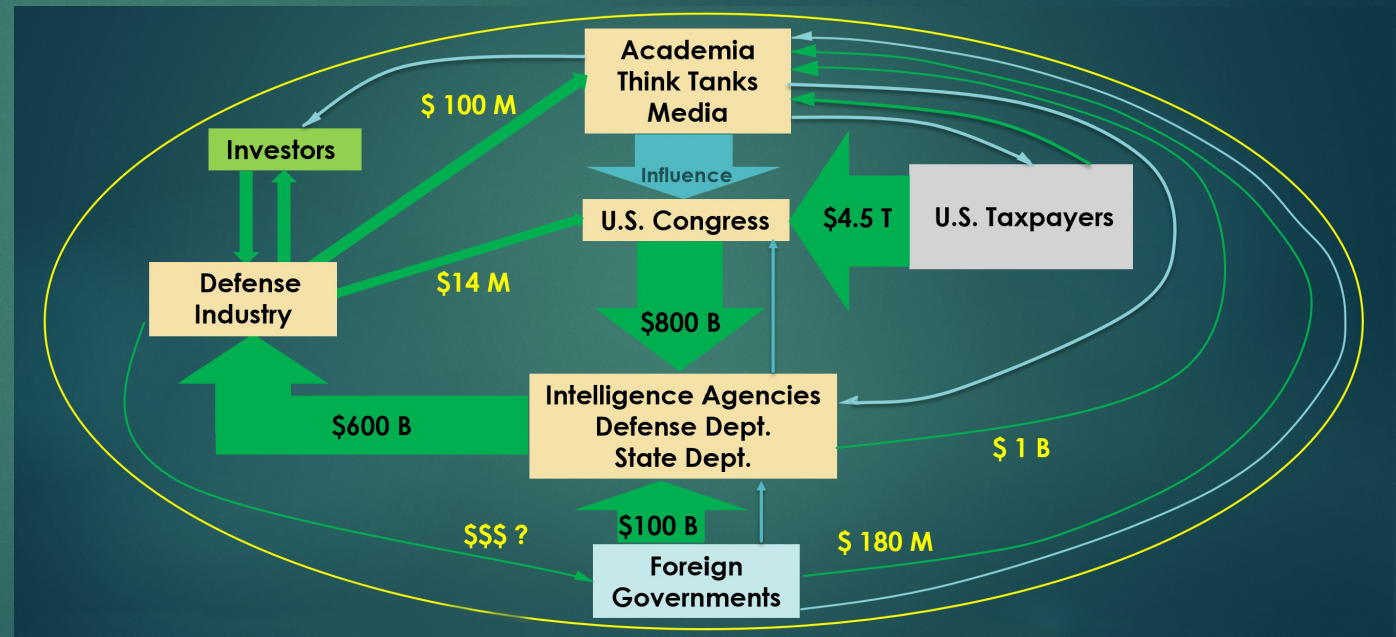


THE STRUCTURE OF AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY COLLECTIVE

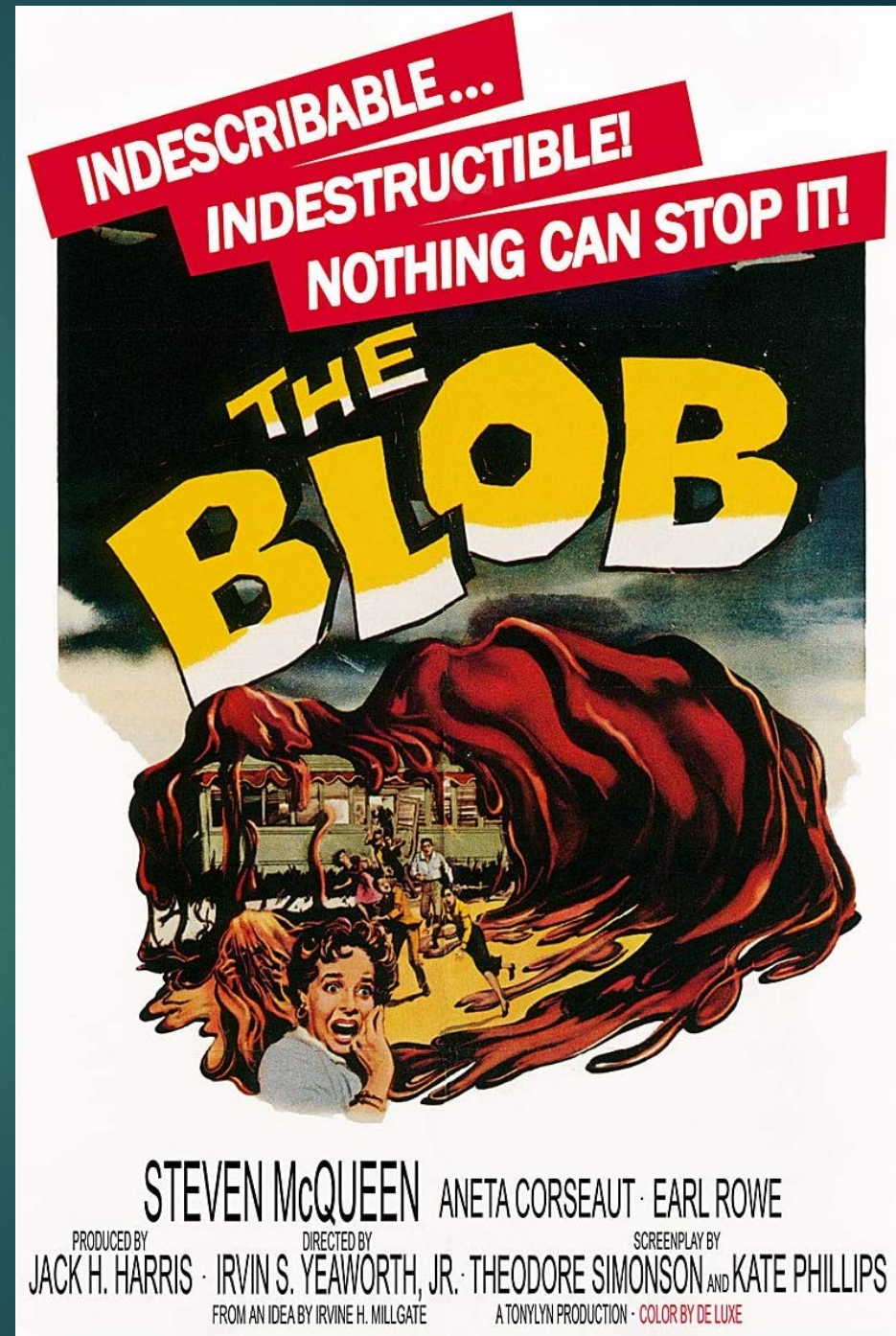
HAIG HOVANESS
CO-CHAIR, GREEN PARTY
PEACE ACTION COMMITTEE

The Anatomy of the Blob



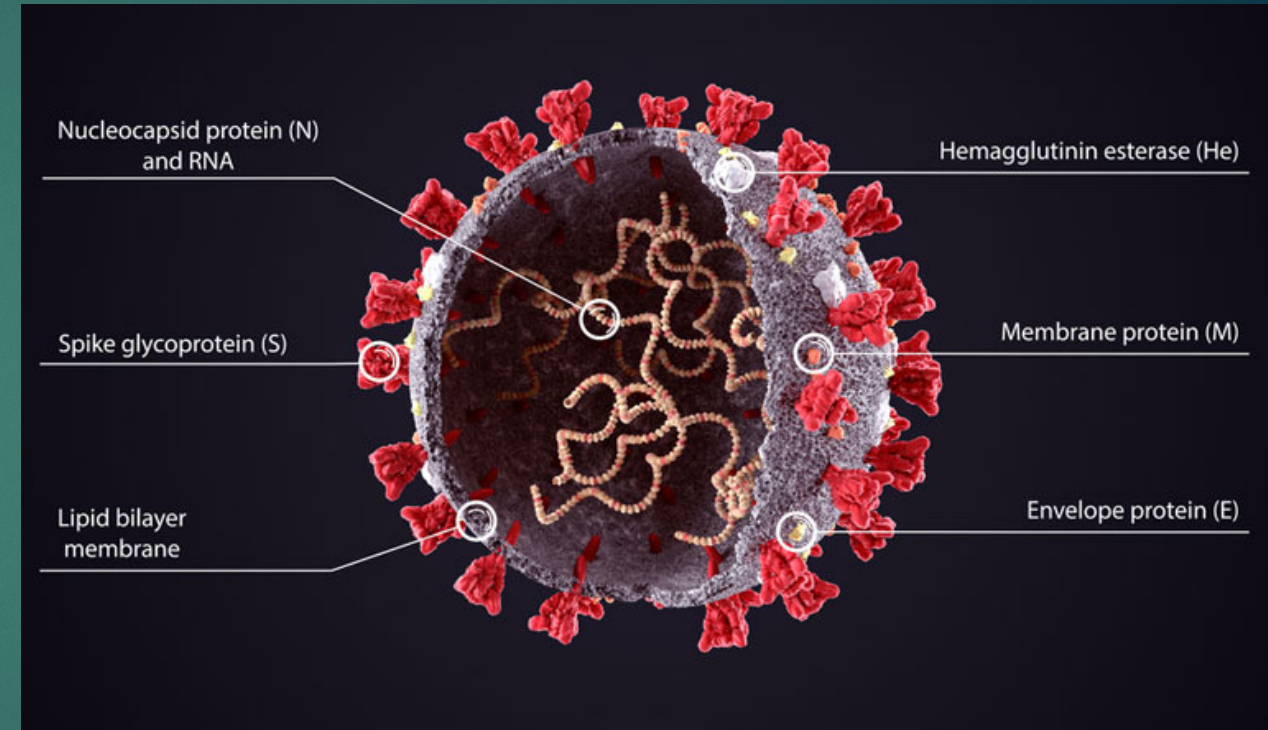
What Is the Blob?

