

War & the Economy

Too Many Guns, Not Enough Butter

Participant Handout Packet 2.6



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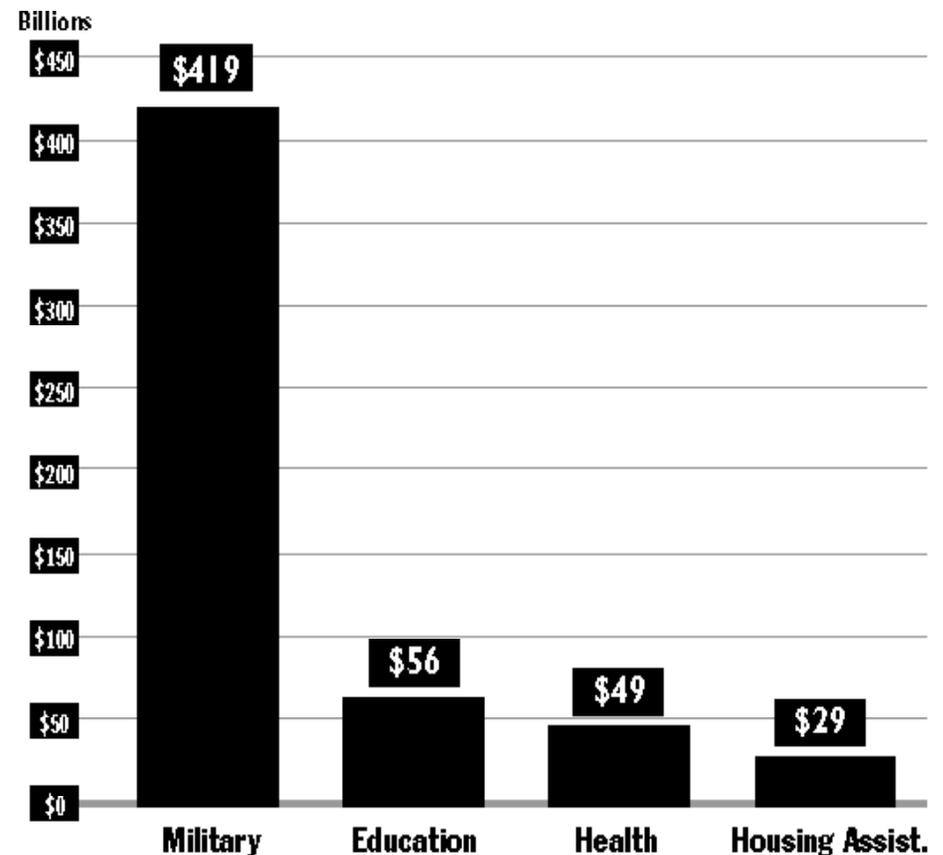
Many of Our Communities are in Crisis

- ★ The FY2007 Federal budget made deep cuts in domestic spending, including elimination or reduction of 141 programs.
- ★ Many states faced budget deficits, totaling over \$30 billion for FY 2006.
- ★ State budget deficits totaled \$40 billion in FY 2005.
- ★ To balance their budgets, states and cities are cutting basic services:
 - school & library hours curtailed
 - arts & sports programs cut
 - health coverage & clinics reduced
 - environmental programs eliminated
 - even law enforcement services trimmed

Source: Center for Budget & Policy Priorities.

Military vs. Social Spending FY 2006

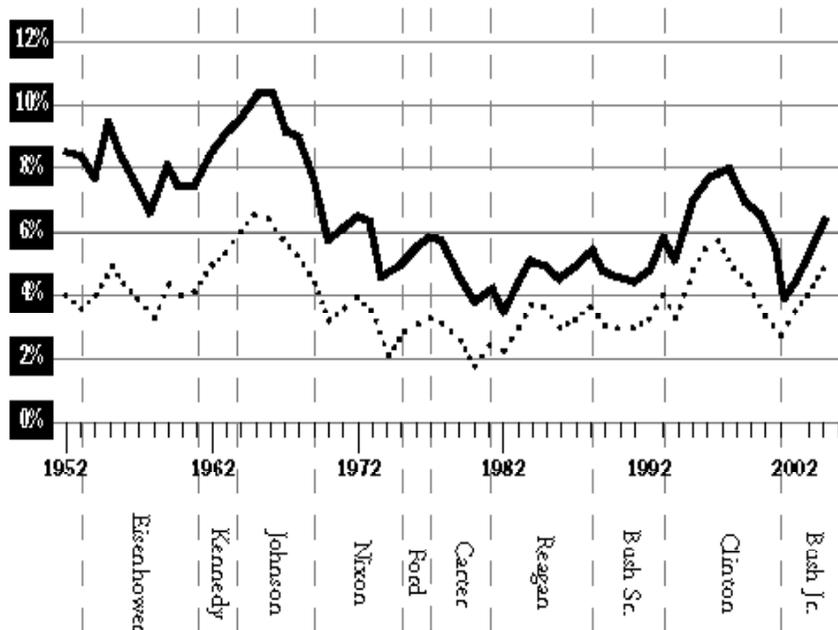
Fiscal Year 2006 Discretionary Budget



Source: Office of Management and Budget (OMB).

Profit Rate (1952-2004)

Corporate profits fell sharply after the mid-1960s.



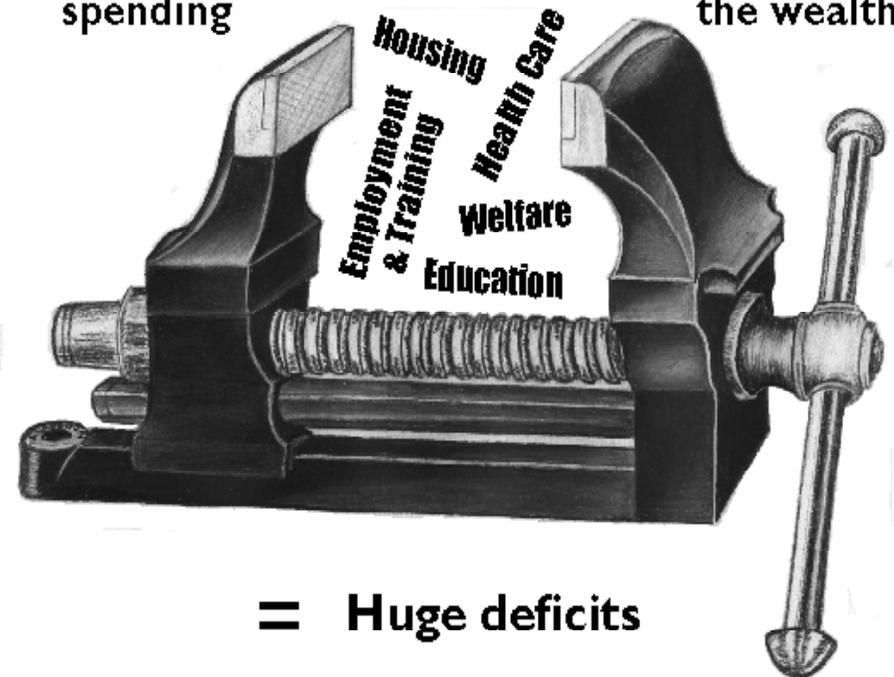
Source: Left Business Observer; data from Federal Reserve and Bureau of Economic Analysis data. The profit rate is defined as corporate profits (with IYA and CCAdj) from the national income accounts, before and after taxes, divided by the Federal Reserve's estimates of the value of the tangible capital stock, from their flow of funds accounts. Corporations are nonfinancial corps only.

