

The Star Wars Lobby

By Edward Ericson, Jr.

America's looming plan to spend \$100 billion dollars or more on "Missile Defense" is the result not of sober analysis and enlightened leadership, but of single-minded lobbying by a few large and medium-sized defense contractors and a small coterie of determined men, many of whom have close business relationships to those companies.

Call them the Star Wars Lobby,

but understand that their ties to key congressmen and officials in the executive branch make them much more than a lobby group. In 2001 alone, they gave the U.S. a Deputy National Security Adviser, the Secretary of Defense and the Pentagon's Chief Financial Officer. Its members comprise the expert commissions that have strongly influenced Congress' authorization of missile defense expenditures, currently running at more than \$3 billion annually — and due to increase substantially. From this

small group of men, Congress has received an inflated "threat assessment" on other nations' missile capabilities, and an organizational blueprint calling for a policy of unbridled space warfare to defend against the alleged threat.

The following is not definitive or exhaustive; it merely introduces some key players in the Star Wars Lobby and illustrates its members' interlocking ties to both the policy-making elite and the military contractors who would benefit.

Frank Gaffney



**Founder and Executive Director,
Center for Security Policy (CSP)**

Founded in 1988, the non-profit CSP is the Star Wars Lobby's mother-ship. With a board boasting conservative heavyweights such as Iran-Contra figure Elliot Abrams, former drug czar and education secretary William Bennett and father of the H-bomb, Edward Teller, the center turns out a steady stream of propaganda designed to convince Americans that:

(a) the Chinese are about to launch an



- (a) InterContinental Ballistic Missile attack (ICBM) (although they actually only possess about 20 intercontinental missiles), and
- (b) so are the North Koreans (although they have zero ICBMs), and
- (c) only a missile defense system — which is actually affordable and completely dependable — can defend us.

The CSP's turning point in directing public policy came in 1998. Wrote Gaffney:

"The CSP has served as a catalyst for the intensifying debate about deployment of ballistic missile defenses. It is gratified that this goal — a priority for the organization and its Board of Advisers from the Center's inception 10 years ago — has during the second quarter of 1998 achieved what appears to be critical mass. This judgment is borne out by developments chronicled in a series of 'Decision Briefs' calling attention to: a growing chorus of editorial support for missile defenses from

America's most thoughtful columnists; increasing awareness of the availability of an effective and highly affordable means of providing near-term anti-missile protection for the American people via evolution of the Navy's AEGIS fleet air defense system; and perceptible intensification of political commitments to defending America."

He continued:

"As part of its contribution to the debate about missile defenses, the Center produced a 15-minute video entitled "America the Vulnerable." This film offers a brief tutorial about how it is that the United States came to be completely vulnerable to missile attack as a matter of state policy, and what can be done to correct this increasingly perilous condition."

CSP funders include McDonnell Douglas, Northrop Grumman, TRW, Lockheed Martin, right-wing foundations such as the Smith Richardson, Sara Scaife, the Coors foundations and Donald Rumsfeld.

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Donald Rumsfeld



Secretary of Defense; Formerly: Chairman, Commission on the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States; Chairman, Commission to Assess U.S. National Security Space Management and Organization; Board Member, Center for Security Policy; Board Member, Tribune Co.

Having moved smartly among the fields of government service, investment banking and corporate management since 1958, Rumsfeld returned to government in 1997 as chairman of the Commission on the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States, which was created by Congress largely at the behest of then-speaker Newt Gingrich (Republican-Georgia), House National Security Committee member Curt Weldon (Republican-Pennsylvania) and the committee Chairman Floyd Spence (Republican-South Carolina).

By assessing the threat in terms of worst-case scenarios, and by giving no weight at all to the considerable impediments to deploying ICBMs, the nine-member commission was able to conclude in 1998 that “the threat to the U.S.... is broader, more mature and evolving more rapidly than has been reported in estimates and reports by the Intelligence Community,” and that such

third-tier powers as North Korea and Iran could develop intercontinental ballistic missiles “within five years of a decision to do so.”

The Center for Security Policy awarded Rumsfeld its “Keeper of the Flame Award” in recognition of his contribution to their mutual cause.

