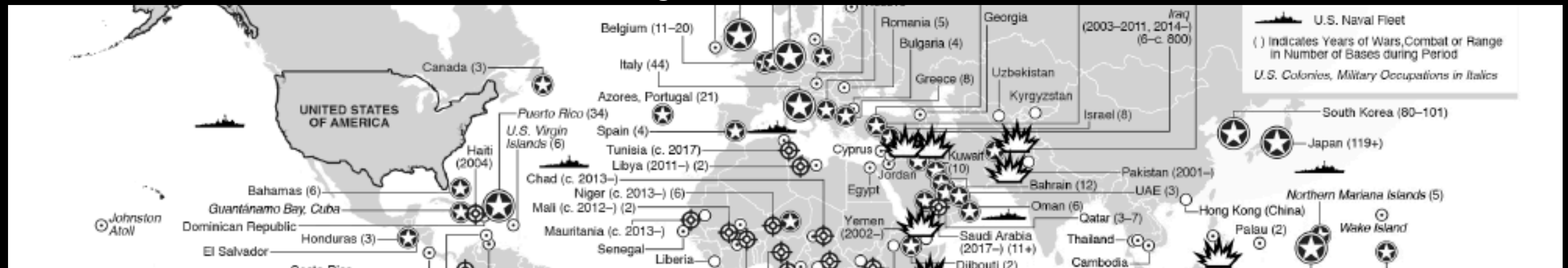


The United States of War: 2001–2021

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Garrisoning the Globe: US Military Bases Overseas



David Vine

American University

vine@american.edu

davidvine.net basenation.us overseasbases.net

Honoraria, royalties donated to victims of war

THANKS

★ You

★ Tom Gogan, Janet Tucker, Jay Jurie, Move the Money Task Force NYC

★ Anti-Base Movements + Everyone Who Assisted My Research, Writing

★ Chagos Refugees Group + the Chagossian People



QUINCY INSTITUTE
FOR RESPONSIBLE
STATECRAFT



WORLD BEYOND WAR.org
a global movement to end all wars

Drawdown: Improving U.S. and Global Security Through Military Base Closures Abroad

SEPTEMBER 2021 | QUINCY BRIEF NO. 16

by David Vine

Professor, American University

Patterson Deppen

Researcher, World BEYOND War

Leah Bolger

President, World BEYOND War

Find at www.overseasbases.net

<https://quincyinst.org/report/drawdown-improving-u-s-and-global-security-through-military-base-closures-abroad/>

TO DO

- Strategy Session

TO DO

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- US Overseas Bases Overview

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- 9+ Reasons We Should Close Overseas Bases

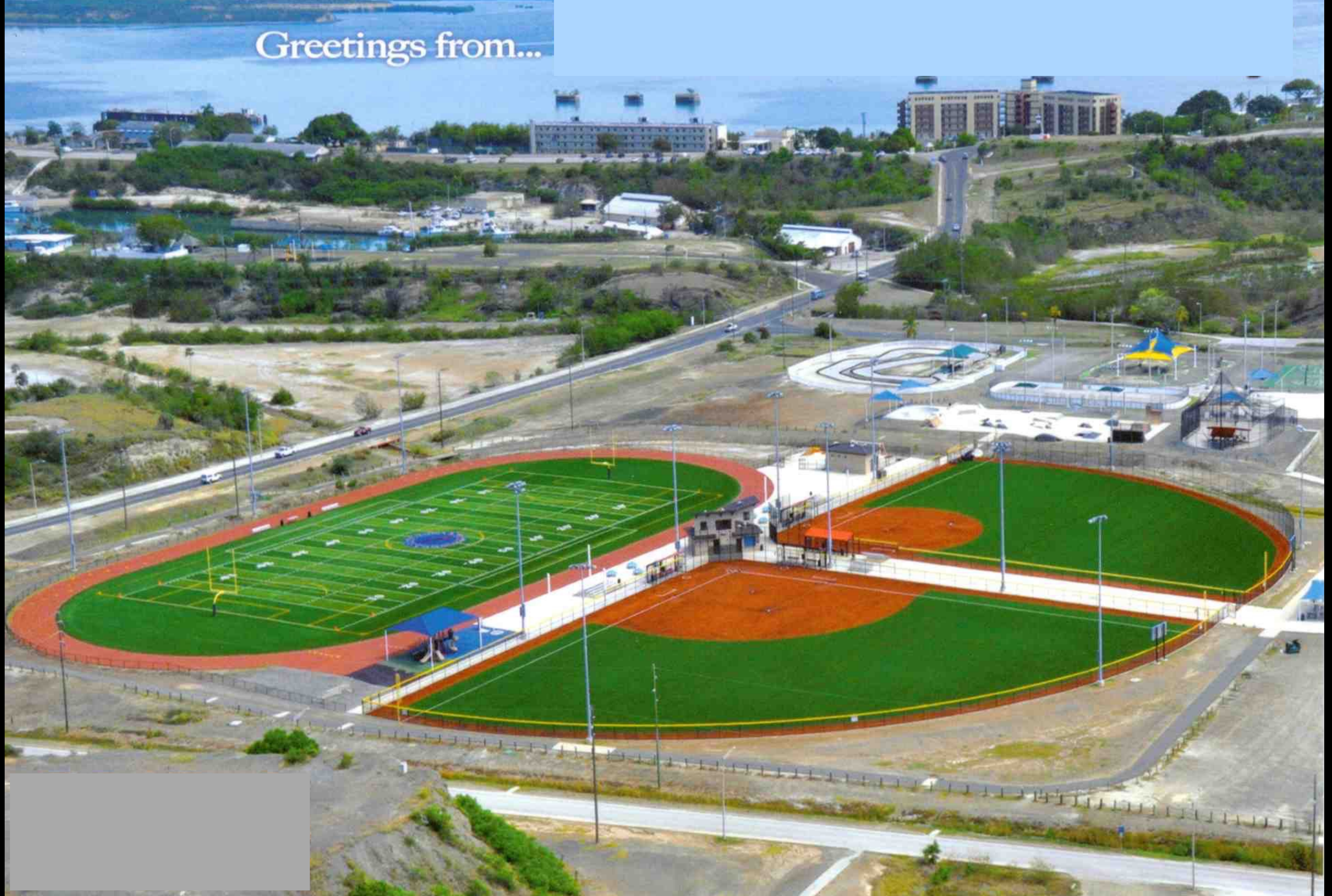
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- Qs + Discussion

Greetings from...





Greetings from... **Guantanamo Bay**



CUBA
Cooper Field

U.S. NAVAL STATION

GUANTANAMO BAY



Greetings from... **Guantanamo Bay**

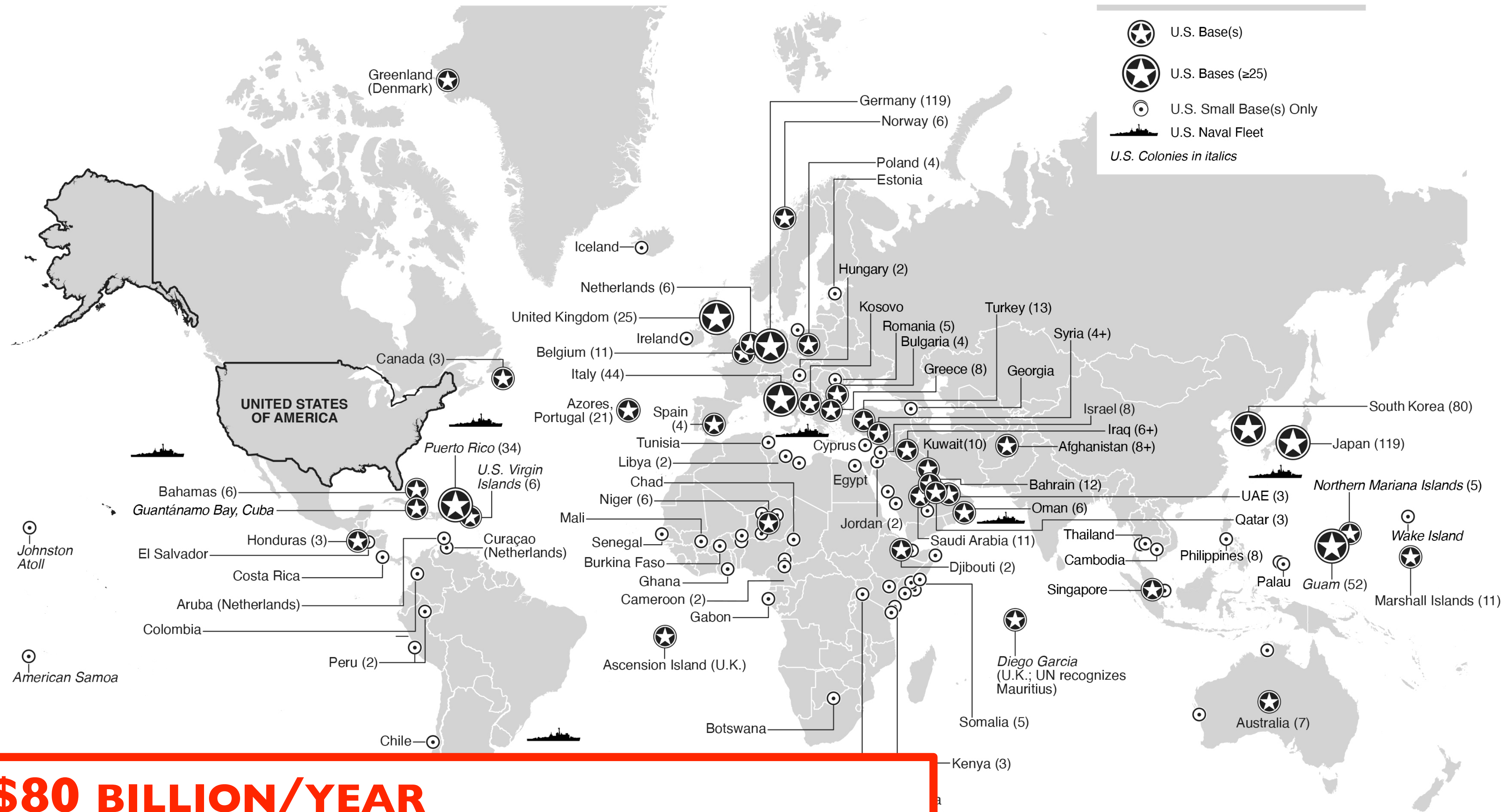


CUBA
Cooper Field



David Vine, American University
vine@american.edu

750 US BASES IN 80 COUNTRIES (2021)



\$80 BILLION/YEAR
277 EMBASSIES, CONSULATES, MISSIONS
X3 ALL OTHER FOREIGN BASES

the Islamic State (University of California Press, 2020).

Vicenza, Italy: The More than Half-Billion-Dollar Base







Pine Gap Joint Defence Space Research Facility
Alice Springs, Australia
23° 47' 53" S 133° 44' 12" E



**Detachment 1 - 45th Operations Group
Antigua Air Station, Antigua and Barbuda
17° 8' 14" N 61° 47' 29" W**



Naval Support Activity
Manama, Bahrain
26° 12' 21" N 50° 36' 40" E



**US Army Group BENELUX
Chièvres Air Base, Belgium
50° 34' 39" N 3° 50' 24" E**



Prime Base Engineer Emergency Force
Camp Justice, Diego Garcia
7°20'S 72°25'E



Combined Joint Task Force (Horn of Africa)
Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti
11° 32' 50" N 43° 9' 29" E



**821st Air Base Group
Thule Air Base, Greenland
76°31'48"N 68°42'21"W**



**Navy Expeditionary Guard Battalion
Camp Delta, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba
19° 54' 8" N 75° 6' 7" W**



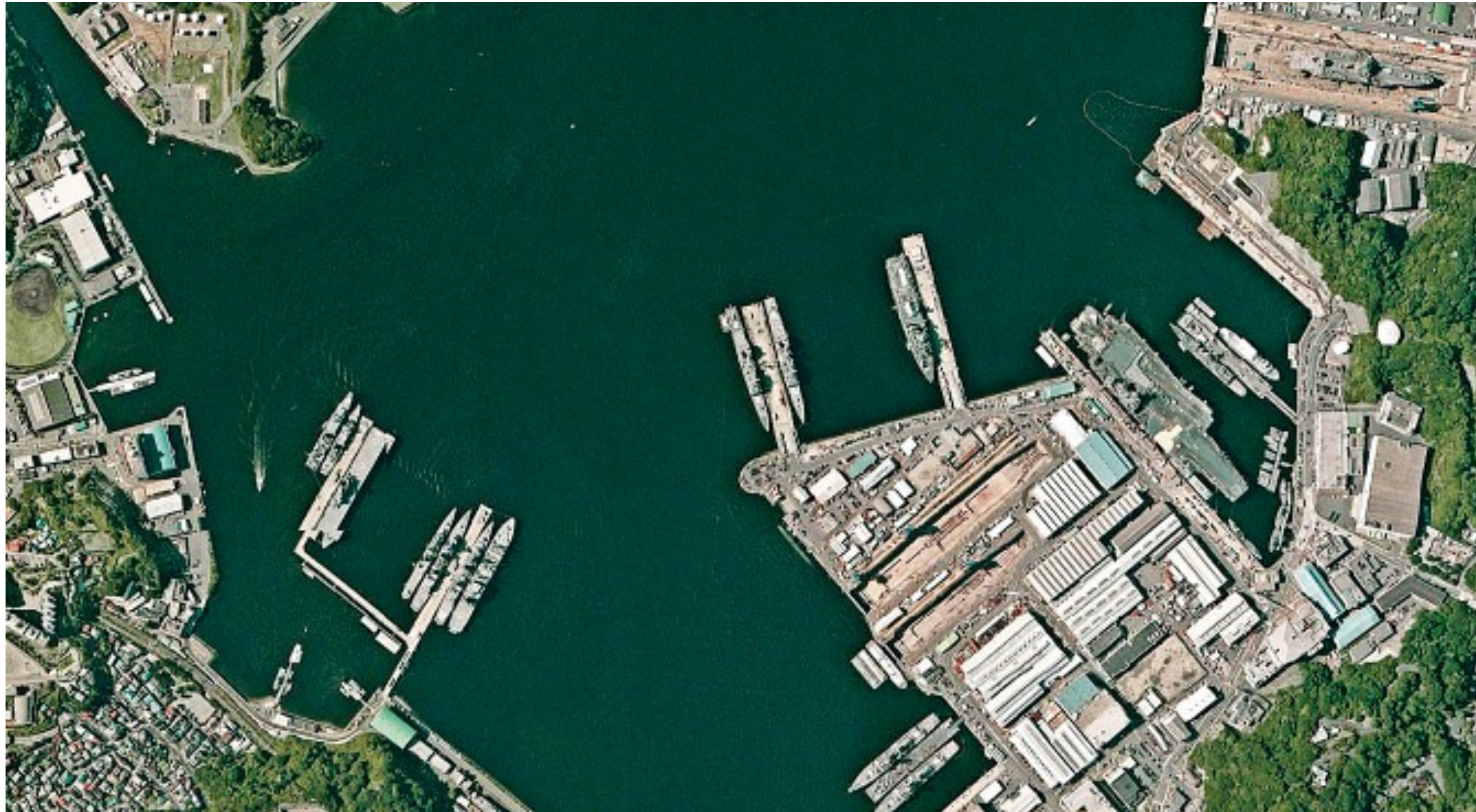
Heavy Airlift Wing
Pápa Air Base, Hungary
47° 21' 43" N 17° 29' 50" E



**407th Air Expeditionary Group
Camp Adder, Nasiriyah, Iraq
30°56'13"N 46°5'27"E**



**Commander Fleet Activities
Yokosuka, Japan
35° 17' 32" N 139° 39' 35" E**



Ronald Reagan Ballistic Missile Defense Test Site
Omelek Island, Marshall Islands
9° 2' 52" N 167° 44' 34" E