The Vise

Big increases
in military
spending

+

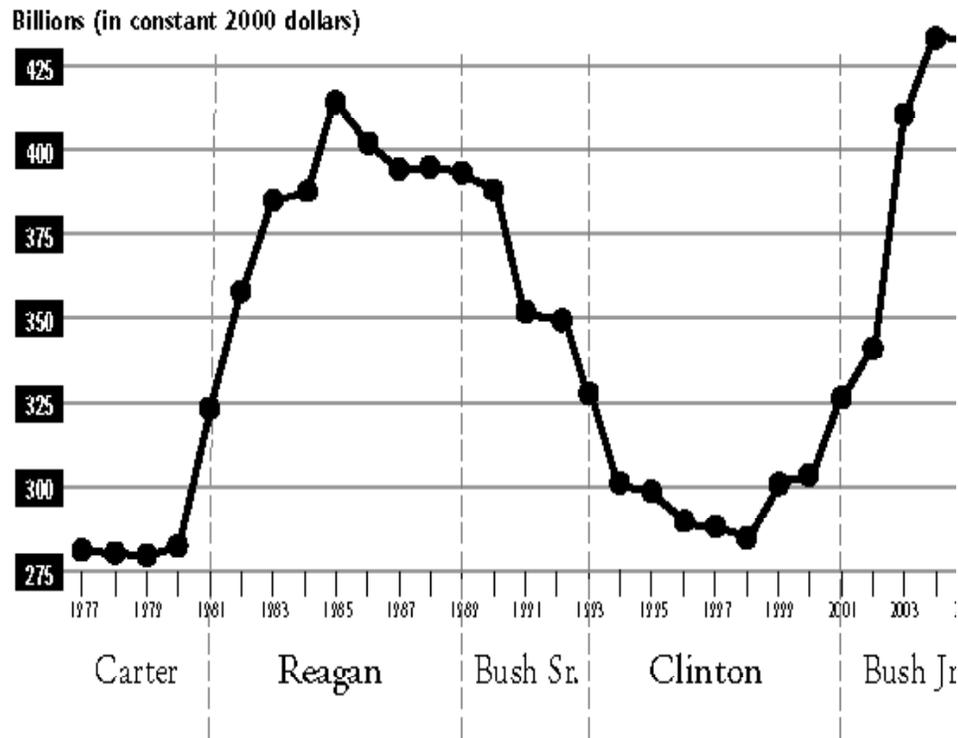
Tax cuts
(mainly for
the wealthy)



The result is a squeeze on social spending.

Military Spending in the U.S. (1977 - 2005)

Military spending rose dramatically during the Reagan Administration and is shooting up again.

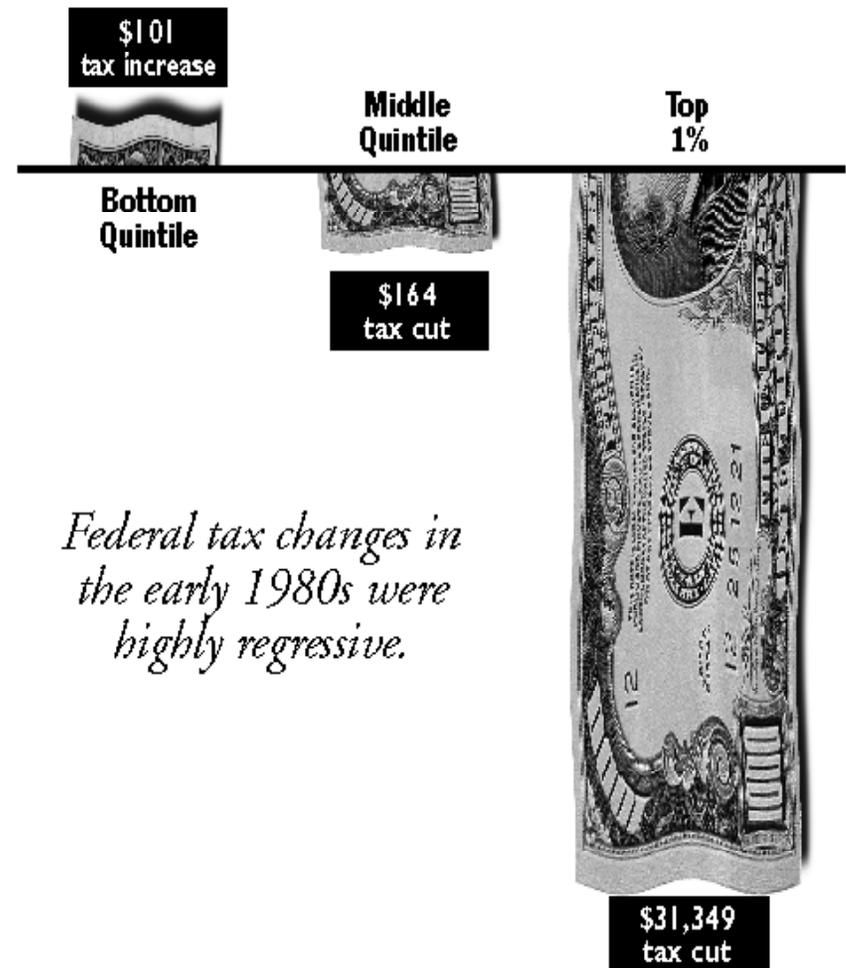


* Estimate

Source: National Priorities Project, based on the Budget of the US Government, FY2006 (www.nationalpriorities.org).

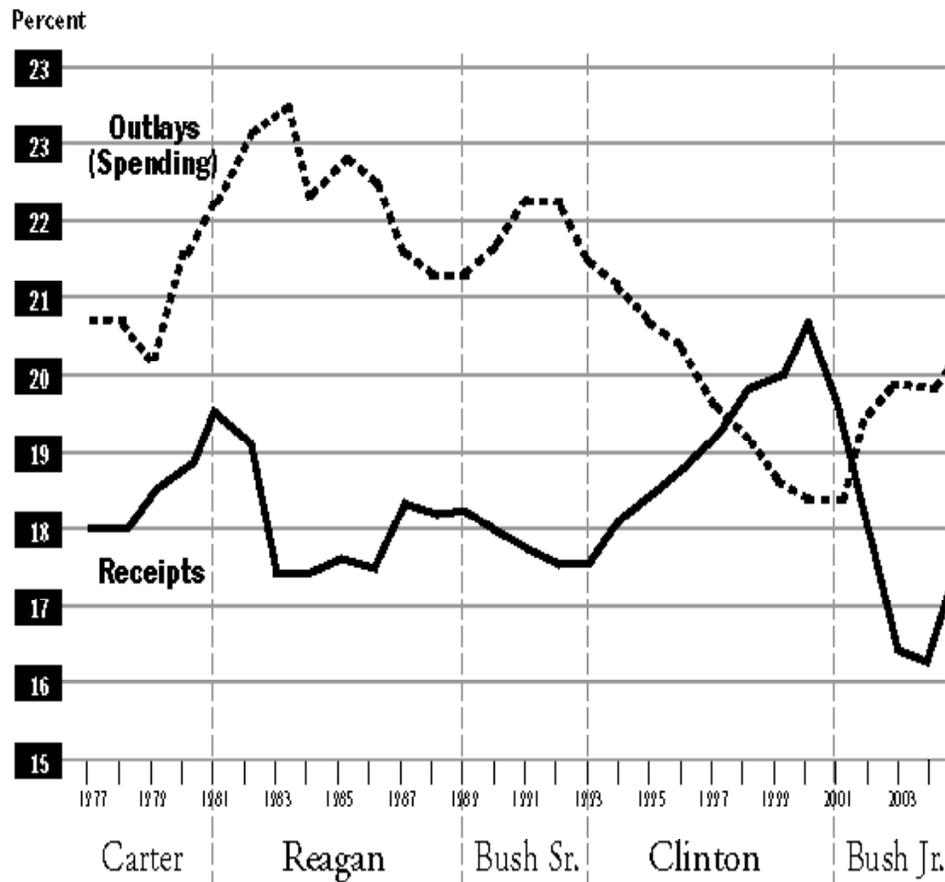
The Average Dollar Value of Tax Law Changes in the 1980s