In 2000, Rumsfeld was tapped to head a new, 13-member commission “to Assess United States National Security Space Management and Organization.” As with the 1998 commission, this one was packed with true believers (two men – Rumsfeld and William Graham – served on both). Rumsfeld resigned his chairmanship of this second commission in order to take the job of defense secretary and accept the commission’s findings. Among its conclusions:

- (1) The U.S. must not sign any treaties that prohibit weapons in space.
- (2) War in space is inevitable.

William Graham



Member, Rumsfeld Commission I and II; Board of Advisers, Center for Security Policy; Chairman of the board and president, National Security Research, Inc.

Graham is an expert in the electromagnetic pulse created by nuclear weapons. He has a Ph.D. in physics and sits on the board of advisers to Gaffney’s Center for Security Policy, and runs a seven-employee defense contracting company called National Security Research, Inc.

In April 1999, Graham’s small company received a piece of a four-year, \$250 million federal contract to

protect the nation’s critical infrastructures – including satellites – against physical and cyber attack.

From 1994 to 1997, he was senior vice president of the Defense Group Inc., in charge of counter-proliferation and other related defense activities. He also served as a member of the Department of Defense’s Defense Science Board Task Force on Theater Ballistic Missile Defense. From 1990 to 1993 he chaired the Defense Department’s Strategic Defense Initiative Advisory Committee. He was Science Advisor to President Reagan, and Director of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy (1986-1989).

Rep. Curt Weldon



(Republican-Pennsylvania) Member, House Armed Services Cttee.; Advisory Board, Center for Security Policy.

In 1997, Weldon was a key architect of the commission to reevaluate the ballistic missile threat – after the CIA concluded that there was no imminent threat of a missile attack on the U.S. Chaired by former and future Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, the committee’s findings jump-started the push for Star Wars.



Weldon has continued to push. He organizing a conference in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, (June 28-29, 2001) to make the case for Ballistic Missile Defense. Weldon believes it will be hard to achieve big spending hikes for Missile Defense and other “defense” programs without first building public support.

Admiral David E. Jeremiah (U.S. Navy, Ret.)



Member, Rumsfeld Commission II; President, Technology Strategies & Alliances Corporation; Board of Trustees, Mitre Corp.; Director, Alliant Techsystems, Litton Industries; Adviser, Northrop Grumman

Jeremiah epitomizes the comfortable nexus among government advisory boards and research centers, investment advisers and defense contractors: he represents all of them. As part of the

Rumsfeld Commission, Jeremiah served his country by telling Congress and the Pentagon to spend more money integrating existing war-fighting capabilities while establishing a robust military presence in space. Meanwhile, the federally funded, nonprofit Mitre Corp., of which Jeremiah is a trustee, was authoring “Joint Vision 2020,” a suggestive blueprint under which the armed services might achieve “full spectrum dominance” on land, sea, air and in space.

While helping provide this strategic rationale for spending fantastic sums defending this country against wholly theoretical threats, Jeremiah also presides over the Technology Strategies & Alliances Corporation, a strategic advisory and investment banking firm engaged primarily in the aerospace, defense, telecommunications and electronics industries.

Since 1995, Jeremiah has sat on the board of Alliant Techsystems, the defense department’s 29th largest contractor and a maker of small arms ammunition and rocket motors. He is also on the board of Litton Industries, the DOD’s No. 6 contractor and a maker of night vision equipment and lasers,

and the advisory board of Northrop Grumman, the DOD’s fifth-largest contractor.

Jeremiah also sits on the advisory boards for Texas Instruments and ManTech International, and the Defense Policy Board, which advises the secretary of defense. In that capacity, Jeremiah released in 1999 a report claiming that China had obtained — partly through espionage — design information concerning ICBM reentry vehicles. This report, which fanned the hysteria surrounding the arrest of Wen Ho Lee, the nuclear scientist falsely accused of spying for China, also put wind in the sails of congressional star warriors.

But Jeremiah is not being disingenuous. He is genuinely paranoid. Upon the release of the Rumsfeld Report II, he pointed to one satellite problem in 1998, in which 85 percent of the nation’s pagers were temporarily silenced, as a possible “space attack.” “The difficulty of space is that you can’t tell,” he told a reporter for the Associated Press. “We don’t know if the interruption of all the pagers not so long ago was an attack or an anomaly that showed up in the hardware.”