- ▶ A powerful network of persons and institutions with convergent interests enabling a militaristic U.S. foreign policy
- ▶ The ideology of the Blob is liberal hegemony, the aggressive propagation of democracy and free market economies
- ▶ The Blob employs militaristic foreign policy to impose U.S. liberal hegemony on the world
- ▶ Blob term origin: Ben Rhodes, Obama advisor, author of "The Worlds As It Is" 2018



Presentation Overview

- Meet the Blob
 - Origins
 - Malignancy
 - Components
- An Anatomical Model
 - Circulatory system = money
 - Nervous system = influence
 - Pathology = militaristic policy
- Analysis and Reform
 - Vulnerable nodes
 - Opposition tactics
 - Prospects for change
 - Recommendations



Why Does the Blob Matter?

The Blob pursues malignant policies

- ▶ The Blob kills people and wrecks nations
- ▶ The Blob increases the danger of nuclear war
- ▶ The Blob diverts enormous resources from civil society
- ▶ The Blob operates according to an ideology that does not acknowledge failure

Why Is the Blob's Structure Important?

- ▶ The Blob dominates Washington policy and has overwhelming financial, political, and media resources compared to peace activists
- ▶ Successfully challenging the Blob requires determining where it is vulnerable
- ▶ Vulnerabilities can be determined by understanding the anatomy of the Blob

Blob Origins and Evolution

- Truman launches the national security state 1945-1950
- Eisenhower farewell speech warning 1961
- The early Blob – Military-Industrial Complex
- From MIC to MICIMAT
Military-Industrial-Congressional-Intelligence-Media-Academic-Think Tank complex
- Phase I rationale: Anti-Communism
- Phase II rationale: Anti-Terrorism
- Current Phase rationale: Anti-Authoritarianism
- Governing ideology: militaristic pursuit of Liberal Hegemony

What Is U.S. Liberal Hegemony?

- The U.S. is an exceptional nation
- The U.S. has an historic duty to *impose* its political and economic model on the nations of the world
 - “Democratic” government (plutocracy)
 - “Free-market” economy (corporatocracy)
 - U.S. military supremacy needed to maintain order
 - U.S. “rules” supersede international law

In short: America's elite control the world

The Blob's Greatest Hits

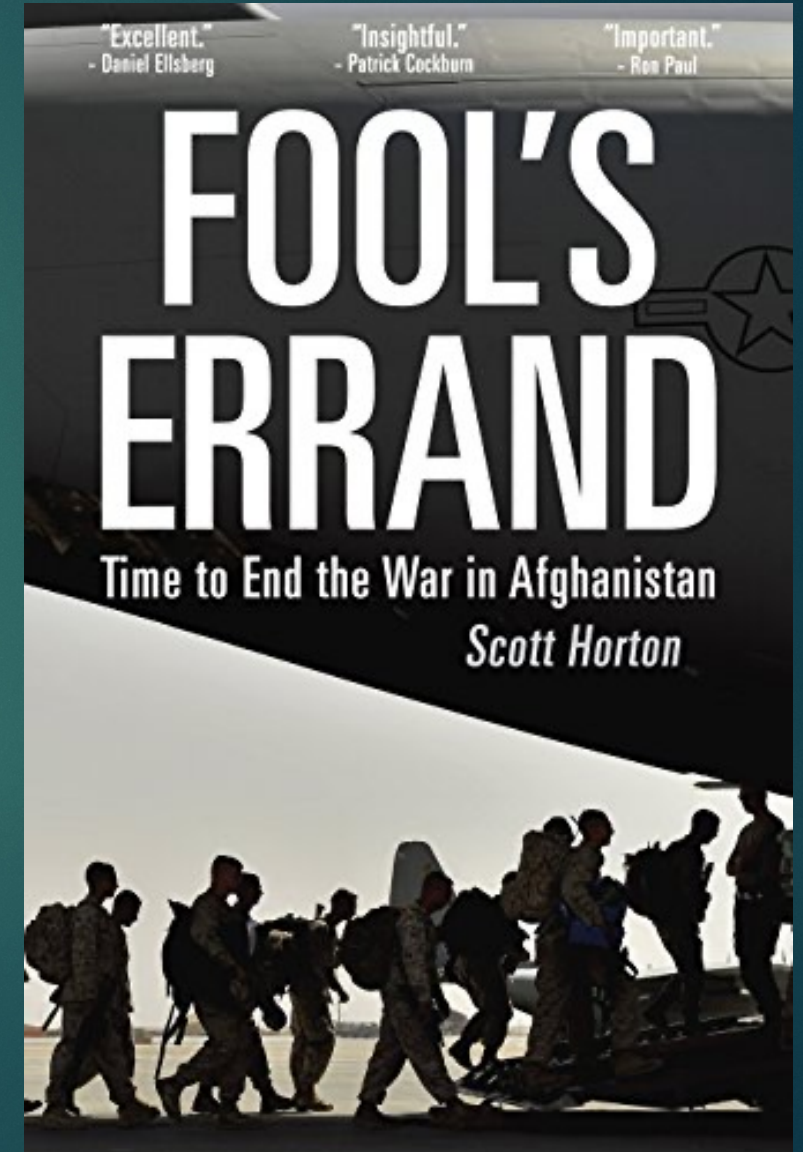
- ▶ Afghanistan
- ▶ Iraq
- ▶ Libya
- ▶ Syria
- ▶ Ukraine



The Blob's Failure in Afghanistan

America's 20 year, \$3 Trillion investment in Afghanistan ends in humiliating retreat, leaving a devastated and impoverished nation.