**379th Air Expeditionary Wing
Al Udeid Air Base, Qatar
25° 7' 4" N 51° 18' 59" E**



Rota Naval Station
Rota, Spain
36° 38' 48" N 6° 20' 46" W

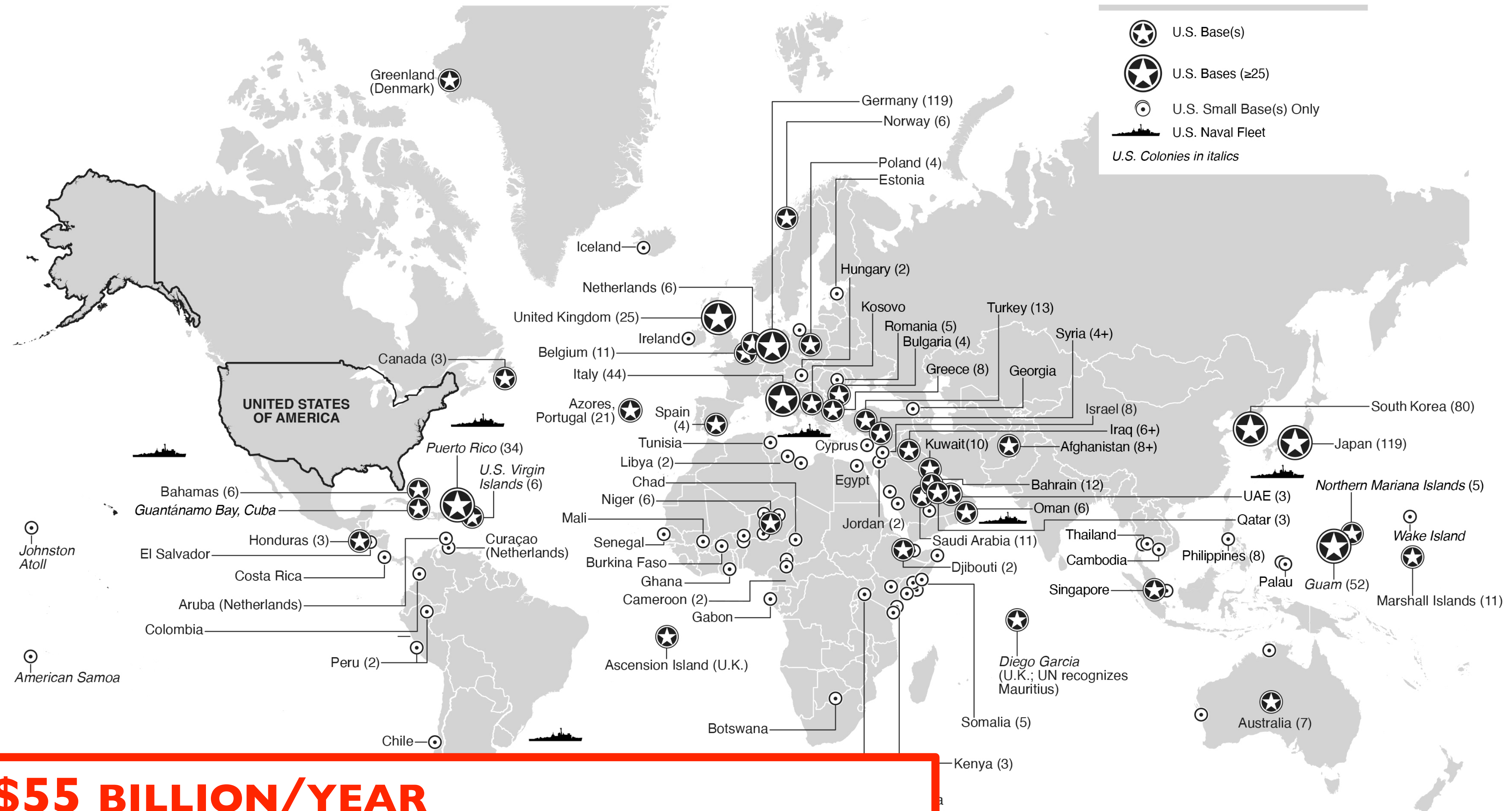


US National Security Agency Signals Intelligence Base
Menwith Hill, UK
54°0'30"N 1°41'18"W





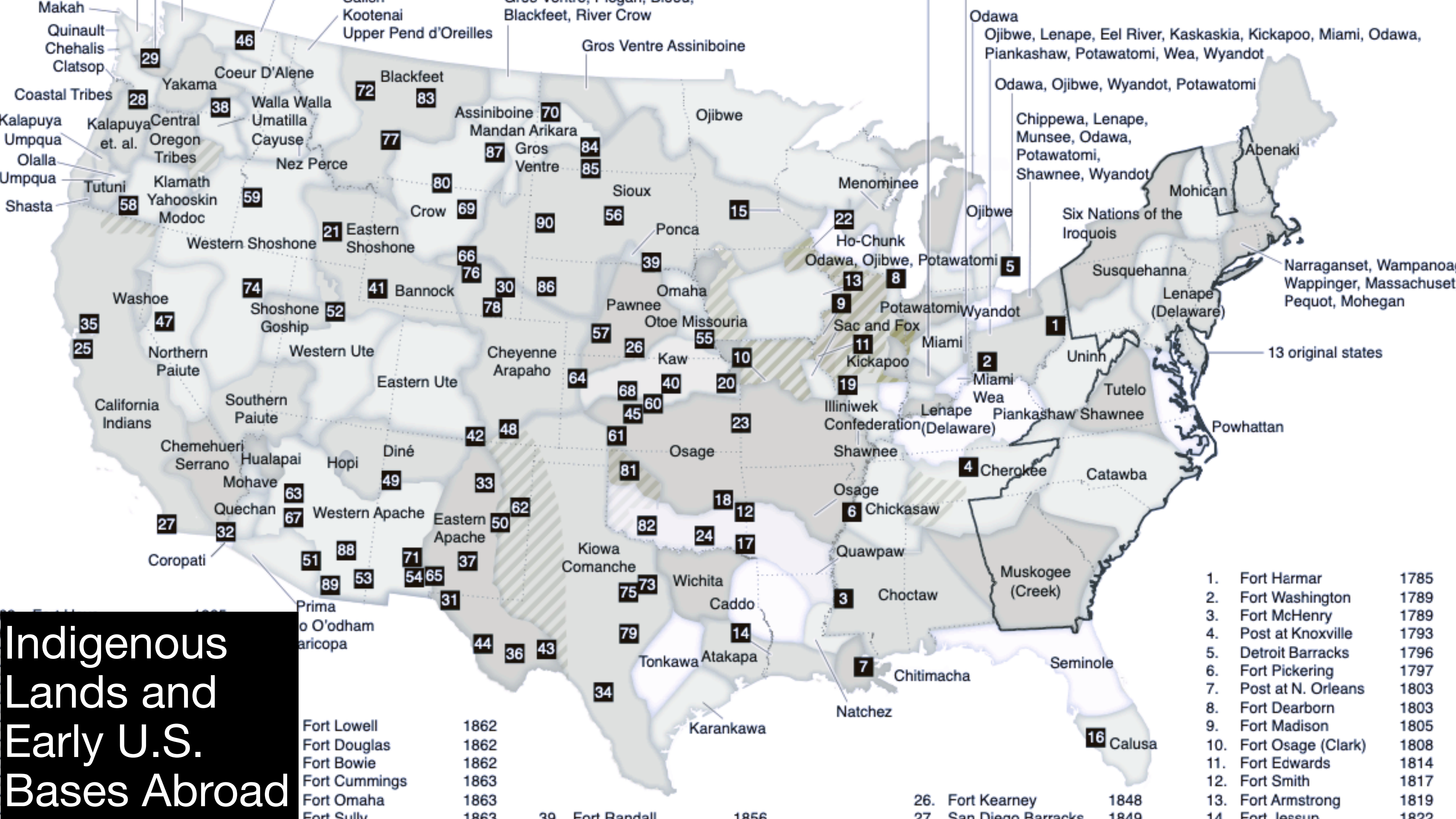
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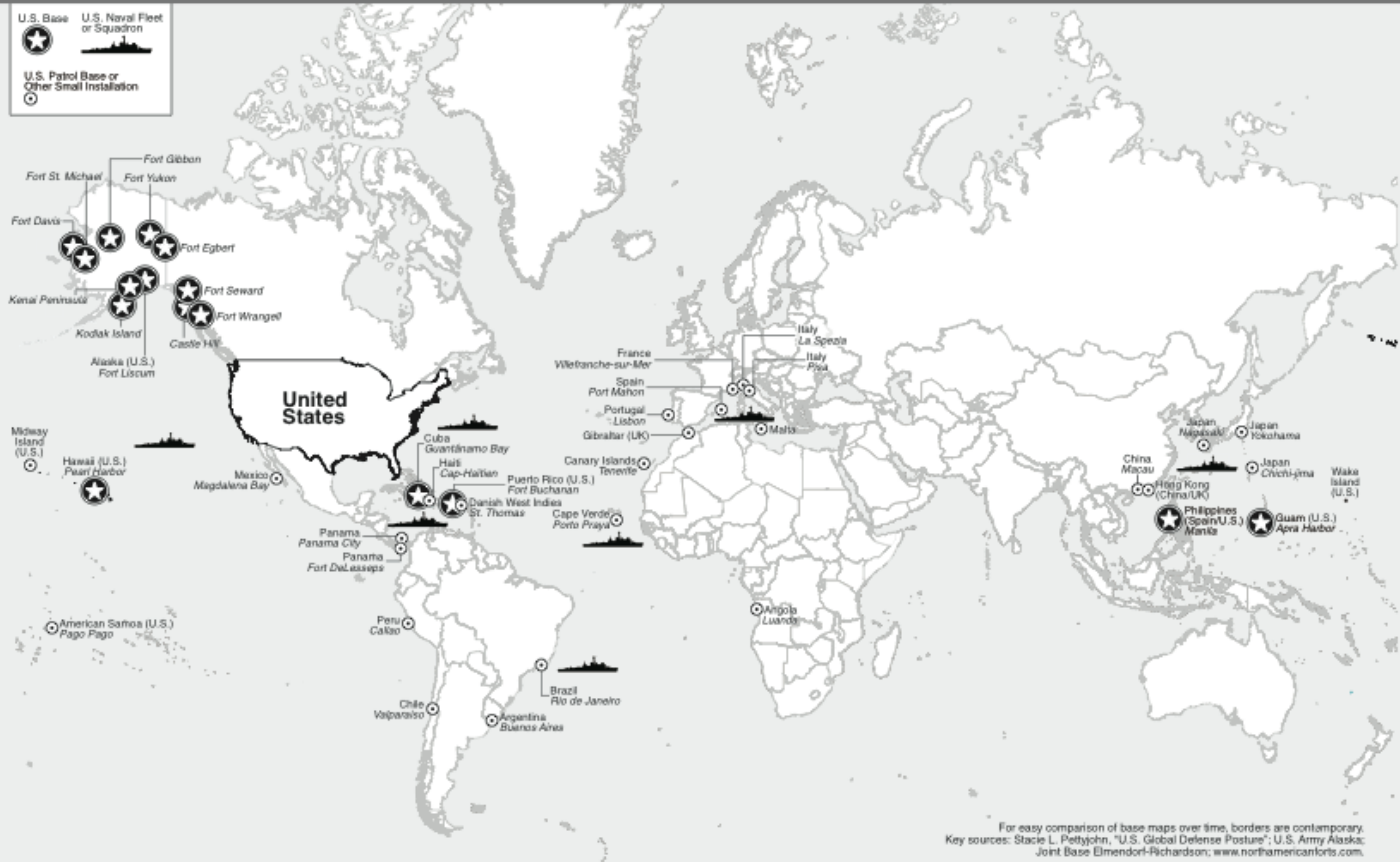
\$55 BILLION/YEAR
277 EMBASSIES, CONSULATES, MISSIONS
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the Islamic State (University of California Press, 2020).

Indigenous Lands and Early U.S. Bases Abroad



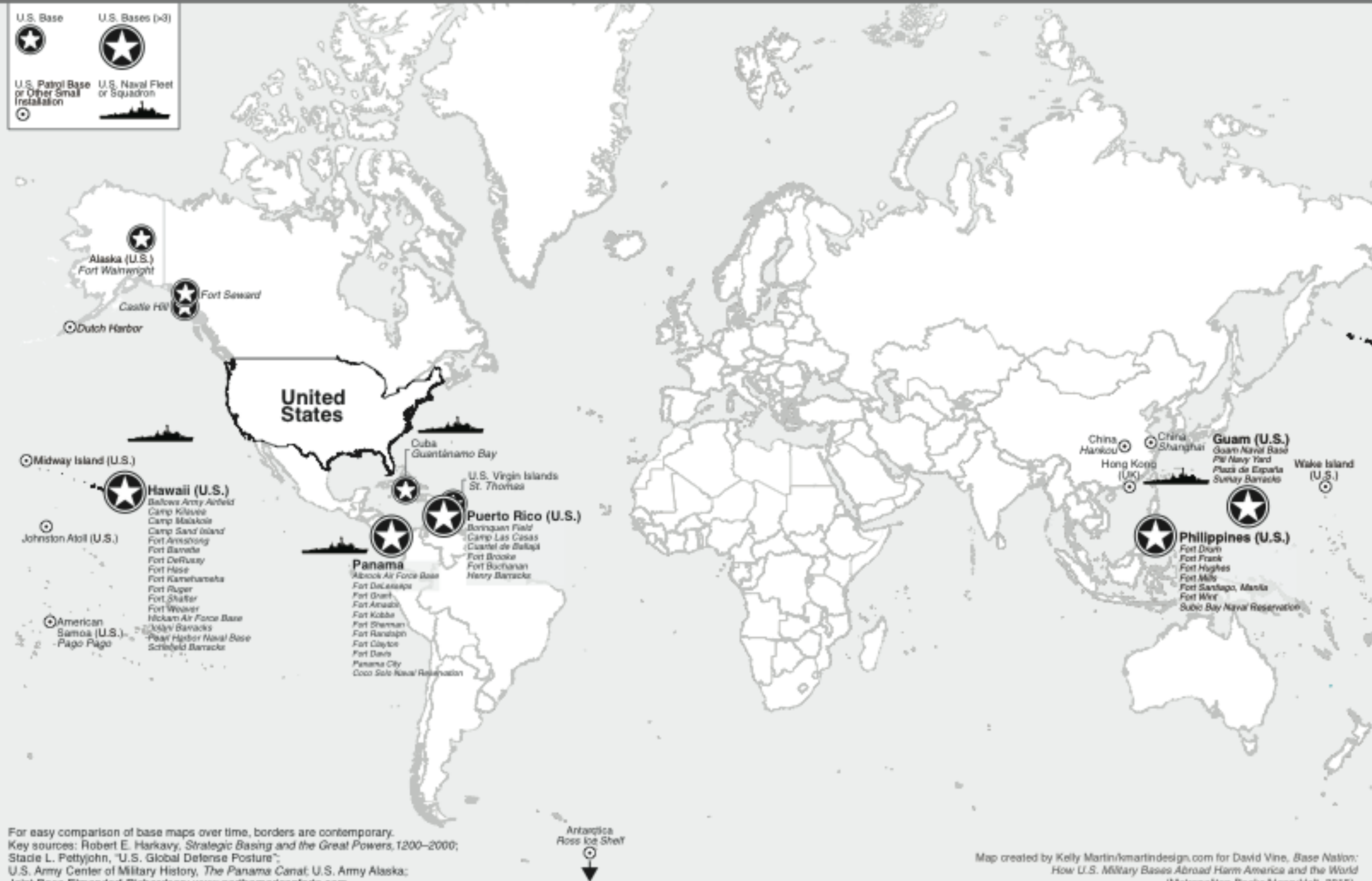
U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 1776–1903



For easy comparison of base maps over time, borders are contemporary.
 Key sources: Stacie L. Pettyjohn, "U.S. Global Defense Posture"; U.S. Army Alaska; Joint Base Elmendorf-Richardson; www.northernforts.com.

Map created by Kelly Martin/kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *Base Nation: How U.S. Military Bases Abroad Harm America and the World* (Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2015).

