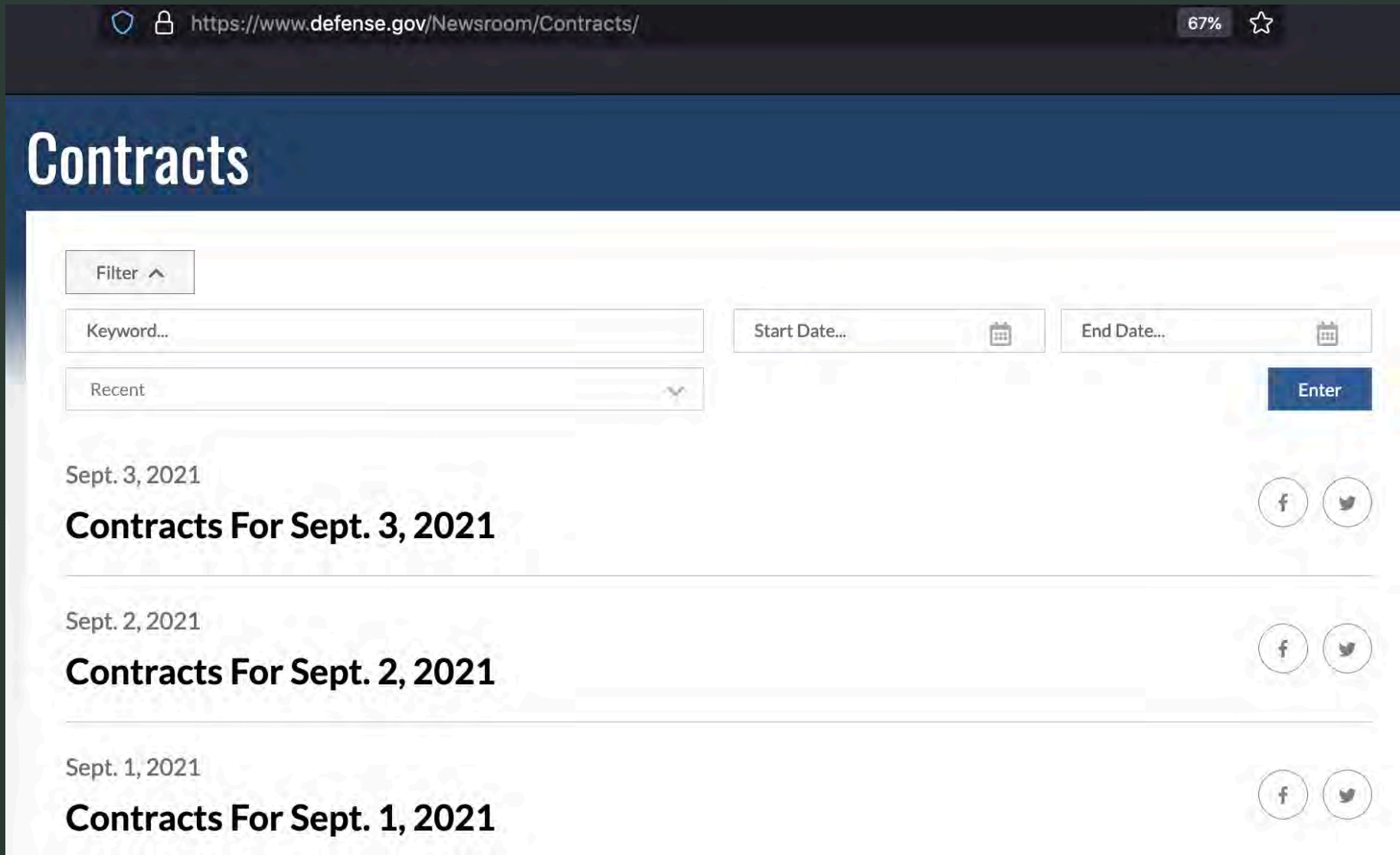


The Pine Tree State

The U.S. War Industry in Maine



How I got started studying the war industry



The screenshot shows a web browser window with the URL <https://www.defense.gov/Newsroom/Contracts/>. The page title is "Contracts". Below the title is a search and filter section with a "Filter" button, a "Keyword..." search box, a "Recent" dropdown menu, "Start Date..." and "End Date..." date pickers, and an "Enter" button. The main content area displays a list of contract entries for September 2021, each with a date, a title, and social media sharing icons for Facebook and Twitter.

Filter ^

Keyword...

Start Date...

End Date...

Recent

Enter

Sept. 3, 2021

Contracts For Sept. 3, 2021

Sept. 2, 2021

Contracts For Sept. 2, 2021

Sept. 1, 2021

Contracts For Sept. 1, 2021

What is the military-industrial-congressional complex (MIC)?



