

THE DEFENSE MONITOR

The Newsletter of the Center for Defense Information



Global Zero Co-coordinator Bruce Blair gives his presentation on the threat of nuclear weapons at the Global Zero inaugural conference in Paris.

Global Zero Kicks-Off Successfully in Paris in Advance of Historic U.S.-Russia Announcement

MATT BROWN, GLOBAL ZERO CO-COORDINATOR

GLOBAL ZERO was publicly launched at its inaugural conference in Paris on Dec. 9, 2008 – bringing together a truly extraordinary group of more than 100 leaders from around the world toward the goal of a world without nuclear weapons. They discussed the outline for a step-by-step policy plan for the phased elimination of nuclear weapons and the public education and outreach plan for the coming year. The meeting generated widespread enthusiasm, as well as serious and constructive dialogue among participants.

The media coverage of the conference was extensive and positive, including more than 1,800 placements around the world (print, online, television and radio), in publications including *BBC News*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde*, *The New York Times*, *Reuters*, *RTT News*, *Itar-Tass*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Times*, *The Washington Post* and the *People's Daily*, among many others.

The conference made an immediate impact in capitals around the world. It was linked, as reported by the *The New York Times*, to the let-

ter calling for nuclear disarmament written to the United Nations by French President Nicolas Sarkozy on behalf of the European Union. On the first day of the conference, British Foreign Secretary David Miliband declared that the British government shared Global Zero's aims; the day after the conference, Sir Malcolm Rifkind delivered a speech in the British Parliament supporting Global Zero. President Carter announced in his remarks to the conference the support of The Elders (Nelson Mandela's global leadership group).

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» Please note that *The Defense Monitor* is now being published on a quarterly basis.

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HISTORIC ANNOUNCEMENT ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS

APRIL 1, 2009

“We committed our two countries to achieving a nuclear free world, while recognizing that this long-term goal will require a new emphasis on arms control and conflict resolution measures, and their full implementation by all concerned nations.”

Joint Statement by President Dmitry Medvedev of the Russian Federation and President Barack Obama of the United States of America

GLOBAL ZERO LEADERS' REACTIONS TO THE U.S. AND RUSSIAN PRESIDENTS' JOINT STATEMENT

Air Chief Marshal Shashindra Pal Tyagi (Indian Air Force, ret.)

“India has always supported the vision of a nuclear weapons free world. Now that the leaders of the U.S. and Russia have declared their desire to achieve global zero, India needs to actively support the movement and participate in a multinational initiative to ensure a phased, verifiable and time-bound program to eliminate all nuclear weapons.”

Gen. Jehangir Karamat (ret.), former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Pakistan

“The Obama-Medvedev declaration is a very real and tangible step towards reduction of nuclear weapons and transcends regional and other concerns. Pakistan should, and I am sure will, be supportive of this initiative.”

Maj. Gen. Peng Guangqian (ret.), Chinese Defense Analyst

“Elimination of all nuclear weapons globally is a long process, but most importantly, the U.S. and Russia have taken the first step. China always advocates a complete ban and ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons. As a country with nuclear weapons, China has demonstrated that it will not avoid the responsibility and obligation in nuclear disarmament.”

Malcolm Rifkind, former Foreign Secretary and Defence Secretary of the United Kingdom

“It is critical that all of the other nuclear powers commit now to participating in multilateral negotiations on an agreement to eliminate all nuclear weapons worldwide – global zero. Getting to global zero will require the phased and verified reduction of all nations’ nuclear arsenals over many years. It is urgent that we begin now.”

Within a few hours of the Paris launch, people from 85 countries signed the Global Zero declaration, spontaneously started Facebook groups and local efforts, and offered to help in numerous ways – the first seeds of a global public campaign. At the launch, Global Zero leaders released the results of their recently commissioned poll of 21 countries that shows overwhelming worldwide public support for an international agreement to eliminate all nuclear weapons. In 20 of the 21 countries, large majorities ranging from 62 to 93 percent favor such an agreement. The only exception is Pakistan, where a plurality of 46 percent favors the plan, while 41 percent are opposed. All nations known to have nuclear weapons were included in the poll, except North Korea where public polling is not available.