U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 1939



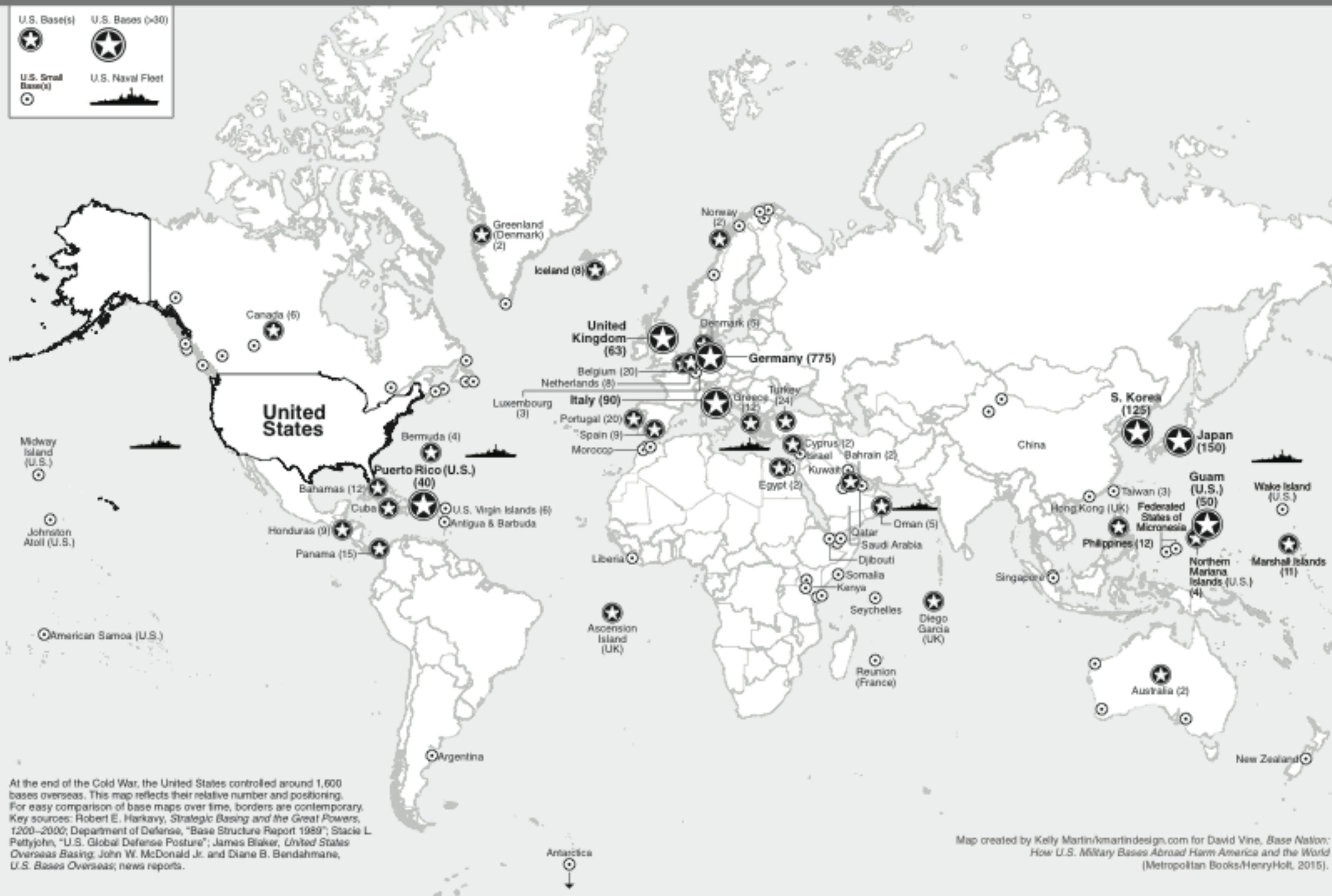
U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 1945



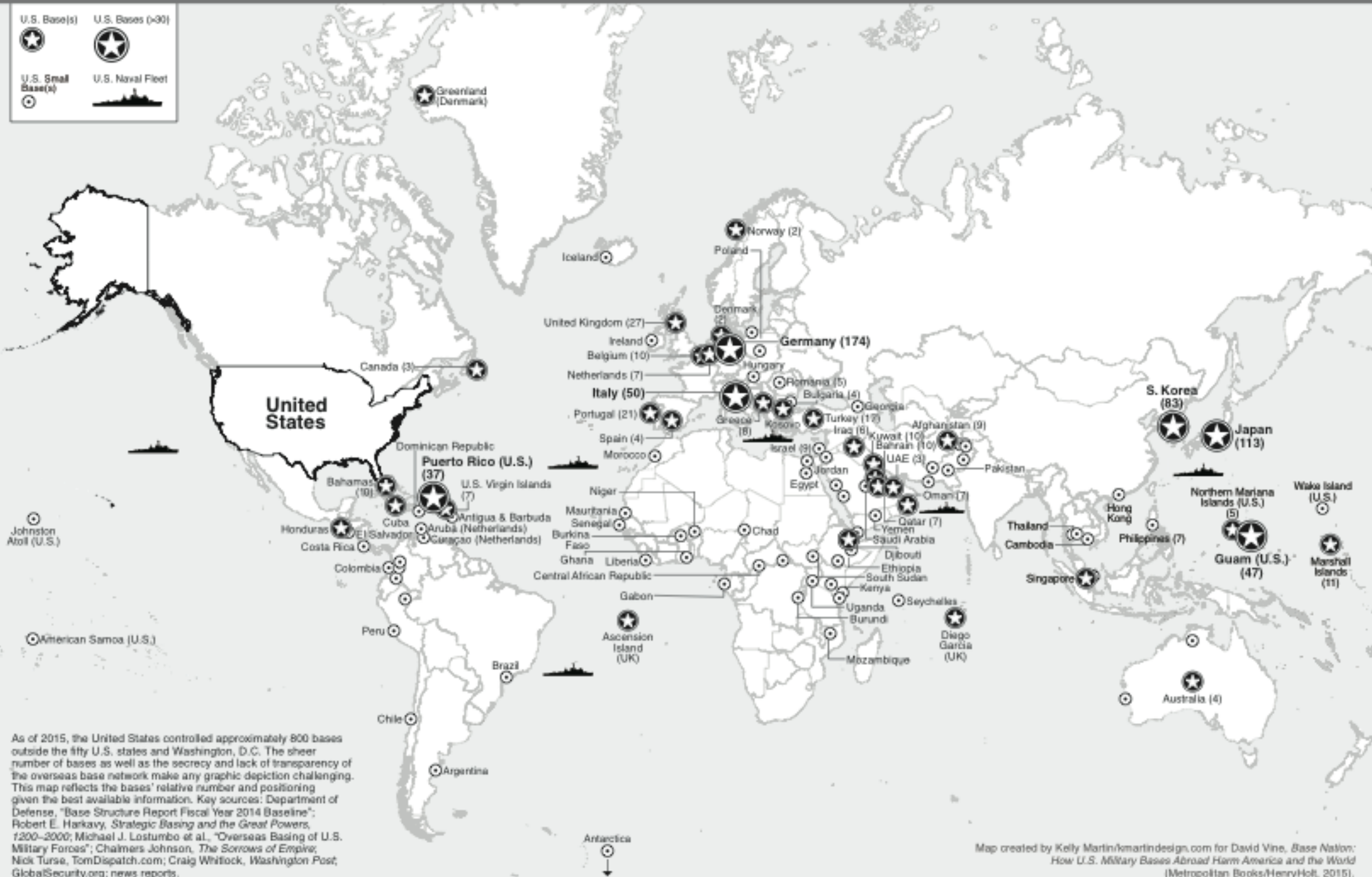
At the height of World War II, the United States controlled more than 2,000 bases and 30,000 installations overseas. This was the largest collection of bases possessed by one power in world history. This map reflects the relative number and positioning of these bases around 1945. For easy comparison of base maps over time, borders are contemporary. Key sources: Robert E. Harkavy, *Strategic Basing and the Great Powers, 1200–2000*; Stacie L. Pettyjohn, "U.S. Global Defense Posture"; James Blaker, *United States Overseas Basing*; Department of the Navy Bureau of Yards and Docks, *Building the Navy's Bases in World War II*; John W. McDonald Jr. and Diane B. Bendahmane, *U.S. Bases Overseas*; news reports.

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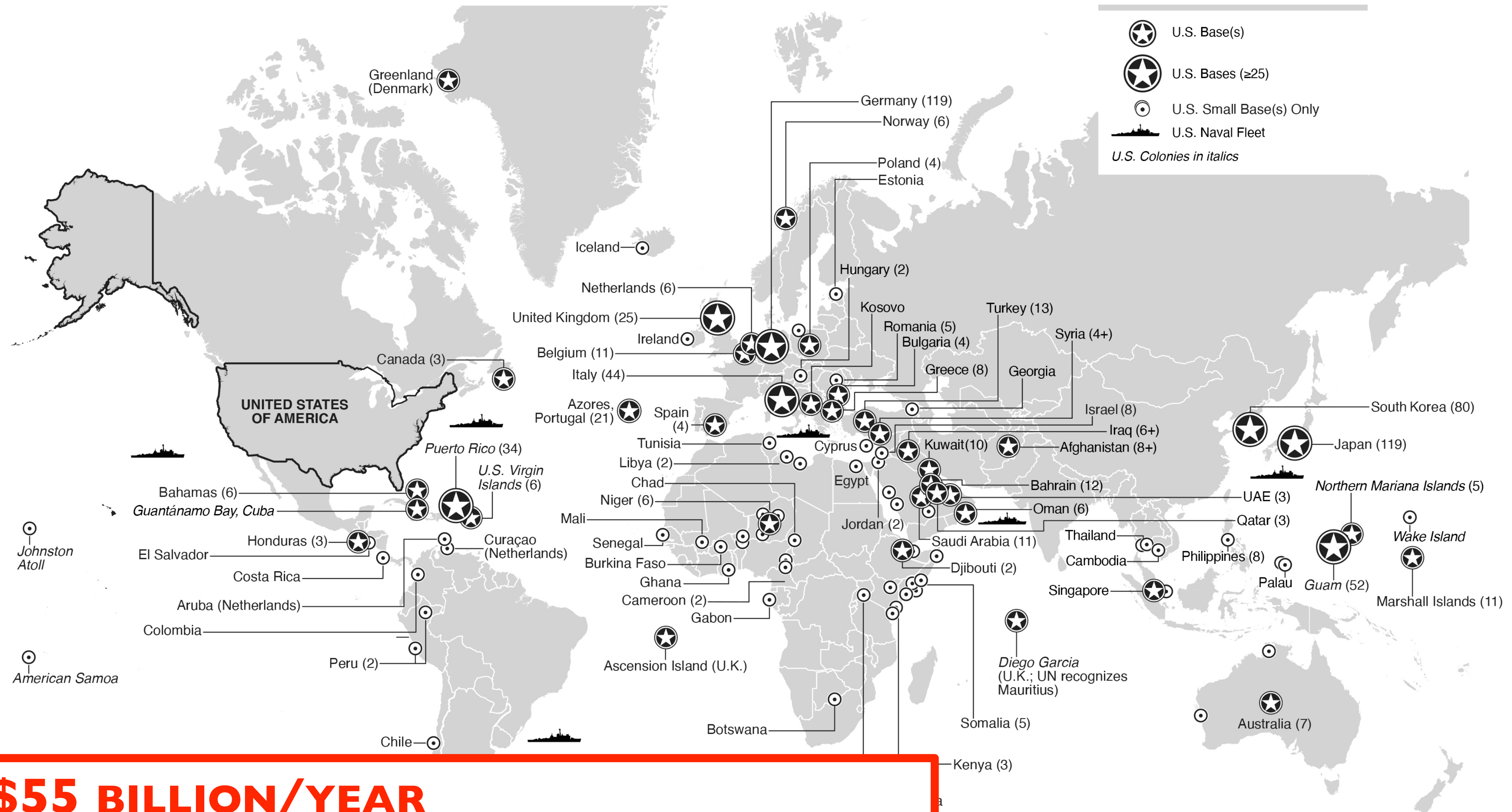
U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 1989



U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 2015



750 US BASES IN 80 COUNTRIES (2021)



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**Overseas Base Realignment
and Closure Coalition**

www.overseasbases.net

“I think we have too much infrastructure overseas

”

....

**“I think we have too much infrastructure overseas
.... derivative of where World War II ended.”**

**“I think we have too much infrastructure overseas
.... derivative of where World War II ended.”**

- Joint Chiefs of Staff Chair Gen. Mark Milley

“We’ve got too many daggone bases.... There’s big money to be saved by closing them.”

- Ret. U.S. Air Force General Roger Brady

Overseas Base Realignment and Closure Coalition

**Transpartisan Letter to President Biden on the
U.S. Global Posture Review and Closing Military Bases Abroad
to Improve National and International Security**

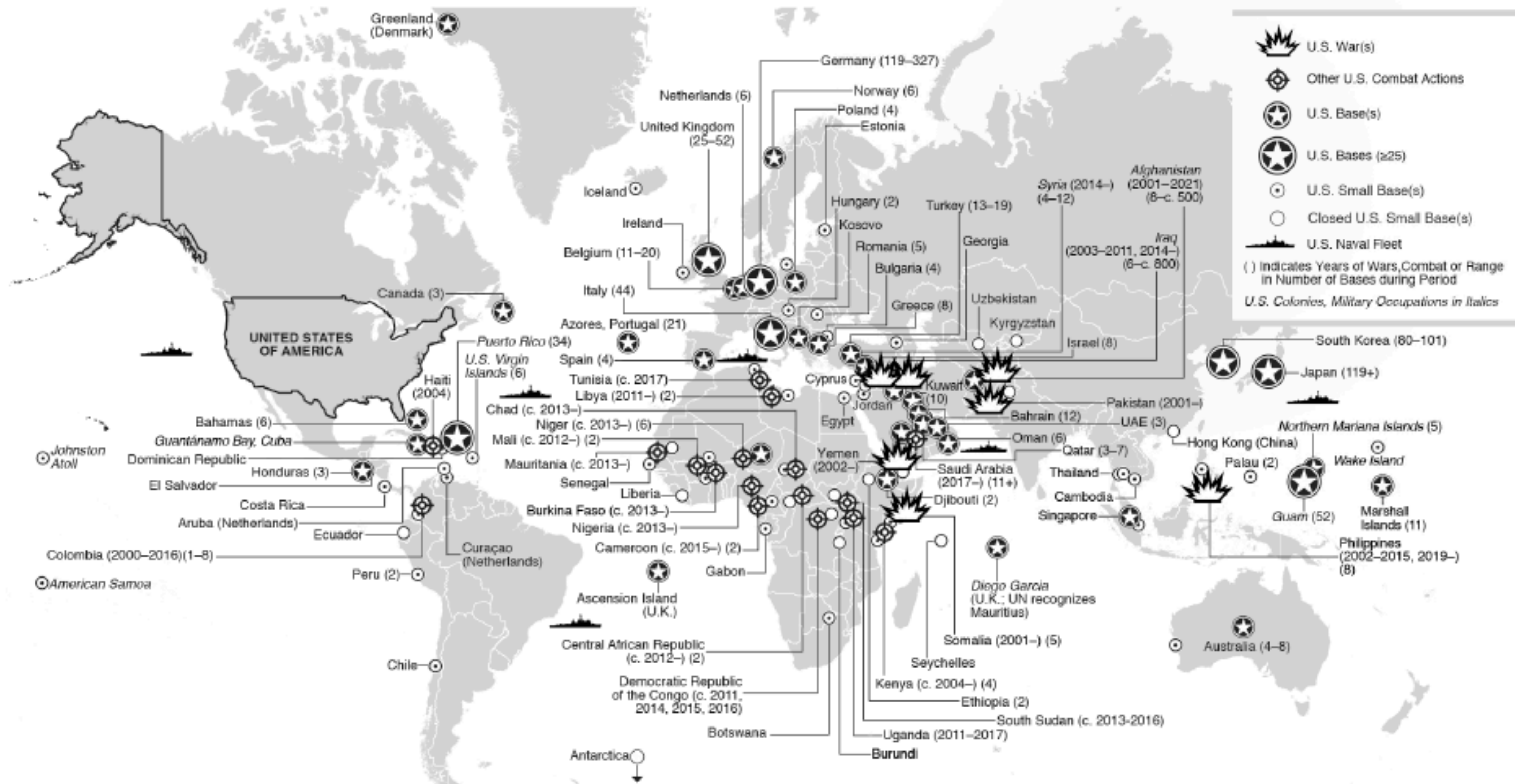
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1. Overseas bases cost taxpayers ~\$80 billion annually.

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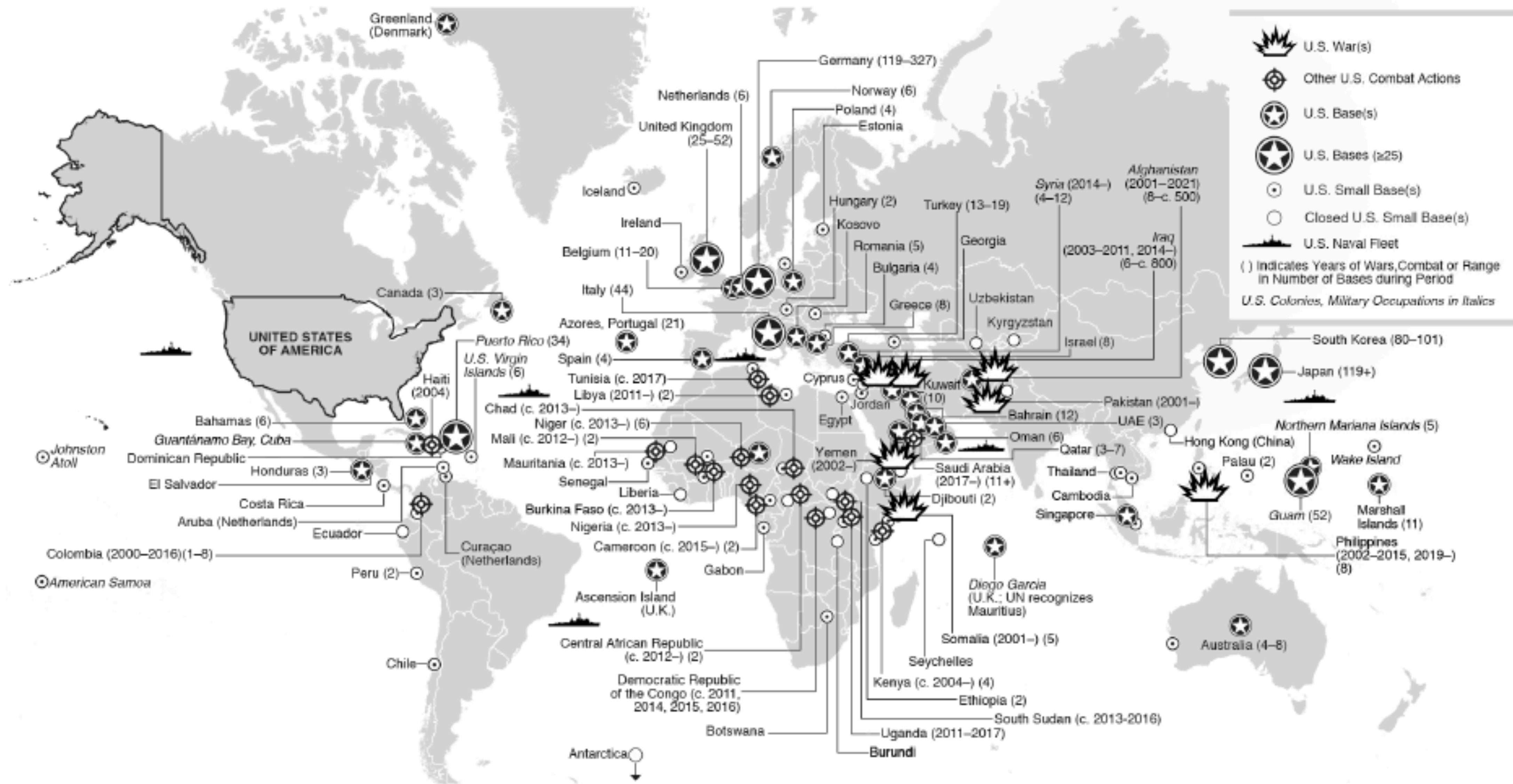
The United States of War: 2001–2021

Since 2001 US troops have fought in 25 countries. An estimated 4.5 million people have died in the 5 most violent wars, with tens of millions injured. 38 million have been displaced. 1.2 billion metric tons of greenhouse gases were emitted by the military. \$8 trillion is the cost, to now, to US taxpayers, amid \$14 trillion in total military spending. The wars were enabled by 2,000+ military bases overseas. There are still 750 bases in 80 countries. The wars are ongoing in Syria, Yemen, Somalia, + beyond.