(In constant 1995 income levels)



Source: Mishel and Bernstein, *The State of Working America, 1994-95*, p.95.

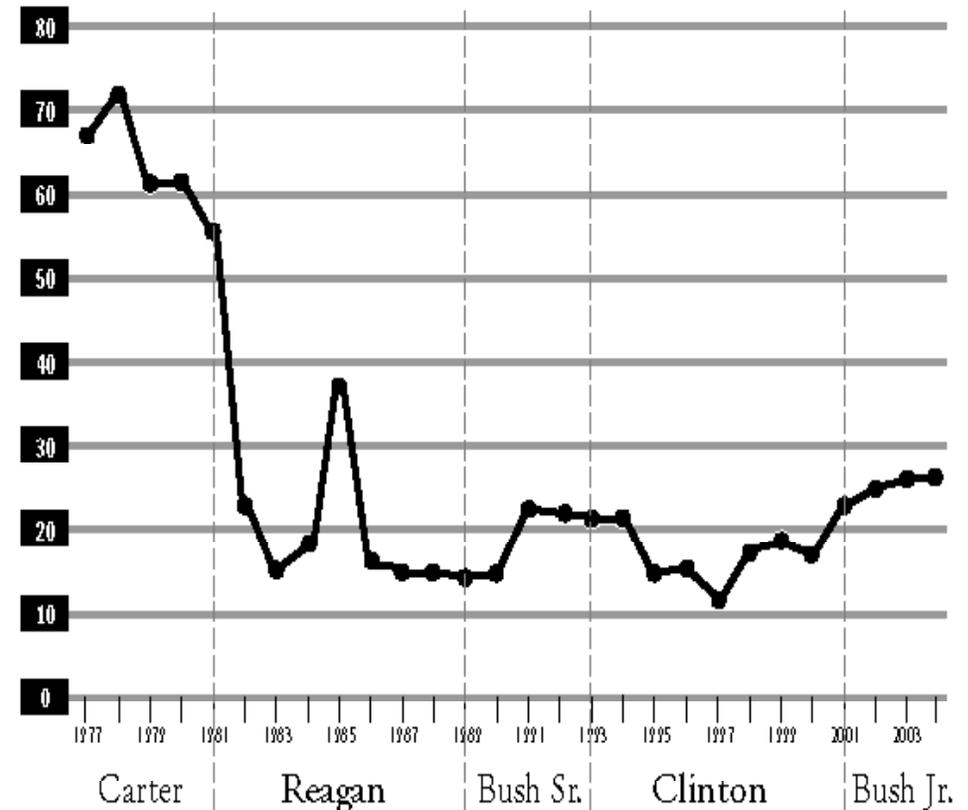
Federal Receipts & Spending as a Percent of GDP (1977 - 2005)



Source: Office of Management & Budget (www.whitehouse.gov/omb/budget/fy2005/hist.htm).

Spending on Housing Assistance (1977 - 2004)

Billions (in constant 2000 dollars)

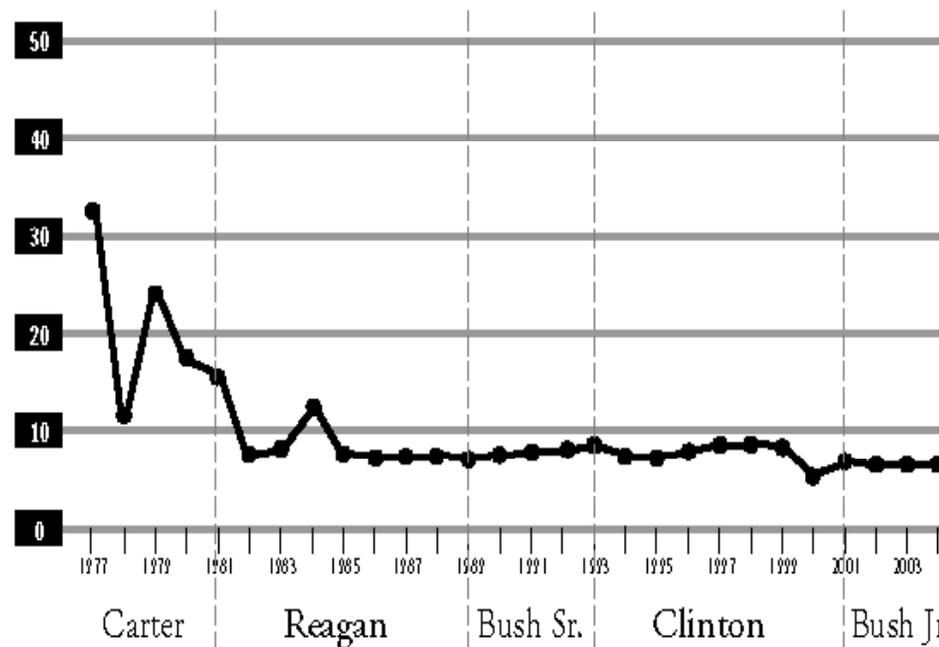


Source: National Priorities Project, based on the Budget of the US Government, FY2005 (www.nationalpriorities.org).

Spending on Training & Employment (1977 - 2004)

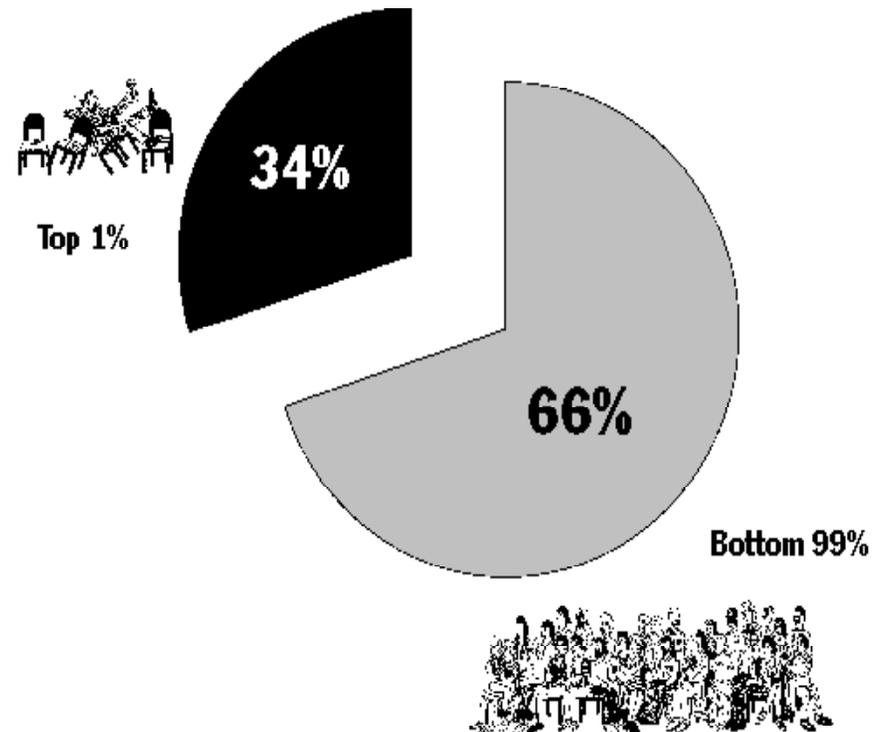
Spending for job training & and other employment programs tumbled during the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Billions (in constant 1996 dollars)