In advance of the historic Obama-Medvedev meeting, more than 100 international leaders on the forefront of the Global Zero initiative urged the U.S. and Russian presidents to work toward dramatic reductions of U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals and to commit to a longer-term effort to eliminate nuclear weapons worldwide. Chuck Hagel, a former U.S. senator, and Ambassador Richard Burt, the former U.S. chief negotiator for START, met with Russian President Dmitry Medvedev in Moscow, where eliminating nuclear weapons was discussed. Hagel and Burt gave letters to presidents Obama and Medvedev, co-signed by more than 90 Global Zero leaders, urging bold action toward eliminating nuclear weapons.

On April 1, Presidents Obama and Medvedev jointly “...committed [their] two countries to achieving a nuclear free world...” and “...agreed to

pursue new and verifiable reductions in [their] strategic offensive arsenals in a step-by-step process, beginning by replacing the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty with a new, legally-binding treaty." Three days later in Prague, President Obama gave a speech reinforcing his commitment to leading an international effort to eliminate all nuclear weapons.

Global Zero is developing a step-by-step Action Plan for the phased elimination of nuclear weapons – including de-alerting and deep reductions of U.S. and Russian arsenals, establishing verification systems, international management of the fuel cycle; and phased reductions of all arsenals to zero. It will convene a world summit in early 2010 that will provide support to U.S. and Russian arms reduction efforts, and present to all governments, the global public, and the media the rationale and strategy for eliminating nuclear weapons, catalyzing the initiation of the Global Zero governmental negotiations process.

Global Zero leaders include nine former heads of state; eight former foreign ministers from the United States, Russia, Britain and India; three former defense ministers from the United States and Britain; six former national security advisors from the United States, India and Pakistan; and nineteen former top military commanders from the United States, Russia, China, Britain, India and Pakistan. ■



JOIN THE GLOBAL CAMPAIGN
Sign the declaration
www.globalzero.org

Congress Reintroduces Cluster Munitions Civilian Protection Act

DOUG TUTTLE, CDI RESEARCH ASSISTANT

On Wednesday, Feb. 11, 2009 Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., and Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif., will reintroduce The Cluster Munitions Civilian Protection Act of 2009 to Congress. The bill prohibits the use of cluster munitions with a dud rate greater than one percent and forbids any use of cluster munitions in civilian-populated areas.

Cluster munitions are large air-dropped or rocket-launched canisters that are designed to open at a specified altitude and scatter smaller sub-munitions over wide areas. The weapons have been criticized by governments and nongovernmental activists for being inaccurate and indiscriminate, as well as unreliable. Many cluster munitions systems leave behind large numbers of unexploded submunitions, which act as de facto landmines that threaten civilians and local communities long after conflict has subsided. On Dec. 3, 2008, 94 countries signed an international treaty banning cluster munitions. The United States was not among them.

The Cluster Munitions Civilian Protection Act of 2009 is a reincarnation of a 2007 bill with the same name, which failed to make it out of committee in both the House and Senate. Lawmakers have updated the 2009 bill in order to reflect recent changes in U.S. policy on cluster munitions. For example, the new bill does not contain language prohibiting the sale and transfer of cluster munitions with higher than 1 percent dud rates, as a provision prohibiting

such transfers was passed in the 2008 Omnibus Budget.

Under the Bush administration, U.S. cluster munitions policy frustrated opponents of their use. The United States last used cluster munitions in the invasion of Iraq in 2003, but the U.S. military still has up to 1 billion submunitions stockpiled. In July 2008, faced with growing international pressure, the Pentagon released a new policy announcing that, after 2018, it will limit the use of cluster munitions to more reliable systems (those that, "after arming, do not result in more than one percent of unexploded ordnance across the range of intended operational environments"). While new policy recognizes the humanitarian concerns associated with unexploded ordnance caused by cluster bombs, opponents believe that it offers too little, too late.

The Obama administration has not yet articulated its position on the new treaty. Thus, advocates in Congress are proposing legislation to push U.S. policy closer to that of its major allies. Proponents of the bill say that passage would save lives and bring the United States more in line with international norms and standards.