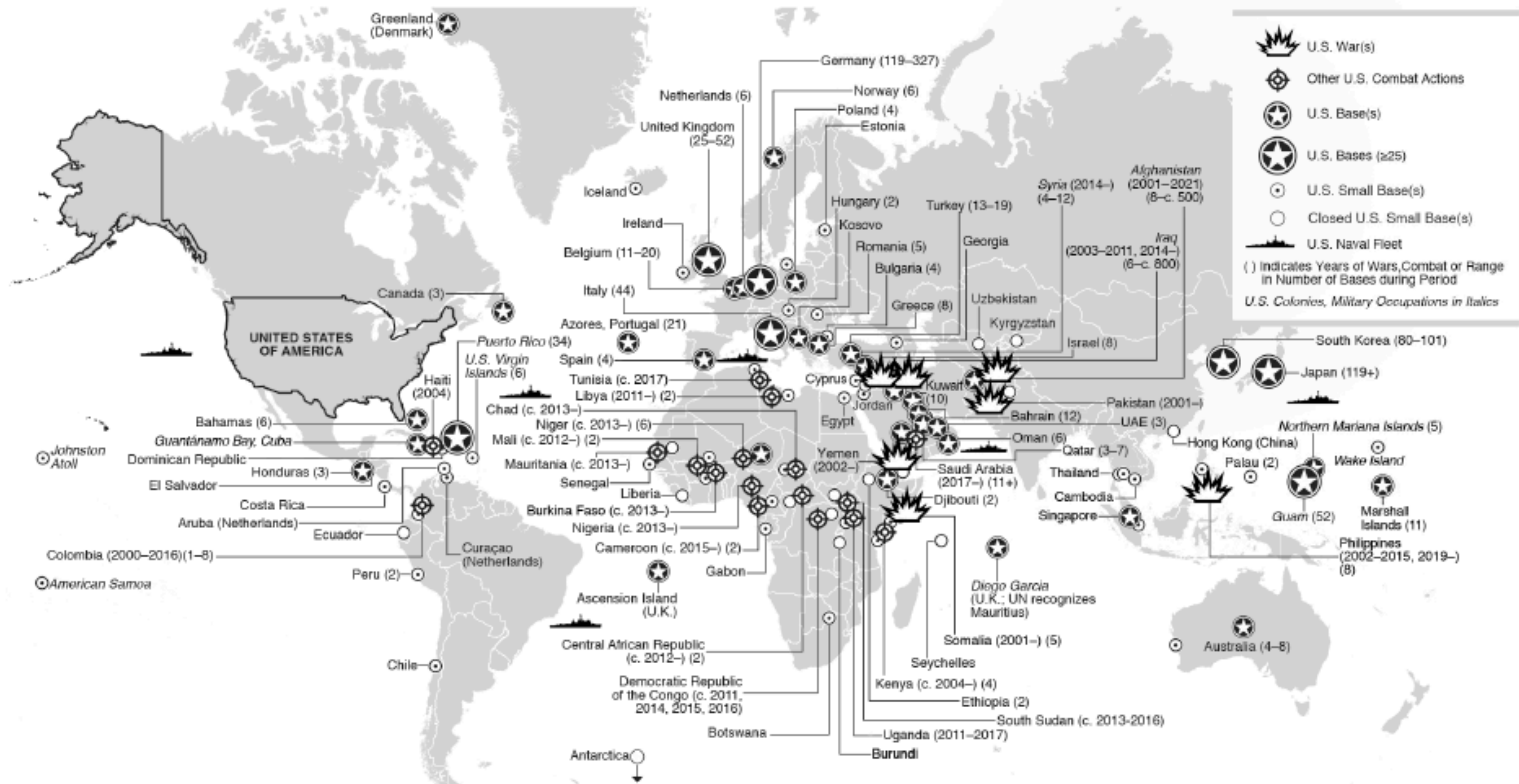
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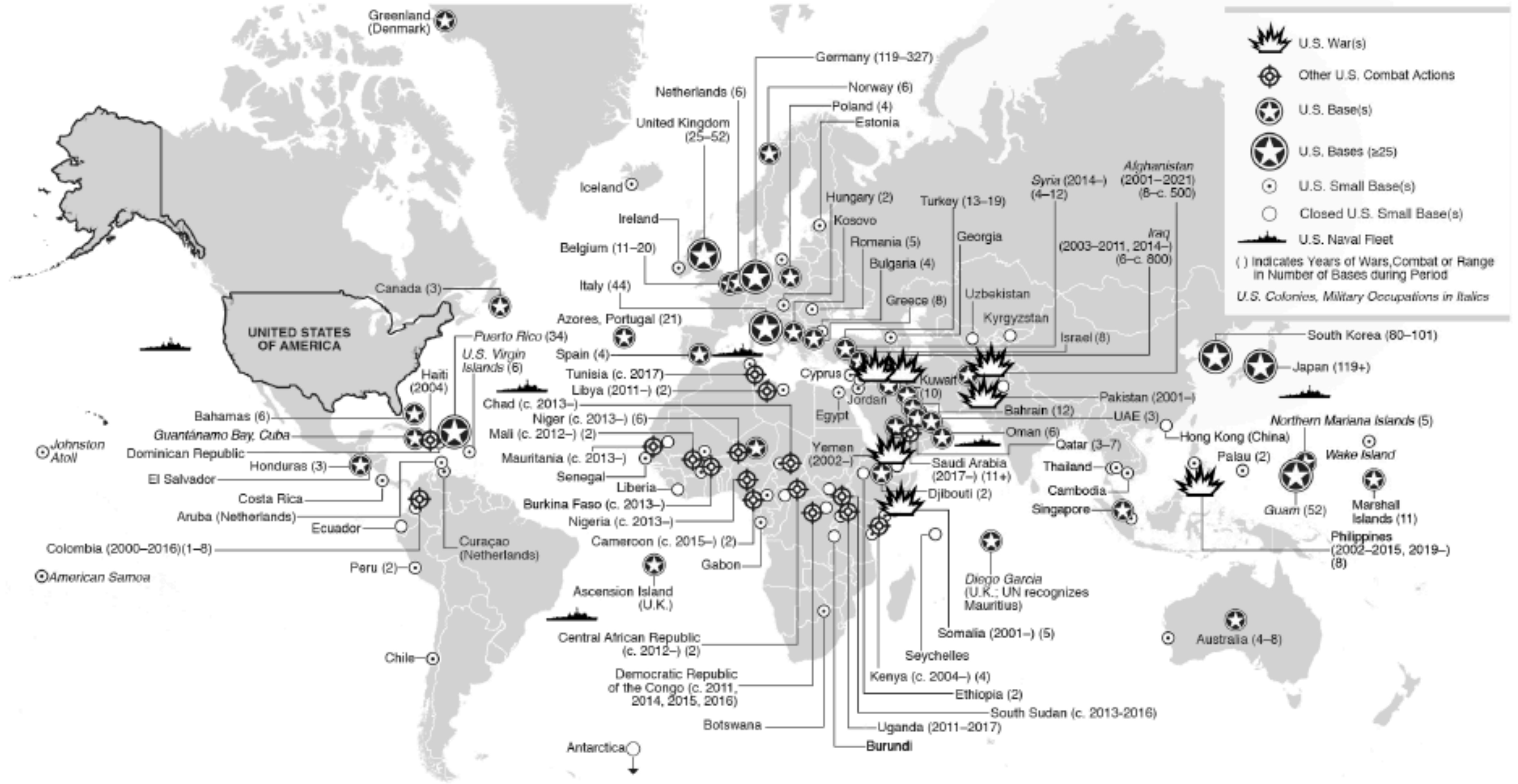
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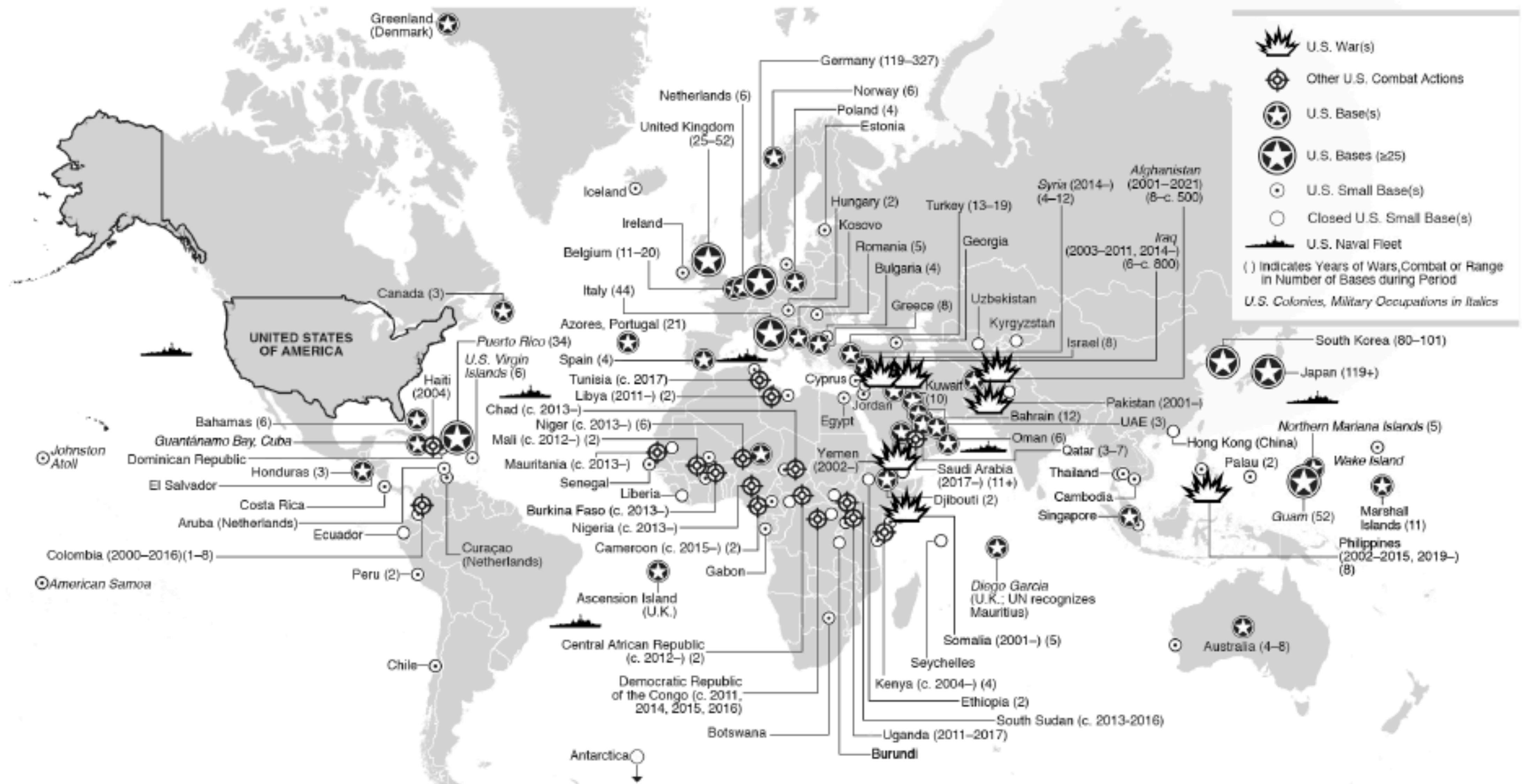
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Map: Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com + David Vine for Vine's *The United States of War*. Other sources: costsofwar.org, nationalpriorities.org, overseasbases.net, davidvine.net

