The dramatic increase in raids is due to the so-called war on drugs, post-9/11 counter-terrorism initiatives and the Pentagon's 1033

"The police can order up anything from . . . MRAPs to grenade launchers to 360-degree-rotating machine guns."

Program, where surplus military equipment is donated to local police departments. It's a buyer's delight – free war equipment.

We're all familiar with the billions of dollars that police departments have justified for their wars on drugs and terrorism. You may be less familiar with the kind of hardware that's coming from the killing fields of Afghanistan and Iraq to streets in your hometown.

Local police departments can order up anything from 20-ton Mine-Resistant Ambush-Protected vehicles, aka MRAPs, to grenade launchers to 360-degree-rotating machine guns. In 2011, \$500 million in war toys was handed out to U.S. cities and towns, a record for

the obscure program. Since the program started in 1997, over 17,000 law enforcement agencies have accepted \$2.6 billion in military equipment.

There are some real problems emerging with the militarization of local police. Regarding the 1033 Project, local cops are ill-trained to handle this level of military equipment, not to mention the fact that taxpayers have to pick up the tabs for their use and maintenance (MRAPs get 5 miles to a gallon of gas.) Because there is little oversight, fraud and misuse are rampant. Equipment has shown up on e-Bay, been lost or distributed to buddies of cops.

More frightening is the fact that since police have these super toys, they feel compelled to use them, resulting in over-reactions and over-kill such as botched raids and deadly encounters with innocent citizens. Peaceful protesters, like Occupy, have felt the wrath of militarized police. Activists know that most SWAT raids and engagement of military equipment have been used for non-violent offenses or situations.

The creed of police departments is allegedly to protect and to serve. A soldier's mission is to engage in combat and kill his enemy. These are conflicting missions, philosophies and behaviors and are troubling in the face of overall declining violent crime rates.

Citizens want safety, but not at the expense of their privacy rights, civil liberties or their peace of mind. Community security is achievable; a police state is undesirable.

We Need to Change the Army's Mission

by **Mary Ann McGivern**
PEP Board Member

The United States Army has a mission: the Global Strategic Mandate. As Andrew Bacevich tells it in "Breach of Trust: How Americans Failed Their Soldiers and Their Country," when the Cold War ended, the Army saw the end of its mission.

Global Strategic Mandate

General Carl Vuono, Army Chief of staff from 1987 to 1991, recognized that without the threat of Soviet incursions into Europe, the Army had no work to do. So he chose a new direction. The U.S. Army would hereafter carry out a "Global Strategic Mandate."

Quietly, without direction from Congress, the Pentagon or the Clinton administration, Vuono's successor, General Gerald Sullivan, put flesh and bones on the vision. He disseminated a series of analyses in the new high-tech, professional army, prepared to solve problems around the globe. Bacevich's account of how the army's new vision came to be is astounding.

This Army vision needed partners. Weapons manufacturers and Congress were happy to oblige. Engineers proposed technology to make airplanes, tanks and ships invisible and invulnerable. Companies designed satellites and space modules, guns and submarines, fighter planes, communications systems. Congress was happy to throw money at these technologies that would elevate the

U.S. military into its rightful role as invincible leader of the free world.

The Cost of this Mandate

But the cost has been high. Trillions of dollars spent, hundreds of thousands lives lost, civilian infrastructure destroyed, our nation disgraced, uncounted enemies created.

As we saw in Iraq, the Army needed more than a lean force with high-tech equipment. Bacevich asserts that the military debacle in Iraq and elsewhere is rooted in the American people's disengagement with the army. When we chose to replace the draft with a volunteer force, those of us who didn't have a stake turned our backs.

In short, we didn't pay attention because it wasn't our children, siblings or spouses who were fighting. We let the Army define its own glamorous mission, be courted by weapons suppliers and brag that it was number one in the world.