After it is introduced, the bill will be referred to the Senate Armed Services Committee. On the House side, Rep. Jim McGovern, D-Mass., Rep. Betty McCollum, D-Minn., Rep. Darrell Issa, D-Calif., Rep. Charles Boustany, R-La., James Moran, D-Va., and Rep. Keith Ellison, D-Minn., will also introduce the bill to the House. ■



The Moment for Eliminating Nuclear Weapons is Now

CONTRIBUTORS: Chuck Hagel (former U.S. senator), Igor S. Ivanov (former Russian minister of foreign affairs), Richard R. Burt (former U.S. chief negotiator, Strategic Arms Reduction Talks), Igor Yurgens (chairman of the Institute of Contemporary Development), General John J. Sheehan (former commander in chief, United States Atlantic Command) and Colonel-General Evgeny Maslin (former chief of the Main Directorate, Russian Ministry of Defense – was responsible for the security of Russia’s nuclear arsenal).

Global Zero



Pictured at the December 2008 Global Zero conference in Paris are, from left to right, Air Chief Marshal Shashindra Pal Tyagi (Indian Air Force, ret.), Gen. John J. Sheehan (U.S. Marine Corps, ret.), and Dr. Jennifer Allen Simons, president of The Simons Foundation.

WHEN PRESIDENTS BARACK OBAMA and Dmitry Medvedev meet today for the first time, they will have an historic opportunity to confront the most urgent security threat to our world: the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the risk of nuclear terrorism. The two leaders can move beyond traditional arms control and, in a bold move, set the world on a course towards the total elimination of all nuclear weapons – global zero.

In London, they should agree that the United States and the Russian Federation will begin work immediately to achieve an accord for deep reductions in their arsenals and

then lead a longer-term effort with other nuclear powers to eliminate all nuclear weapons worldwide through phased and verified reductions.

Today nine countries have more than 23,000 nuclear weapons, many of which are programmed to launch in minutes. A nuclear conflict – or accident – could cause millions to die in a flash and create an environmental catastrophe that would last for generations.

Terrorist groups have been trying to buy, build or steal nuclear weapons, and in the last two decades there have been at least 25 instances of nuclear explosive materials being lost or

stolen. If terrorists were to get their hands on a bomb and explode it in a big city, hundreds of thousands of people would die instantly.

We believe that whatever stabilizing impact nuclear weapons may have had during the Cold War, in the new security environment of the 21st century any residual benefits of these arsenals are overshadowed by the growing risks of proliferation and terrorism.

In response, we, along with more than 100 others, have formed Global Zero, an international, non-partisan initiative dedicated to achieving a binding, verifiable agreement to eliminate all nuclear weapons. Many of us have worked at senior levels with issues of national security in the nuclear weapons states and key non-nuclear countries. Our group includes nine former heads of state; eight former foreign ministers from the United States, Russia, Britain and India; three former defense ministers from the United States and Britain; six former national security advisers from the United States, India and Pakistan; and 19 former top military

commanders from the United States, Russia, China, Britain, India and Pakistan. With a clear, realistic and pragmatic appreciation of the challenges of achieving our goal, Global Zero is developing a step-by-step plan for getting to zero.

This will not happen overnight nor unilaterally. Getting to global zero will require the reduction of all nations' arsenals over many years. Because American and Russian stockpiles account for 96 percent of the world's nuclear weapons, these two countries should begin with deep reductions to their arsenals, while beginning a dialogue with the other nuclear weapons states. Clearly, multilateral negotiations for global zero with China, France, India, Britain, Pakistan and Israel must deal effectively with concrete national and regional security concerns. Progress on this agenda will be accelerated if the pressing issues of preventing Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons and getting North Korea to relinquish its nuclear arsenal are solved. A commitment by nuclear powers to begin serious negotiations for global zero would strengthen the case against any non-nuclear nation that strives to acquire nuclear weapons.

Needless to say, this is an ambitious agenda, so it is important to begin now. The usual arms control approach and half-measures will not suffice while nuclear weapons spread and terrorists work to obtain them. A far-reaching joint initiative by presidents Obama and Medvedev would fortify the 2010 Non-Proliferation

Treaty Review Conference, bolster existing efforts to prevent and roll back proliferation, and set the stage for the first ever multilateral negotiation on nuclear reductions. This is only a beginning, but it sets the course for the world's future.

So far, the statements out of both Washington and Moscow are reassuring. Last July, Mr Obama said: "It is time to... stop the spread of nuclear weapons; and to reduce the arsenals from another era. This is the moment to begin the work of seeking the peace of a world without nuclear weapons." Last month, Mr. Medvedev declared that his country "is fully committed to reaching the goal of a world free from these most deadly weapons."