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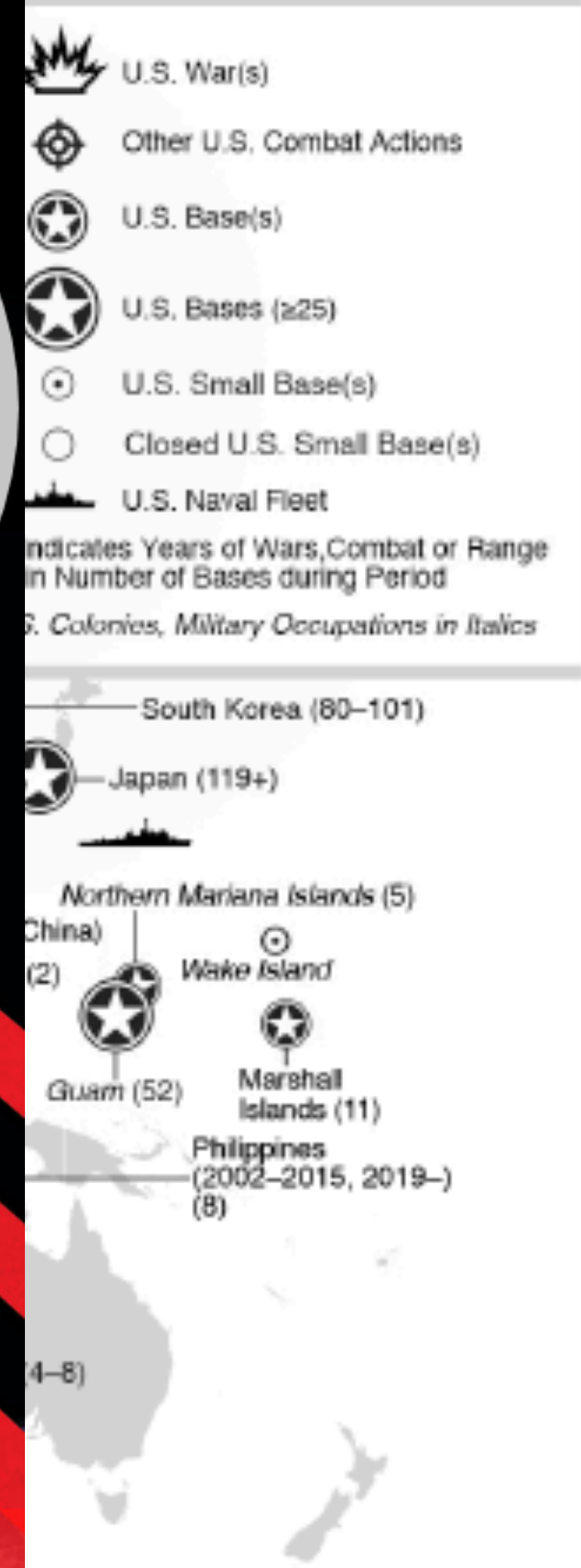
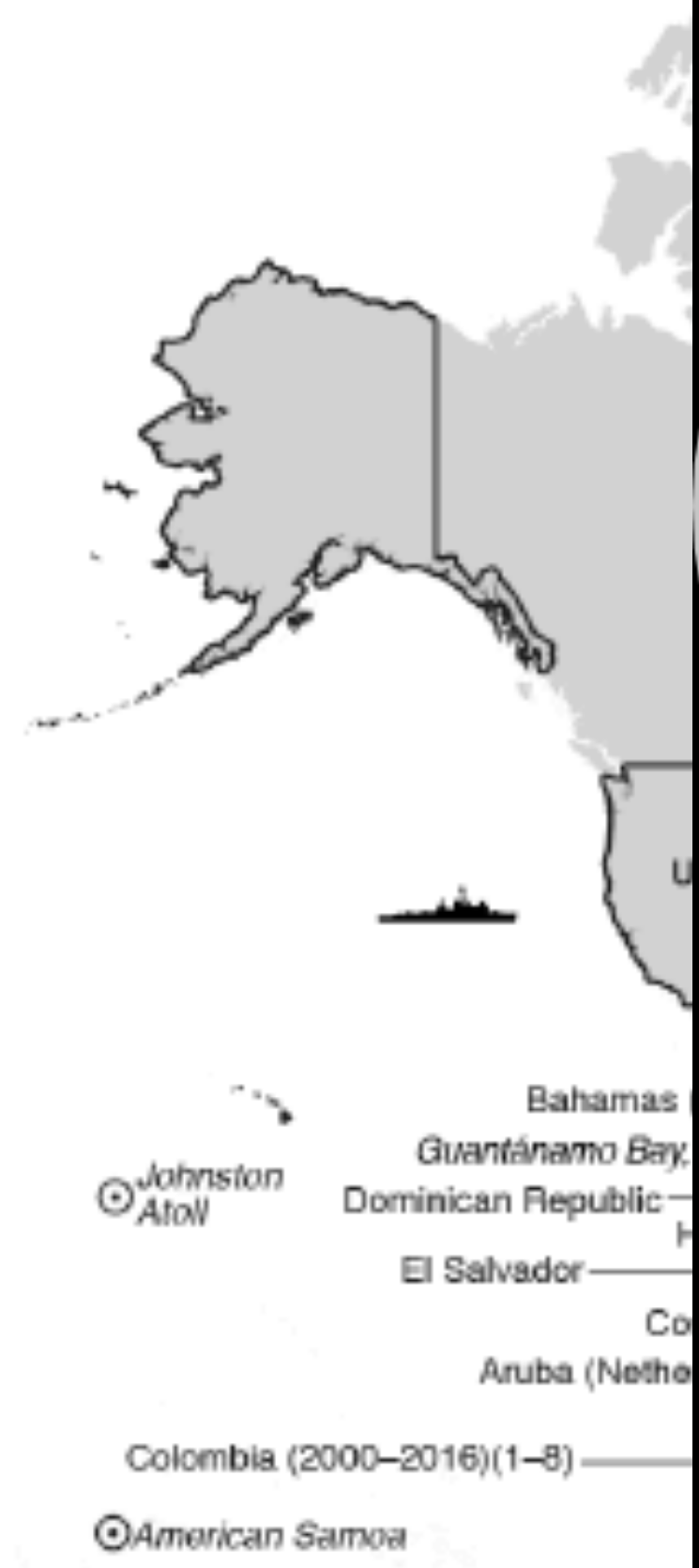
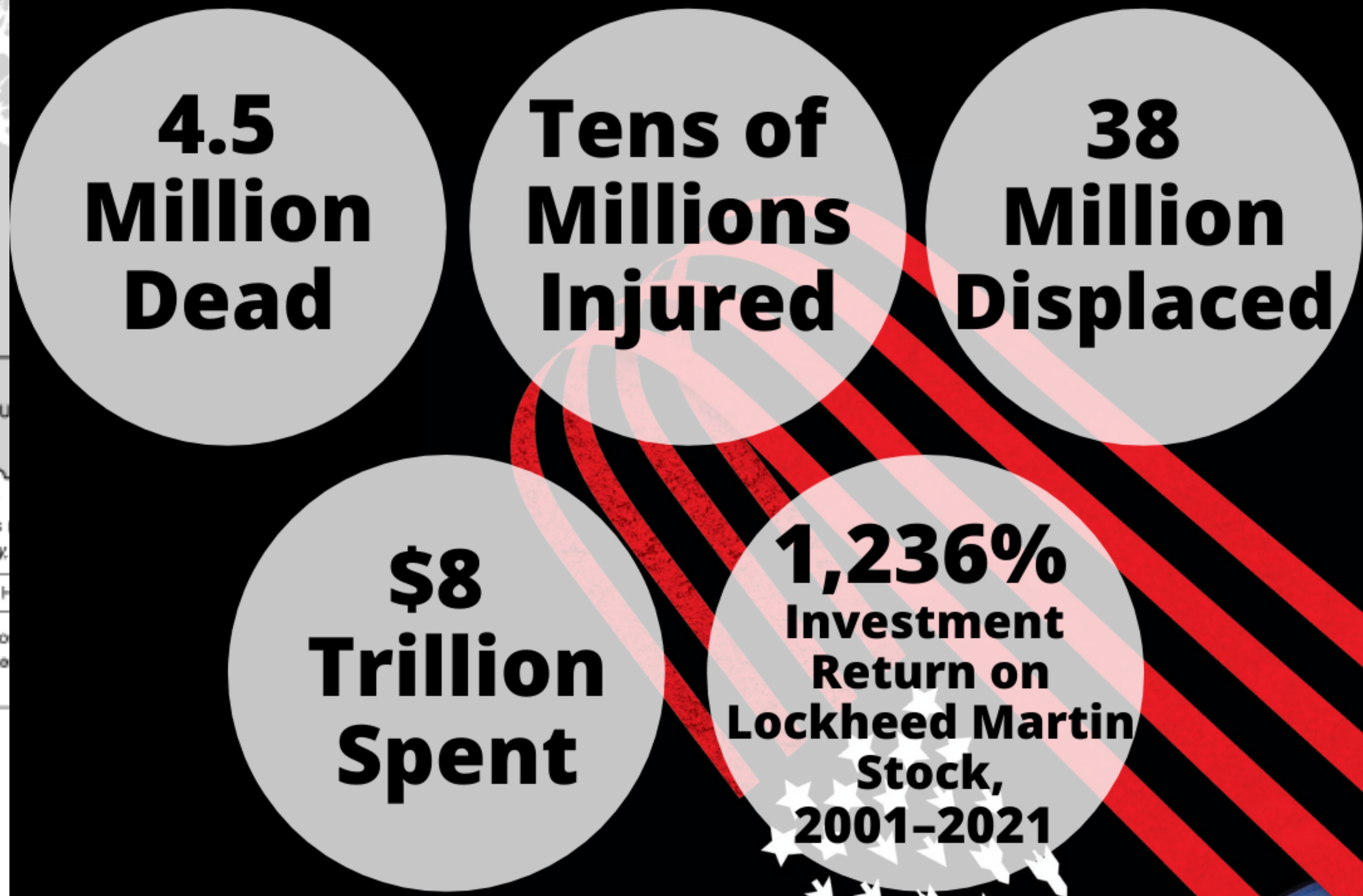
The

This is the War on Terror...

2021

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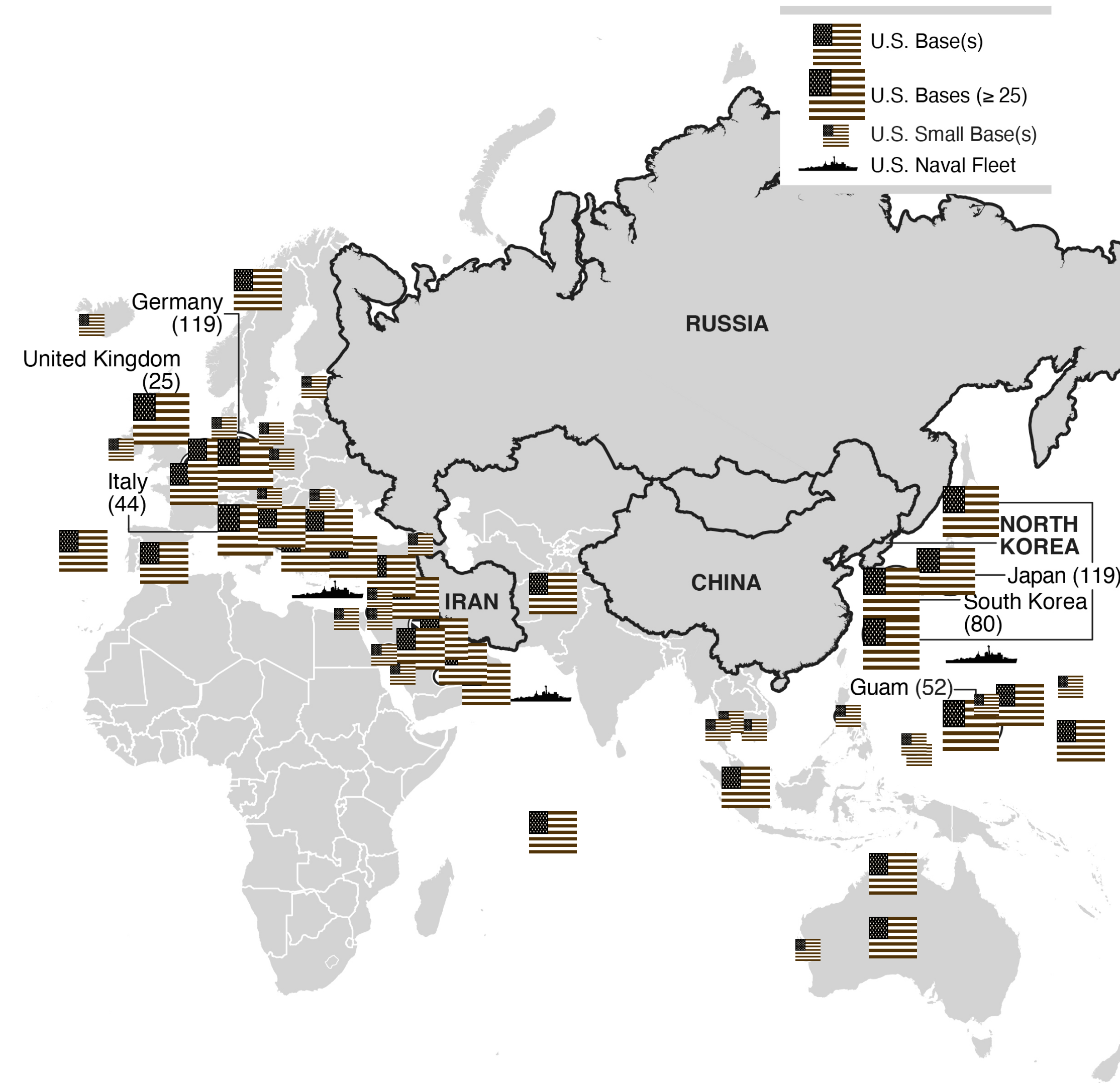
Sources: Costs of War Project, costsofwar.org; David Vine estimate of total war deaths including indirect deaths from disease, hunger, destruction of health and other infrastructure; Jon Schwarz, *The Intercept*, August 16, 2021.

3. Overseas bases are now largely obsolete thanks to technological advancements.

4. Overseas bases increase military tension.

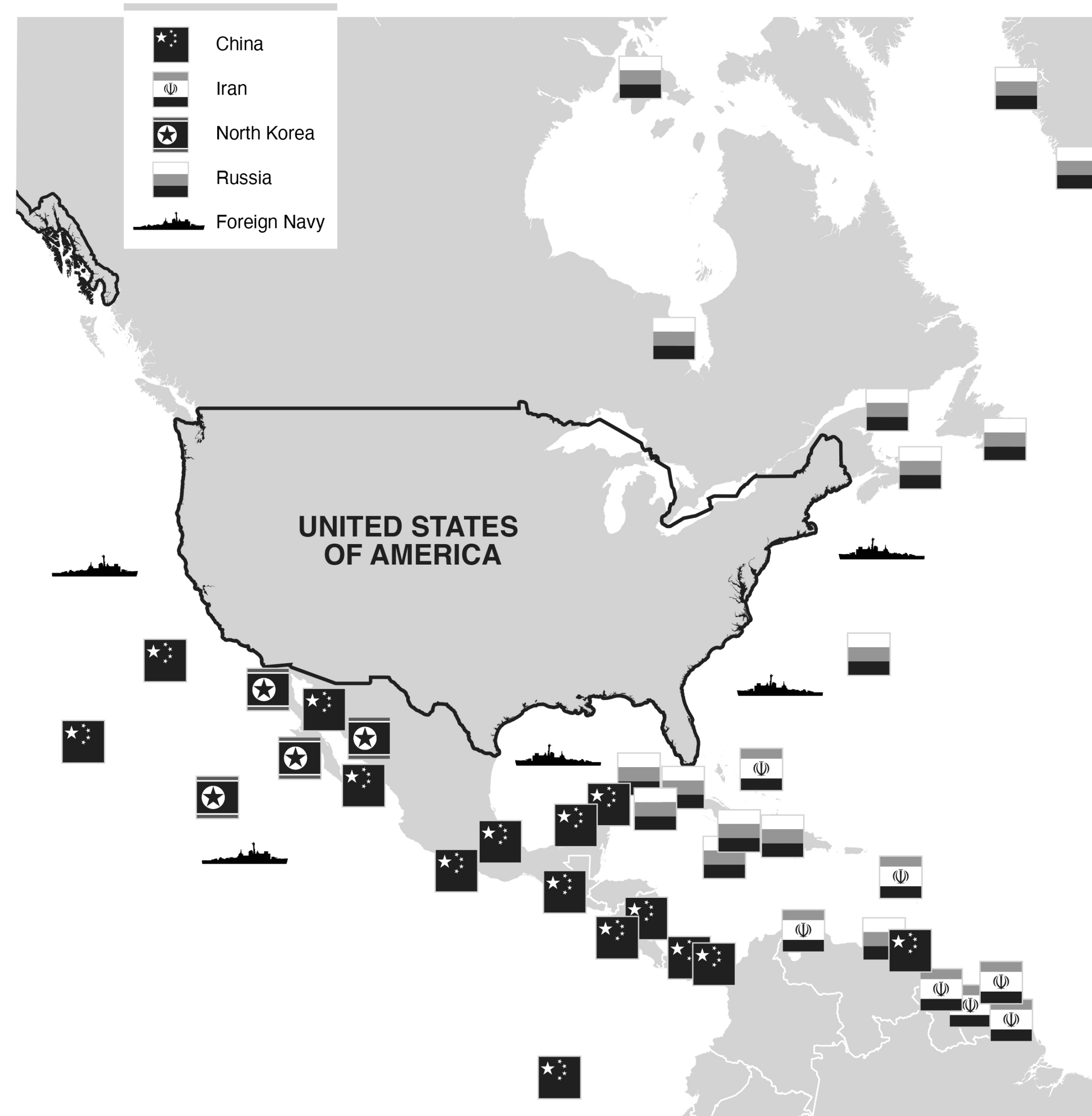
Encircling "Enemies"

Hundreds of U.S. military bases surround China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea. Tens of thousands of U.S. troops occupy these bases, with large supplies of high-powered weaponry, including nuclear arms. Few in the U.S. consider how they would feel if surrounded by foreign bases designed to wage war against the United States.



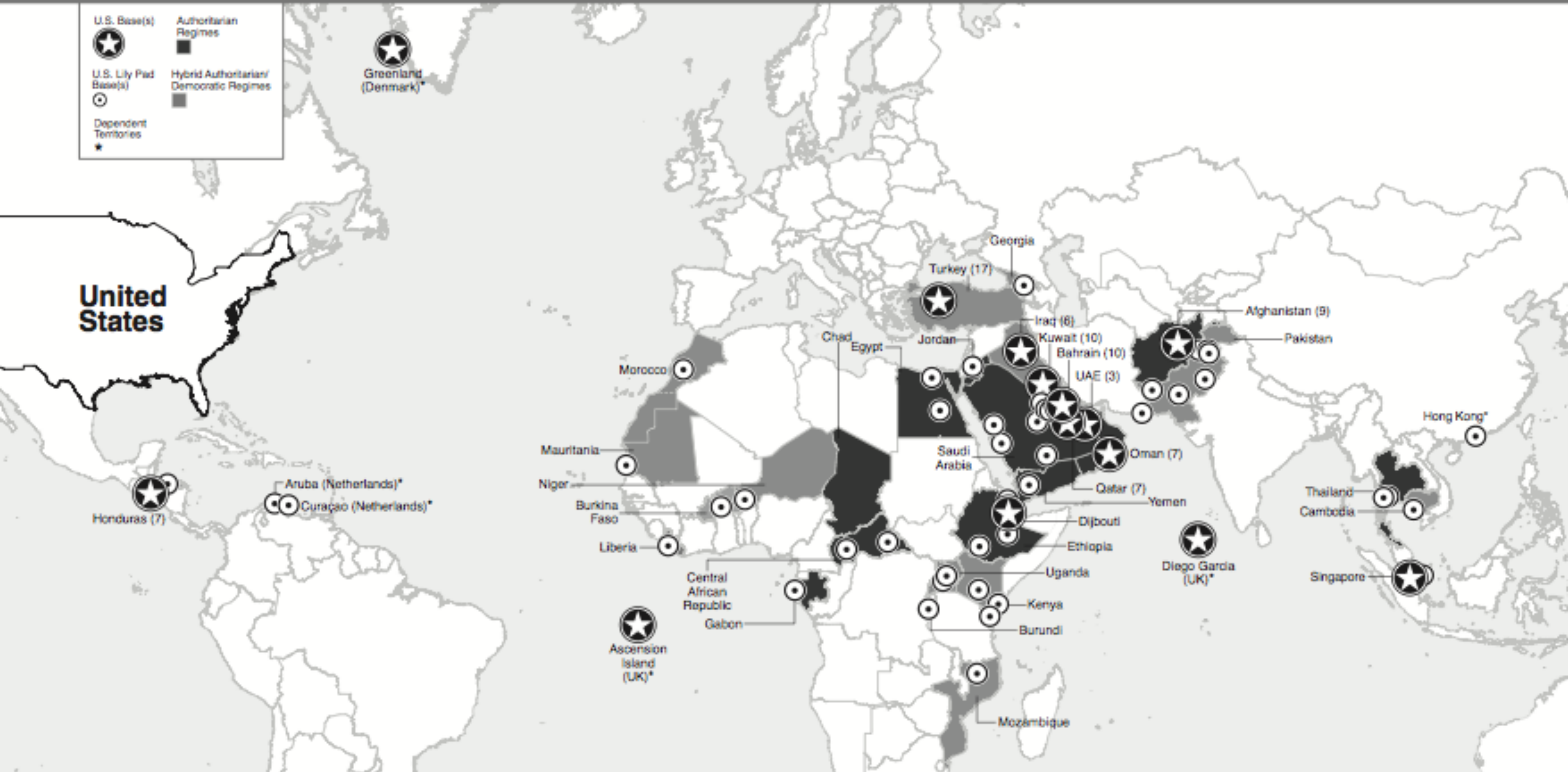
How Would We Feel? A Hypothetical Map

The Chinese, Iranian, North Korean, and Russian military bases shown here do not exist. This map is meant to encourage U.S. Americans in particular to consider how we would feel—and how we might react—if we were surrounded by foreign bases near our borders in the way that hundreds of U.S. bases and tens of thousands of U.S. troops actually surround China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea.