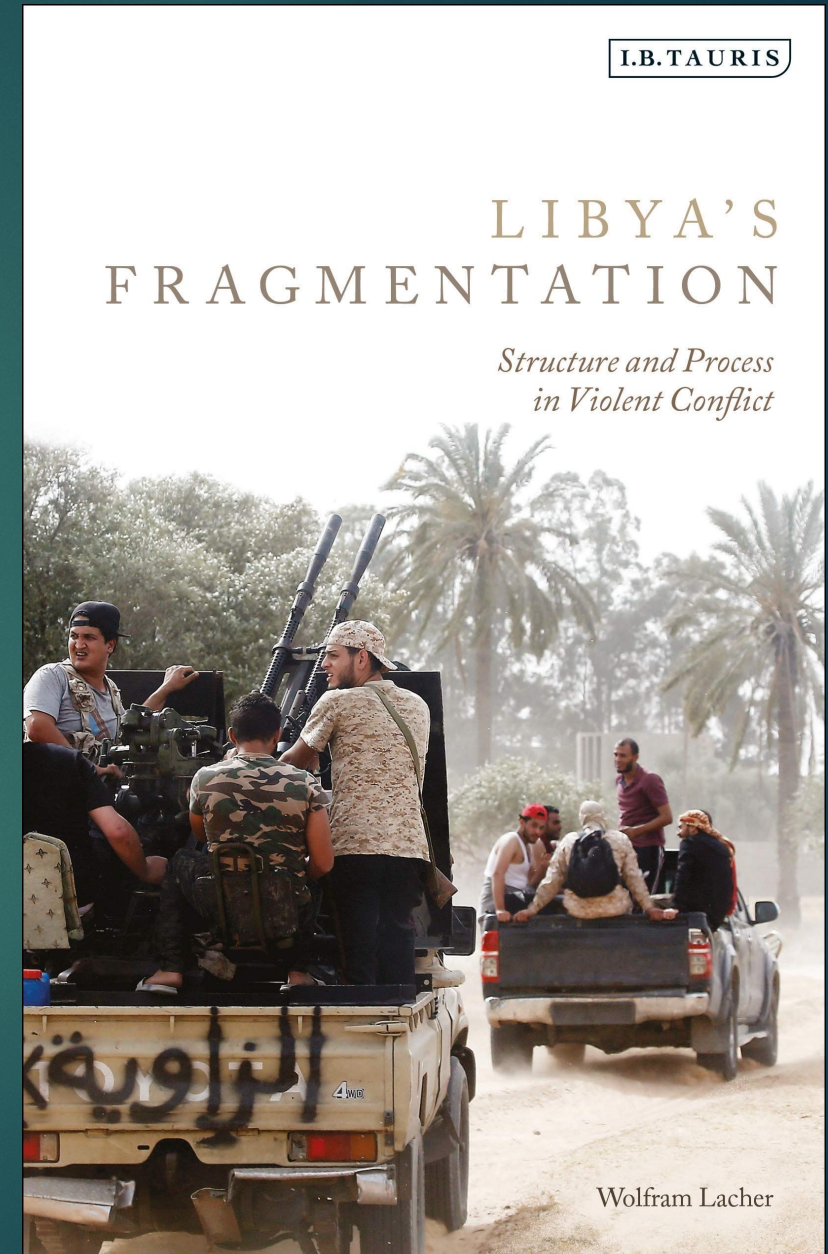
176,000 killed



The Blob's Failure in Libya

The Blob's attack on Libya transformed the most prosperous nation in Africa into a failed state wracked by civil war.

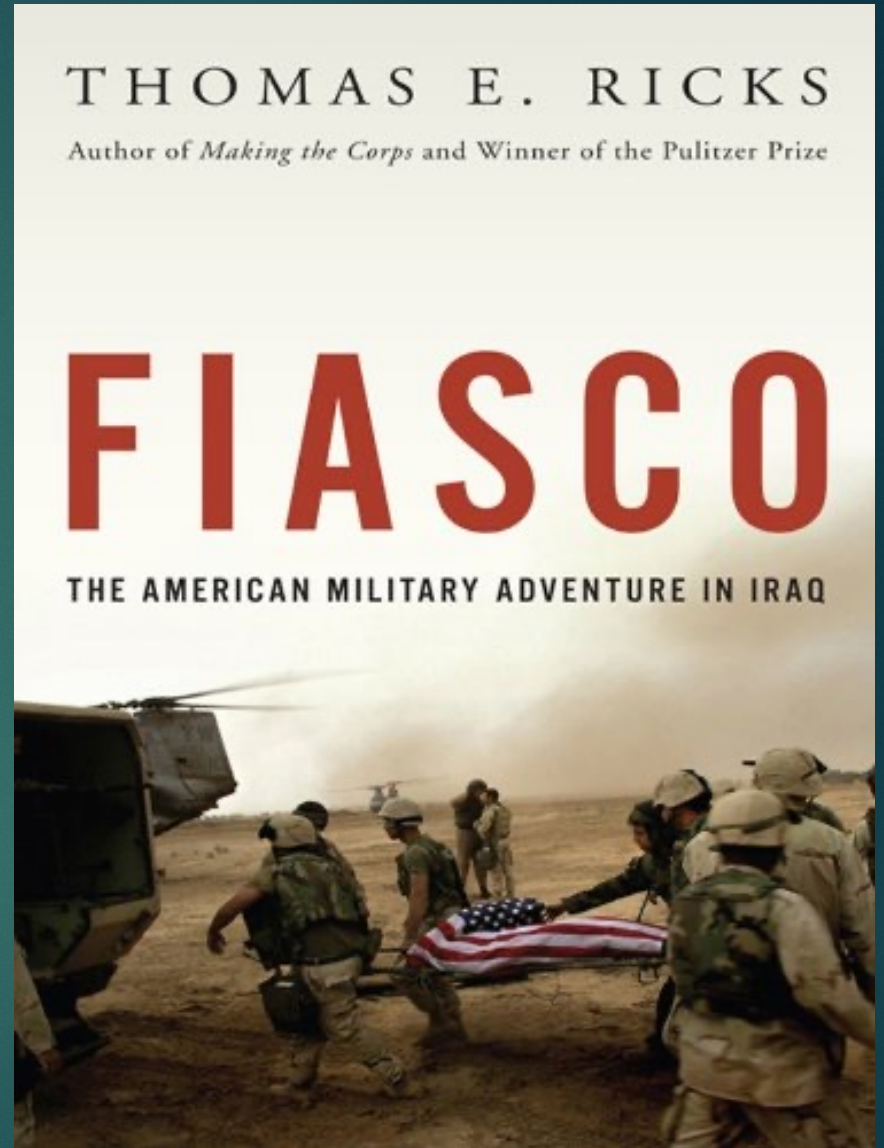
2,500 killed



The Blob's Failure in Iraq

An illegal war of aggression, based on lies, inflicted enormous damage, ignited a civil war, strengthened the influence of Iran, and gave rise to ISIS, further destabilizing the region

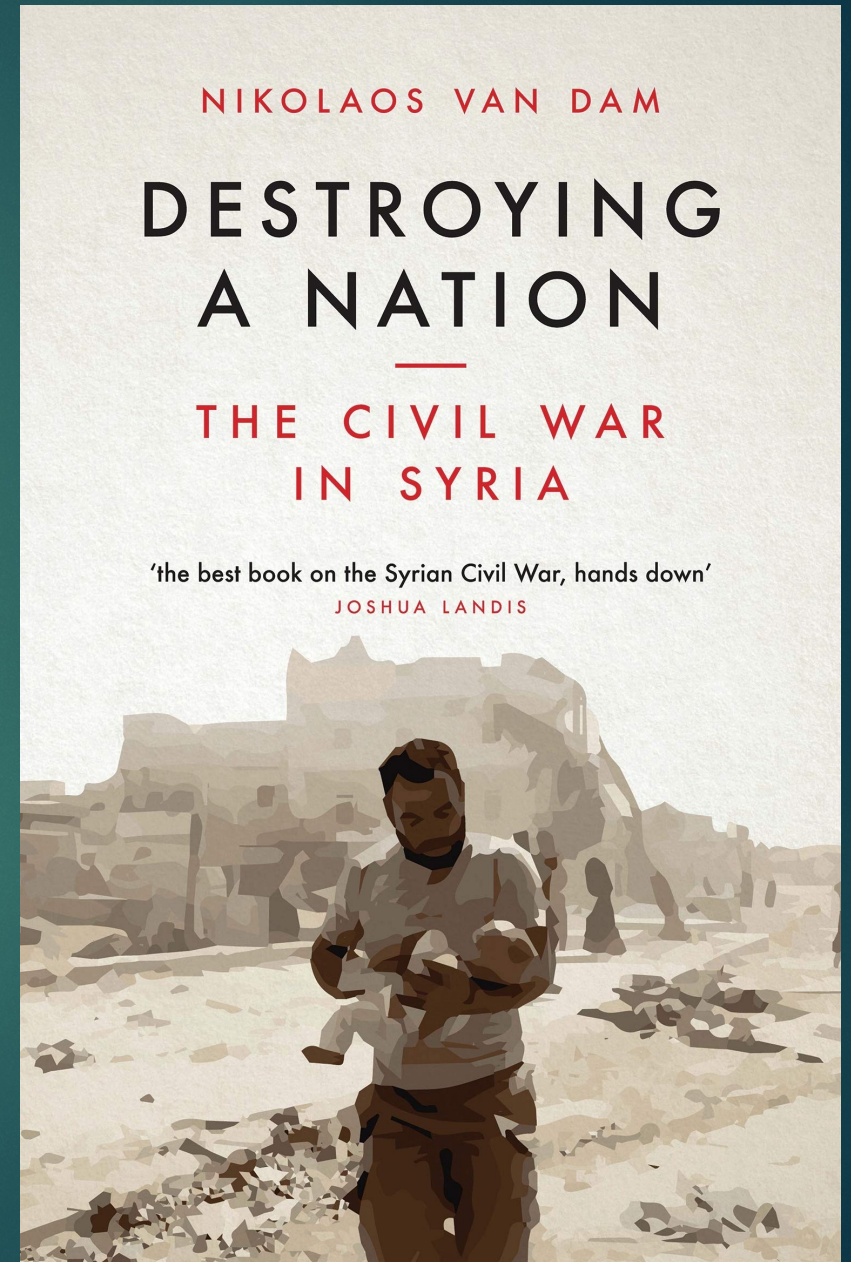
190,000 killed



The Blob's Failure in Syria

A clandestine proxy war aimed at regime change devastated Syria, armed Islamic radicals, and encouraged Kurdish nationalists. Russian intervention preserved the regime, but the U.S. continues to illegally occupy portions of Syria, with no clear objectives.