Bruce Jackson



Vice President, corporate strategy and development, Lockheed Martin; Board of Advisers, Center for Security Policy; Key Bush fundraiser; Committee to Expand NATO.

Jackson was the chairman of the Republican Party’s foreign policy platform committee during the 2000 national nominating convention. He said “I wrote the Republican Party’s foreign policy platform.” Jackson’s corporation has given \$391,000 to the Republican Party (between 1998-2001), and employees chipped in at least \$20,000 to

Bush’s campaign, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. In addition, Lockheed Martin spent more than \$8 million on lobbying on Capitol Hill in 1999 – not counting in-house lobbyists.

The party platform calls for:

- a tougher line against China,
- expansion of NATO (Jackson leads the Committee to Expand NATO [with Stephen Hadley], which has offices at the American Enterprise Institute), and, of course,
- expanded and accelerated deployment of National Missile Defense.

Duane P. Andrews



Member, Rumsfeld Commission II; Chairman, Science Applications International Corp. (SAIC).

With 41,000 employees and revenues last year of \$5.9 billion, SAIC is ranked 296 on the Fortune 500, and 10th among the Pentagon’s largest contractors. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, SAIC spent \$1.2 million in 1998 alone lobbying the fed-

eral government.

Now touting itself as a leader in computerized medical records, the company is also, and has been, a military contractor specializing in communications and organization. In 2000, SAIC received \$1.5 billion in Pentagon contracts. The company is the integration contractor for the Air Force’s Space and Missile System Center’s advanced programs.

General Howell Estes
(U.S. Air Force, Ret.)



Member, Rumsfeld Commission II; President, Howell Estes & Associates Inc. Vice Chairman, Board of Trustees, The Aerospace Corp.

Estes is a 33-year general who retired in 1998 as commander-in-chief of the North American Aerospace Defense Command and the U.S. Space Command, and commander of the Air Force Space Command headquartered at Peterson AFB, Colorado. Like Jeremiah, he now lounges in that magical hot tub where the warm currents of federal outlays meet the swirling undertow of private contractors. With one hand on the tap and the other on the drain plug, his Estes & Associates is a consulting firm to CEOs, presidents and

general managers of aerospace and telecommunications companies worldwide. Meanwhile, the private, nonprofit Aerospace Corp., whose advisory board he vice-chairs along with fellow Rumsfeld II commissioner Thomas Moorman, ranked as the Pentagon's 47th contractor in 2000, receiving more than \$334 million in Department of Defense contracts as "a leader in the application of space technology."

Estes served as a consultant to the Defense Science Board Task Force on Space Superiority. On April 4, 2000, he joined the board of directors of SpaceDev Corp., a small commercial launch firm that has partnered with Boeing to explore commercial possibilities in "deep space."

Gen. Thomas S. Moorman
(U.S. Air Force, Ret.)



Member, Rumsfeld Commission II; Vice Chairman, Board of Trustees, Aerospace Corp.; Vice President and partner, Booz, Allen & Hamilton; Director, Smiths Industries

Smiths Industries is a British conglomerate concentrating on medical and aerospace industries. Booz, Allen & Hamilton was the Department of Defense's (DoD) 34th top contractor in 1999 with about \$420 million in contracts for everything from missile defense to the Milstar program. Moorman's position is described as "vice president-Air Force programs," putting him in the thick of the Star Wars boodle. His expertise was sought by Lockheed Martin (LM), which tapped him in 1999 as vice chairman of their Space & Strategic Missiles Sector review team to:

"assess program management, engineering and manufacturing proc-

esses..., quality control procedures." The independent panel was formed when LM experienced four launch failures over an eight-month period costing more than \$3 billion that year.

This is a "one strike and you're out business," Moorman said.

"Therefore, Lockheed Martin needs to demonstrate to its DoD customers that it is putting in place rigorous quality control procedures, especially for Titan IV, perhaps equivalent to those that apply to human space flight."

The panel's harsh professional judgment: "excessive cost cutting" was to blame for the failures. It recommended raises for Lockheed engineers.