Source: National Priorities Project, based on the Budget of the US Government, FY2005 (www.nationalpriorities.org).

Ownership of Household Wealth in the U.S. in 2004

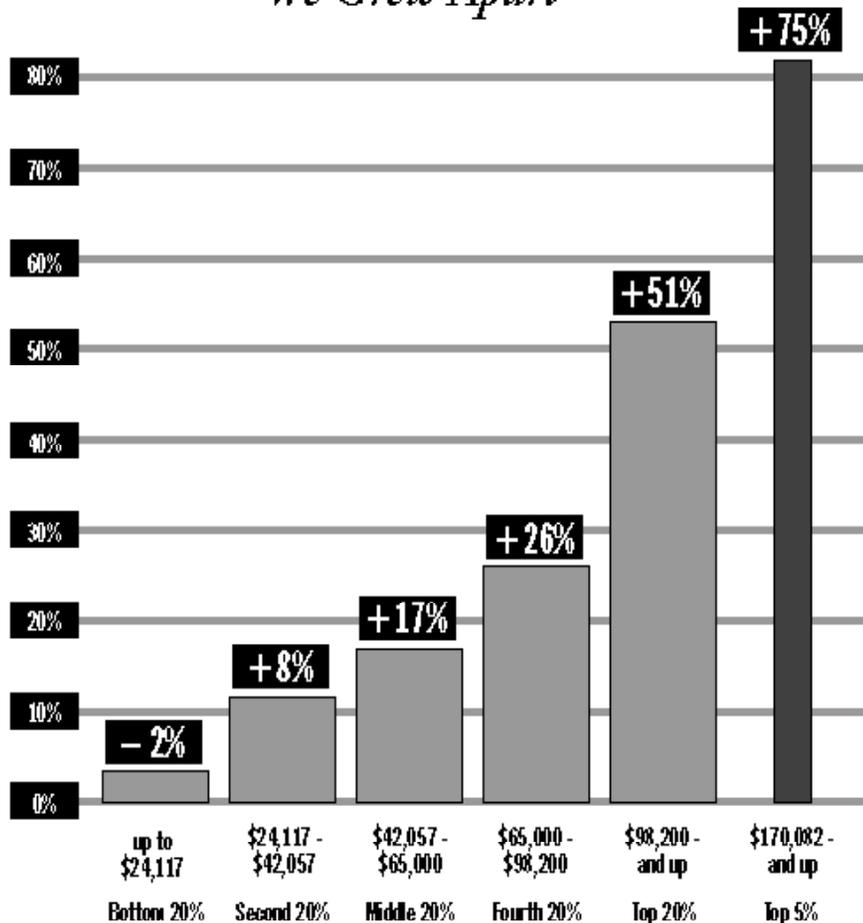


The average wealth of the top 1% (\$14.8 million) has grown from **125** times the median net worth in 1962 to **190** times in 2004 (\$77,900)!

Source: Edward Wolff (2006) cited in Table 5.1 and 5.4 in *The State of Working America 2006/2007*, Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and Sylvia Allegretto, Economic Policy Institute.

Real Family Income Growth by Quintile & for Top 5% (1979 - 2003)

We Grew Apart



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Tables F-1 and F-3. Income ranges in 2003 dollars.

Shift, Shrink, & Shaft



"I simply want to reduce government to the size where I can drag it into the bathroom and drown it in the bathtub."

— Grover Norquist, Americans for Tax Reform. Interviewed by Susan Page, NPR, 5/24/01.

★ Shift taxes onto wage earners (and turn them into "tax cutters")

- Reduce taxes for the wealthy; investment income untaxed

★ Shrink and privatize government

- "Government is just big bureaucracy without accountability."

★ Cut services that the majority use

- Deficits used to reduce government spending; entitlements under attack
- Education & health services cut at federal and state levels
- Standards cut for workplace & food safety.

★ Ensure government works for wealth holders at all levels

Shift, Shrink, and Shaft in Iraq

SHIFT

Who Gets the Profits

- Halliburton, Bechtel, transnational corporations
- Contracts to anti-union companies

SHRINK

The Public Sector

- Privatize everything
- Illegally sell public enterprises
- Create a Middle Eastern Free Market

SHAFT

Iraqi & Foreign Workers

- Low pay, no benefits, poor working conditions
- Extend Saddam Hussein's Decree 87 banning unions
- Break up labor demonstrations

Shrink, Shift, and Shaft in the Military

SHRINK

What Enlisted Personnel Do

- Pay *Halliburton* for base construction, food, logistical support, etc., in open-ended, cost-plus contracts
- Hire *Dyncorp* in Afghanistan and Colombia

SHIFT

Who Fights

- Send National Guard and Reserves to Iraq
- Extend tours of duty

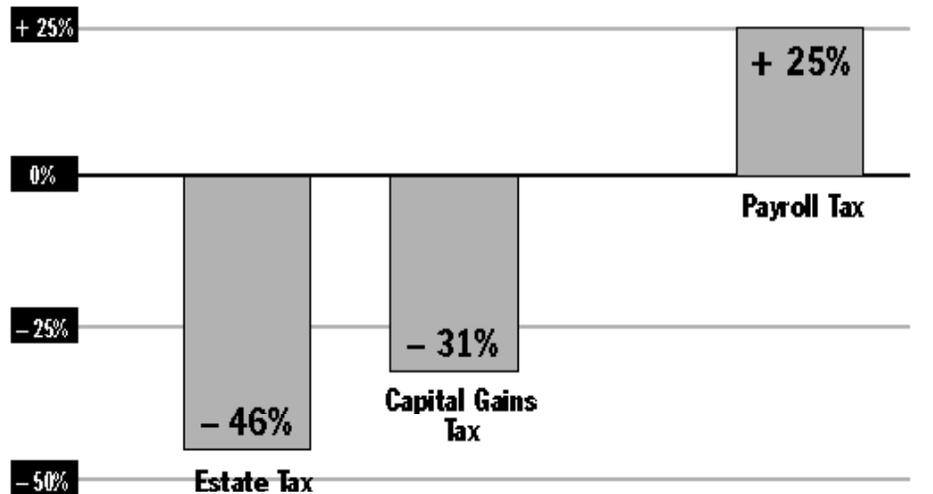
SHAFT

Active Duty Soldiers & Veterans

- Try to cut extra hazard pay
- Cut medical coverage for veterans
- Don't advertise available care
- Deny health services to veterans disabled by depleted uranium

Change in Top Federal Tax Rates on Wealth and Work since 1980

People with investment income and large amounts of inherited wealth have received a multitude of tax breaks in recent years.