307,000 killed



The Blob's Failure in Ukraine (ongoing)

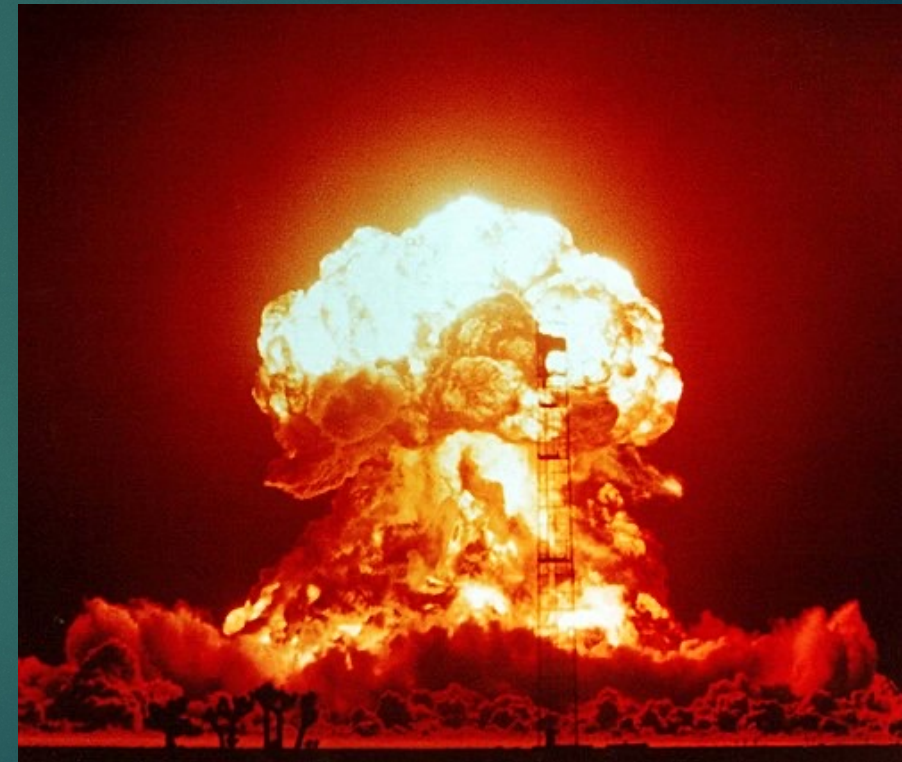
- ▶ NATO moves to include Ukraine trigger devastating war
- ▶ Economic sanctions resulting from war damaging EU and global economies
- ▶ Risk of escalation to nuclear war
- ▶ Russia driven into a strong alliance with China, creating a Eurasian hyper-power

> 30,000 killed



The Blob Increases the Risk of Nuclear War

- ▶ Encouraging arms-racing (full-spectrum dominance)
- ▶ Withdrawal from strategic arms control treaties
 - ▶ ABM
 - ▶ INF
 - ▶ Open Skies
- ▶ Promotion of destabilizing weapons programs
 - ▶ Anti-Ballistic Missile systems
 - ▶ Anti-satellite weapons
 - ▶ Cyberwarfare
 - ▶ Tactical nuclear weapons



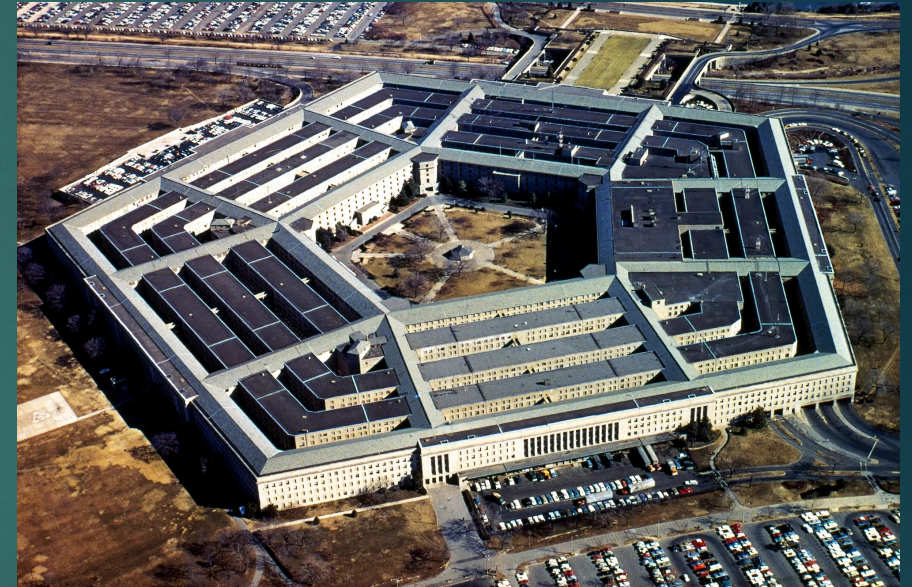
Naming the Parts of the Blob (MICIMAT)

- ▶ Military
- ▶ Intelligence agencies
- ▶ Congress
- ▶ Defense Industry
- ▶ Media
- ▶ Think Tanks

Naming the Parts of the Blob (MICIMAT)

▶ Military

- ▶ \$800 Billion defense budget
- ▶ Permanent war since 9/11
- ▶ Active and retired officers increasingly influential
- ▶ Expanding arms race (cyber and space weapons)
- ▶ Generating “needs” for new weaponry
- ▶ Global presence 800+ bases
- ▶ Full Spectrum Dominance strategy



Naming the Parts of the Blob (MICIMAT)

- ▶ Defense Industry
 - ▶ Steady growth
 - ▶ Poor accountability
 - ▶ Effective lobbying
 - ▶ Revolving door careers



Relative Size of Leading U.S. Corporations

Top 5 Defense	2021 Revenue	Top 5 Non-Defense	2021 Revenue
Lockheed-Martin	\$64 Billion	Walmart	\$573 Billion
Raytheon	\$64 Billion	Amazon	\$470 Billion
Boeing	\$62 Billion	CVS Health	\$292 Billion
General Dynamics	\$38 Billion	Apple	\$366 Billion
Northrup Grumman	\$36 Billion	United Healthcare	\$288 Billion

Defense corporations are a relatively small sector of the U.S. economy (5% of GDP), but their political influence dominates government defense expenditures, currently about \$800 billion, which make up nearly half of the discretionary Federal budget

Naming the parts of the Blob (MICIMAT)

▶ U.S. Congress

- ▶ Controls the purse, funding government functions
- ▶ Abdication of war powers
- ▶ Faulty oversight of defense establishment
- ▶ No significant distinction between major parties on defense issues



Naming the parts of the Blob (MICIMAT)

- ▶ Intelligence agencies
 - ▶ Expansion beyond information gathering
 - ▶ Proliferation of agencies post 9/11
 - ▶ Politicization of intelligence
 - ▶ Erosion of civil liberties
 - ▶ Collapse of oversight
 - ▶ Mythologized in popular culture



Naming the Parts of the Blob (MICIMAT)

- ▶ Media
 - ▶ Journalism
 - ▶ Hollywood
 - ▶ Social media



Naming the parts of the Blob (MICIMAT)

► Academia

- Graduate programs dominated by Blob ideology
- Grooming process for Blob recruits
- Professors provide expertise supporting Blob policies



Naming the parts of the Blob (MICIMAT)

▶ Think Tanks

- ▶ Dominated by Blob ideology
- ▶ Declining research quality
- ▶ Recycling area for former government personnel
- ▶ Heavily funded by defense industry



Blob Think Tanks Dominate Policy Discourse

10 Most Influential Think Tanks

Organization	Blob-Aligned
Brookings Institution	Yes
Heritage Foundation	Yes
Council on Foreign Relations	Yes
Cato Institute	Yes
Center for Strategic and International Studies	Yes
American Enterprise Institute	Yes
RAND Corporation	Yes
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	Yes
Atlantic Council	Yes
Hoover Institution	Yes

The Blob Diverts Resources from Civil Society and Harms the Environment

- ▶ 800+ military bases worldwide
- ▶ U.S. military budget over \$800 billion and growing
- ▶ Military Keynesianism an unsound justification
- ▶ Contractor corruption
- ▶ U.S. military a top polluter
 - ▶ Superfund sites
 - ▶ Fossil fuel consumption