The Dangers that Lie Ahead

For 25 years, Congress, the Pentagon and the arms manufacturers have gone full steam ahead designing weapons, speculating wildly about future threats and designing tools of destruction. Congress funded the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) with at least \$3 billion.

Some of the products designed to meet this "Global Strategic Mandate" include combat lasers, a directed-energy or rail gun to replace missiles, stealth drones and cyber warfare.

These new weapons hold a hidden threat: the dangers of a new arms race. As we pour our wealth into these lethal systems, we are inviting other nations to arm themselves.

The Military Boondoggles – Waste, Fraud and Abuse

Based on a 2009 General Accounting review of defense acquisition programs, two-thirds of the programs suffered from cost overruns and delays and generally didn't meet modern military needs. Twenty-five years worth of engineering speculation on future wars, and the products are still being designed to fight past wars.

The systems reviewed included ballistic missile defense, the littoral combat ship, the Ford class super carrier, the F-35 fighter, various so-called mine-resistant vehicles, a robotic combat system, an Armed Forces intranet and a global information grid. Most of them sprang from that Global Strategic Mandate which fostered a culture of contracting-gone-wild in thrall of high-tech warfare.

What to Do?

We need a new Army mandate. That's the bottom line. And here I think Andrew Bacevich has the right idea. We must return to some sort of draft or compulsory service.

How we engage with the world matters to policy wonks, peaceniks, professional soldiers and arms makers. Renewing the draft is one way to make global diplomacy matter to us all.

A Vision for Peace: Affordable Care for All

by **Abbe Sudvarg**
PEP Board Chair

My work with the PEP goes hand in hand with my job as a family practice physician at one of the Federally Qualified Health Centers. The mission of these Community Health Centers is to provide quality health care to patients, regardless of ability to pay.

Community Health Centers are primary care facilities, but there are limits to the care they can provide.

Some of the limits are a matter of sheer volume—there are more uninsured people than there are doctors, nurse practitioners and nurses to fill the needs. Another limitation is the services—specialty services and critical care are not services available within our walls.

I was thrilled when the Affordable Care Act was passed. As a firm proponent of a single-payer system, I feel there are deficits in the law. But

the part that felt most important is the portion that expands Medicaid. Finally, my patients, when really ill, would have coverage!

I have many stories of patients who have declined necessary care because they were afraid of the bills that they would accrue. One of my patients in her 50s stayed home for hours with chest pain until the pain became so unbearable that she just couldn't stand it any more.

She worked hard for a living and owned a small home in St. Louis, but she had no health insurance. She was afraid that the expense of an Emergency Room visit would cost her her home. She shared her home with her son, who had a traumatic brain injury from a car accident, and his little girl whom she was helping raise. She has health insurance now because she now is on disability.

One of the greatest tragedies in this story is that any of my patients with similar circumstances are no better off today. For two years in a row, the Missouri legislature has refused to accept Medicaid expansion dollars.

By 2022, Missouri will lose about \$1.7 billion dollars in Federal revenue that would come with Medicaid expansion if our state continues to decline. Medicaid expansion would be so valuable to Missouri's economy that the Missouri Chamber of Commerce and Industry hired retired Senator Christopher (Kit) Bond to lobby his fellow Republicans in favor of the expansion.

Unfortunately, not even a conservative Republican like Senator Bond

could talk sense into our Missouri legislature. About 300,000 Missourians will remain uninsured—Missourians who are too poor to qualify for the Affordable Care Act private exchanges and too wealthy to qualify for Medicaid.

According to a study prepared by the University of Missouri Columbia School of Medicine, Medicaid expansion would have brought to the state of Missouri an estimated 24,000 new jobs in 2014, with 22,175 of them sustained through 2020. It is estimated that these new jobs would have produced a labor income (employee compensation) impact of approximately \$977 million in 2014 and would continue to produce approximately \$992 million in 2020.

So doesn't the Missouri legislature want new jobs in Missouri?