They and a growing number of hard-nosed realists around the world understand that, as long as nuclear weapons exist, they will continue to spread, increasing the chance that they will be used. Total elimination of all nuclear weapons is the only real solution.

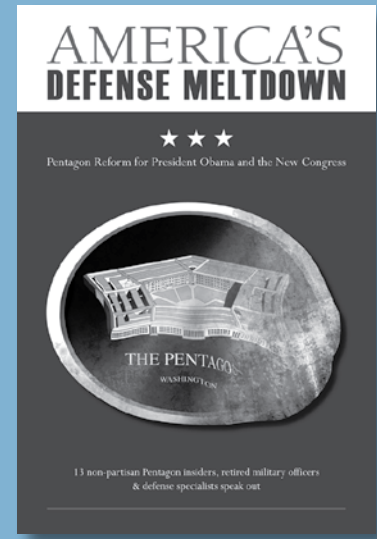
If presidents Obama and Medvedev seize this historic moment, a new generation will look back on April 1, 2009, as the moment when two leaders confronted the greatest threat to our survival, the nuclear shadow of the last century began to lift and our course was set toward a world without nuclear weapons. ■

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The article above was first published by The Times of London on April 1, 2009 as "Scrapping nuclear arms is now real-politik."

"So today, I state clearly and with conviction America's commitment to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons."

President Barack Obama, April 5, 2009

CDI BOOKS



"America's Defense Meltdown" Earns National Media Attention

The Straus Military Reform Project's new military reform anthology for the Obama administration, "America's Defense Meltdown," has received widespread coverage in the mainstream media since its release in December 2008.

The discussion event of the book at the Stewart R. Mott Charitable Trust in Washington, D.C. on Feb. 19 was covered by C-Span 2's "Book TV." In addition, acclaimed journalist and author James Fallows listed the book as one of the top 25 that President Obama should read in the *Washington Monthly*. Other media sources that have cited "America's Defense Meltdown" include Asia Times Online, *Forbes*, *Publisher's Weekly* and the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, among many others.

Due to its success, "America's Defense Meltdown" is being republished by Stanford University Press, and is available in paperback and "Kindle" e-reader format through Amazon.com.

The Problem of Pork at the Pentagon

WINSLOW T. WHEELER, DIRECTOR, CDI STRAUS MILITARY REFORM PROJECT, AND PIERRE M. SPREY

UNTIL LAST SUMMER, JUST ABOUT

everyone on Wall Street was dismissing the indicators of coming financial collapse. Similarly, no one in the lobbyist infested halls of Congress and the Pentagon wants to see the signposts of our impending defense meltdown. But consider four ugly facts:

- Defense is being showered with more dollars today than at any time since the end of World War II.
- The forces the Pentagon has been buying with those growing dollars have been shrinking steadily since 1946.
- These shrinking forces are more and more antiquated: the average age of our aircraft, ships, and tanks has been increasing relentlessly since the '50s.
- Despite all the extra money, training is shrinking, too. Key combat units are being sent to fight in Iraq and Afghanistan with less and less training.

How did the Bush administration deal with these uncomfortable truths? On their way out of town, they left a five year plan that exacerbates each of the four harbingers. Re-appointed by Obama and now stuck with that plan, Defense Secretary Robert Gates needs to decide if he wants to be Bush's holdover or morph into Barack Obama's new broom, bringing change to bad old Pentagon ideas, some of them his own.

In his farewell article in last fall's *Foreign Affairs* and in his welcome-back testimony to the House and Senate in January, Gates decried a defense budget riddled with "baroque" and irrelevant weapons at unaffordable cost. He warned, "the spigot of defense funding opened by 9/11 is closing."

This is important, perhaps prophetic, rhetoric. But if, like Greenspan's "irrational exuberance," Gates' ringing words remain untainted by action, they will simply mask festering problems. If, on the other hand, he decides to act, his first task must be to control the root of the evil, the money.

To understand, we need only to look at what we've spent and the forces those dollars have bought. According to Defense Department budget plans and records, at over \$670 billion for 2009, we will be spending more on the Pentagon than at any point since 1946. In inflation adjusted dollars, the Pentagon budget is higher today than at its peaks for either Korea or Vietnam – though both of those wars were far larger than our current wars.

This significantly expanded budget buys us dramatically shriveled forces. The major combat units that make up our Army, Navy and Air Force are at their lowest ebb since 1946.