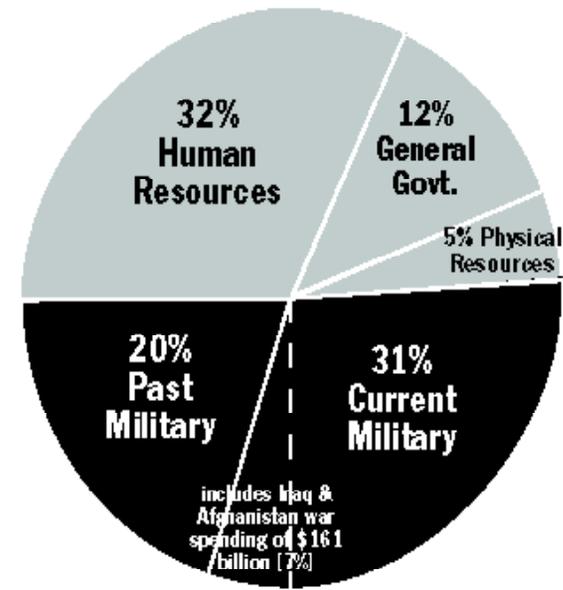
Top Tax Rates on Wealth & Investment Income

Top Tax Rate on Work

Sources: UFE calculations from Tax Policy Center data (www.TaxPolicyCenter.org) for Payroll Tax (through 2005) and Capital Gains Tax (through 2002) and the Heritage Foundation for the Estate Tax (through 2005).

U.S. Federal Budget Proposal for FY 2008

Total Federal Funds (outlays) = \$2,387 billion



Current Military	\$585B (+ \$20B unbudgeted)
Past Military	\$439B
Human Resources	\$748B
General Government	\$295B
Physical Resources	\$116B

Source: War Resisters League <www.warresisters.org/piechart.htm>, from an analysis of detailed tables in the "Analytical Perspectives" book of the Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2008 (10/1/07-9/30/08). Figures are federal funds, which do not include trust funds — such as Social Security — that are raised and spent separately from income taxes.

Military vs. Social Spending

TOOLS FOR WAR

1 cluster bomb	\$14,000
1 minute war on Iraq	\$763,000
1 hour war on Iraq	\$46 million
1 year military aid to Colombia	\$494 million
1 day of war on Iraq	\$1.1 billion
1 Stealth bomber	\$2.1 billion

TOOLS FOR PEACE

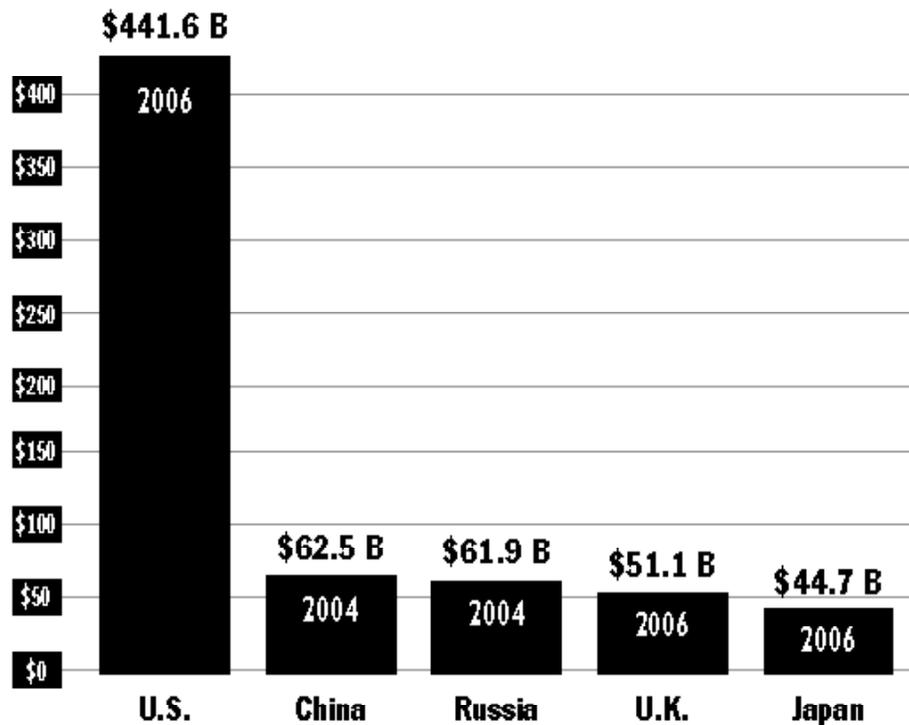
Enroll 2 children in Head Start
Annual salary/benefits for 15 RNs
Improve, repair, modernize 20 schools
7,000 units of affordable housing
Prevent cuts to education programs
Annual salary/benefits for 38,000 teachers

Reviewing the Key Points

1. Increases in military spending plus tax cuts (primarily benefitting the wealthy) are key factors that lead to huge budget deficits.
2. The deficits are used to force cuts in spending for social programs.
3. The underlying goal of these economic policies is to maintain the tremendous concentration of wealth and power at the top.
4. Soaring military spending drains resources from social needs and weakens state and local economies.

Top Five Military Spenders

Prior to Sept 11, the U.S. spent 23 times what Iraq, Iran, North Korea, Syria, Libya, Cuba, and Sudan spent, combined*

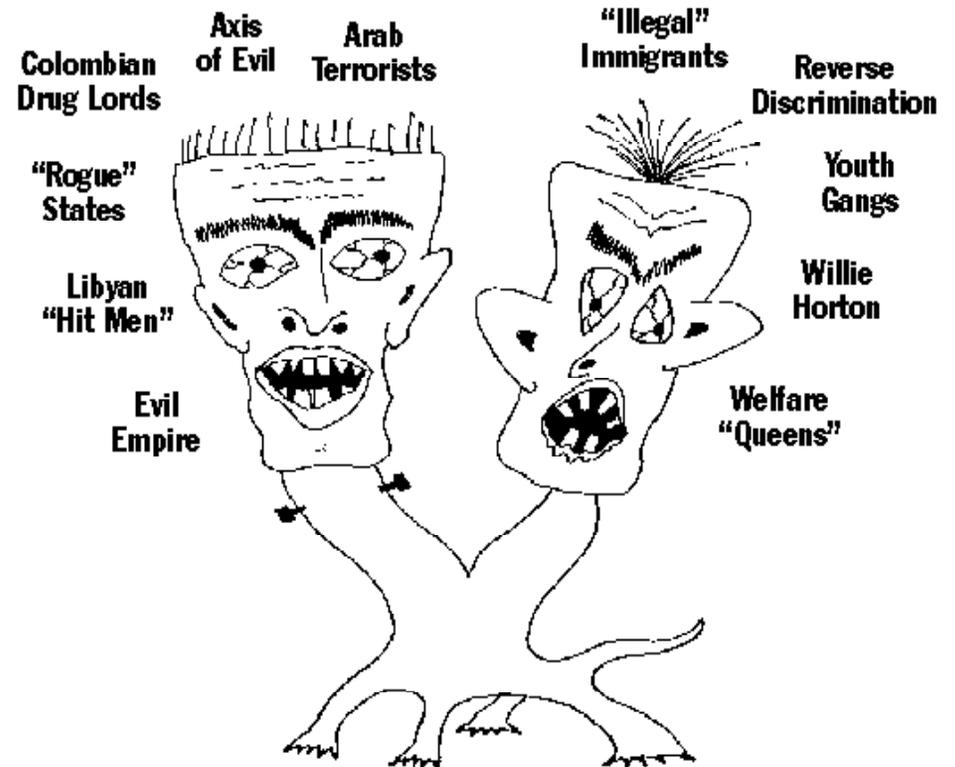


Source: Center for Defense Information, Center for Arms Control and Nonproliferation.
 *The U.S. State Department named these countries as "rogue" states and "state sponsors of terrorism." Libya and Iraq are now off the list.