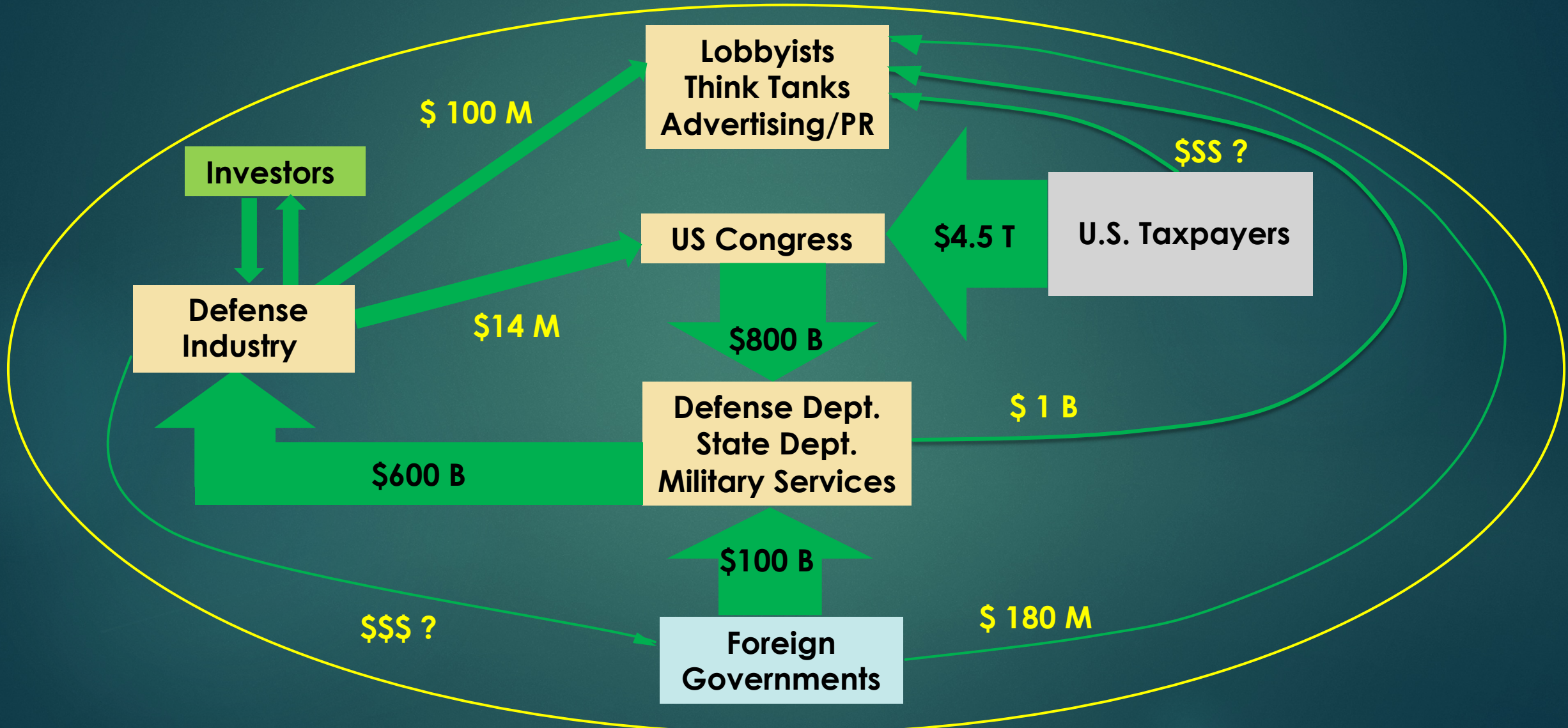
Is the Blob Held Accountable?

Name	Prior Activity	Current Position
Anthony Blinken	Supported U.S. invasion of Iraq	Secretary of State
Jake Sullivan	Involved in decisions resulting in war in Libya	National Security Advisor
Victoria Nuland	Involved in creation of pro-U.S. government in Ukraine	Under Secretary of State
Llyod Austin	Commanded forces in Iraq	Secretary of Defense
Mark Milley	Commanded forces in Afghanistan	Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff
Thomas Friedman	New York Times Op-Ed columnist supporting Iraq war	New York Times Op-Ed columnist supporting Ukraine war
Jeffrey Goldberg	Journalist supporting Iraq war	Chief Editor, Atlantic Magazine