- an **insulated** authority consisting of
 - the U.S. military establishment, headquartered in the Pentagon;
 - the war industry, the corporations that develop, market, and sell goods & services to the U.S. military, intelligence agencies, and allied capitalist regimes;
 - and Capitol Hill, the elected representatives who fund the military and pass legislation abetting the permanent warfare state.

▶ Profit is the driving force

- The U.S. ruling class deploys the military worldwide for three reasons:
 1. to forcibly open countries for exploitation (multinational corporations)
 2. to ensure the free flow of natural resources out of the global south,
 3. and because war is **big business**.

Capital

- Capital is money used to expand business in order to make more money.
 - Building new factories to produce more goods from which to profit.



➤ To make more money, more and more parts of life must be pulled into capital (to be exchangeable for money). Therefore...

- ... we see everything in civilian life being commodified, including food, housing, land, water, and data.
- ... we see corporations taking over many military functions.
 - A given corporation now in charge of what was once a governmental job needs to get a layer of profit out of the task. To obtain that profit the corporation ends up charging a lot, cutting jobs, polluting, and/or reducing labor protections, including safety.



Capital is also putting money toward...

- cultivating and promoting politicians who advocate for wars and broad military deployments;
- establishing and funding media & think tanks to propagandize and generate militant narratives;
- attaining [through neoliberal economic policies] a U.S. military establishment so rife with corporations that it becomes one bloated, self-justifying, profitable entity;
- arranging industry pressure groups (e.g., NDIA, AUSA, AIA) and think tanks to encourage and award high-ranking military officers who support and extend conflict overseas;
- and marketing, pushing, and operating goods & services that harm populations and destabilize countries around the world, generating more profitable conflict.



AEROSPACE

[GULFSTREAM >](#)

[JET AVIATION >](#)



MARINE SYSTEMS

[BATH IRON WORKS >](#)

[ELECTRIC BOAT >](#)

[NASSCO >](#)



COMBAT SYSTEMS

[EUROPEAN LAND SYSTEMS >](#)

[LAND SYSTEMS >](#)

[ORDNANCE AND TACTICAL SYSTEMS >](#)



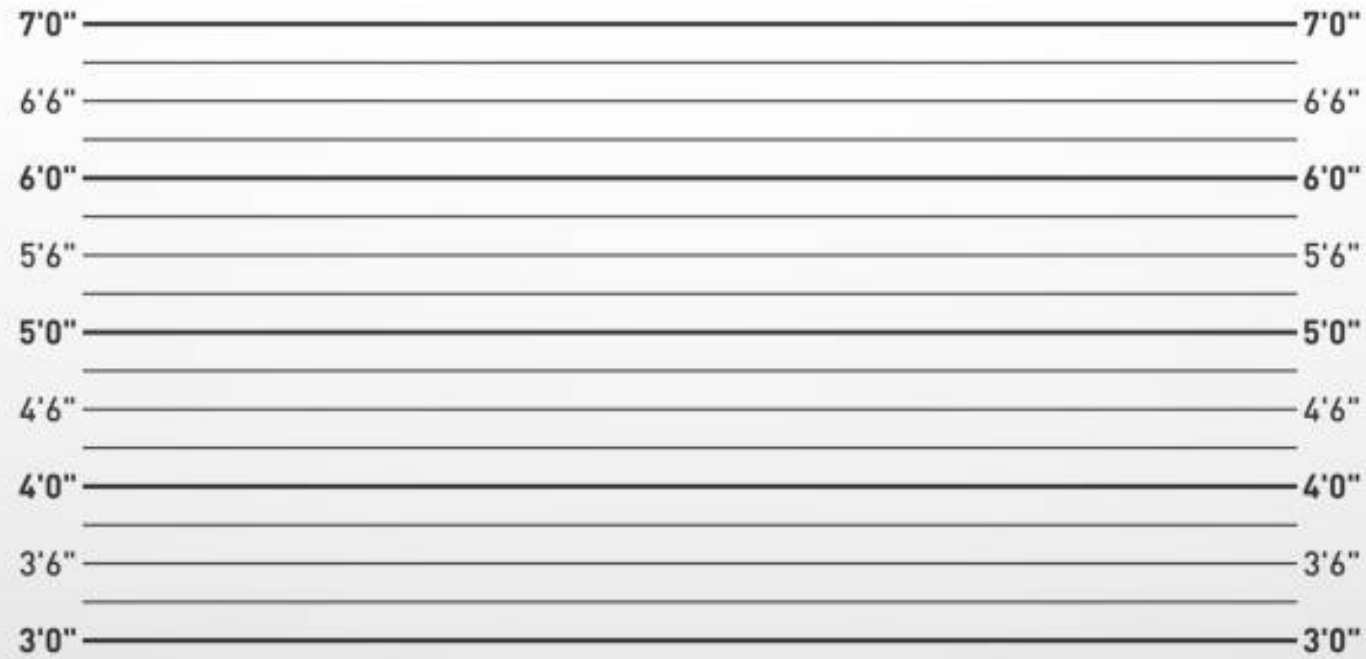
TECHNOLOGIES

[INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY >](#)

[MISSION SYSTEMS >](#)

Corporate mentality

- The system attracts and promotes destructive humans.
- To ascend to the top of the corporate world, one must not just put profit over people.
 - Empathy and mutual aid are shunned in favor of cruelty, deception, ruthless competition, and exploitation of others.
- “1 in 5 CEOs are psychopaths, study finds” (*Telegraph*, 13 Sep 2016).