Specifically, at just over ten Army division equivalents, we have the smallest combat Army in the last 60 years, at the highest budget since the end of World War II. For past modern conflicts, there were major Army expansions, but for Iraq and Afghani-

stan, a very modest plan to add 60,000 soldiers for new combat formations has not even begun to show up in Army records, though the \$100-plus billion cost has.

Similarly, we now have a smaller Navy, under 300 combat ships, than at any point since 1946, but the Navy's budget is now above the historic norm for the post-World War II era. In the same way, the number of wings of fighters and tactical bombers in the Air Force has collapsed from 61 in 1957 to just ten today. The budget? Also well above the historic norm.

The five-year plan Gates dropped on Obama's doorstep continues this shrinkage, according to the Congressional Budget Office, leaving us with key weapons that are older and scarcer than ever.

Symptoms of our unpreparedness abound: tank drivers get fewer training miles today than they did during the readiness-cutting Clinton administration. Fighter pilots get fewer training hours in the air than during the hollow defense years of the Carter administration. And the latest public readiness ratings reveal that not one major Army combat unit in the United States was rated fully ready to go to war – not even the ones sent to battle in Iraq and Afghanistan.

More money has not solved these problems. Quite the contrary: it enables the Pentagon and the Congress to make them worse. Beyond the extra \$800 billion appropriated since 2001 ostensibly to fight the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the non-war Pentagon budget has been showered with an additional \$750 billion.



The F-22's widely advertised prowess has yet to be demonstrated since going operational in 2006. Highly touted, the F-22 has flown exactly zero combat sorties in Iraq and Afghanistan.

That money was squandered by a defense acquisition system that sheds the feeble reforms of witless Pentagon officials like a Labrador shakes off water. Squandering at least as much, congressmen heaved billions more in pork, pandering to the hordes of defense contractors seeking handouts.

A classic example of how more money leads to force decay is our Air Force, now in the final stages of spending \$65 billion for the F-22 fighter aircraft. All that money bought a disgracefully puny inventory of 184 at an unconscionable \$355 million per fighter – about three times the price initially promised. These will replace less than half of the 450 F-15 fighters now in the Air Force and obviously cannot reverse the aging of the fleet.

But isn't the F-22 a vastly supe-

rior fighter? Won't all that hyper-expensive technology offset the small numbers?

No. The F-22's widely advertised prowess depends on a fantasy concocted by high tech big spenders shortly after the Korean War: "beyond visual range" air combat. The plan was to identify the enemy as a blip on the radar, lock on with a 15-mile radar missile, fire, and watch the blip disappear.

The ugly reality is that every time we've tried that, from Vietnam to Iraq, with more than a handful of friendly and enemy fighters in the air the "identify the enemy blip" part fails and we wind up shooting at friends. The engagement rules have to be changed to "eyeball identification required," and we're back to

hard maneuvering dogfights.

The F-22 is the distillation of that failed dream. The huge weight, drag and complexity burden of its stealth-compromised skin, big-ticket radar and belly-fattening radar missile load have swollen it to bomber size, wrecked its maneuvering performance, and run its cost through the roof. The radar is useless because turning it on makes the F-22 an instant target. The stealth fails against World War II-technology search radars and against enemy fighters that are savvy enough to turn off their radars. The F-22's vaunted effectiveness is based on peacetime exercises using rigged ground rules and missile lethality numbers unrelated to actual combat results or real enemy countermeasures. Even more telling is the number of combat sorties the F-22 has flown in Iraq or Afghanistan since going operational in 2006: zero.

And how do the Pentagon and Congress deal with the crushing cost and ineffectiveness of the F-22? In Bush's Pentagon last year, Gates found the pros and cons of spending yet more on the F-22 to be such a "close call" that he punted the decision to the new secretary of defense. Now in receipt of his own punt, Gates is huddling with Obama's "new" Pentagon team (mainly retreaded Clintonites) cogitating over the fate of the F-22.

Insiders say that they're coming up with a classic compromise guaranteed to make everything worse: buy a few more F-22s now and pay for them by "saving" money out of the clearly unraveling F-35 Joint Strike Fighter program.

The F-35, still in its early stages, is headed for major cost overruns, schedule delays, and performance calamities, perhaps even surpassing the F-22 mess.