► **Conclusion: The Blob remains firmly in control of U.S. foreign policy**

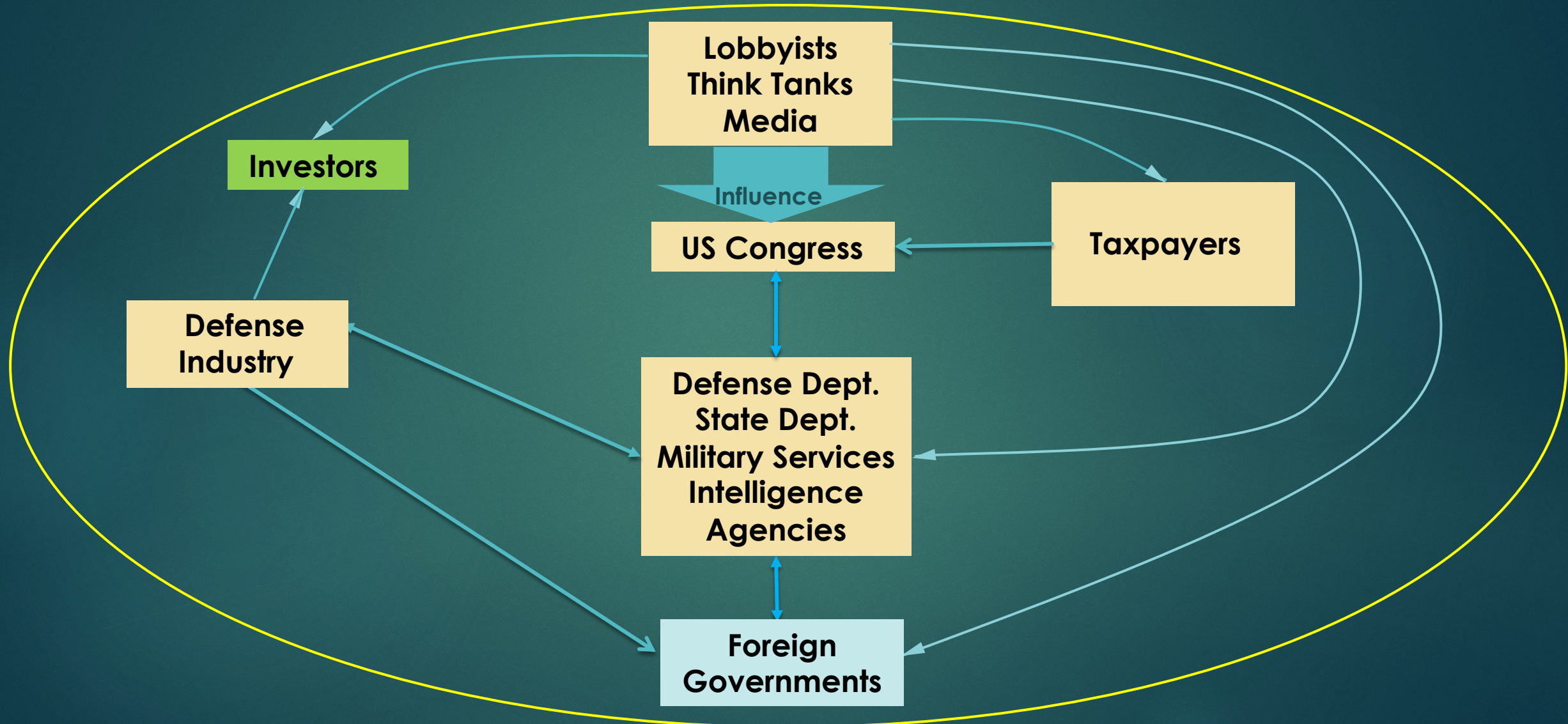
Anatomy of the Blob

The Financial Circulatory System

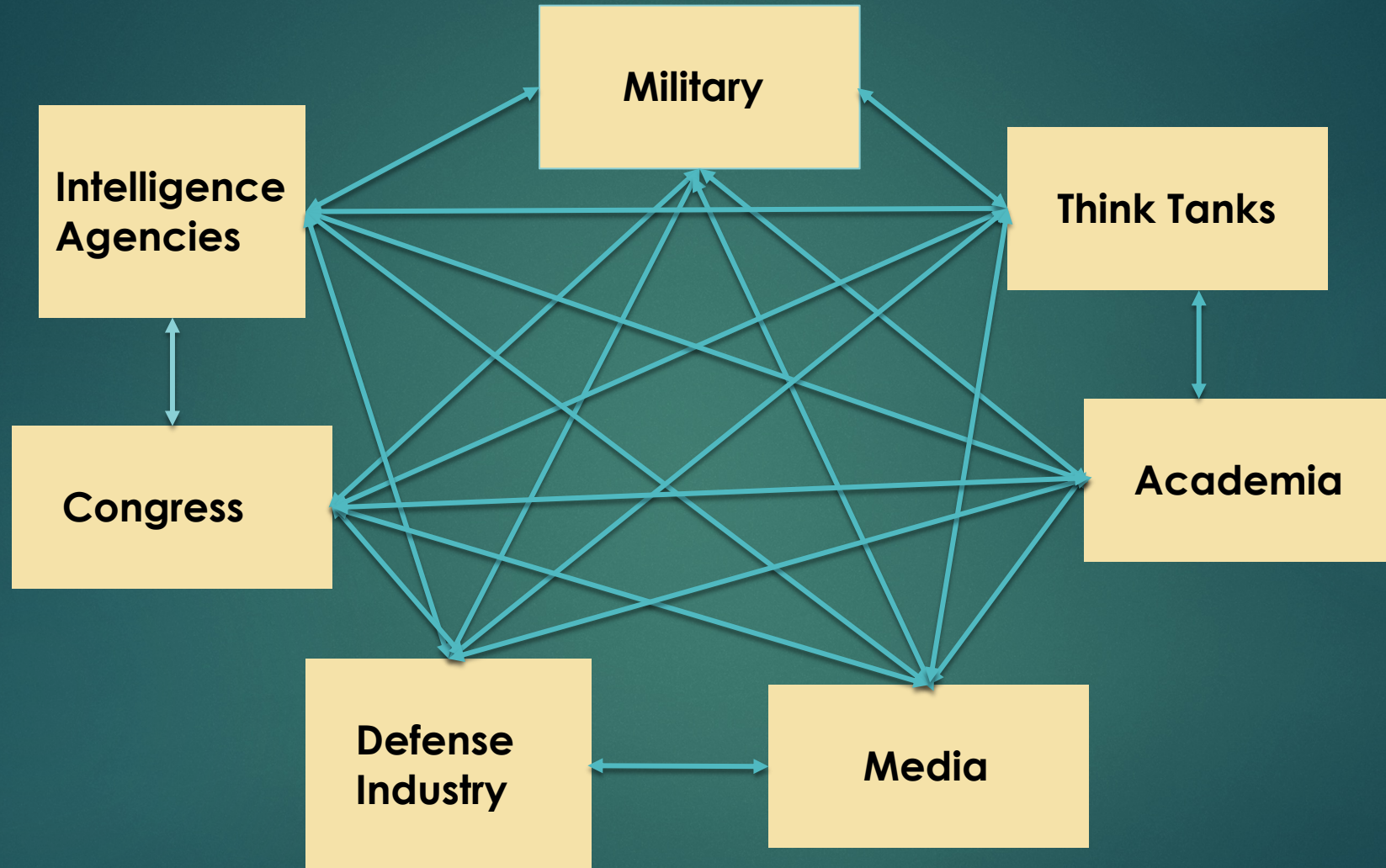


Anatomy of the Blob

The Influence Nervous System



The Blob Influence Network



The Triumph of Stealthy Influence

- ▶ Stealthy influence techniques
 - ▶ Marker trading (influence credits)
 - ▶ Deferred benefits
 - ▶ Cut-outs (use of intermediaries)
 - ▶ Revolving door careers
 - ▶ Nepotism



A Small Sample of the Blob's Influence Network: The Kagan Clan



A Rare Stealth Corruption Failure

The U.S. Aerial Tanker Saga – Part I

- ▶ U.S. establishes requirement to replace aerial tanker fleet (2000)
- ▶ Boeing proposes costly lease deal for tankers
- ▶ Lease deal supported by Darleen Druyun, Air Force Undersecretary for procurement (2002)
- ▶ Druyun takes job at Boeing with \$250,000 annual salary and \$50,000 signing bonus (2003)
- ▶ Druyan convicted of conspiring with Boeing and sentenced to 9 months (2004)
 - ▶ Boeing CFO, Michael Sears fired (2005)
 - ▶ Boeing CEO, Phil Condit resigns (2005)



Darleen Druyun

Boeing Wins the Long Game: The U.S. Aerial Tanker saga – Part II

- ▶ 2006 Air Force cancels Boeing tanker contract
- ▶ 2008 U.S. awards new tanker aircraft contract to Airbus/Northrup Grumman
- ▶ Boeing protests contract award and wins rebid decision
- ▶ 2008 U.S. Air Force reopens tanker contract competition
- ▶ 2011 Boeing wins tanker contract
- ▶ 2014 Boeing KC-46 makes first test flight, problems found
- ▶ 2019 First KC-46 deliveries to USAF, continuing problems reported
- ▶ 2022 KC-46 still not fully mission capable because of unresolved problems with refueling system
- ▶ Total estimated KC-46 program cost: **\$43 Billion**

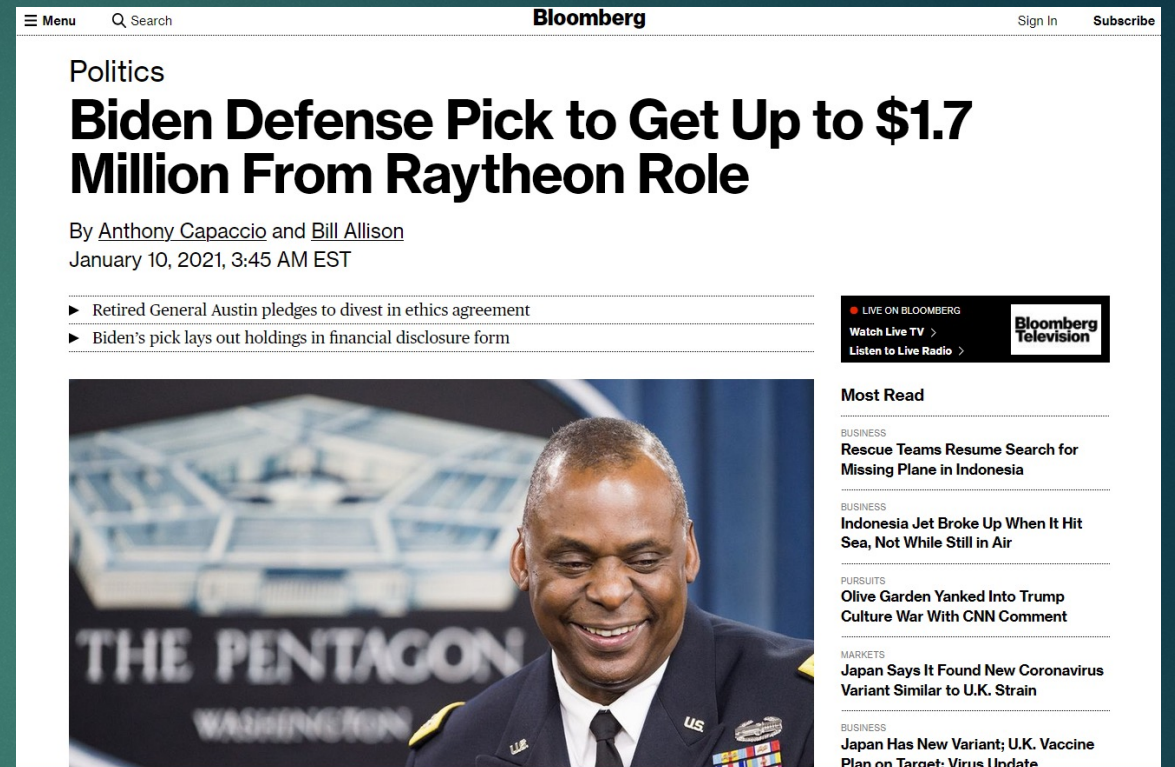


The Revolving Door Spins

2019



2021



Mark Esper worked as vice president of governmental relations for Raytheon from 2010 to 2017.

Lloyd Austin was a member of the Raytheon board of directors from 2016 to 2021.

The Latest Blob Embarrassment: Brookings Head Resigns

- Typical Blob career progression: from military, to lobbying, to think tank
 - Allen retires as four-star general
 - Under investigation for illegal lobbying for government of Qatar
 - Appointed head of “independent” Brookings Institution think tank
 - Resigns after disclosure of investigation

The New York Times

John R. Allen Resigns as Brookings President After Qatar Revelations

Mr. Allen, a retired four-star general, had been on administrative leave amid a federal inquiry into whether he had secretly lobbied for the government of Qatar.