The Two-Headed Monster Myths & Misconceptions

War Abroad

War at Home

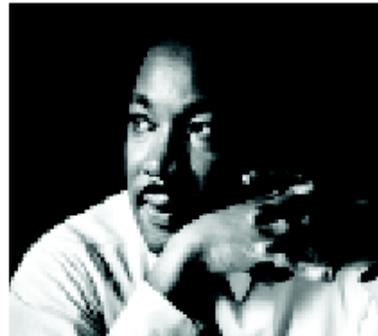


Racism is used to maintain a climate of fear and to justify a militarized society.

What Can We Do?

“We as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a ‘thing-oriented’ society to a ‘person-oriented’ society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.... America, the richest, most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values....”

— Martin Luther King, Jr.



What You Can Do Today

Work for Peace

- Support grassroots efforts for peace:
 - attend protests and rallies
 - stage creative actions to draw media attention
- Join organizations at the community, state, or national level that advocate & mobilize for peace

Work for Justice

- Push legislators to support fair taxes and cut excessive military spending
- Support civil liberties and the rights of immigrant and native-born workers

Educate

- Talk with family members, co-workers & neighbors
- Write letters to the editor
- Host “War & the Economy” workshops

What Happened to the \$5.6 Trillion Surplus?

Back in January 2001, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) forecast a \$5.6 trillion total surplus for the years 2002-2011. Now, in 2004, the \$5.6 trillion 10-year surplus is long gone, and we have deficits “as far as the eye can see.” What happened?

- CBO failed to predict the 2001 recession and the 2002 stock market slump. There is also circumstantial evidence that tax sheltering and evasion are on the rise. These factors resulted in much-lower-than-expected revenues.
- We cut taxes. This is the main policy choice that has led to the decline of the surplus.
- We’re spending more on the military, homeland security, and the “war on terror.” This is the second biggest surplus-depleting policy choice.
- We enacted a new prescription drug benefit for seniors. This new program, plus an assortment of other small entitlements, represents 7% of the decline in the surplus.
- Increases in non-defense discretionary spending (housing, child care, environment, education, transportation, national parks, etc.) represent only 1% of the decline in the surplus. Accordingly, cuts in these areas will do little to address the deficit problem. However, these are the programs that the Administration is cutting ‘to close the deficit gap.’

Overall, the 10-year budget picture has deteriorated by \$9.3 trillion in three short years.

ITEM	IMPACT	% OF TOTAL
Lower-than-expected revenues (Due to recession, 2001 -02 stock market slump, and a probable increase in tax sheltering and evasion.)		\$9.3 tril- lion
Tax cuts (assumes all tax cuts are made permanent)	\$3.4 trillion	37%
Increased spending for . . .	\$3.3 trillion	
Military, homeland security, & the “war on ter- ror”		35%
Prescription drug benefit & other entitlements	\$1.8 trillion	
Other social, environmental, & education pro- grams	\$0.7 trillion	20%
	\$0.1 trillion	7%
Total		1%

100%

Note: According to projections by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (CBPP), we now have a \$4.3 trillion 10-year deficit for the years 2002 - 2011. That’s a nominal swing from surplus to deficit of \$9.9 trillion.. However, since CBPP incorporates various costs that the official CBO estimate leaves out, CBPP had to adjust the original CBO surplus of \$5.6 trillion to \$5.0 trillion. This adjustment makes a fair comparison possible, and results in a slightly smaller swing from surplus to deficit of \$9.3 trillion.

Grover Norquist and the Attack on Government

“I simply want to shrink government down to the point where I can drag it into the bathroom and drown it in the bathtub.”

— Interviewed by Susan Page, *National Public Radio*, May 24, 2001

“We’ve set as a conservative movement a goal of reducing the size and cost of government in half in 25 years, which is taking it from a third of the economy down to about 17 percent, taking 20 million government employees and looking to privatize and get other opportunities so that you don’t have all of the jobs that are presently done by government done by government employees. We need a Federal government that does what the government needs to do, and stops doing what the government ought not to be doing.”

— Interviewed on *NOW with Bill Moyers*, Show 202, January 10, 2003

Who is Grover Norquist?

In the battle to win approval for President Bush’s proposed tax cuts, Grover Norquist is the general leading the charge. Though Norquist’s official title is president of the right-wing group Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), the *Wall Street Journal* more accurately called him “the V.I. Lenin of the anti-tax movement.”

ATR was founded inside the Reagan White House when Norquist was tapped to head the group as an in-house operation to build support for the 1986 tax reform bill. However, it soon became officially independent and has served as the operational base for Norquist’s vast political operation ever since. ATR is best known for its “Taxpayer Protection Pledge,” which has become a core commitment for GOP politicians. The pledge “asks all candidates for federal and state office to commit themselves in writing to oppose all tax increases.” ATR has poured a lot of money into pushing right-wing policies and candidates. In 1999, it spent \$4.2 million on a television ad campaign touting the GOP tax plan. ATR’s taxpayer pledge is not its only form of campaign work. In the weeks before the 1996 elections, ATR flooded 150 congressional districts with mail and phone calls. This impressive display was made possible by a last-minute \$4.6 million donation from the Republican National Committee.

But ATR activist work is only a small part of what Norquist brings to the game. He is equal parts radical activist and practical strategist. “My goal is to cut government in half in twenty-five years, to get it down to the size where we can drown it in the bathtub,” he has said. What has catapulted Norquist to the top ranks of the Republican Party’s elite is his ability to unite various right-wing interests. In fact, *Wall Street Journal* editorial board member John Fund described Norquist as “the Grand Central Station” of conservatism because “all the trains run through his office.”

Indeed, Norquist has brought the disparate forces of what he calls a “center-right coalition” together on a weekly basis for roughly a decade. His regular Wednesday meetings have been the place to be for right-wing lobbying groups ever since the GOP takeover of Congress in 1995. Launched in 1993 to battle President Clinton’s health care plan, the meetings pull together a wide range of groups — right-wing think tanks, the National Rifle Association, the Christian Coalition, property rights groups and others — to strategize on issues of the moment. Some of the issues addressed have included supporting conservative ballot initiatives, abolishing affirmative action and killing the National Endowment for the Arts. Norquist has dubbed the right-wing alliance of social and economic conservatives that he has built in recent years the “Leave Us Alone” coalition.

Norquist’s Wednesday meetings have become more important than ever in recent months and meeting attendance has skyrocketed since the arrival of the Bush administration. “The meeting functions as the weekly checklist so that everybody knows what’s up, what to do,” says Republican pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick. Representatives from the White House, the House and Senate leaderships and the Republican National Committee join the broad coalition of right-wing and business groups to make sure all parties are working together. Reporters and editors from right-wing media outfits are also regular attendees, rounding out the right-wing network.