5. Overseas bases support at least 38 dictators and repressive, undemocratic regimes.

SPREADING DEMOCRACY?



6. Overseas bases cause blowback.

7. Overseas bases damage the environment.

8. Overseas bases damage the United States' international reputation and generate protest.

Protests and Ev

Social movements and nationa
For ease of comparison we us



Hawai'i
(2003, 2006)



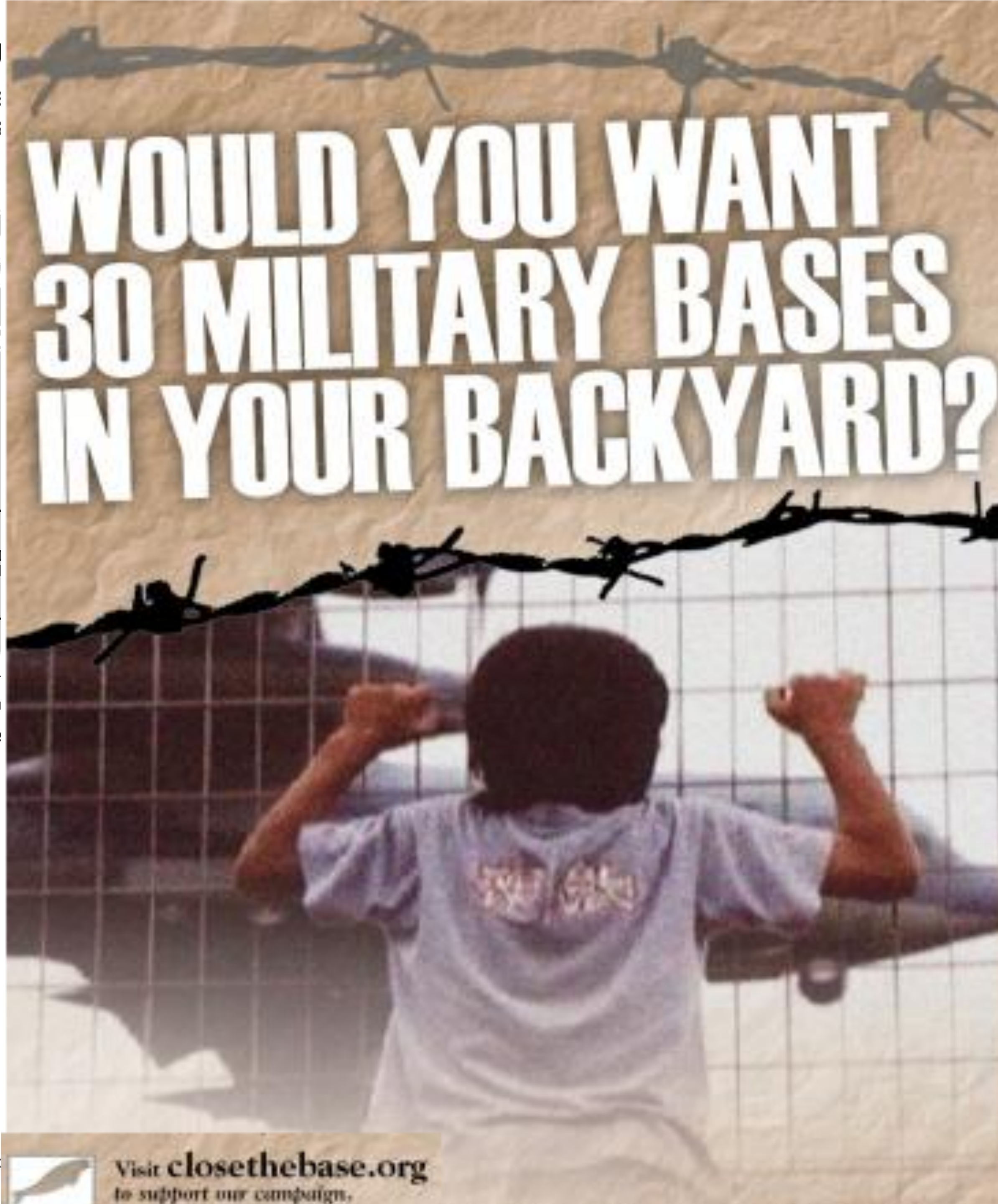
Cuba

Hondur

Panama (19

Colombia (20

WOULD YOU WANT 30 MILITARY BASES IN YOUR BACKYARD?

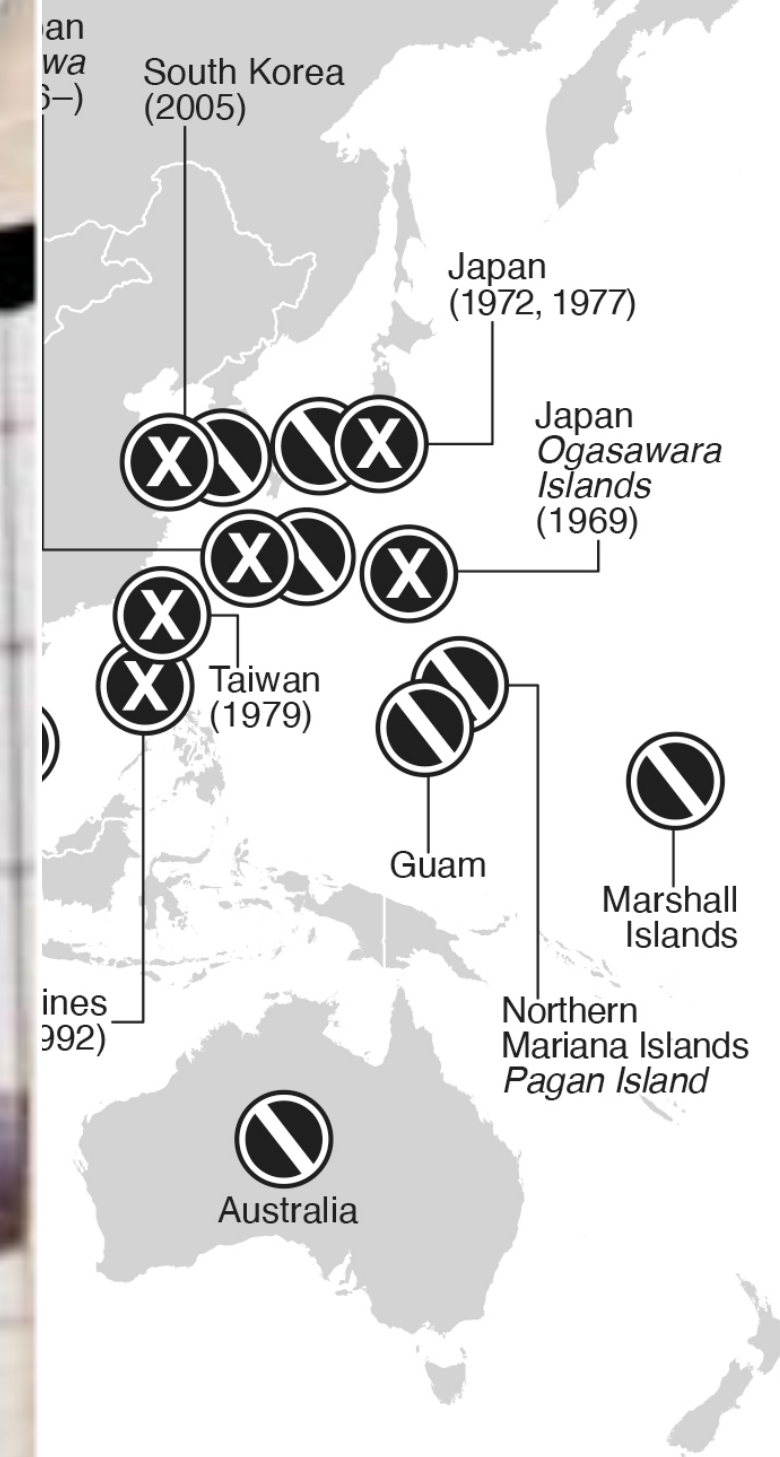


U.S. Base(s) Closed
or Blocked by Locals

Major Contemporary
Antibase Protest(s)

Year U.S. Base(s)
Closed or Blocked

ment by displaced people
ding the right of return but
essarily base closure



9. Overseas bases are bad for families.



Overseas Bases...

- 1. Cost taxpayers ~\$80 billion annually**
- 2. Launch offensive, interventionist wars**
- 3. Are now largely obsolete thanks to technological advancements**
- 4. Increase military tension**
- 5. Support at least 38 dictatorial, repressive, undemocratic regimes**
- 6. Cause blowback**
- 7. Damage the environment**
- 8. Damage the U.S. international reputation + generate protest**
- 9. Are bad for families**

Drawdown / Build-Up

Drawdown / Build-Up

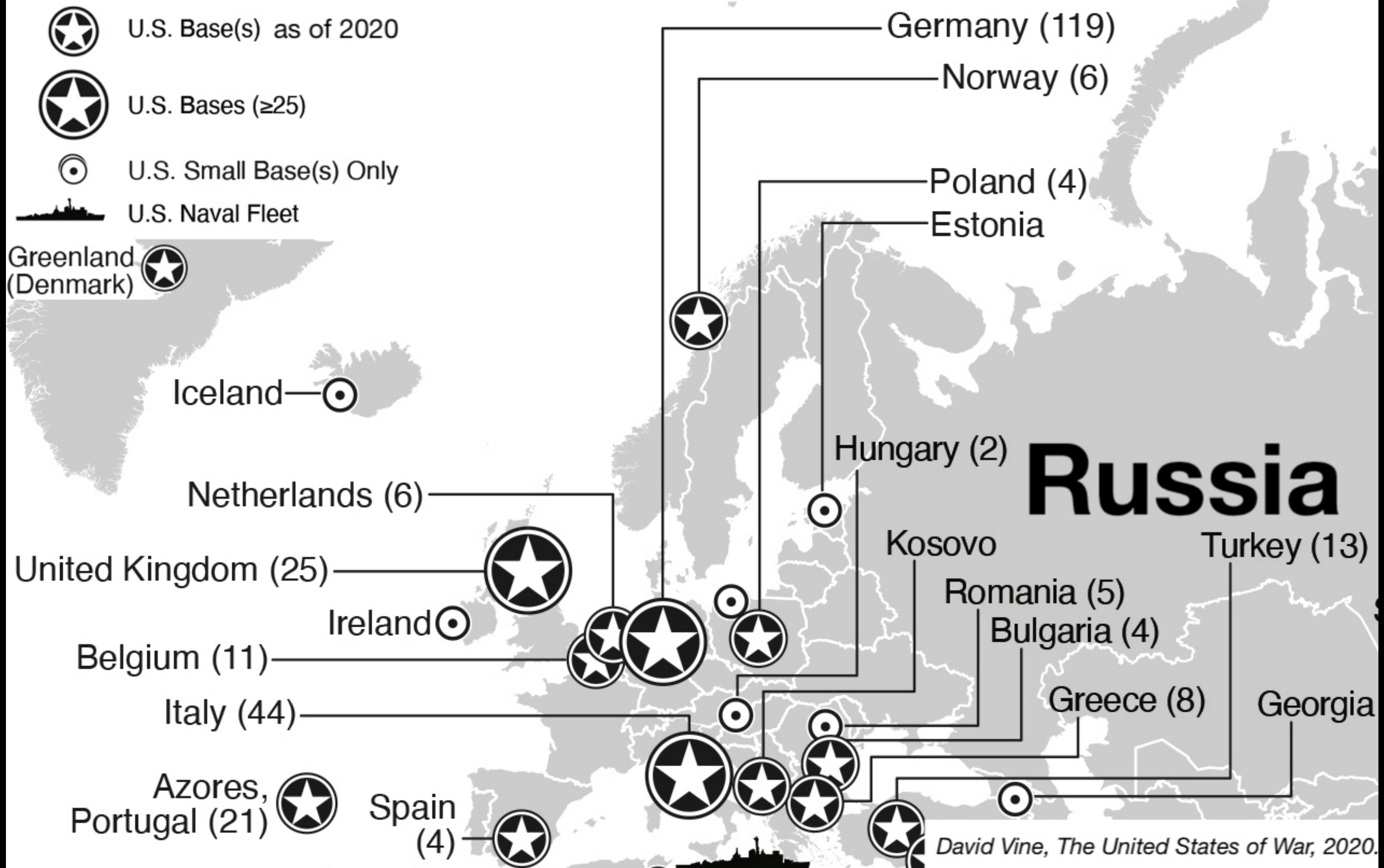
How to Close Bases Abroad + Build Diplomatic Presence

Drawdown / Build-Up

How to Close Bases Abroad + Build Diplomatic Presence

- ▶ Boost Rapid Deployment Technologies, Cyber
- ▶ Prepositioning, Access Agreements
- ▶ Congressional Annual Overseas Base Review Process
- ▶ Pentagon Annual Overseas Base Review Process
- ▶ Budgetary Incentives for Closures
- ▶ Base Conversion, Environmental Clean-Up
- ▶ Double Department of State + USAID Spending
- ▶ Downsize + Replace Military Presence in Embassies, Consulates....

US Military Bases in Europe



Overseas Base Realignment and Closure Coalition

**Transpartisan Letter to Biden, Congress
Opposing New US Military Bases in Europe
and Proposing Alternatives
to Support Ukrainian, U.S., and European Security**

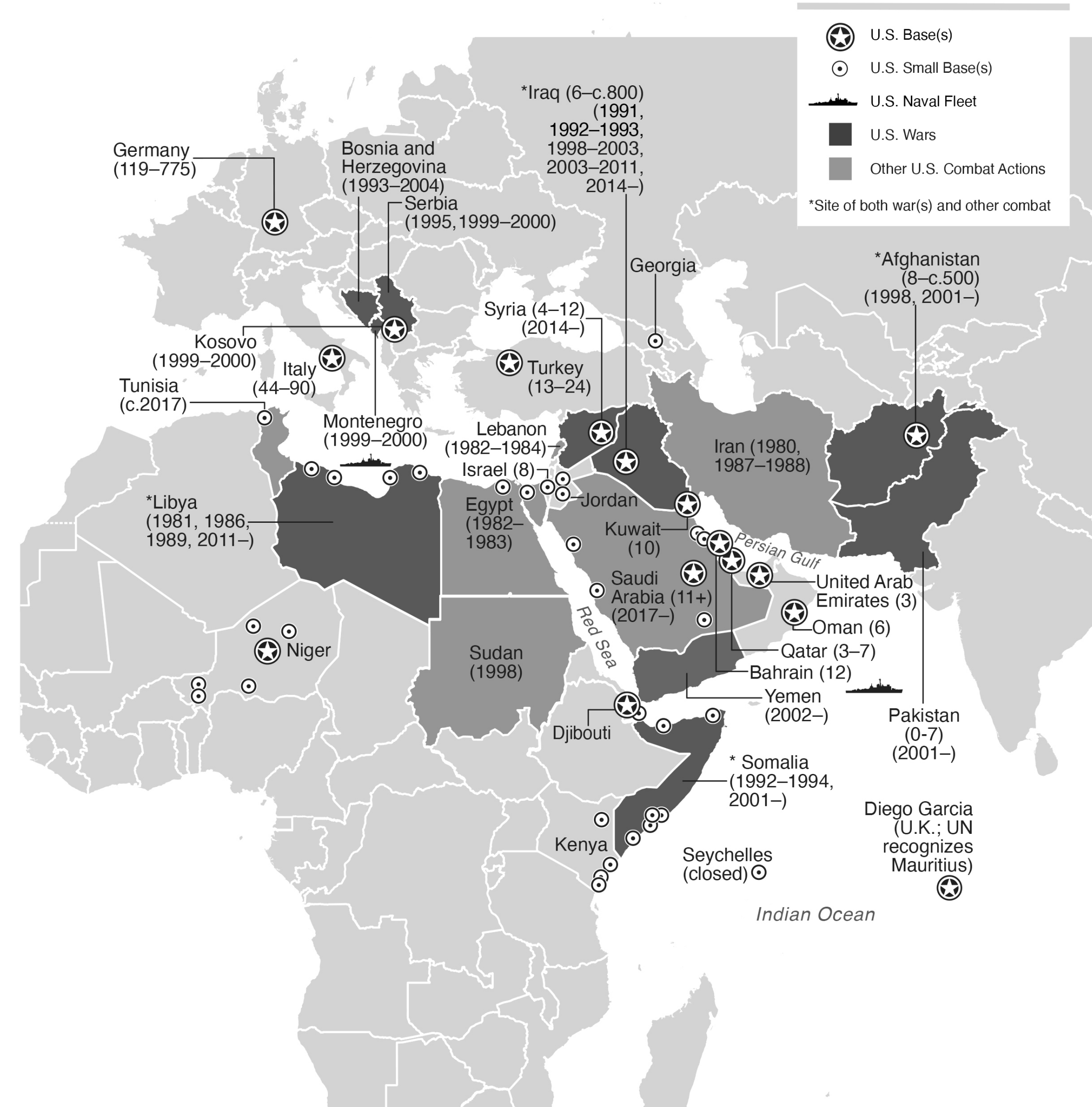
www.overseasbases.net

1) No Russian military threat justifies new US military bases. Putin's war has provided overwhelming evidence of Russian military weakness.

