#### CARGO CULTS, HOMELAND SECURITY, AND MEDICAL CARE

**CARGO CULTS** ---Native religious movements in Melanesia that stem from 19<sup>th</sup> Century mix of colonialism, Christian missionaries and Native beliefs about ancestors. Cults aim at restoring relations with ancestors who will bring gifts (cargo). Converted to Christianity in hopes of gaining cargo. Subsequently, attached to Japanese, Australians, and Americans because of WWII. One variation ---the John Frum cult---march around with makeshift US uniforms and bamboo rifles. Another built false radio stations. Still another sought to buy Lyndon Johnson as their leader. Stands for theories that don't work; science that isn't science.

**DEFENSE CARGO CULTISTS** -----Industries (or nations) that expect the US Defense Budget (security policies) to save them. Seek to restore golden age with defense justifications and government subsidies. Some marching around.

**NATIONS----**Israel, Egypt, Kuwait, Eastern Europe, Taiwan, Korea? Haiti, Liberia? Humanitarian relief? Our failed states. Defense dependencies and shares of the defense budget.

**HOMELAND SECURITY** --- Every police, fire and emergency department, every university, every public health department.

**DOMESTIC INDUSTRIES** ----Almost every industry has some dependency on government. (Agriculture, higher education, health care, railroads, waterways,

cigarettes, etc). Direct subsidies; indirect subsidies (workers, customers). Cycle? The new and the failing? Industrial policy: Not government picking winners, but losers picking government.

# ATTRACTIONS OF THE DEFENSE BUDGET

- Big (victims don't notice, easy to hide)
- Favored
- Easy to make rationale (defense highways, NDEA)

# LIFT IS GREAT US STRENGTH AND SOURCE OF CONSTANT COMPLAINT

No one can go as far as fast with so much stuff as we can. British/Falklands; Russians/Afghanistan and Chechnya; China/Taiwan. WWII, Korea, Vietnam, the Gulf and Afghanistan.

Lots of innovation---Air refueling, containers, RO/ROs

Lots of capacity: Airlift

- > 120 C-5s
- > 120-240 C-17s
- > 500 plus C-130s
- > 400 plus KC-135s
- > 59 KC-10s
- plus C-40s and CRAF

Sealift

- > Preposition -36 (16 USMC; 10 USA; 10 USAF, DOD)
- > Surge Sealift---about 90; more than 50 RO/ROs,LMSR,
- > Navy Fleet Auxiliary Force—39 Ammo, Stores, Tankers

> Special Mission --- 24 ASW, oceanography

## BUT SUPPOSEDLY NEGLECTED

- Orphan mission? AF biggest buy
- Service for another service---AF logistics system
- Don't spend enough? Billions
- Easy to charter ships, aircraft

Why does it look the way it does? What industries need the government? Why do we think it is neglected?

# POLITICS OF SEALIFT

Merchant Marine a failing industry ---deeply divided, includes seamen unions, shippers, and liners domestic and international, shipbuilders.

Jones Act trade restricted to US companies on US built ships.

Operating Differential Subsidy since the 1930s/ unions heavy political contributors/ now Maritime Security Program.

Shipbuilding Subsidies—LMRSs etc

Most of commercial trade on flags of convenience---their illegal immigrants US lines rely on government cargos---50% of aid, 100% of military WWI, WWII massive building, surplus carried US through Vietnam. Start of government fleet in 1970s, 1980s---SL-7s, RRF; Shipbuilders get 600 ship Navy rather than bigger loan subsidy.

Gulf War I and II –MSC does fine. Post Gulf I US bought up world's RO/ROs; shipyards get 19 LMRS program; lines/unions get MSP instead of OD

#### POLITICS OF AIRLIFT

Airmail subsidy in 1920s plus other factors give US strong industry.

Interests include US airliner manufacturers, airlines large and small, shippers, reserves, and the USAF.

Airlines in beginning of boom in 1950s, but still didn't want MAC to become airline. MAC consolidates troop carriers and long range USAF and USN; argues it is training, not carrying cargos. USAF begins buying unique aircraft (loves special mission stuff) to get away from competition.

Deal is struck; military passengers go commercial; cargo goes USAF, but share saved for airlines; CRAF is largely myth. This is why there are no brown 747s and AF clings to Brigade Airdrop.

Gulf—most channel stuff ; 50% for USAF; wasted CRAF (4 crews but most sat around). Required big \$1.5 billion plus \$250 million in packages to reup; No dual use for AMC

We have more airlift than everyone squared. Absurd requirements that always increase as they are approached. Crazy ideas abound—the Pelican.

But 9/11 hit industry hard and Airbus hurt Boeing---thus direct airline subsidies and the attempt to lease 100 767 tankers. Boeing wants the government as the airliner back-up business. If the 787 fails then it will be dependent on the military to buy 767s (E-10), 777s, and 737s (Maritime Patrol)

#### DOD ----CARGO CULTIST OF FUTURE?

If defense companies can get 20% tax subsidy R&D even though DOD pays all costs.

VA for Medical benefits.

Homeland defense? ANG, C-130s.

### HOMELAND SECURITY --- The DOD OF THE FUTURE?

> What is with our preference for things Russian/Soviet

- Czars----was an absolute Monarch and last one was killed along with entire family in Russian Revolution
- 5 Year Plans----Didn't we beat the side that favored 5 year plans in Cold War?

Precisely because power is fragmented in US we long for something that supposedly would do away with coordination problems---Drug Czar, AIDS Czar, Transportation Czar, Intelligence Czar, Energy Czar (the Cubic Zirconium of Czars). Our system is full of organizational conflict because it is full of conflicting goals. We want our cake and to eat it----contextual goals and substantive goals; pork and progress.

Reorganization and calls for Planning another reflection this problem.

# THE INTER-AGENCY PROBLEM -----WE NEED A GOLDWATER-NICKOLS for Government.

> There are substantive Problems ---You Never Knowism; What should we protect? Whose Priorities count. There 12 million shipping containers entering ports each year, 600,000 bridges, and 2800 power plants.

Who is in charge FBI? CIA? Intelligence Czar? Homeland Security? State governments or the Federal government.

- > There are too many Plans rather than too few
  - National Security Strategy
  - National Homeland Security Strategy
  - National Defense Strategy
  - National Military Strategy
  - Defense Civil Support Strategic Plan
  - National Bio Disaster Plan
  - National Strategy to Combat WMD
  - National Strategy for Combating Terrorism

# MEDICAL CARE ---- THE ULTIMATE SECURITY CHALLENGE, THE ULTIMATE FRONTIER

Two Trillion Dollars and Counting An Aging Population Technology Push Medicine Not Yet a Science; slightly better than Political Science Responsive Government Decentralized Delivery of Care Fragmented Buyers/payers Dependant industries ---hospitals, drugs, nursing homes, medical schools And an Unbeatable Enemy

I am retiring and I expect you to take care of me. Protecting the intergenerational transfer of wealth---trillions of dollars. Income Security as well as Physical Security