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BUILDING A PEACE-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

OVERALL APPROACH
1.   What's Going Wrong?
- there is the collapse of Cold War nuclear treaty system
- meanwhile there is a continuing high level of military expenditure
- therefore the peace movement (however defined) needs to do things differently
- therefore peace movement is being challenged to think differently

2.   Overall Approach: Triangle of Peace[1]
- disarmament
- conflict resolution/ peaceful settlement of disputes[2]
- search for justice: the tree of peace has its roots in justice

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3.   The Corridors of Power
- many people who run a country often don't stand for election
- they are hiding in plain sight
- various names: "deep state", "invisible government"[4], "The Establishment"[5]
- Military-Industrial Complex is part of the "deep state": corporations working for military contracts have immense lobbying power

4.   "Military-Industrial Complex"
- this phrase was popularized by President Eisenhower in his 1961 Farewell Address to Congress
- Eisenhower had been a professional soldier for most of his working life and saw how the US military had been transformed from a small fighting force into a large permanent warfighting establishment
- in 1940 the army of Greece was larger than the US army
- US entered World War II on December 7 1941 and so there was a rapid expansion of the US defence forces
- US was transformed during 1941-5 and ended the war as the world's major military power
- Dwight Eisenhower had lived through all this, and as a traditional "small government" Republican he worried about how a new expensive industrial complex had been created to exploit the new military era at great cost to taxpayers

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[1]   Keith Suter *Triangle of Peace*, Perth: Trinity Peace Research Institute, 1990

[2]   Keith Suter *Alternative to War*, Melbourne: WILPF, 1986; Conflict Resolution Network www.crnhq.org

[3]   https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace%E2%80%93industrial_complex

[4]   David Wise (1930-2018) *The Invisible Government*, New York: Random House 1964

[5]   This is well portrayed in the UK TV series *Yes Minister* and *Yes Prime Minister*; it is notable that the series are set in Whitehall (where the civil servants work) and not Westminster (where the politicians work)

5.   Characteristics of the Military-Industrial Complex

- the small number of corporations in the Military-Industrial Complex are not necessarily violent or warlike: they just want to make an easy profit
- the workers in the Military-Industrial Complex are not necessarily violent or warlike: they just want a job
- the factories and other facilities are scattered around the country so that any attempt (as President Clinton found out in the post-Cold War 1990s) to cut back on military expenditure, would hurt voters in a constituency and so they would lobby their Member of Congress to protect their work
- in retrospect Clinton failed a provide vision of what the conversion of military facilities to peaceful uses would entail, for example, all military contracts should contain a provision requiring the contractor to have alternative plans to cope with the ending of a military contract and the redeployment of the workers to peaceful purposes

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6.   A New "Complex"

- there is not a lack of ideas for disarmament – but a lack of political will
- the creation of a Peace-Industrial Complex would be a way of generating political will
- note the role of money in shaping (if not corrupting) US politics and so perhaps that same reasoning could be applied to ending the arms race: corporations could use their influence in the interests of peace
- only a handful of companies make money out of war
- many more benefit from peace (such as health, law, education, tourism, fast food outlets)
- example: Joan Kroc (1928-2003), widow of the McDonald's CEO Ray Kroc; was a supporter of US peace movement (and Australian peace activist Dr Helen Caldicott) and she gave US$50million for the University of Notre Dame for the Joan B Kroc Institute for Peace Studies: her argument was that in the event of World War III there would not be market for fast food[6]
- therefore it is necessary to mobilize business for peaceful interests
- my PhD also addressed the fears that many people had for their defence-related jobs; they just wanted employment; therefore, the proposed Peace-Industrial Complex would need to campaign to ensure that as defence jobs declined, there was a compensatory rise in the non-defence employment sector (health, education, welfare and public transport are very labour intensive)

7.   Characteristics of a Peace-Industrial Complex

- this will require some new ways of thinking for the peace movement, such as new coalition thinking:
(i)   this will require peace groups to be in a dialogue with business interests and business councils such as institutes of company directors
- money can be used for bad or good, such as the new campaign Move the Nuclear Weapon money

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[6]   https://kroc.nd.edu/about-us/history/joan-b-krocs-legacy/

(ii)   redefining "national security" would be a move away from just a focus on military matters to also include economic and social indicators, and so the peace movement needs to build a coalition with welfare, anti-poverty groups

(iii)   the growing popular action on climate change has already generated some new coalitions (such as the insurance industry already being aware of the economic impact of climate change); we could finance environmental programmes via the conversion of military expenditure to environmental protection

(iv)   the economics profession could be brought into the debate by being challenged to think about how US$1.7Trillion is being so badly spent each year: what does such a high level of military expenditure do to distort the rest of the economy?

8.   Conclusion

- the campaign for a Peace-Industrial Complex will require our creating a holistic vision of future society to inspire a wide variety of organizations, companies and individuals to work together

- we do not think our way through to a new way living, we live our way through to a new way of thinking

- for example as the impact of climate change becomes more obvious, so people are now becoming more alert to the dangers of climate change

- as the global situation gets worse, so people will want alternative positive answers

- as the British write HG Wells said: "History is a race between education and catastrophe"

- the peace movement has a major educational and political role to play

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