2) With some 300 military installations already in Europe, the US has far too much infrastructure on the continent.

Enabling Wars in the Middle East

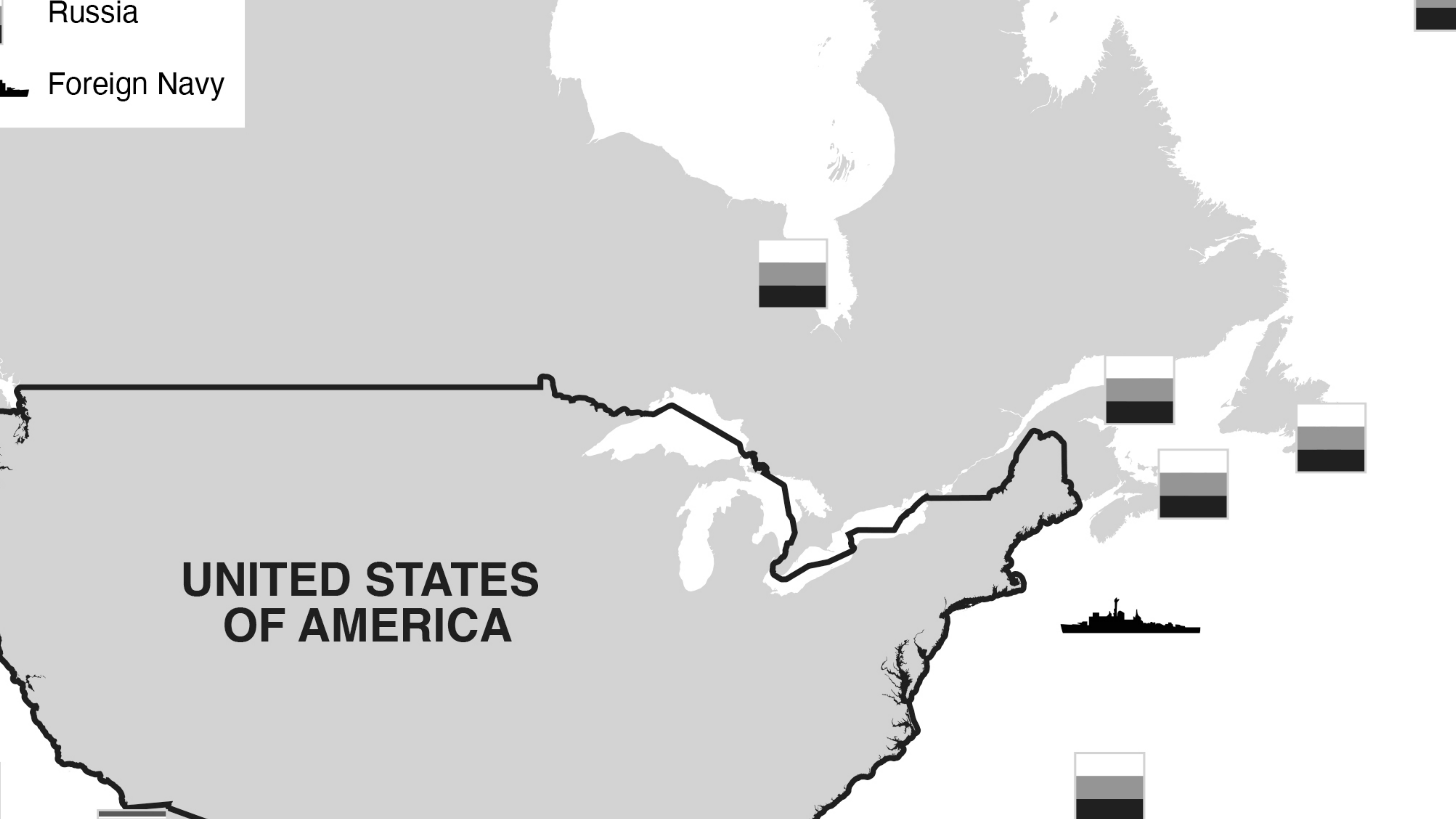
Bases in the Greater Middle East helped launch U.S. wars and other combat in at least 17 countries in the region between 1980 and 2020. Inspired by Andrew J. Bacevich, "Even If We Defeat the Islamic State, We'll Still Lose the Bigger War," Washington Post, October 3, 2014. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.



3) New US bases would further escalate military tensions with Russia, increasing the risk of a potentially nuclear war.

Russia

Foreign Navy

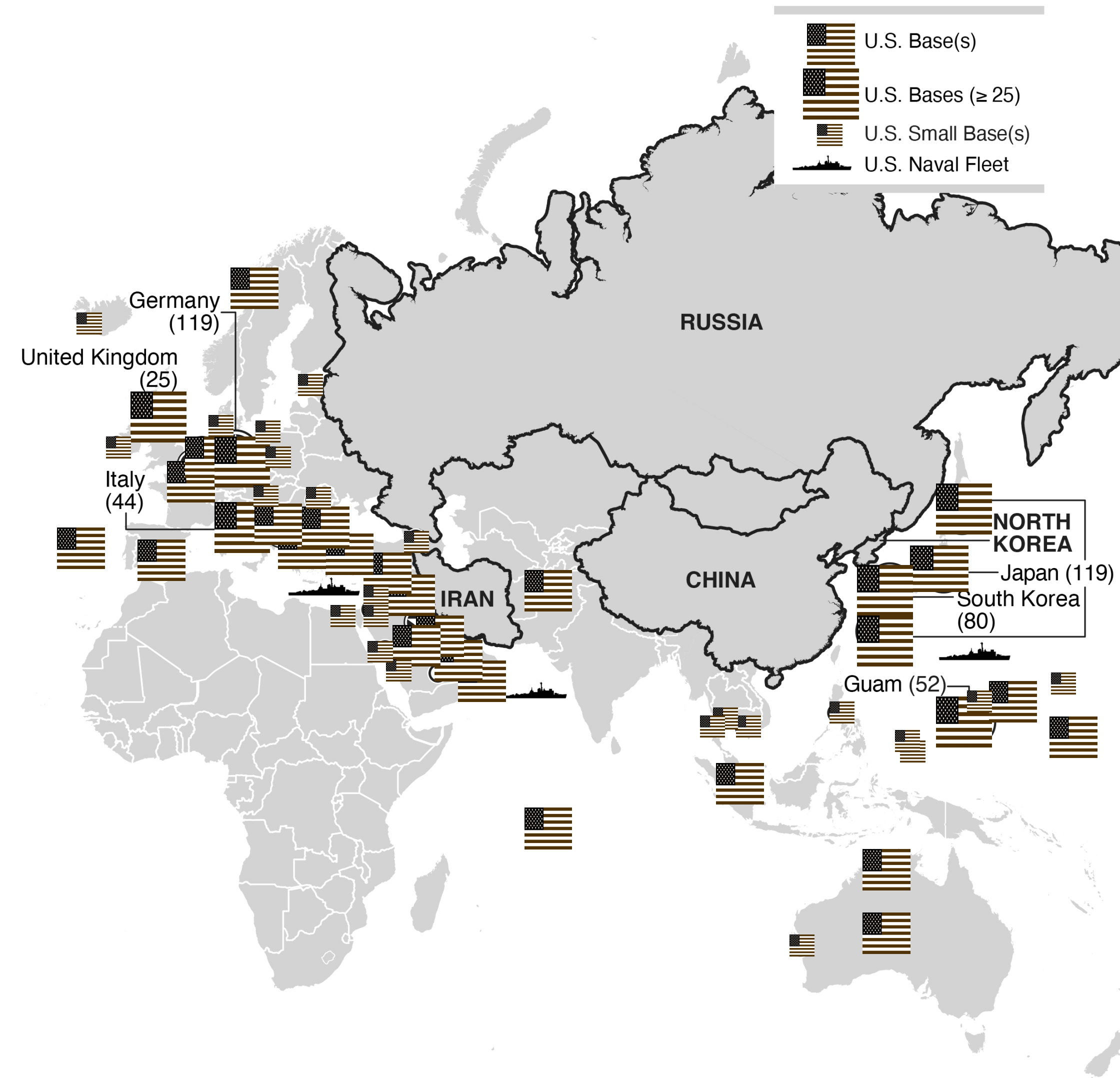


**UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA**



Encircling "Enemies"

Hundreds of U.S. military bases surround China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea. Tens of thousands of U.S. troops occupy these bases, with large supplies of high-powered weaponry, including nuclear arms. Few in the U.S. consider how they would feel if surrounded by foreign bases designed to wage war against the United States.



4) The US can and should close unnecessary bases among the 300 now in Europe as a sign of strength and confidence while advancing smarter, cost-effective alternatives with allies.

5) Proposals for transforming US military posture and building a new security infrastructure in Europe can advance negotiations to end the war and suffering in Ukraine as quickly as possible.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 3, 2010

Ms. Peggy Madden Davitt
55 Amelia Street
Newport, Kentucky 41071

Dear Peggy:

I am deeply saddened to learn of the loss of your son, Specialist Russell E. Madden, USA. Our Nation will not forget his sacrifice, and we can never repay our debt to your family.

A simple letter cannot ease the pain of losing a child, but I hope you take solace in knowing that his brave service exceeded all measures of selflessness and devotion to this country. We honor him not only as a guardian of our liberty, but also as the true embodiment of America's spirit of service to a cause greater than ourselves.

Michelle and I offer our heartfelt sympathy, and pray that God's grace gives you comfort as you grieve. In life, your son was a shining example of all that is best in our land. In rest, may he find the peace we all seek.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be Barack Obama's signature, written over the word "Sincerely,".

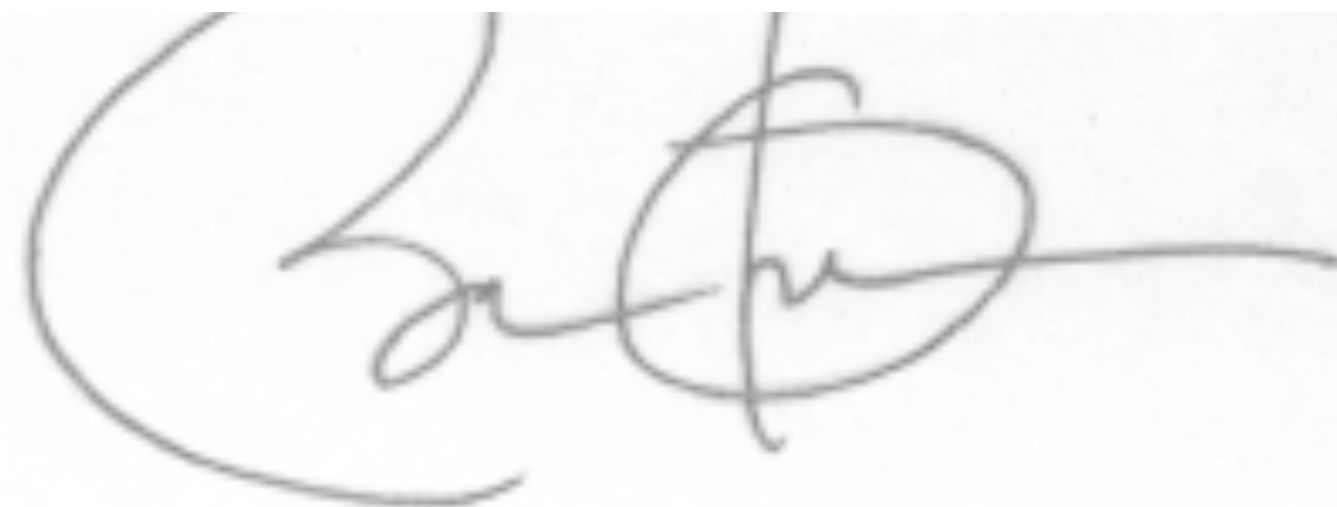
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 3, 2010

Ms. Peggy Madden Davitt

“If my son had found a decent employer and sufficient health insurance in this great land of ours, my son would not have had to sacrifice his life for his son.”

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'C. Obama', written in a cursive style.

“Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.”

- President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953)

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✓ Defund the Warfare State

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- ▶ Demand a Peace Dividend

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- ▶ Move the Money: Meet Human Needs

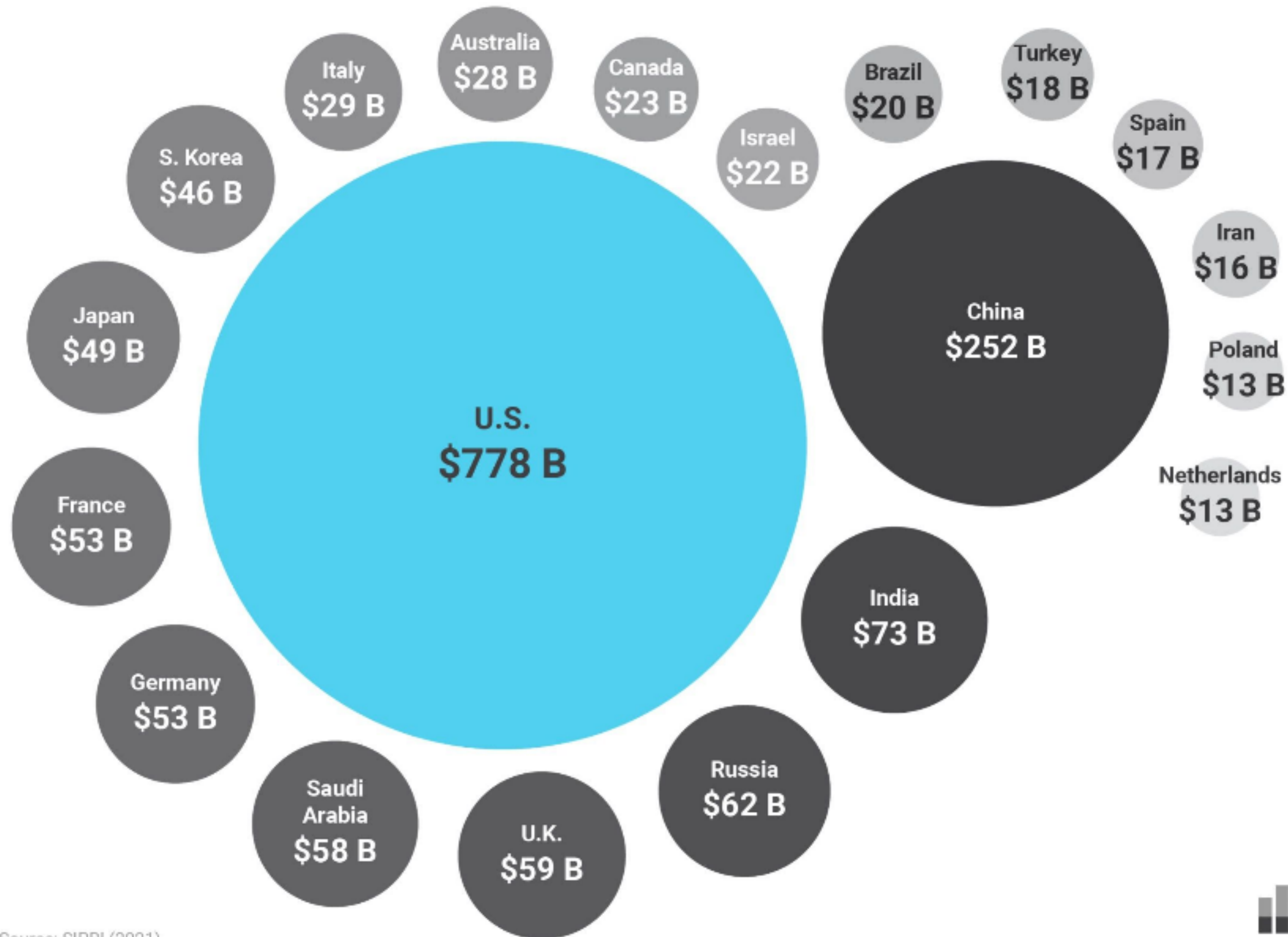
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- ▶ Expose the “Theft”
- ▶ Cross-Issue Organizing