Moorman, an expert on the space "industrial base," believes should be expanded, and in 2001 he took part in the U.S. military's first (publicly announced) "space war games."

Gen. Jay M. Garner
(U.S. Army, Ret.)



Member Rumsfeld Commission II; President, SY Technology

SY Technology of Sherman Oaks, Calif., boasts "unique expertise in space and missile defense technologies, systems engineering and integration." The company is focused almost exclusively on National Missile Defense. In 1999, SY Technology received a Star Wars contract worth up to \$365,934,442 to provide the U.S. Army Space and Missile Defense Command, the U.S. Army Space Command, the U.S. Space Command, the U.S. Navy

Space Command, the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, and the Joint National Test Facility, with scientific, analytical, engineering and technical assistance expertise in any effort that involves space and/or missile defense. Work was to be completed by September 30, 2004.

Garner's Army career revolved around air defense, force development and missile defense. He served as commanding general, U.S. Army Space and Strategic Defense Command from 1996 to 1997, then retired in 1997 as assistant vice chief of staff.

Malcolm Wallop



Former Republican Senator from Wyoming; Member, Rumsfeld Commission II; Board Member, Center for Security Policy; Founder and Chairman, Frontiers of Freedom



states' rights and private property rights, privatize Social Security, establish a flat tax, repeal or gut the Endangered Species Act, and demolish the Food and Drug Administration. It is also for missile defense.

Frontiers of Freedom describes itself as "the antithesis to the Sierra Club and former-Vice President Al Gore's Earth in the Balance." The nonprofit, "nonpartisan" group works to advance

Wallop is a grandfather of the movement. In 1978, he was the first elected official to propose a space-based defense system. In 1980, he lobbied then-Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan on missile defense.

James Woolsey



Member, Rumsfeld Commission I; Board of Advisers, Center for Security Policy; Partner, Shea & Gardner; Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Woolsey is a bit of a maverick in this group. Although a long-time advocate of Star Wars, he has also suggested that the current emphasis on

quick deployment is counter-productive, wasting both money and political capital with U.S. allies.

His work with the first Rumsfeld Commission seemed to contradict that of the CIA, which he unhappily directed from 1993 to 1995. His present position with Shea and Gardner more closely aligns his interests with those of Lockheed Martin, a Shea client.

Stephen Hadley



Deputy National Security Adviser; Formerly: partner, Shea & Gardner; Principal, The Scowcroft Group, Inc.

Hadley has been working part time on Star Wars for almost a decade. In the early 1990s he was assistant secretary of defense with responsibility for NATO defense policy, nuclear weapons and Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD), and arms control. As an adviser to the Bush campaign in September 2000, Hadley wrote both an impassioned plea for early deployment and

the definitive white paper detailing the political roadblocks in Western Europe to BMD, as well as the strategies for overcoming them. Those strategies were then employed by senior members of the Bush administration. Hadley's former firm, the Washington law firm Shea & Gardner, counts Lockheed Martin among its clients.

Hadley was also a member of The Vulcan Group, an eight-member club of Cold War hawks inside George W. Bush's first administration.

Dov S. Zakheim



Comptroller, the Defense Department; Board of Advisers, Center for Security Policy; (formerly) Chief Executive Officer of SPC International Corporation; Served the Reagan Administration in a variety of other senior Department of Defense posts (1981 - 1985), previously Principal Analyst, National Security and International Affairs Division of the Congressional Budget Office.

SPC International specializes in political, military and economic consulting. It also manufactures a radar simulator for target acquisition now used by the U.S. Navy, the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization Countermeasure Group, and the Defense Ad-

vanced Research Projects Agency.

During the 2000 presidential campaign, Zakheim served as a senior foreign policy adviser to then-Governor of Texas, George W. Bush.

In 2001, after Senator James Jeffords of Vermont announced his decision to leave the Republican Party. By doing so, he threw control of the Senate to the Democrats. Zakheim announced Bush's decision to push for a \$5.6 billion increase in the 2002 military budget – some of this going, of course, to the Star Wars "Missile Defense" program.

Source: *Valley Advocate*, 2001. <www.valleyadvocate.com/articles/starwars.html>