Who are the main General Dynamics war profiteers?



Phebe Novakovic, CEO



Dirk Lesko,
President, Bath Iron Works



M. Amy Gilliland
President, IT



Firat Gezen
President, OTS



Mark Burns
President, Gulfstream



Greg Gallopoulos
General Counsel



Chris Brady
President, Mission Systems

General Dynamics facilities across the country

- Bath, ME
- Williston, VT
- Pittsfield, Marion, Taunton, MA
- Groton, CT
- Marion, Herndon, Falls Church, Fairfax, Norfolk, VA
- McLeansville, NC
- Savannah, GA
- St. Petersburg, Orlando, FL
- Huntsville, AL
- Sterling Heights, MI
- Bloomington, Minneapolis, MN
- Garland, San Antonio, TX
- Scottsdale, AZ
- San Diego, CA
- Bothell, WA

Business Sectors of War

- Military functions that corporations now run.
- Large war corporations specialize in multiple business sectors of war.

- public relations; program management; consulting and advisory & assistance
- audit, finance, and accounting
- training & simulation
- transportation
- prepositioned stock (cataloguing, maintaining, guarding)
- base operations and support, which is everything that keeps a base up and running
- mercenaries and/or personnel with active government clearances
- telecommunications
- nuclear weaponry and anti-ballistic missiles and tracking
- small arms & light weaponry
- space (satellites, ground-based monitoring, launch vehicles, launch support, range operations)
- ordnance (bombs, missiles, artillery) and ordnance disposal
- microelectronics
- information technology (IT)
- Intelligence
- platforms (aircraft, ships, land vehicles)



General Dynamics sells goods & services pertaining to almost all business sectors of war.

Sales

- The U.S. gov is the primary customer of large war corporations.
- U.S. war corporations *also* sell to capitalist regimes around the world (through direct commercial sales and foreign military sales, or FMS).
- FMS tend to deal with big-ticket items or goods & services of a sensitive nature.
 - U.S. government procures and transfers industry goods & services to allied governments.
 - Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) intermediary

In fiscal 2020, the U.S. war industry sold \$50.8B through FMS, and \$124.3B through direct commercial sales.

Large war corporations have offices around the world to network and ink deals.

GD has facilities in Adelaide, Australia; South Wales, UK; Riyadh, Saudi Arabia; NE & SW Montreal, Canada; Rome, Italy.



Notable recent General Dynamics FMS

- \$15,509,730 logistics support of Abrams tanks and M88 recovery vehicles in Camp Taji, Iraq; Dec 2020
- \$25,982,972 maintenance training and procedural technical assistance for Kuwait; Nov 2020
- \$49,565,721 logistics support services for weapon systems, various aircraft, and components. Overseas work in Kuwait City; Japan; Taiwan; Cairo, Egypt; Cours, France; Nov 2020



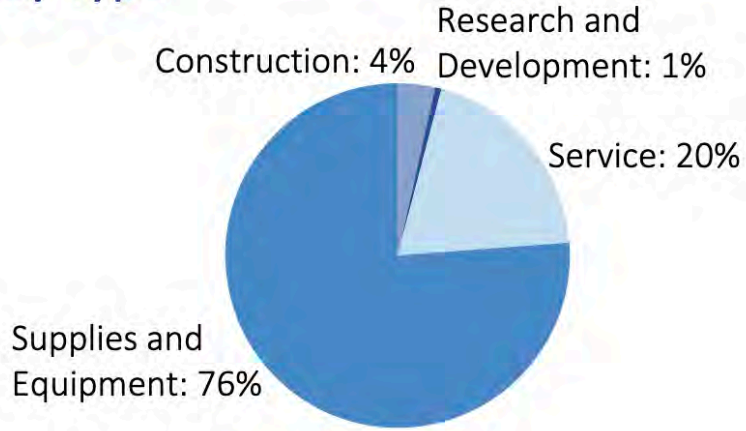
What's the
war
industry
look like in
Maine?