Last year, the State Senate seemed to want to bring new jobs when they passed a tax incentive to attract a Boeing 777X jetliner plant to St. Louis. The tax benefit to Boeing? \$1.7 billion dollars of uncollected tax dollars over the next 20 years—about the same amount of revenue that would be gained by the state in Federal dollars over the same period of time if Medicaid were expanded.

I have been the Board Chair of the Peace Economy Project for over 15 years and a physician for almost 30. For me, a peace economy will only come when the health of our citizens is no longer a political battleground, but is instead an assured right for all.



WILPF member protests excessive war funding on Tax Day.

Are You Kidding Me?: Climate Not a Priority

by **Charles Kindleberger**
PEP Board Member

This spring there has been one report after another about the impending dangers of global warming: rising seas, the loss of species, declining agricultural yields, death of coral reefs and potential large scale human migrations caused by the loss of coastal areas, floods and droughts. These reports have been prepared by expert scientists based on empirical data collected around the world.

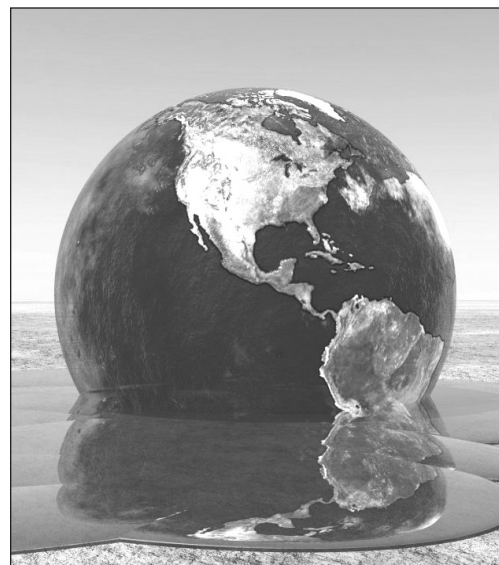
Now read the language approved by all but four Republican members (227 of 231) of the House of Representatives as part of the National Defense Authorization Act.

“None of the funds authorized to be appropriated or otherwise made available by this act may be used to implement the U.S. Global Research Program National Climate Assessment, the Intergovernmental

Panel on Climate Change’s Fifth Assessment Report, the United Nation’s Agenda 21 sustainable development plan or the May 2013 Technical Update of the Social Cost of Carbon for Regulatory Impact Analysis Under Executive Order.”

So does this mean that when rapid melting at the polar caps threatens the Navy’s base at Newport News, or the Marine’s base at Camp Pendleton or any of a number of key military bases, the Department of Defense should look the other way? Does it mean that as the threat of fighting around world intensifies because of drying rivers, spreading deserts and higher ocean levels, the military should forget about contingency plans?

Fortunately, there are still serious people in Washington who are concerned about climate change. They include Secretary of State John Kerry and even Republicans based on



past legislative efforts, like Senator John McCain and Lindsey Graham. But don’t get complaisant. Senator James Inhoff of Oklahoma is known as one of the worst deniers of global warming in Congress. If the Republicans win the Senate in November, the good senator is said to be in line to chair the Senate Armed Services Committee. What a World!

Peace Economy Project Annual Report 2013

Income

Members/Donations: \$8,741.00

JPS: \$7,400.00

Events/Initiatives: \$9,949.74

Grants: \$6,500.00

Miscellaneous: \$898.97

TOTAL: \$33,489.71

Expenses

Wages: \$24,619.84

Outreach (Events/Newsletters): \$3,044.06

Office/Supplies: \$4,184.56

Fundraising: \$459.74

TOTAL: \$32,308.20

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PEP is a proud member of Justice and Peace Shares, a collaboration of seven local groups, all committed to nonviolent social change and justice for the poor.

JPS Shares (\$25/month) save these 7 organizations valuable time and energy otherwise spent fundraising so that they can focus on their important work for peace and justice.

JPS Shareholders are eligible for membership in any or all of the JPS groups but do not receive direct appeals for further contributions from these organizations.

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