II. Containment of the Soviet Union - $114.8 Billion, or 37%

A. Land and Air Forces for West Germany. The biggest single budget category, 28% of the military budget, is the cost of land and air forces for the military occupation of West Germany. At the end of World War II, the armies of Russia and the United States stood facing each other on German soil. They have been standing that way ever since, the wartime allies now enemies. It is not well known by the American public, but **fully two-thirds of the U.S. Army and almost half of the Air Force are prepared to begin fighting World War III in Germany, on a moment's notice.**

The equivalent of five full Army divisions (18,000 soldiers apiece) is already stationed in West Germany. Pentagon plans call for another five divisions to be airlifted there within ten days of a decision to mobilize. This troop commitment to West Germany is the official reason the United States cannot renounce the "first use" of nuclear weapons. Pentagon war plans call for the use of short-range nuclear weapons to keep troop positions in West Germany from being overrun by Russians, even if the Russians have not yet used their own nuclear weapons.

B. First-Strike Nuclear Weapons. Another 10% of the budget goes to counterforce, or "first-strike," nuclear weapons which are said to be essential to protecting U.S. troops in Europe. They would be used to strike the missile silos and submarines of the Soviet Union, destroying any Soviet missiles that have not already been launched. These are the "destabilizing" nuclear weapons which drive the nuclear arms race. Their purpose is to convince Russian leaders that the United States is prepared to *start* a nuclear war.

If that seems hard to believe, one should note that every American president since Truman has explicitly confirmed a nuclear first-use policy. The Reagan administration did so in the 1983 Scowcroft Commission Report on the MX missile. The Commission stated, "The Soviets must continue to believe what has been NATO's doctrine for three decades: that if we or our allies should be attacked—by massive conventional means or otherwise—the United States has the will and the means to defend with the full range of American power." The report explains that if Soviet leaders so much as threaten a non-nuclear attack they risk an American nuclear response.

Since the Russians have thousands of their own nuclear weapons, they might conclude that NATO's nuclear first-use policy is an idle bluff, and there is little risk in ignoring it as long as American leaders are sane. The Scowcroft Commission's answer to that objection explains the role of first-strike weapons: "We must be able to put at risk those types of Soviet targets—including hardened ones such as military command bunkers and facilities, missile silos, nuclear weapons, and other storage and the rest—which the Soviet leaders have given every indication by their actions they value most." The Navy has recently admitted that it plans to use attack submarines to sink Soviet missile submarines as soon as as a conventional war starts.

In other words, we plan to be able to knock the Soviet Union out of the war entirely, before Soviet nuclear weapons can be fired at the United States in retaliation. Only then can we threaten nuclear first use with impunity, and thereby protect our troops in Germany.

Thus what seems to be nuclear parity to many observers was called Soviet superiority by the Reagan administration. The reason: Pentagon doctrine says the United States must have what amounts to nuclear superiority in long-range weapons in order to compensate for the geographic disadvantage of having the North Atlantic Ocean separating us from our half of Germany.

As long as this Pentagon doctrine remains intact—nuclear first use made credible by a first-strike capability—the U.S. NATO commitment will dash all hopes for meaningful nuclear arms control. But a U.S. nuclear first-use policy also provides the only plausible rationale for a Soviet nuclear attack on North America. U.S. military policy in West Germany is the chief cause of the *only* military threat to the United States.

III. Third-World Military Intervention - $137.6 Billion, or 45%

A. Mediterranean Area. The Navy's Mediterranean Fleet (the 6th Fleet) is officially described as a force for NATO's southern flank. However, in the last forty years, all the military operations of the Med Fleet have been directed toward the Asian and African countries of the Mediterranean region, not the European countries. It is safe to assume, furthermore, that in a war with the Soviet Union any U.S. surface ships would be sunk immediately, by nuclear weapons if necessary. For that reason, this analysis treats the Med Fleet as a Third-World interventionary force. Together with foreign aid and land troops, it accounts for another 11% of the military budget.

B. Persian Gulf Area. The second largest category of the military budget, 18%, was formerly called the Rapid Deployment Force. Today it is called Central Command and its mission destination is the Persian Gulf. The original mission of this Persian Gulf force was twofold: to ensure the continued flow of crude oil to the West, and to deny the Soviet Union a warm-water naval port in the region.

Fiscal Year 1985 Military Budget Total = $306.74 billion

(Dollar Figures in Billions)

I. U.S. National Security $39.54 (12.9%)		
A. U.S. Border Defense		
$ 1.95	172nd Infantry Brigade, Fort Richardson, Alaska	.6%
3.38	Air Force TAC/ANG Air Defense	1.1%
2.52	Coast Guard	.8%
.80	U.S. Customs Service	.3%
.59	Immigration & Naturalization	.2%
$ 9.24	Subtotal	3.0%
B. Deterrence of Unprovoked Nuclear Attack on U.S. (Second-Strike Weapons)		
$ 6.55	Ballistic Missile Submarines	2.1%
18.24	Air Force SAC Bomber/Tanker	5.9%
4.84	SAC/NORAD Control & Surveillance	1.6%
.67	10% of DoE Nuclear Warhead Costs	.2%
$30.30	Subtotal	9.9%
II. Soviet Containment $114.82 (37.4%)		
A. Land Forces for West Germany		
$ 4.34	7th Light Infantry Division, Fort Ord, California	1.4%
5.85	1st Infantry Division (Mech), Fort Riley, Kansas	1.9%
1.95	1st Infantry Division (Mech-Forward), Goeppingen, Germany	.6%
7.80	3rd Infantry Division (Mech), Wuerzburg, Germany	2.5%
7.80	4th Intantry Division (Mech), Fort Carson, Colorado	2.5%
6.34	5th Infantry Division (Mech), Fort Polk, Louisiana	2.1%
7.80	8th Infantry Division (Mech), Bad Kreuznach, Germany	2.5%
7.80	1st Armored Division, Ansbach, Germany	2.5%
7.80	1st Cavalry Division, Fort Hood, Texas	2.5%
5.85	2nd Armored Division, Fort Hood, Texas	1.9%
1.95	2nd Armored Division (Forward), Garlstedt, Germany	.6%
7.80	3rd Armored Division, Frankfurt, Germany	2.5%
1.95	194th Armored Brigade, Fort Knox, Kentucky	.6%
1.95	3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, Fort Bliss, Texas	.6%
1.95	Berlin Brigade, Berlin, Germany	.6%
1.95	2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment, Nuremberg, Germany	.6%
1.95	11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, Fulda, Germany	.6%
2.33	2nd Marine Division (6th MAB), Camp Lejeune, North Carolina	.8%
$85.19	Subtotal	27.8%
B. Deterrence of Nuclear Retaliation After U.S. First Use (First-Strike Weapons)		
$ .38	Pershing II Missile Production	.1%
2.28	Trident D5 Missile Production	.7%
7.10	Attack Submarines	2.3%
1.82	Shore-Based Anti-Sub Air (P-3)	.6%
3.51	Air Force SAC Missile Operation	1.1%
2.80	MX Missile Production	.9%
3.69	Air Force Euro-Missiles (GLCMs)	1.2%
1.40	SDI "Star Wars" Research	.5%
6.02	90% of DoE Nuclear Warhead Costs	2.0%
.64	DoE Naval Reactors and Other R&D	.2%
$29.63	Subtotal	9.7%

Note: Details may not add to totals because of rounding.