MAINE

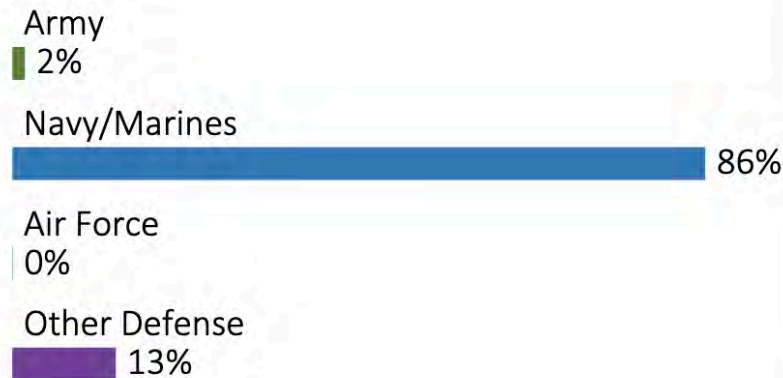
#32 \$4.0 B SPENT IN STATE	#7 5.8% OF STATE GDP	0.7% OF TOTAL U.S. DEFENSE SPENDING	\$2,961 PER RESIDENT	#30 \$3.2 B CONTRACT SPENDING	#43 12,376 NUMBER OF PERSONNEL	#36 \$0.7 B PERSONNEL SPENDING
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DEFENSE CONTRACTS

By Type



By Service



Top Defense Contractors

(M = millions, B = billions)

General Dynamics	\$2.4 B
Martin's Point Health Care	\$354.7 M
Methuen Construction	\$62.3 M
Cianbro Companies	\$52.7 M
L. S. Black Constructors Inc.	\$28.7 M
City of Bangor	\$24.0 M
Precision Partners LLC	\$21.3 M
Innovyze Inc.	\$17.7 M
Intermat	\$16.4 M
CCI Energy and Construction Services	\$12.4 M

Contract Awards Performed

(By Fiscal Year, billions)





GENERAL DYNAMICS

Bath Iron Works

- Bath Iron Works
- established 1884, acquired by GD 1995
- employees:
 - 6,000+ (2016), 6,800 (2020)



What's GD BIW
building now?

- *Arleigh Burke*-class Destroyer (DDG-51)
 - built around the Lockheed Martin AEGIS system
 - AEGIS = hardware, software, radar, and weaponry that track enemies, including their ballistic missiles



The logo for General Dynamics, featuring the company name in a bold, blue, sans-serif font.

Bath Iron Works

- *Zumwalt*-class Guided-missile Destroyer (DDG-1000)
 - delays and cost overruns



U.S. Navy photo by MC2 Timothy Schumaker

▶ *Defense News* (Jan 2021) reported:

The Zumwalt program was supposed to have 32 ships. Costs soared and performance underwhelmed, so much so that the Navy cut that number to THREE (3) ships.

“In 2018, the Navy announced that the ship’s Advanced Gun System, one of the main reasons for building the ship, would be laid up... The Navy canceled the [Long Range Land Attack] projectile after it came to light that the cost per round was more than \$800,000. Furthermore, the system was also failing to achieve the range it wanted out of the system...”

▸ *Task & Purpose* (May 2021) reported:

- “The Navy is still trying to find a suitable weapon for the Zumwalt nearly five years after it stopped buying the \$800,000 per-round ammunition for the gun it was supposed to have.”
- The third and final *Zumwalt*-class ship is under construction at BIW.

Organizing Note

- The fact that the war industry regularly promises the moon and only comes through with mediocre overbudget products is something you can highlight in your organizing.
- It's not just the Zumwalt-class destroyers. It's also
 - Lockheed Martin F-35 with 800 flaws
 - Boeing KC-46 tanker video system and leaks
 - General Atomics Electromagnetic Aircraft Launch System
 - Textron and Dowty ship-to-shore connectors cracked blades
 - LM & GD littoral combat ship (LCS) breaking down

Recent GD BIW contracts and contract modifications

- Planning yard efforts (e.g., engineering, technical, planning, ship configuration, data and logistics) for *Zumwalt*-class post-delivery and in-service life-cycle support
 - 27 Feb 2020, 18 Dec 2020

Recent GD BIW contracts and contract modifications

- Work on *Arleigh Burke*-class ships; 5 Dec 2019, 20 Feb 2020, 8 Jun 2020, 16 Nov 2020
- *Arleigh Burke*-class program: funds for shipbuilder and supplier base efforts “to address supply chain fragility and to ensure future readiness for the fleet”; 26 Jun 2020
- Three deals (contracts or contract modifications) issued in June (8, 17, 22) regarding the *Arleigh Burke*-class destroyer program in Maine.



