

March 30, 1994

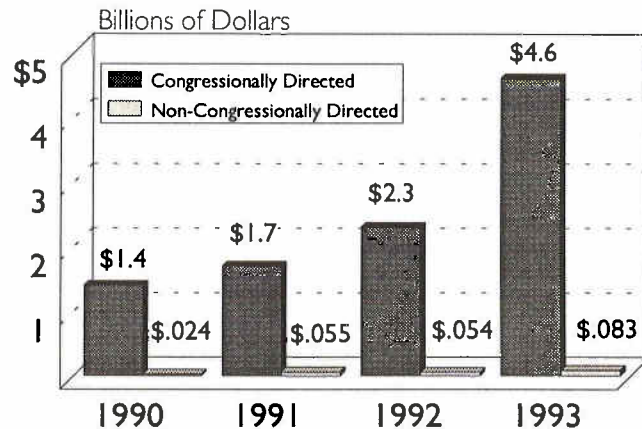
## THIS IS DEFENSE? NON-DEFENSE SPENDING IN THE DEFENSE BUDGET

By John Luddy

Defense expenditures have fallen steadily since 1986. By 1999, if the Clinton defense budget for 1995-1999 is adopted, America will be spending a little more than half of what it did in 1986 to defend itself.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time that the defense spending has been shrinking, more and more of the defense budget has been spent on non-defense items. Expenditures on such non-defense activities as World Cup Soccer (\$9 million), the Summer Olympics (\$2 million), and a Hawaiian Volcano Observatory (\$500,000) have been growing dramatically. During last week's Senate budget debate, Senator Tom Harkin (D-IA) tried to take \$513 million from the Pentagon's missile defense budget and spend it on domestic drug law enforcement efforts.<sup>2</sup>

**"Non-Defense" Spending is Increasing Rapidly  
Due to Congressional Mandates**



Source: General Accounting Office, *DOD Budget, Department of Defense Support for Domestic Civil Activities*, November 1993.

### The Defense Budget: Domestic Pork?

A 1993 General Accounting Office report reveals that from fiscal 1990 through fiscal 1993, the Defense Department spent at least \$10.4 billion on non-defense items.<sup>3</sup> But the problem may be worse than that. As the report observes: "This figure... understates the full amount spent because data on such activities are incomplete."

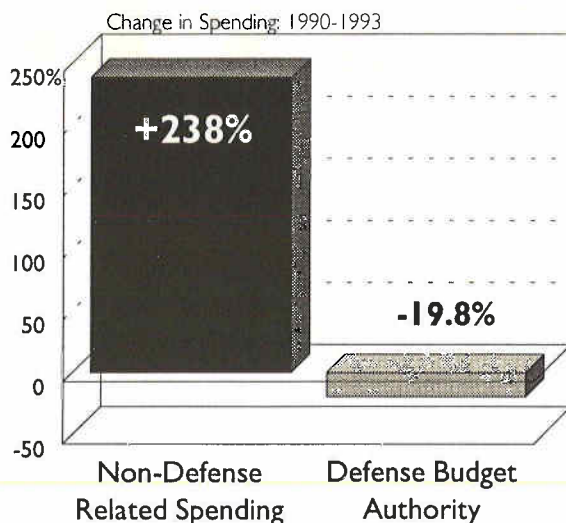
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1 For a full discussion of the Clinton defense budget, see Baker Spring, "Clinton Defense Budget Falls Far Short," Heritage Foundation *Background Update* No. 217, March 15, 1994.

2 *Congressional Record*, March 22, 1994, p. S3421.

3 Report to the Ranking Republican, Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives, "DOD Budget: Department of Defense Support for Domestic Civil Activities," General Accounting Office, November 1993.

### As Overall Defense Spending is Cut, Non-Defense Outlays Skyrocket



Source: Department of Defense.

The Office of the Secretary of Defense, the military services, and the defense agencies do not maintain all relevant cost data concerning their participation in these activities. Furthermore, the data they do maintain exist in a variety of formats, which complicates any analysis.”

Because of this lack of accountability, and because it is easy to hide a few million dollars of domestic pork within a defense budget of over \$270 billion, legislators often try to conceal funding for their favorite programs under the heading of “National Defense.” In recent years, the percentage of the defense budget dedicated to these often frivolous expenditures has been climbing.