 Give this article

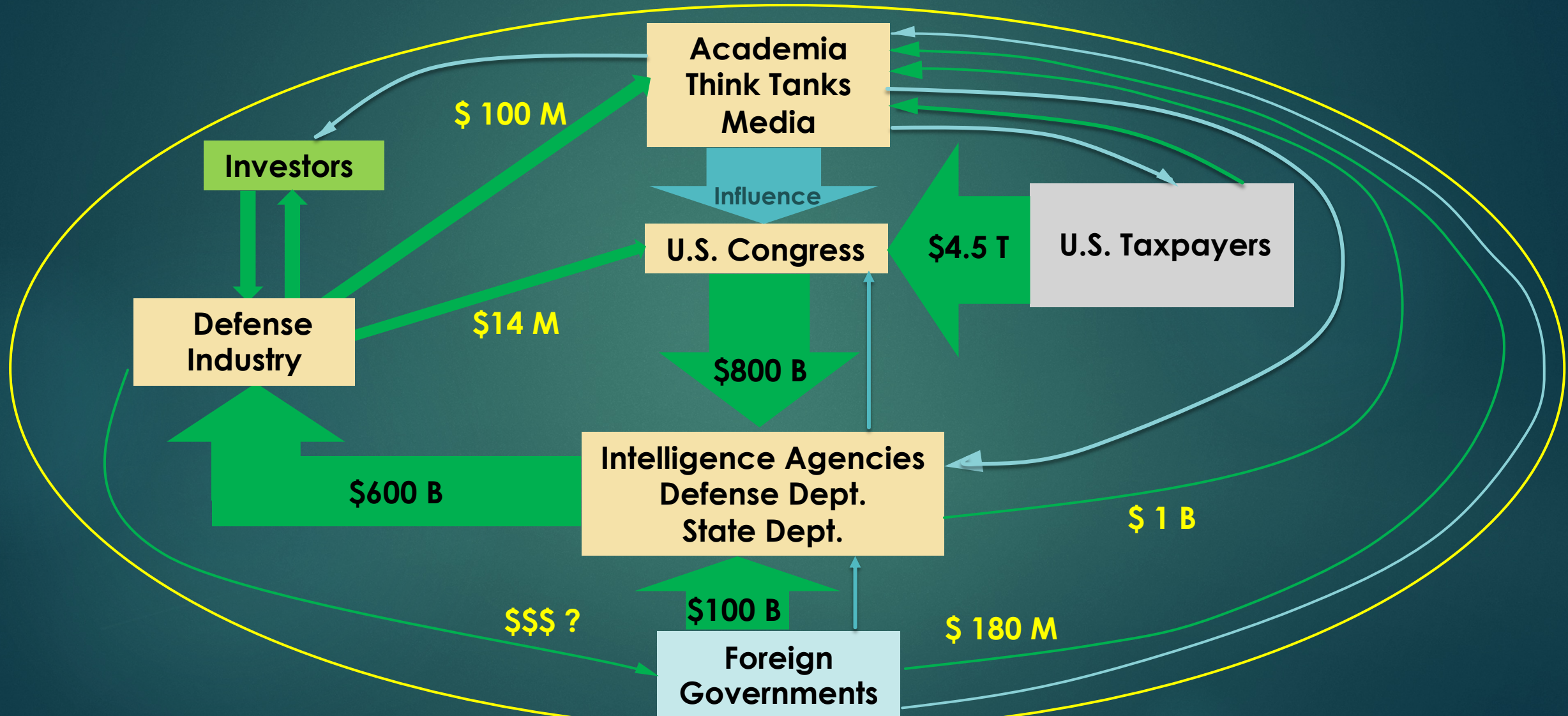


 15



Anatomy of the Blob

Combined Financial and Influence flows



Where is the Blob vulnerable?

- ▶ The Congressional committees controlling funding
 - ▶ A small number of house and senate members control the defense budget
 - ▶ Campaign funding is vital to securing and holding seats in Congress
- ▶ The corporate funding of key politicians
 - ▶ Citizen action against arms makers funding campaigns
 - ▶ ESG institutional investor activism against politically active arms makers

How Congress Funds the Military

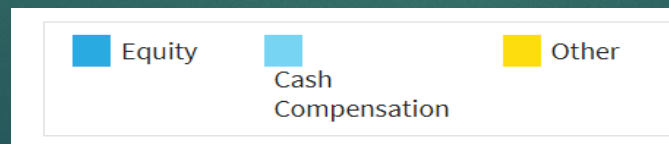
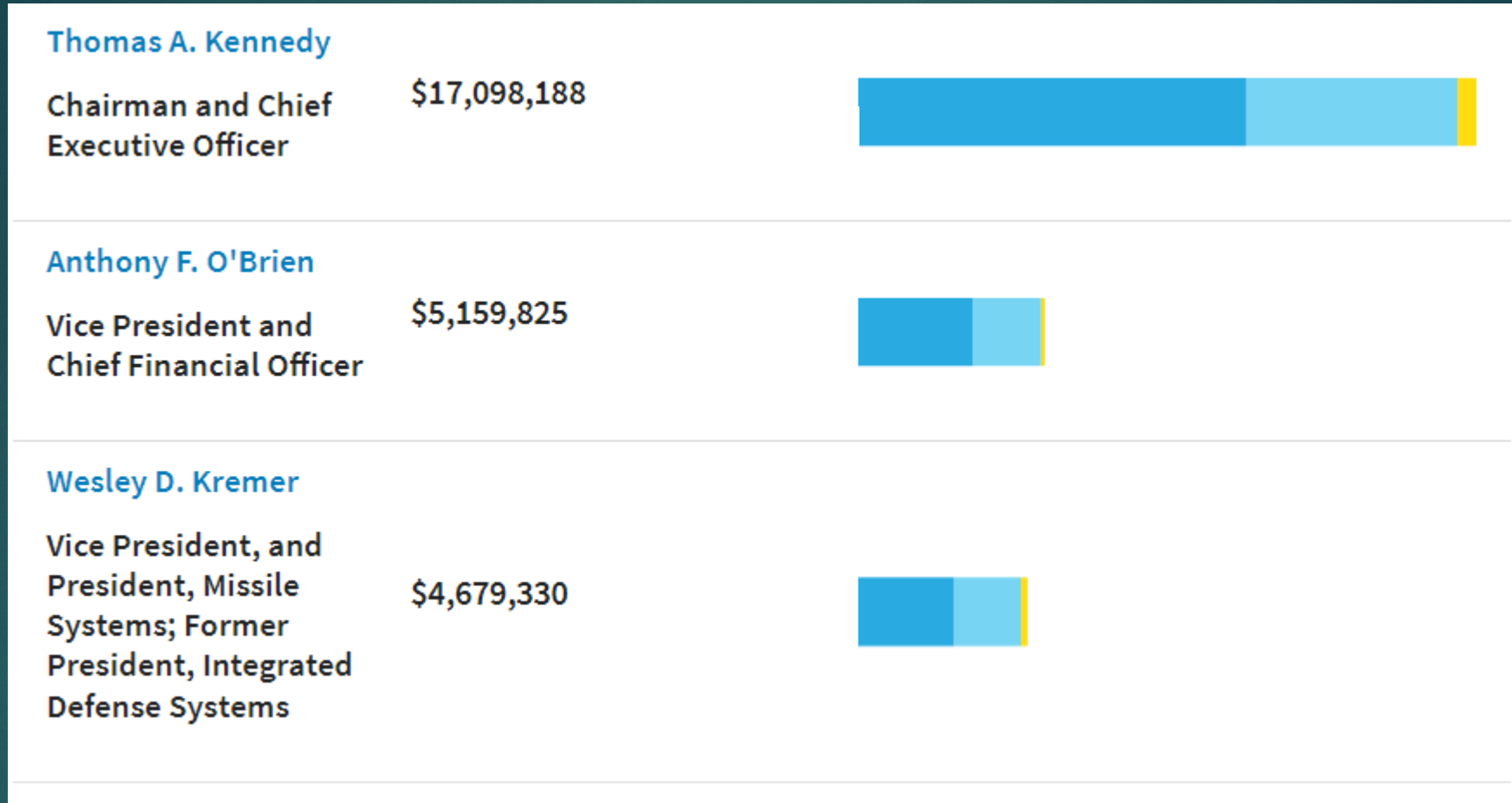
Committee	House Members	Senate Members
Appropriations	59	30
Armed Services	59	24

- ▶ Party leaders control committee appointments
- ▶ Committee chairs control committee agenda
- ▶ Blob campaign donors protect Blob-friendly committee member seats
- ▶ Average cost of campaign for House seat: \$2 M