Other war corporations
operating in Maine

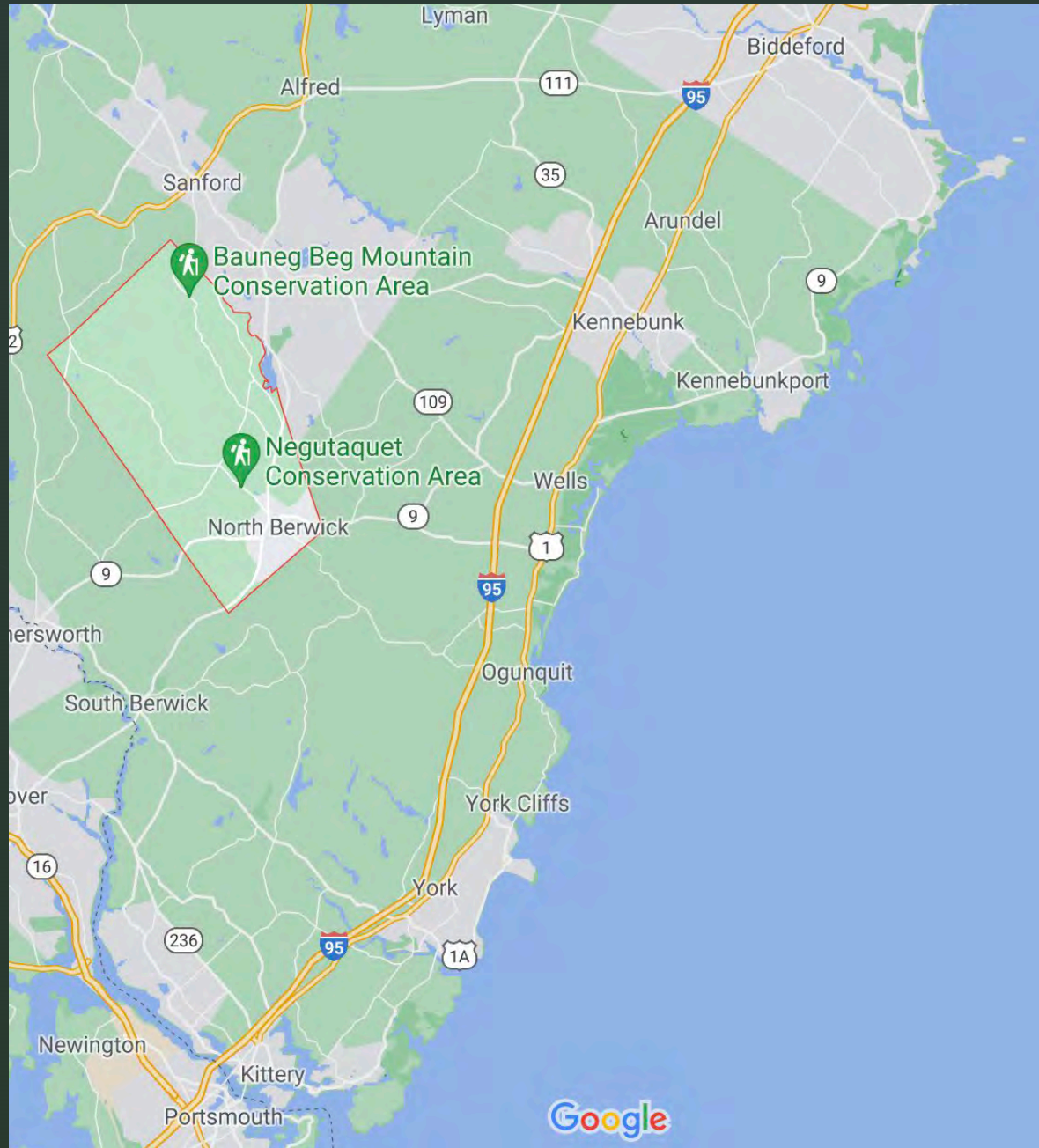


Photo: *NY Times*

Raytheon's Pratt & Whitney (HQ in East Hartford, CT) makes aircraft engines, including those used in the Lockheed Martin F-35 Joint Strike Fighter.

▶ Raytheon's Pratt & Whitney (East Hartford, CT)

- 8 Sep 2020: \$174.2 million for work on these engines
 - Work in Middletown, CT (46%); East Hartford, CT (22%); Windsor Locks, CT (16%); **North Berwick**, ME (11%); Phoenix, AZ (3%); and Santa Isabel, Puerto Rico (2%).
- 8 Feb 2021: \$49.2 million for 3 engines regarding F-35 developmental testing
 - Work in East Hartford, CT (33%); Kent, WA (15%); El Cajon, CA (15%); Whitehall, MI (8%); West Palm Beach, FL (6%); Dover, NJ (5%); East Lake, OH (3%); Rockford, IL (3%); Houston, TX (3%); Portland, OR (3%); **North Berwick**, ME (3%); Milford, NH (3%)