For Norquist, cutting taxes is closely tied to his real goal of cutting government, and he brings to the battle the zeal and rhetoric of a believer. He has told *Human Events* magazine, for example, “Every time you cut programs, you take away a person who has a vested interest in high taxes and you put him on the tax rolls and make him a taxpayer. A farmer on subsidies is part welfare bum, whereas a free-market farmer is a small businessman with a gun.”

In fact, it is easy to underestimate the radical nature of Norquist’s ultimate agenda after focusing on his ability to unite so many different agendas. Temporary compromise may be necessary, but Norquist is an ideologue who does not shy from the label “revolutionary.” He favors abolishing a whole slew of government agencies, including the Internal Revenue Service, the Food and Drug Administration, the Education Department and the National Endowment for the Arts. In Norquist’s own words: “It’s like this. Some of us in the movement want to get to St. Louis, and some of us to Utah, and some to Los Angeles, and some of us want to go all the way to Japan. Bush wants to get to St. Louis. Is there any need to argue with him about the need to get to LA? Or to get really flaky and say we need to go all the way to Japan? Of course not.”

— *Upper Brackets: The Right’s Tax Cut Boosters*, People for the American Way, March 27, 2003, <<http://www.pfaw.org/pfaw/general/>>.

Who are the other tax cut boosters?

People for the American Way provides an overview of five influential groups — Americans for Tax Reform, Heritage Foundation, Cato Institute, Citizens for a Sound Economy, and the Club for Growth — and the role they play in the current campaign and how they add an essential dimension to the current push for massive regressive tax cuts.

All five groups share an agenda that is not only anti-tax, but also anti-government and pro-privatization of public services. However, each group plays to different strengths. Americans for Tax Reform is the inside-the-beltway operation which excels at building and maintaining political coalitions among politicians, industry groups and other right-wing interest groups. The Heritage Foundation and Cato Institute are the ideological think tanks, churning out policy papers and providing the bulk of material support and marketing might for policymakers. Citizens for a Sound Economy drives the field operation, channeling corporate money into grassroots campaigns for specific legislative proposals. Finally, Club for Growth is the uncompromising political action committee, enforcing ideological rigor by targeting wavering politicians when they are most vulnerable, including Republicans deemed insufficiently committed to tax-cut dogma.

— *Upper Brackets: The Right's Tax Cut Boosters*, People for the American Way, March 27, 2003, <<http://www.pfaw.org/pfaw/general/>>.



For Optional Activity
in Section 5. Keeping “Our” Stuff – Shaping Hearts & Minds

“We have about 50% of the world’s wealth, but only 6% of its population. Our task is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity. To do so we will have to dispense with all sentimentality, cease to talk about vague and unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of living standards, and democratization. We are going to have to deal in straight power concepts.”

— George Kennan, head of the US State Department’s Policy Planning staff, 1948



Who Wins from War Spending?

Defense contractors win. Increased military spending means more and bigger contracts for particular firms such as General Dynamics, Lockheed Martin, Northrup Grumman, Boeing, Raytheon, and others. See “Halliburton’s Axis of Influence,” Frida Berrigan, *In These Times*, March 28, 2003, <http://inthesetimes.com/comments.php?id=138_0_1_0_C> and “Halliburton Makes a Killing on Iraq War: Cheney’s Former Company Profits from Supporting Troops,” Pratap Chatterjee, *Corp Watch*, March 20, 2003 and “This Gun For Hire,” Dan Baum, *Wired*, Issue 11.02 (February 2003) and “Privatizing the spoils of war: paying companies to rebuild post-invasion Iraq,” Philip Mattera, *Good Jobs First Corporate Research E-Letter No. 33*, March 2003, <<http://www.corp-research.org/archives.htm>>.

Individuals win, partly because of the military-industrial “revolving door.” For example, the Bush Administration appointed Gordon England as Secretary of the Navy. England was Executive Vice President of General Dynamics and held millions of dollars worth of shares in the company when he was appointed. General Dynamics is the fourth largest defense contractor in the US. See <<http://www.nationalpriorities.org/archives/appointees.html>> and “Carving Up The New Iraq,” Neil Mackay, *The Sunday Herald*, April 15, 2003.

The arms trade further benefits defense contractors. First they sell their products abroad, with export promotion and subsidies from Washington. Then, because foreign countries buy advanced weapons, this ‘forces’ the US to spend more on new weapons that can beat the old ones. The global arms trade sets off global competition with all countries in an endless cycle of acquiring new weapons and better technologies. See “Foreigners Exact Trade-Offs From U.S. Contractors,” Leslie Wayne, *New York Times*, February 16, 2003.

US oil companies win. They take Iraqi oil contracts away from French, Russian, and Chinese companies. They increase Iraqi oil production, competing with Saudi Arabia and OPEC and cutting down their power over oil prices. “Oil service” companies like Halliburton (where Vice President Cheney used to be CEO) also could profit if they win contracts to explore and drill for oil. Iraq has the second largest proven oil reserves in the world, second to Saudi Arabia, and because of war and sanctions it has big oilfields still to be developed. See “It’s Not ‘All About Oil,’ But...”, *Business Week*, January 30, 2003.

People advancing other agendas win. War is a weapon of mass distraction. While the country was watching the Iraq war, Congress passed immense tax cuts that will mainly benefit the wealthy and lead to domestic spending cuts. It’s easier to do that when there’s less media and public attention. See “War distracts from Bush’s budget cuts,” Robert Kuttner, *Boston Globe*, March 26, 2003.

Profit isn’t the whole story. There are religious, racial, and control reasons for invading Iraq and increasing military spending. But individuals and companies also profit directly, and they are well represented in the Bush Administration.

CEOs at Defense Contractors Earn 45% More than Non-Defense CEOs

“Our present emergency and a common sense of decency make it imperative that no new group of war millionaires shall come into being in this nation as a result of the struggles abroad. The American people will not relish the idea of any American citizen growing rich and fat in an emergency of blood and slaughter and human suffering...”

“We must make sure, in all that we do, that there be no breakdown of cancellation of any of the great social gains which we have made in these past years. We have carried on an offensive on a broad front against social and economic inequalities and bauses which had made our society weak. That offensive should not now be broken down by the pincers movement of those who would use the present needs of physical military defense to destroy it.”

— President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, radio address, 1940

Median CEO pay at the 37 largest defense contractors rose 79 percent from 2001 to 2002, while overall CEO pay climbed only 6 percent, according to a new report from United for a Fair Economy, “More Bucks for the Bang: CEO Pay at Top Defense Contractors,” by Chris Hartman and David Martin. The report is on the web at www.FairEconomy.org.

Median pay was 45 percent higher in 2002 at defense contractors than at the 365 large companies surveyed by Business Week magazine. The typical U.S. CEO made \$3.7 million in 2002, while the typical defense industry CEO got \$5.4 million.

The jump in median defense contractor CEO pay far exceeded the increase in defense spending, which rose 14 percent from 2001 to 2002.

Compared with an army private’s pay of \$19,585, the average CEO at a major defense contractor made 577 times as much in 2002, or \$11,297,548. This is also more than 28 times as much as the Commander in Chief’s salary of \$400,000.