But will the new Gates team really save money in the F-35 program? Not a chance. The business-as-usual plan doesn't terminate the F-35, which would save serious money; it just delays production. That allows temporary transfer of the money needed now to keep the F-22 slurping at the public trough and kicks the can down the road for the F-35. The stretch-out only makes the F-35 more expensive, which in turn further reduces the force size – all to keep alive a deeply flawed, unfixable design.

Multiply this approach by the thousands of hardware programs then raid the personnel, maintenance, and training accounts to pay for the hardware overruns and presto: you get our shrinking, aging, less ready to fight defense forces.

And how do they react in the halls of Congress and the Pentagon? Send more money.

Civilian and military politicians learned from their experience with Clinton that Democrats can be cowed by labeling them “anti-defense” if they dare to deny the Pentagon anything. The military services, contractors and their media propagandists hammered away at Clinton until he coughed up annual budgets well in excess of what Bush 41 and his secretary of defense, Dick Cheney, planned for the 1990s. Meanwhile, Republicans in Congress larded those bloated Clinton budget requests with add-on appropriations. Uninterested in spending on battlefield necessities for the troops such as training, maintenance, ammunition, body armor, and the like, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Congress piled on pricey items like the F-22. Come Sept. 11 and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, our grunts were painfully short of what they needed most in real war – and

paid the price in blood.

Now we are seeing exactly the same games – and the same game players – being trotted out to force Obama to run up the defense budget. Here are a few of the gambits:

The Add-Fat-Before-Cutting Scheme

Last summer, Secretary Gates and the Pentagon conjured up a pre-emptive fattening of the budget they were handing to the next president, adding a \$60 billion nest egg. In February 2009, Obama's Office of Management and Budget blocked the play and restored the pumped-up 2010 Pentagon budget to its original figure, a not inconsiderable \$527 billion, a \$12 billion increase over 2009. Not surprisingly, the big spenders are calling this an Obama defense budget “cut.”

The Prime-the-Pump Scheme

Like Wall Street and its economist spinmeisters, the defense contractors and their Pentagon allies are jumping on the stimulus bandwagon, asking for \$30 billion. Of course, DOD spending generates jobs. Unfortunately, it does so more slowly, less efficiently, and with much more overhead than other government spending – or even tax cuts. We'd be hard-pressed to come up with a worse way of stimulating the economy than pouring extra dollars into outrageously expensive Pentagon programs already in trouble.

The Unforeseen-Emergency Scheme

The Gates Pentagon has yet to submit its money plan for war spending, as opposed to its plan for “normal” Pentagon spending, for the rest of 2009 and for 2010. Since the Vietnam War, these “emergency supplementals” have been hiding holes for superfluous spending unrelated to the wars, stuffed in by both the Pentagon and

Congress. Will the Obama administration bring “change” to the hidden abuse of war funding?

The Unapproved-Wish-List Scheme

Each year for the last 15 or so, the military services have sent Congress a list of spending programs euphemistically called “unfunded requirements,” amounting to tens of billions of dollars. None of these additional billions are reviewed by a secretary of defense or a president. They constitute an end-run by the military services for unapproved spending, with Congress acting as a willing enabler. It would be a sign that the spigot overflow of Sept. 11 is indeed drying up if Gates puts an end to this flouting of his and the president's authority.

The unending proliferation of such schemes has rotted America's defenses to the core. We've had 45 years of reform initiatives, and each has fizzled. We'll know that the Obama administration has snipped this unbroken string of failures when Secretary Gates translates his rhetoric into actions that change the money flow. And there's no better place to start than by axing a few of these Pentagon budget-busters – his own included. ■

Winslow T. Wheeler is the director of the Straus Military Reform Project at CDI. Pierre M. Sprey was a major participant in the formulation of the F-16 and the A-10. Both contributed chapters to the recently released book “America's Defense Meltdown.”

The article above was first published by The American Conservative on March 9, 2009 as “Playing Defense.”

Assist the U.S. Economy

Cut the Defense Budget

WINSLOW T. WHEELER, DIRECTOR
CDI STRAUS MILITARY REFORM PROJECT

AS THE ECONOMIC NEWS DARKENS in the United States, the ideas for stimulating new jobs get worse. A sure-fire way to advance deeper into recession is now being spread around: spend even more on the Department of Defense (DOD). Doing that will not generate new jobs effectively and it will perpetuate serious problems in the Pentagon. The newly inaugurated President Barack Obama would be well advised to go in precisely the opposite direction.