Bauneg Beg Mountain Conservation Area

Negutaquet Conservation Area

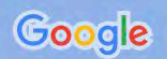
North Berwick

South Berwick

York

Newington

Portsmouth



JOBS IN TOWN OF NORTH BERWICK AT PRATT & WHITNEY

Storekeeper I - 3rd Shift - Labor Grade 83

North Berwick, Maine, Town of North Berwick, Maine
08/02/2021

Store Keeper I - 3rd Shift - Labor Grade 83

North Berwick, Maine, Town of North Berwick, Maine
08/02/2021

MTS Mechanic- 3rd Shift

North Berwick, Maine, Town of North Berwick, Maine
08/02/2021

Bench Mechanic 2nd Shift

North Berwick, Maine, Town of North Berwick, Maine
07/30/2021

Manufacturing Trainee-LG83-3rd Shift

North Berwick, Maine, Town of North Berwick, Maine
06/02/2021

Senior Process Manufacturing Engineer - Our Journey To Operational Excellence

North Berwick, Maine, Town of North Berwick, Maine
06/18/2021

Boeing makes a product called the Gigabit Ethernet Data Multiplex System.

- GEDMS is a data transfer network used on Navy ships.
 - for multimedia (video, data)
 - used with “hull, mechanical, and electrical systems” on *Arleigh Burke*-class destroyers

Boeing

- 14 May 2021: \$16.5M for GEDMS design
 - Work in Huntington Beach, CA (70%); **Bangor, ME** (12%); Pascagoula, MS (9%); Arlington, VA (3%); Tukwila, WA (3%); and Dover, PA (3%).

- Corporate America pitches such ship upgrades as allowing the Navy to reduce manpower (fewer sailors to feed, clothe, and pay) while increasing safety via more sensors and remote monitoring.

Other corporate work at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard, Kittery

- Orbis Sibro Inc. (Mount Pleasant, SC), Q.E.D. Systems (Virginia Beach, VA), Delphinus Engineering (Eddystone, PA), Oceaneering International (Chesapeake, VA) on 18 Sep 2020: \$54.5M to support projects/repairs at Portsmouth Naval Shipyard
 - electrician, industrial fire watch/laborer, marine pipefitter, outside marine machinist, marine painter, weight handler, marine ship fitter, shipwright, welder, sheet metal, insulator, abrasive blaster, deck tile setter, and sound tile setter
- CACI (Chantilly, VA) on 1 Mar 2021: \$15.2M for engineering, technical, administrative and managerial services in support of Ships Availability Planning & Engineering Center and Deep Submergence Systems programs at Portsmouth Naval Shipyard
- Leidos (Gaithersburg, MD) on 11 Jun 2021: \$26.9M for installation and sustainment of surface ship undersea warfare systems [AN/SQQ-89A(V)15].
 - 1% of workload at Portsmouth Naval Shipyard

▶ DOD contracts sometimes involve other locations in Maine

- Environmental Chemical Corp. (Burlingame, CA) on 31 Aug 2020: \$60 million environmental remediation at the former Loring Air Force Base, Maine.
- The University of Maine (Orono) on 22 Jun 2020: \$19.9 million R&D of expeditionary maneuver support materials and structures.

Construction



photo: Adrian Cadiz, USAF

- Construction ubiquitous in DOD contracting.
 - The Pentagon uses hundreds of construction firms to build & repair military installations.
 - largest employer of construction workers inside U.S.
 - effectively co-opts part of the working class, clouding workers' minds with traditional "patriotic" sentiments
 - binds part of the working class economically to nonstop war
 - Military construction physically lays the foundation that expands the permanent warfare state.

Construction

- Large engineering / project management firms (AECOM, Jacobs, RQ Construction, Fluor, Tetra Tech, Whiting-Turner) contract regularly with DOD.
- Smaller, local construction firms are the most common type of corporation in construction contracts with DOD.

➤ Outside construction firms work in Maine

- Weston & Sampson (Portsmouth, NH) on 4 May 2021: designing replacement of pump test equipment (Bldg 300), Portsmouth Naval Shipyard
- Alexandra Construction (Newton, MA) on 21 Sep 2020: renovating the communications building (Bldg 13) at Portsmouth Naval Shipyard. Includes abating hazardous materials; a new stair and elevator tower; upgrading the building's structural support; restoring original window openings; providing offices, conference and break areas; and overhauling the building's mechanical, electrical, data and fire protection systems.

Maine construction firms working in Maine

- Cianbro Corp. (Pittsfield, ME) on 12 Feb 2021: dredging to support the Dry Dock #1 extension at Portsmouth Naval Shipyard
- Oak Point Associates (Biddeford, ME) on 12 May 2021: fire alarm and communications fiber connectivity study and a fire suppression system study at the Helix Houses, Cutler.