Campaign Contributions Tied to Bigger Contracts

The study also looked at the size of campaign contributions by the largest defense contractors and found a strong correlation between campaign contributions made by a company in the 2000 and 2002 election cycles and the value of defense contracts awarded to that company. Ninety percent of the difference in contract size can be accounted for by size of contributions. For example, top arms contractor Lockheed Martin was also the top campaign contributor among defense firms.

The 37 companies included in the CEO pay study were all the publicly-traded corporations with at least \$1 billion in total defense contracts from 2000 through 2002. The list includes well-known defense contractors like Lockheed Martin, Boeing, Raytheon, Northrop Grumman, and General Dynamics, as well as some companies not usually associated with military spending, such as FedEx and Dell Computer. Compensation was defined as salary, bonus, “other compensation,” restricted stock awards, long-term incentive payouts, and the value realized from the exercise of stock options.

Welfare Queens and Superpredators

The “Welfare Queen” is Born

Traditionally, coverage of welfare in news media [portrayed the typical recipient as] an African American female sitting at home with several children. She was a multigenerational recipient who consciously chose, and was allowed by the system, to remain on welfare instead of working to support herself. This portrayal implicated the individual as responsible for her current situation and responsible for perpetuating dependency. This characterization of welfare recipients as “welfare queens” was established as a nationally recognized icon by, then-candidate, Ronald Reagan in a speech while running for president in 1976. Reagan painted a picture of a woman from Chicago’s South Side, a predominantly African American area, who ripped off the federal government for \$150,000 using over 80 different 30 addresses, and dozen social security cards.”

— Elizabeth Frank, *The End of Welfare As We Know It*, (2001).

The model for this story had been convicted of only \$8,000 in welfare fraud, however, Reagan repeatedly stated that she had used “eighty names, thirty addresses, twelve social security cards” in order to be eligible for “veterans benefits on four non-existing deceased husbands,” and other welfare benefits which totalled \$150,000 in tax-free income.

— Lucy Williams, *Decades of Distortion: the Right’s 30-Year Assault On Welfare*, Political Research Associates, (1997).

Saddam as Superpredator

Within hours of the Sept.11 attacks, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld ordered his aides to find out whether blame could be pinned on Baghdad. Rumsfeld and other Bush cabinet members and insiders, including Vice-President Dick Cheney and Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, have long had a fixation on Iraq, a country which they believe needs to be brought under the sway of Washington if the 21st century is to belong to the United States. For months the administration tried to find an Iraqi angle, but couldn’t.

Undeterred, Rumsfeld spun horror stories about Iraq being in a position to attack the US with weapons of mass destruction. Pressed, he admitted he couldn’t prove Saddam Hussein had such weapons, but asked chillingly, “Do you want to wait for the mushroom cloud to find out?”

— Stephen Gowans, *Osama Bin Laden and the New American Century* (2002).

Resources for Further Study

Military Spending and Military Policy

- **National Priorities Project** <www.natprior.org>. This is the first stop for anyone who wants to know how much we are paying for war; how much our states and cities are contributing to the military budget; how many affordable housing units, elementary school teachers, kids on health-care or Head Start we could get for the cost of various military programs; and how have military and social spending risen and fallen over the past decades?
- **War Resisters League** <www.warresisters.org>. “Where Your Income Tax \$ Really Goes” is an excellent pie chart on military and social spending; also information on military budget items and wars, and what human services items they would buy.
- **Center for Popular Economics** <www.populareconomics.org>. Recently published workshops: “The Economics of War,” looking deeply at the war economy of the United States, who profits from war, whether war is good for the economy, and alternatives.
- **Center for Defense Information** <www.cdi.org>. A non-partisan think tank, containing much information on the military, including a major section on military spending.
- **Dollars & Sense** magazine <www.dollarsandsense.org>. Publishes a monthly magazine about economic issues and maintains many additional resources on their web site,
- **Project for the New American Century** <www.newamericancentury.org>. See “Rebuilding America’s Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources For a New Century,” September 2000, is a blueprint for current US military and global policy <www.newamericancentury.org/publication-sreports.htm>.
- **True Majority** <<http://action.truemajority.org/ctt.asp?u=129905&l=244>> Ben Cohen founder of True Majority has a simple online animation that explains military spending and the U.S. Budget.
- **Globalissues.org** <www.globalissues.org/Geopolitics/ArmsTrade/Spending.asp#USMilitarySpending> A web site that includes data that compares global military spending.

Budget Cuts and Tax Issues

- **AFL-CIO** <www.aflcio.org/issuespolitics/bushwatch>. Tracks attacks on unions and organized workers.
- **Center for Budget and Policy Priorities**, <www.cbpp.org>. Reports on federal tax cuts, budget cuts, deficits.
- **Citizens for Tax Justice** <www.ctj.org>. Analyzes who pays what share of taxes.
- **Stateline.org** <www.stateline.org>. Contains several articles on state budget cuts.
- **United for a Fair Economy** <www.faireconomy.org>. Workshop Kit on the state budget crisis in Massachusetts, and many other resources on tax issues.

Security, Repression, and Threats to Civil Liberties

- **American Civil Liberties Union** <www.aclu.org>. Describes threats to political freedoms with much attention to the US PATRIOT Act.
- **Applied Research Center** <www.arc.org>. A public policy, educational and research institute whose work emphasizes issues of race and social change. They published: *Reasserting Justice Toolkit* - a collection of action tools from organizations around the country to counter the increase of civil rights violations, harassment and government-sanctioned violence against immigrants and refugees; and *Racing to War Curriculum* - a three-part discussion series designed to help organizations examine the racial impact of the “war on terrorism” both abroad and at home.
- **Grassroots International** <www.grassrootsonline.org>. Published two workshops: “Global Security: Options Beyond War” and “Extending Rights, Building Security,” which ask what motivates terrorists, look at policies that cause hatred toward the United States, and consider non-military ways to increase security.
- **Project South** <www.projectsouth.org>. Recently published a workshop “toolkit” called “The Roots of Terror,” which covers the history of political violence, the definition of “terrorism,” and organizing under state repression.

Selected Publications

- Andreas, Joel, *Addicted to War - Why the U.S. Can't Kick Militarism*, AK Press (2002).
- Altman, Daniel, “The End of Taxes as We Know Them,” *New York Times* (March 30, 2003).
- Baker, Dean, “The Economic Impact of the Iraq War and Higher Military Spending”, Center for Economic & Policy Research (May 2007).
- Borosage, Robert, “Class Warfare, Bush-Style: The administration’s stealth attack on U.S. Unions”, *The American Prospect*, March 1, 2003.
- Goldstein, Joshua, *The Real Price of War: How You Pay for the War on Terror* (New York University Press, 2005).
- Perkins, John, *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man* (Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2005).
- United for a Fair Economy, “CEO Pay at Top Defense Contractors,” <www.faireconomy.org> (April 28, 2003).
- Ward, Rodney, “In Harm’s Way: The Working Class on the Warfront and the Homefront,” *Dollars and Sense*, (May/June 2003), <www.dollarsandsense.org>.

UFE Workshop Evaluation Form

Date: _____ Facilitator(s): _____

Title of Workshop: _____

1) How would you rate this workshop overall? Please circle one (10 = outstanding):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2) How would you describe the clarity of the materials and presentation?

3) What did you find most useful in the workshop?

4) What suggestions might you make for improving the workshop?

5) How did the workshop inspire and empower you to take action against growing inequality?

6) What else would you like to share?