Harvard economics professor Martin Feldstein has advocated in the *Wall Street Journal* ("Defense Spending Would Be Great Stimulus," Dec. 24, 2008) the addition of \$30 billion or so to the Pentagon's budget for the purpose of generating 300,000 new jobs. I assert, however, that pushing the DOD as a jobs engine is a mistake.

With its huge overhead costs, glacial payout rates and ultra-high costs of materials, the Pentagon can generate jobs by spending but neither as many nor as soon as is suggested.

A classic foible is Feldstein's recommendation to surge the economy with "additional funding [that] would allow the [U.S.] Air Force to increase the production of fighter planes". The U.S. Air Force has two fighter aircraft in production: the F-22 Raptor and the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF). The F-22 has reached the end of approved production (with 183 units) but the Air Force would love at least 60 more. However, even if Congress appropri-

ated today the \$11 billion needed for them, the work would not start until 2010: too late for the stimulus everyone agrees is needed now.

Feldstein thinks it can be otherwise. He is probably thinking of the World War II model where production lines cranked out thousands of aircraft each month: as fast as the government could stuff money, materials and workers into the assembly line.

The problem is that there is no such assembly line for the F-22. Although they are fabricated in a large facility where aircraft production hummed in bygone eras, F-22s are today hand-built, pre-Henry Ford style. Go to Lockheed Martin's plant – you will find no detectable movement of aircraft out the door. Instead you will see workers applying parts in a manner more evocative of hand-crafting. This "production rate" generates one F-22 every 18 days or so.

The current rate for the F-35, now at the start of production, is even slower, although the U.S. Air Force would like to get its rate up to a whopping 10 to 15 aircraft per month.

Why don't just speed things up?

We can't. The specialized materials that the F-22 requires must be purchased a year or two ahead of time and, with advance contracting and all the other regulations that exist today, the Pentagon's bureaucracy is functionally incapable of speeding production up anytime soon, if ever.

In fact, adding more F-22 production money will not increase the production rate or the total number of jobs involved. It will simply extend the current F-22 production rate of 20 aircraft per year into the future. Ex-

isting jobs will be saved but no new jobs will be created.

The \$11 billion cost of 60 additional F-22s is more than a third of the \$30 billion that Feldstein wants to give to the DOD. How he would create 300,000 new jobs with the rest of the money is a mystery. More F-22 spending would be a money surge for Lockheed Martin but not a jobs engine for the nation.

Even if one could speed up production of the other fighter, the JSF, it would be stupid to do so. The F-35 is just beginning the testing phase and it has been having some major problems, requiring design changes. That discovery process is far from over. The aircraft should be put into full



The F-35 Lightning II program is currently in the test phase and is headed for major cost overruns, schedule delays and performance calamities.

production after, not before, all the needed modifications are identified.

Over-anxious to push things along much too quickly to permit a "fly before you buy" strategy, the U.S. Air Force has already scheduled the production of around 500 F-35s before testing is complete. Going even more quickly would make a bad acquisition plan even worse. ■

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The full version of this article first appeared in the Jan. 28, 2009 issue of Jane's Defence Weekly. This excerpt is reprinted here with permission.

There is an urgent need for the materialization of a high-level and long-term articulation of U.S. nuclear policy.



DOE Complex Transformation Program

CDI Senior Advisor Philip Coyle Testifies on Capitol Hill

EZEKIEL TAN, CDI RESEARCH ASSISTANT

CDI SENIOR ADVISOR PHILIP COYLE TESTIFIED to the Subcommittee on Energy and Water of the House Committee on Appropriations on “The Future of the Department of Energy (DOE) Complex Transformation Program” on March 17, 2009.

At the hearing, Coyle points out that there is an urgent need for the materialization of a high-level and long-term articulation of U.S. nuclear policy. Key players such as the White House, the Department of Defense (DOD), DOE/National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) and Congress need to develop and agree upon a policy and plan that has bipartisan support for the future nuclear weapons program and can be supported by this and future administrations.

In his opinion, the forthcoming final report of the Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States and the Obama administration’s Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) will form the basis for planning complex transformation. It will be futile for the Department of Energy to try to proceed with complex transformation without these two important documents.