In 1993, the Defense Department spent \$4.6 billion on domestic civil activities having nothing to do with the nation’s defense. These funds went to programs which, regardless of their inherent value, did nothing to improve or maintain America’s ability to fight and win wars. If this money were redirected to the nation’s defense, America could:

- ✓ **Buy one modern nuclear aircraft carrier.** The Clinton Administration plans a force of eleven active carriers, too few to respond to threats to America’s worldwide national security interests. In its own review of America’s defense requirements after the Cold War, The Heritage Foundation recommended a force of twelve carriers.<sup>4</sup> The cumulative \$4.6 billion spent in 1993 on such non-defense programs as Legacy Research Management (\$50 million), Tidelands for Washington State (\$5 million), and Natural Gas Fuel Cell and Cooling Demonstrations (\$24 million) could buy and maintain an additional aircraft carrier at \$4.3 billion.
- ✓ **Maintain two Army divisions.** The Clinton Administration’s “Bottom-Up Review” of America’s defense requirements calls for an Army with ten active divisions. Analysts at The Heritage Foundation have determined that twelve Army divisions is the minimum required to respond to a major regional conflict anywhere in the world.<sup>5</sup> It costs \$2 billion a year to train and operate an Army division. The \$4.6 billion allocated in the defense budget for such non-defense programs as U.S.-Japan Management Training (\$10 million) and on the National De-

4 See Kim R. Holmes, ed., *A Safe and Prosperous America: A U.S. Foreign and Defense Policy Blueprint* (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 1993). For a detailed discussion of Navy requirements, see John Luddy, “Charting a Course for the Navy in the 21st Century,” Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders* No. 979, March 9, 1994.

5 See Baker Spring, “Building an Army for the Post-Cold War Era,” Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders* No. 956, September 24, 1993, and “Clinton’s Defense Budget Falls Far Short,” Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders Update* No. 217, March 15, 1994.

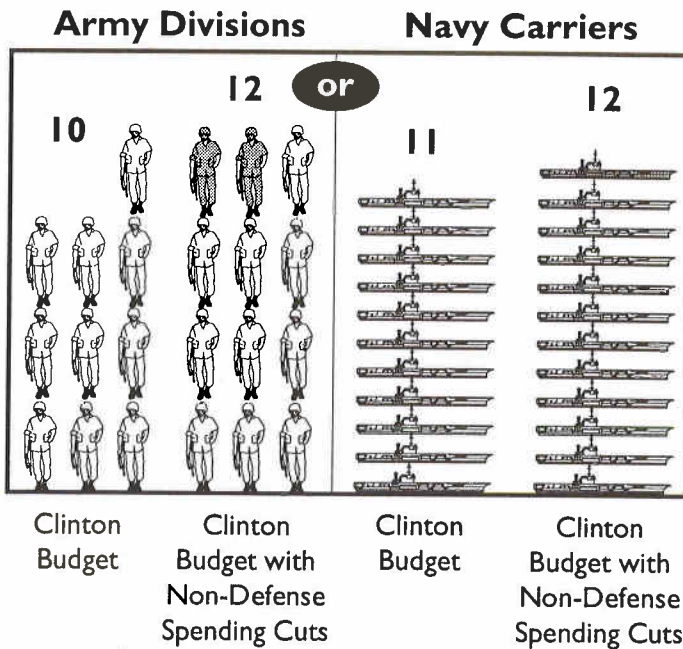
fense Center for Environmental Excellence (\$20 million) —an Army-funded program in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, in the district of Representative John Murtha, the Chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee—would be better spent on maintaining an Army large enough to defend America.

✓ **Build a defense for America**

**against ballistic missiles.** The U.S territory is defenseless against long-range (strategic) missile attack. Former Secretary of Defense Les Aspin identified “new nuclear dangers” as one of the most dangerous post-Cold War threats that U.S defense policy needs to address. This threat specifically includes nuclear-armed ballistic missiles. In a speech before the National War College in March of 1993, Aspin described the “new nuclear danger” as “no more than a handful of nuclear warheads in the hands of terrorists, terrorist states, and other organizations.” Aspin went on to call for “...protection for the United States or its troops...and that means SDI [strategic defenses] or some restructuring of SDI...”<sup>6</sup> President Bush’s last defense budget requested \$5.4 billion for strategic missile defense.<sup>7</sup> Congress provided only \$3.8 billion for missile defense for fiscal 1993. Yet during the same year, Congress spent \$4.6 billion of “defense” dollars for the World Cup and World University Games, the Hawaiian Volcano Observatory, the Texas Regional Institute for Environmental Studies, and other projects.

**Tell It Like It Is.** The American people entered the post-Cold War era expecting a “peace dividend.” The fall of the Soviet Union and collapse of worldwide communism implied that vast savings could now be gleaned from the defense budget. Liberal lawmakers and pundits railed against the “bloated” Pentagon budget. With the election of President Clinton, they saw an opportunity to re-

### "Non-Defense" Defense Spending: What Could be Bought with the Money



Source: Heritage calculations, based on GAO and DoD figures.