Summary

Major Players



- General Dynamics BIW
- Raytheon P&W in North Berwick
- Boeing in Bangor

Advantages of industry conversion (military to civilian) in Maine

- Relatively few locations of war corporations in Maine
 - We are the many. They are the few.
- Most infrastructure already in place or adjustable
 - GD BIW already has plenty of infrastructure in place to produce non-military ships.
 - P&W can make parts for civilian aircraft engines.
- It is not a stretch to see GD BIW build wind turbines and hospital ships, for example.
 - GD National Steel & Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO) already makes other ships, such as cargo ships and fuel ships! The institutional knowledge is already within the corporation.

Advantages of industry conversion (military to civilian) in Maine

- Jobs are readily applicable to civilian production!
 - GD BIW: surveyor, engineer, design planner, project coordinator, insulator, finance specialist, pipefitter, shipfitter, electrician, tinsmith, crane operator, machinist, welder, yard rigger, boiler operator, carpenter, sandblaster
 - Raytheon P&W: sheet metal mechanic, design engineer, delivery planner, associate engineer, parts supervisor, accounting manager, storekeeper, machinist, materials analyst, parts cleaner, manufacturing instructor, quality control

Advantages of industry conversion (military to civilian) in Maine

- Corporations, including construction firms, have no problem going where the money is. If the money is in building infrastructure for some sort of Green New Deal (or climate change prep), then the construction firms in Maine will be there.
- USACE and NAVFAC already supervise infrastructure projects

▶ In June alone, infrastructure contracts dealt with...

- water pumps in St. Louis, MO
- earth fill for bluffs in Norco, CA
- dam work on the upper Mississippi River
- reinforcing islands and marsh habitat on the Mississippi in St. Paul, MN
- road work
- demolition and construction of a containment dike, Chambers, TX
- surveying and mapping



Obstacles are great



Politicians

- Senator Susan Collins on the defense subcommittee of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee
 - Campaign finance & lobbying from Blackstone Group, Sullivan & Cromwell, KKR, General Dynamics, Raytheon
- Senator Angus King on the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Budget Committee
 - Campaign finance & lobbying from General Dynamics, Northrop Grumman, Raytheon, Google

“Jobs”

- War corporations play the “jobs” card very well. They’re proficient at pretending that they are “job creators” to confine the politicians.

The truth about war industry “jobs”

- During 2012-2018:
 - Lockheed Martin cut 15,000 jobs from its workforce while it was the **top corporate recipient of tax dollars** (a peak of \$50.6 billion received in 2017).
 - “In short, since 2012 the number of taxpayer dollars going to Lockheed has expanded by billions, the value of its stock has nearly quadrupled, and its CEO’s salary went up 32%, even as it cut 14% of its American work force. Yet Lockheed continues to use job creation, as well as its employees’ present jobs to get yet more taxpayer money.”
- A report from the Center for International Policy as cited in Harris, Stimpson, Freeman “Defense contractors are devouring taxpayer dollars and shedding U.S. jobs” (*TomDispatch*, 4 Aug 2019).

▶ The truth about war industry “jobs”

- Total war industry employment
 - roughly 3.2 million (1985)
 - roughly 1.1 million (2019)

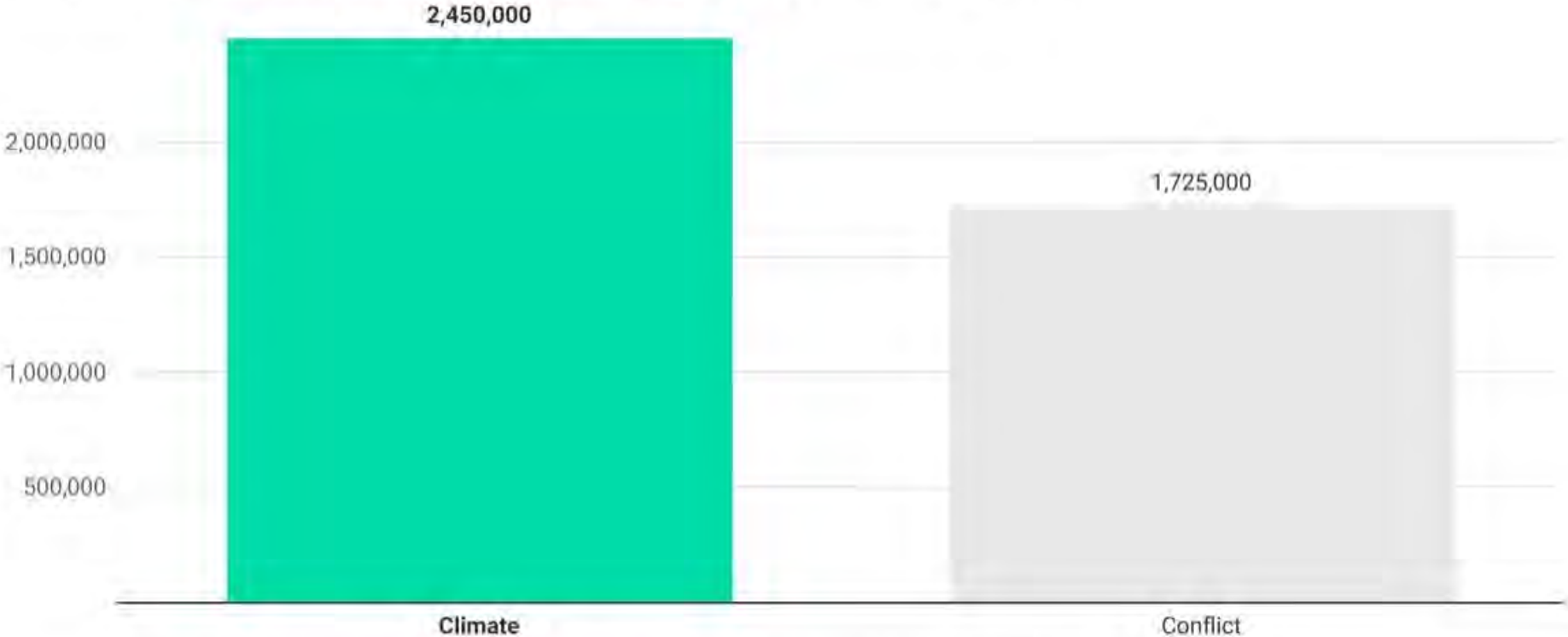
BU professor Heidi Garrett-Peltier at Brown University's *Costs of War* project