Arms Vendors Are Vulnerable To Public and Investor Pressure

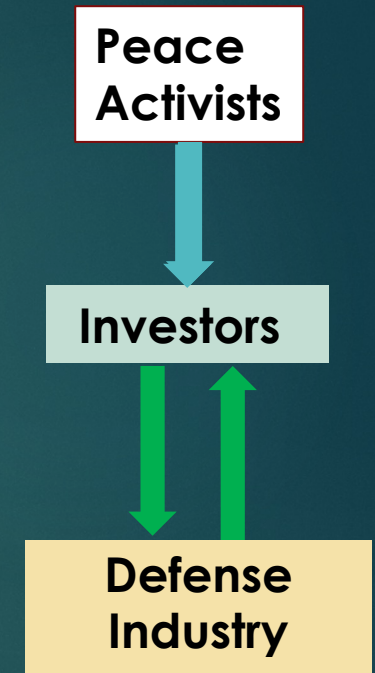


Raytheon Top Management Compensation 2018




Targeted Divestment: A New Way to Fight the Blob

- Executives are increasingly compensated by stock options and grants
- Pay raises and bonuses are tied to stock price targets
- Lowering the stock price directly impacts the earnings of top management
- Divestment of stock by large investment institutions can change the behavior of senior management
- Public investment institutions are increasingly using social responsibility as an investment criterion
- Weapons makers have a social responsibility for the use of their products
- Targeted divestment campaigns can potentially alter the behavior of weapons makers



The Rise of Socially Responsible Investing







MARKETS BUSINESS INVESTING TECH POLITICS CNBC TV WATCHLIST

OPINION - IMPACT INVESTING

Socially responsible investing movement is hot and there are no signs of it cooling off

PUBLISHED MON, MAY 13 2019-9:00 AM EDT | UPDATED MON, MAY 13 2019-9:00 AM EDT

Thomas M. Kostigen, director of sustainability at JConnelly

SHARE    

KEY POINTS

- There is now more than \$12 trillion invested in socially responsible ways. That's 1 out of 4 of the total assets under management in the U.S.
- Nearly every S&P 500 firm now issues a sustainability report. Yet businesses are not celebrating their social impact — even though many have embraced corporate social responsibility practices.
- SRI is on the rise is because investors are realizing they can have a say in and align with an organization's mission; not its profit, nor its numbers something much more than earnings: its purpose.

New York Announces Historic Fossil Fuel Divestment Plan

December 09, 2020

Rich Schrader



In a historic move, New York State announced it will... Retirement Fund from fossil fuels—among the largest undertaken in the nation.

Charlottesville Moves to Divest From Fossil Fuels & Arms

By DON RUSH • JUN 10, 2019

 Share  Tweet  Email



CREDIT CREATIVE COMMONS

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. (AP) - Officials in Charlottesville, Virginia, have voted to divest the city's operating budget investments from any entity involved in the production of fossil fuels or weapons.

WVIR-TV reports the City Council voted 4-1 last week to complete those divestments within the next 30 days.

Strategy for Targeting Blob Vulnerabilities

- ▶ Target congressional committees funding the military
 - ▶ Support campaigns to remove Blob-friendly incumbents on defense funding committees
 - ▶ Educate public on role of House Speaker and committee chairpersons in controlling committees
- ▶ Target corporate funding of Blob components
 - ▶ Citizen protest actions against arms makers
 - ▶ Prohibition of political contributions from arms makers
 - ▶ Ban revolving door careerism
 - ▶ Exclusion of arms makers from ESG investment portfolios

The Future of the Blob

The Blob will be defeated in the long term

- ▶ Economic damage resulting from Blob foreign policy will become unacceptable
- ▶ Blob-directed military misadventures will lead to disastrous losses
- ▶ Peace activists will become increasingly effective in discrediting the Blob
- ▶ The Blob will be attacked from both the political left and the right

Economic Damage

- ▶ Backfiring of economic warfare
- ▶ Undermining of dollar reserve currency status
- ▶ Excessive military expenditures



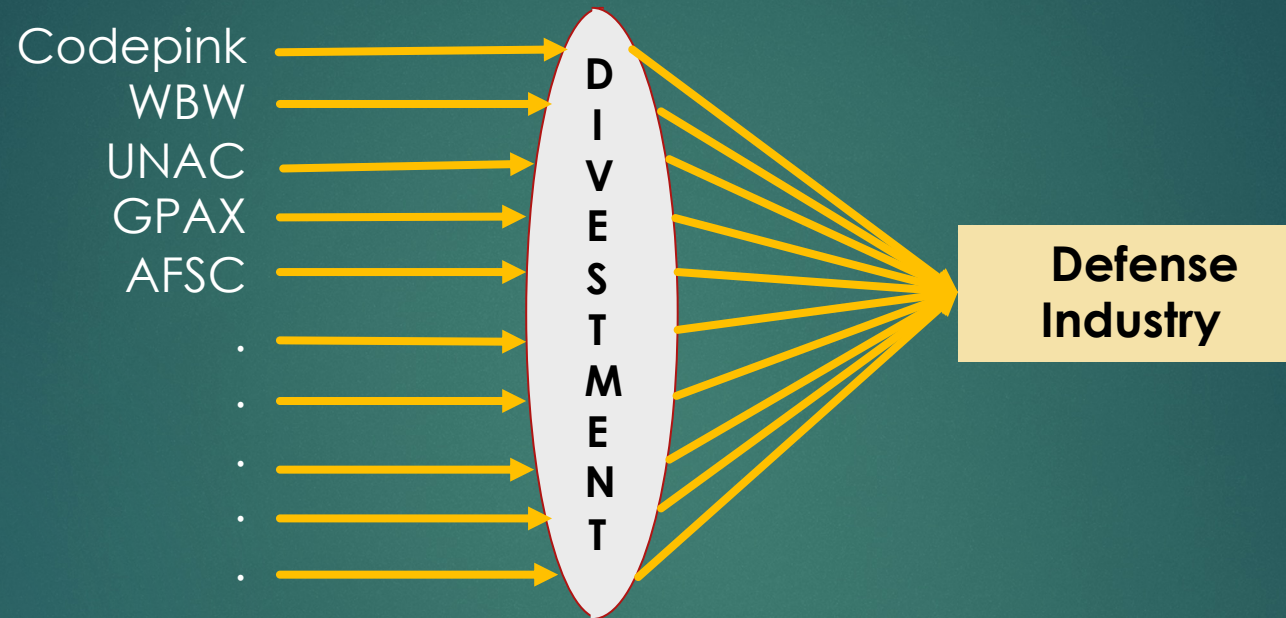
Military Disaster

- ▶ The Blob is preparing for war with China
- ▶ China has the resources and weaponry to defeat the U.S. military
- ▶ Simulations indicate U.S. would lose a conventional war with China
- ▶ Possibility of nuclear escalation



Peace Activists Become More Effective

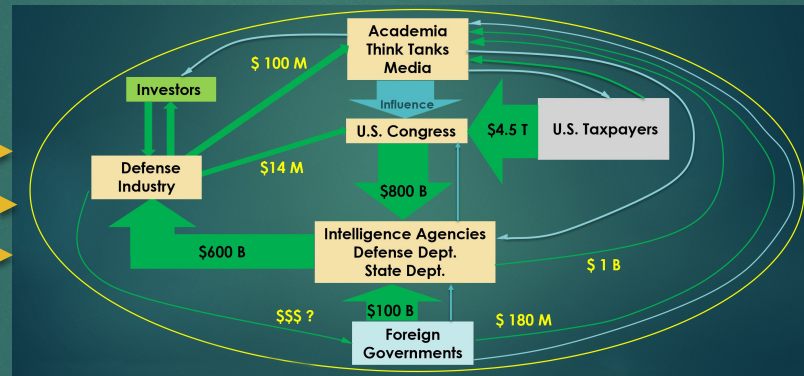
The Case For Concentrated Effort



- ▶ Coordinated divestment campaigns can alter corporate behavior
- ▶ Unified action is the key to building an effective us peace movement

Blob Attacked from Political Left and Right

- Peace activists
- Environmentalists
- Social Justice activists



- Libertarians
- America First populists
- Plutocrats

Summary

- ▶ The Blob is a group of elites controlling U.S. foreign policy
- ▶ The ideology of the blob is militaristic pursuit of liberal hegemony
- ▶ The Blob's actions have resulted in costly and destructive failures
- ▶ The Blob has avoided accountability and remains in control
- ▶ Understanding the structure of the Blob requires determining patterns of financial and influence flows
- ▶ Knowledge of the Blob's structure enables more effective opposition to its actions
- ▶ The Blob is vulnerable in its funding mechanisms
- ▶ The Blob will ultimately be discredited and driven from power
- ▶ Defeat of the Blob should be a primary GP objective

Q & A