6 Les Aspin, speech to the National War College, Fort McNair, Washington, D.C., March 25, 1993.

7 The Bush Administration’s fiscal 1992 request was sufficient to keep the U.S. strategic program on track for full deployment of ballistic missile defenses by 2002, which The Heritage Foundation has recommended. See Baker Spring, “A Plan for Preserving America’s Military Strength,” Heritage Foundation *Memo To: President-Elect Clinton* No. 4, December 28, 1992.

duce defense spending in order to fund—to use the President’s word—greater “investment” in domestic spending programs.

Today, as the Clinton Administration’s defense cuts begin to take hold, many Americans are concerned that the readiness and quality of U.S. armed forces are deteriorating. Indeed, indicators in a number of areas—the quality of new recruits, the maintenance levels of military equipment, and the dramatic reduction in acquisition of new weapons and technology—show clearly that such large cuts are taking place too quickly.<sup>8</sup> As U.S. forces are stretched thin by continuing security commitments around the globe, the time has come to end the use of defense dollars to fund civilian priorities like medical research and a host of pet congressional projects. Funding for these programs should be debated and provided in the domestic budget categories where they belong, not hidden within the defense budget.

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<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the decline in American military readiness, see John Luddy, “Stop the Slide Toward a Hollow Military,” Heritage Foundation *Background Update* No. 209, January 14, 1994, and Baker Spring, “Clinton’s Defense Budget Falls Far Short,” Heritage Foundation *Background Update* No. 217, March 15, 1994.



# APPENDIX

## Some Non-Defense-Related Programs Funded by the Defense Department, 1993

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National Guard Civilian Youth Opportunities Pilot Program	\$30,000,000
National Guard Civilian Youth Program	\$14,000,000
National Guard Outreach Los Angeles	\$10,000,000
Urban Youth Program	\$3,000,000
STARBASE Youth Education Program	\$2,256,000
Defense Conversion	\$472,000,000
Active Forces Transition Enhancements	\$254,000,000
Disaster Relief	\$70,000,000
Disaster Relief Efforts	\$50,000,000
Philadelphia Naval Shipyard Economic Conversion	\$50,000,000
Legacy Resource Management	\$50,000,000
Guard and Reserve Transition Initiatives	\$40,000,000
Civilian Community Corps	\$40,000,000
Presidio of San Francisco	\$27,000,000
Disaster Relief Planning	\$10,000,000
World Cup USA	\$9,000,000
Environmental Impact on Indian Lands	\$8,000,000
World University Games	\$6,000,000
Defense Conversion Commission	\$5,000,000
National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice	\$2,700,000
Summer Olympics	\$2,000,000
National Guard Health Care to Communities	\$1,500,000
Hawaiian Volcano Observatory	\$500,000
Breast Cancer Research	\$210,000,000
AIDS Research	\$56,891,000
National Defense Center for Environmental Excellence	\$20,000,000
Synaptic Transmission Research	\$3,000,000
Prostate Disease Research	\$2,000,000

National Center for Advanced Gear Manufacturing	\$5,000,000
Strategic Environmental Research and Development Program	\$180,000,000
Sematech Research	\$100,000,000
Dual-Use Critical Technology Partnerships	\$100,000,000
Regional Technology Alliances Assistance Program	\$100,000,000
Manufacturing Extension Programs	\$100,000,000
Defense Dual-Use Assistance Extension Program	\$100,000,000
University Research Grants	\$171,450,000
Multiuse High-Performance Computing	\$68,600,000
High-Temperature Superconductor/Diamond materials	\$65,000,000
Commercial-Military Integration Partnerships	\$50,000,000
Multi-Chip Modules	\$46,200,000
Advanced Materials Synthesis and Processing	\$30,000,000
Manufacturing Engineering Education Programs	\$30,000,000
Agile Manufacturing and Enterprise Integration	\$30,000,000
Rapid Prototyping of Application Specific Signal Processors	\$26,000,000
Defense Advanced Manufacturing Technology Partnerships	\$25,000,000
Superconducting Magnetic Energy Storage	\$20,000,000
Medical Free Electron Laser	\$20,000,000
Historically Black Colleges and Universities	\$15,000,000
Infrared Focal Plane Array Technology	\$15,000,000
Multifunction Self-Aligned Gate Technology	\$10,000,000
U.S.-Japan Management Training	\$10,000,000
Texas Regional Institute for Environmental Studies	\$5,000,000
Coal Utilization Center	\$5,000,000
Acoustic Charge Transport	\$5,000,000
Assistance to Local Educational Agencies	\$50,000,000
Tidelands for Washington State	\$5,000,000
Natural Gas Fuel Cell Demonstration	\$18,000,000
Natural Gas Cooling Demonstration	\$6,000,000

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**Source:** General Accounting Office.