- Fields that create more jobs than “defense”:
 - sustainable infrastructure
 - healthcare
 - education

Stephen Semler at Security Reform (SPRI)

Number of jobs supported by \$250 billion

Clean energy, infrastructure support 42% more jobs than an equal investment in 'defense'



Job creation data via Heidi Garrett-Peltier, 2019 "War Spending and Lost Opportunities" (Costs of War Project)

Chart: SPRI (@security_reform) • Created with Datawrapper

Conversion



- top down
 - Congressional support
 - federal or state jobs guarantee during transition
- bottom up
 - worker cooperatives
 - union strength
 - Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America (Local S6)

Bottom up

- The working class is rational. Workers inherently know that the system screws them over. (Workers produce the profit. Wall Street and corporate executives hog the profit.)
- Organizing the workplace and bottom-up conversion = risky
 - e.g., The lengths Amazon went to when workers were organizing in Bessemer, AL
- Takes incredible resources to survive the process of workplace organizing, let alone forcing workplace change into cooperative.
- Implications for organizing strategy:
 - understand risks
 - bring together the resources (e.g., strike fund, housing, ...)
 - solidarity and camaraderie from people outside



Positive signs



Conversion during COVID-19

- “... when the Coronavirus pandemic got going... money started dripping out of Congress for steps to mitigate the disaster. Senator Angus King called around, and with almost no delay or apparent difficulty, **Bath Iron Works** agreed to immediately start manufacturing machines to produce special swabs used for testing for Coronavirus. Numerous smaller companies were involved in the plan with little difficulty. And before you could say ‘impossible,’ conversion had already happened. A weapons dealer was doing healthcare.”
 - davidswanson.org/conversion-to-peaceful-industries-just-happened/

Conversion during COVID-19

- “On Monday, General Electric factory workers (Massachusetts) launched two separate protests demanding that the company convert its jet engine factories to make ventilators...”
 - Ongweso Jr., Edward. “General Electric Workers Launch Protest, Demand to Make Ventilators” (*Vice News*, 30 Mar 2020).
- Raytheon used its 3D printers to produce 10,000 face shields in 23 days. “All four Raytheon Technologies businesses – Collins Aerospace, Pratt & Whitney, Raytheon Intelligence & Space and Raytheon Missiles & Defense – joined the effort.”
 - “Pivot Toward Protection” (*Raytheon*, 30 Apr 2020).
- Lockheed Martin “partnered with Strategic Vaccines to help expand manufacturing capacity for the FLOVID-20 inhaled treatment” for COVID patients.
 - Rivers, Brenda Marie. “James Taiclet: Lockheed Targets \$1B Supply Chain Payment by Year’s End” (*GovConWire*, 14 Dec 2020).



Something else to think about...

Not pleasant to think about, but a real possibility.

Collapse

Collapse

- climate change
- environmental collapse (mass extinction of insects, fish, birds, megafauna)
- The capitalist political class has shown no serious will to address these issues.
- Society – locally and nationally – will look very different in twenty years.
- During and after collapse, as the possibilities of what is feasible and permissible broaden, how can locals utilize the industrial infrastructure in Maine and even at BIW?

Questions