According to the DOE/NNSA section of the top-line 2010 budget request released by the Obama administration on Feb. 26, “development work on the Reliable Replacement Warhead (RRW) will cease, while continued work to improve the nuclear stockpile safety, security and reliability is enhanced with more expansive life extension programs.”

Coyle expects the DOE to revise its plan for the NNSA complex transformation since the transformation program was previously sized to build RRWs, while also continuing regular stockpile stewardship activities with the existing nuclear weapons stockpile.

In order for DOE to remain consistent in its commitment to transform the NNSA production complex “into smaller and more efficient operations,” conflicting goals of sustaining a status quo stockpile and having surge capacity to rapidly build more nuclear weapons in an emergency need to be reconciled.

The existing complex transformation effort has assumed that the United States will and should maintain a nuclear arsenal of roughly 6,000 warheads for at least 50 years. However, the total U.S. stockpile is already much smaller than that number. It was reported by *The Washington Post* and the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* that the United States has successfully reduced that number to the upper limit level of 2,200 as required under the Moscow Treaty in February 2009. As such, Coyle cautions the subcommittee not to fund any complex transformation programs based on outmoded assumptions.

If the United States is committed to further reductions to its nuclear weapons stockpile, then building an expensive, high-capacity plutonium-

pit production facility is not necessary when the options of reusing and recycling pits are available. For example, the Pantex Plant in the United States is currently authorized to “reuse” up to 350 pits per year – far less expensive and environmentally damaging than production of new pits.

Coyle suggests that it would be helpful to the administration and Congress if the NNSA carries out a new study on its current complex transformation plans for workload assumptions that create significant benefits in the relative cost and schedule to achieve a particular capacity. He believes that such a study could possibly be regarded as a first step in thinking through the type of adaptive production complex the United States might need in the coming decades.

At the same time, the Pentagon has been slowly but surely shifting away from the nuclear option in almost all of its war plans. The continuing development of the Prompt Global Strike (PGS) program and framework demonstrates that U.S. military planners desire conventional options to deal with situations where it requires swift action or response to attack targets at long ranges on short notice.

In conclusion, Coyle urges the subcommittee to duly consider the international arms control implications of the proposed complex transformation program. If the tables were turned and Russia and/or China were building a new industrial capacity to sustain a nuclear weapons stockpile twice as large as they have previously officially stated, the United States would probably be suspicious and question their true intentions. ■

Read the full prepared testimony of Philip Coyle at <http://www.cdi.org/pdfs/CoyleHouseDOE3.09.pdf>.

CDI NEWS



A group of demobilized child soldiers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

CDI's Stohl Helps Achieve Congressional Legislation Discouraging Use of Child Soldiers

CDI Senior Analyst Rachel Stohl and her research on child soldiers played an important role in establishing legislation by Congress that will cease U.S. military assistance to countries involved in the use of children as soldiers. On Dec. 10, 2008, the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives unanimously passed the child soldier legislation, designated “Title IV – Child Soldiers Prevention,” as part of the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008. Stohl provided the data, analysis and expertise for the initiative led by Sens. Richard Durbin, D-Ill., and Sam Brownback, R-Kan. While restricting military aid, including weapon sales and foreign military financing, countries deemed to be utilizing child soldiers can receive some assistance to professionalize their militaries if they implement steps to eliminate the use of child soldiers, or stop supporting troops using child soldiers. Currently, possible countries affected by the legislation include Afghanistan, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Uganda. The United States is only the second country, after Belgium, to adopt this type of legislation.

Did You Know?

In Sri Lanka, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (L.T.T.E.) instituted a “one family, one fighter” policy, forcing each family to provide at least one member, including children, to the L.T.T.E. The group forcibly recruited (or rerecruited) 160 children during 2007 with an average age of 16 years. At year’s end 205 children remained in L.T.T.E. custody, including 1,224 who were recruited as children but were over 18 at year’s end. (2007 State Department Human Rights Reports on Child Soldiers)



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Project to Eliminate Nuclear Weapons Publicly Launched in Paris, December 2008



Pictured at the public launch of Global Zero in Paris in December 2008, are, from left to right, Princess Mabel of Orange-Nassau, Netherlands, Richard Branson, British businessman, Lakhdar Brahimi, former senior Algerian diplomat and U.N. envoy, and Gro Harlem Brundtland, former prime minister of Norway.