Top 20 countries by military spending



Source: SIPRI (2021)

✓ Reduce the Power of the Military Industrial Complex

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- ▶ Military Conversion —> Unarmed Global Health and Disaster Response Force

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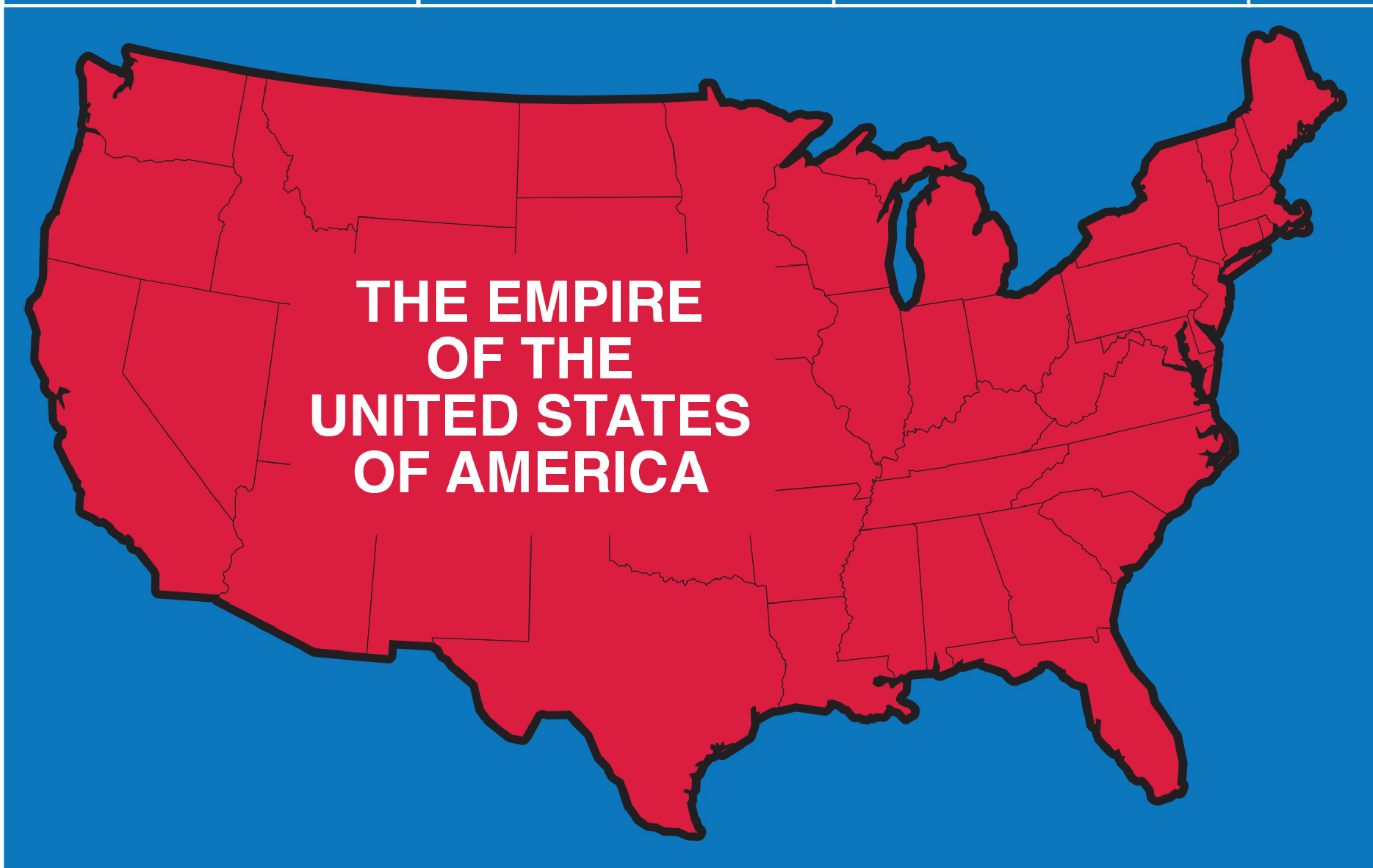
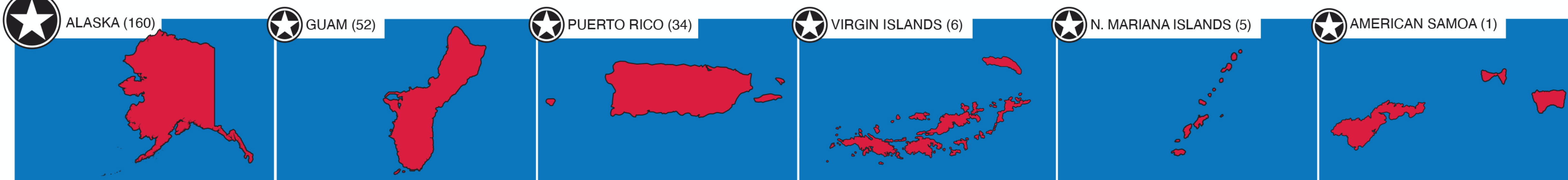
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- ▶ Constitutional Amendment to Return War Powers to Congress

✓ Reduce the Power of the Military Industrial Complex

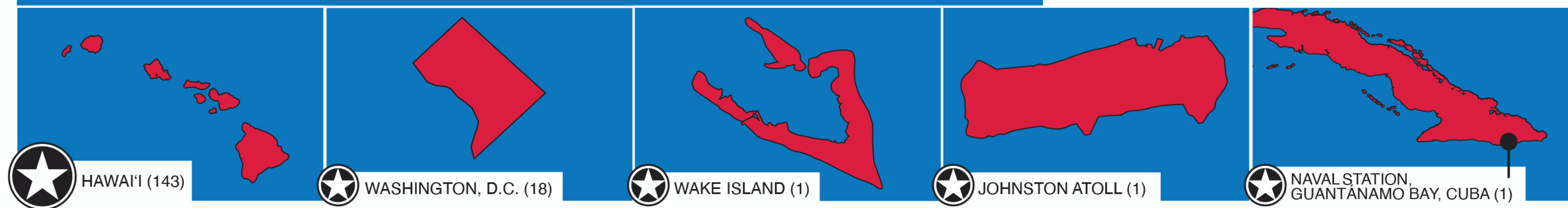
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- ▶ Reinstitute the Draft, incl. Alternative National Service?

✓ *Deimperialize* the United States



U.S. military base sites in (). Base sites in continental 48 states = 3,829. Land areas not to scale.

- Germany (119) • Japan (119) • South Korea (80) • Italy (44) •
- United Kingdom (25) • Portugal (21) • Turkey (13) • Bahrain (12) •
- Belgium (11) • Marshall Islands (11) • Saudi Arabia (11) • Kuwait (10) •
- Afghanistan (8+) • Greece (8) • Israel (8) • Philippines (8) •
- Australia (7) • Bahamas (6) • Iraq (6+) • Netherlands (6) • Norway (6) •
- Oman (6) • Niger (6) • Romania (5) • Somalia (5) • Bulgaria (4) •
- Poland (4) • Spain (4) • Syria (4+) • Canada (3) • Honduras (3) •
- Kenya (3) • Qatar (3) • United Arab Emirates (3) • Cameroon (2) •
- Djibouti (2) • Hungary (2) • Jordan (2) • Libya (2) • Palau (2) •
- Peru (2) • Singapore (2) • Thailand (2) • Aruba (Netherlands) (1) •
- Ascension Island (U.K.) (1) • Botswana (1) • Burkina Faso (1) •
- Cambodia (1) • Chad (1) • Chile (1) • Colombia (1) • Costa Rica (1) •
- Curaçao (Netherlands) (1) • Cyprus (1) • Diego Garcia (U.K.) (1) •
- Egypt (1) • El Salvador (1) • Estonia (1) • Gabon (1) • Georgia (1) •
- Ghana (1) • Greenland (Denmark) (1) • Iceland (1) • Ireland (1) •
- Kosovo (1) • Mali (1) • Senegal (1) • Tunisia (1) • Uganda (1)



 **U.S. STATE**
 **U.S. COLONY**

✓ *Deimperialize* the United States

- ▶ Drawdown/Build-Up:
Close Bases, Build Diplomatic Presence Abroad
 - Base Conversion
 - Prepositioning, Access Agreements
 - Rapid Deployment Technologies

✓ *Deimperialize* the United States

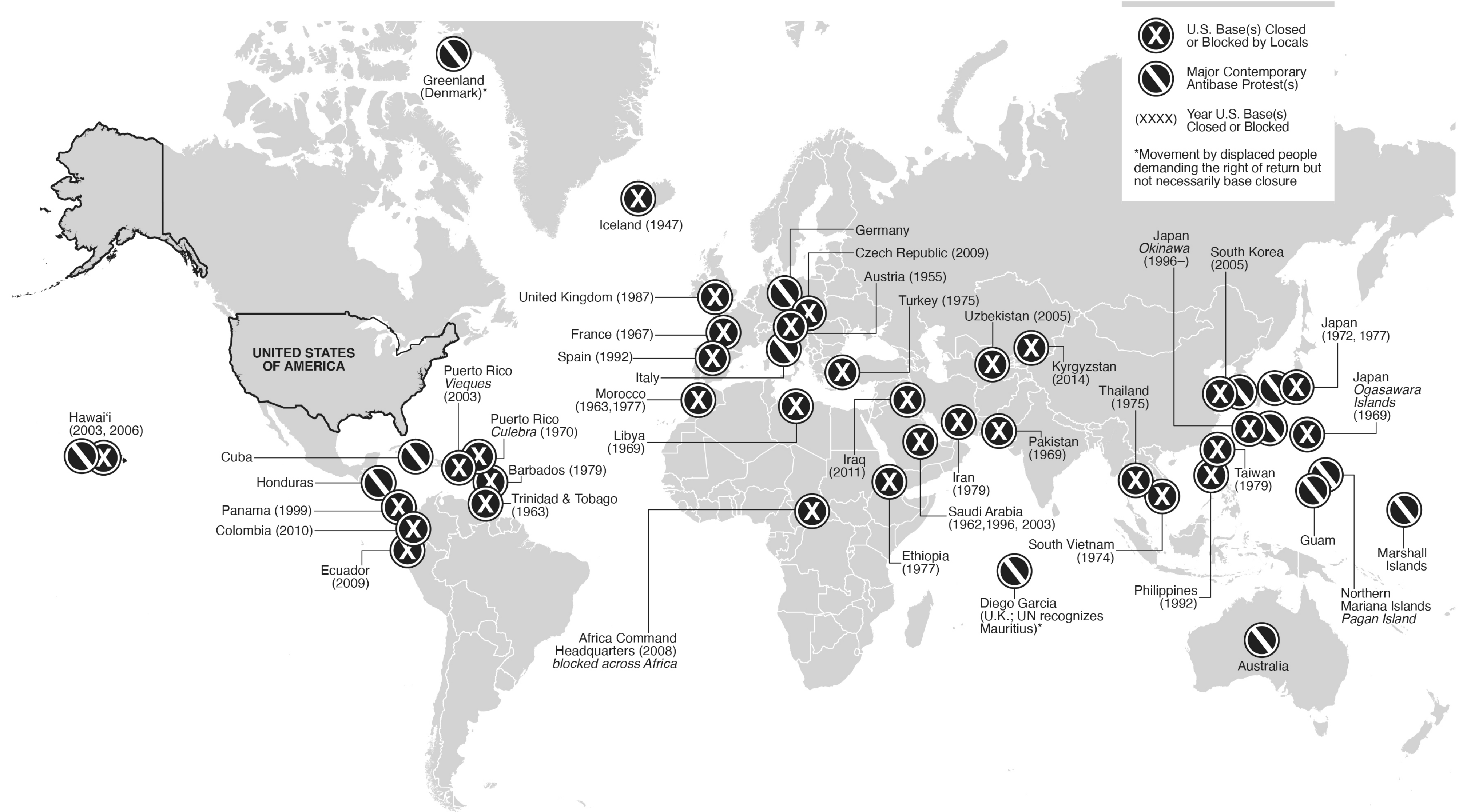
- ▶ Drawdown/Build-Up:
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 - Base Conversion
 - Prepositioning, Access Agreements
 - Rapid Deployment Technologies
- ▶ Decolonize U.S. Colonies

✓ *Deimperialize* the United States

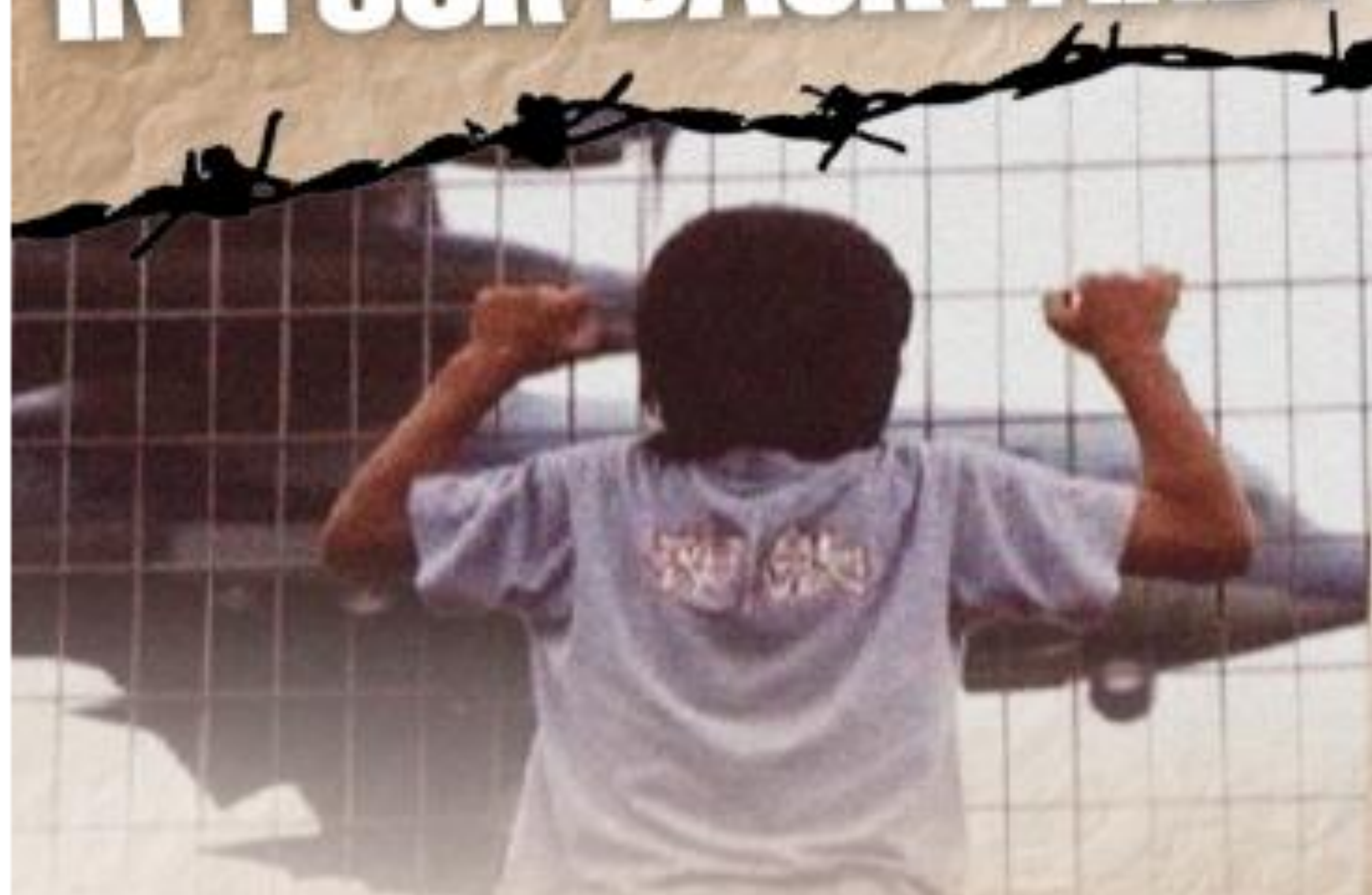
- ▶ Drawdown/Build-Up:
Close Bases, Build Diplomatic Presence Abroad
 - Base Conversion
 - Prepositioning, Access Agreements
 - Rapid Deployment Technologies
- ▶ Decolonize U.S. Colonies
- ▶ Decolonize 50 States: Fulfill Indigenous Land, Treaty Rights

Protests and Evictions at U.S. Bases Abroad, 1950–2020

Social movements and national governments have forced the closure or blocked the creation of bases worldwide. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.



**WOULD YOU WANT
30 MILITARY BASES
IN YOUR BACKYARD?**



Visit closethebase.org
to support our campaign.



U.S. Out of Africa!

Shut Down AFRICOM













경 고

이 지역은 해군이 불법으로 점령한 군사
지역입니다. 허가없이 무단침입시 남녀노소,
관광객등 구별없이 발포함
해군 1818부대장



名護は ジュゴンの
保護区 にしよう

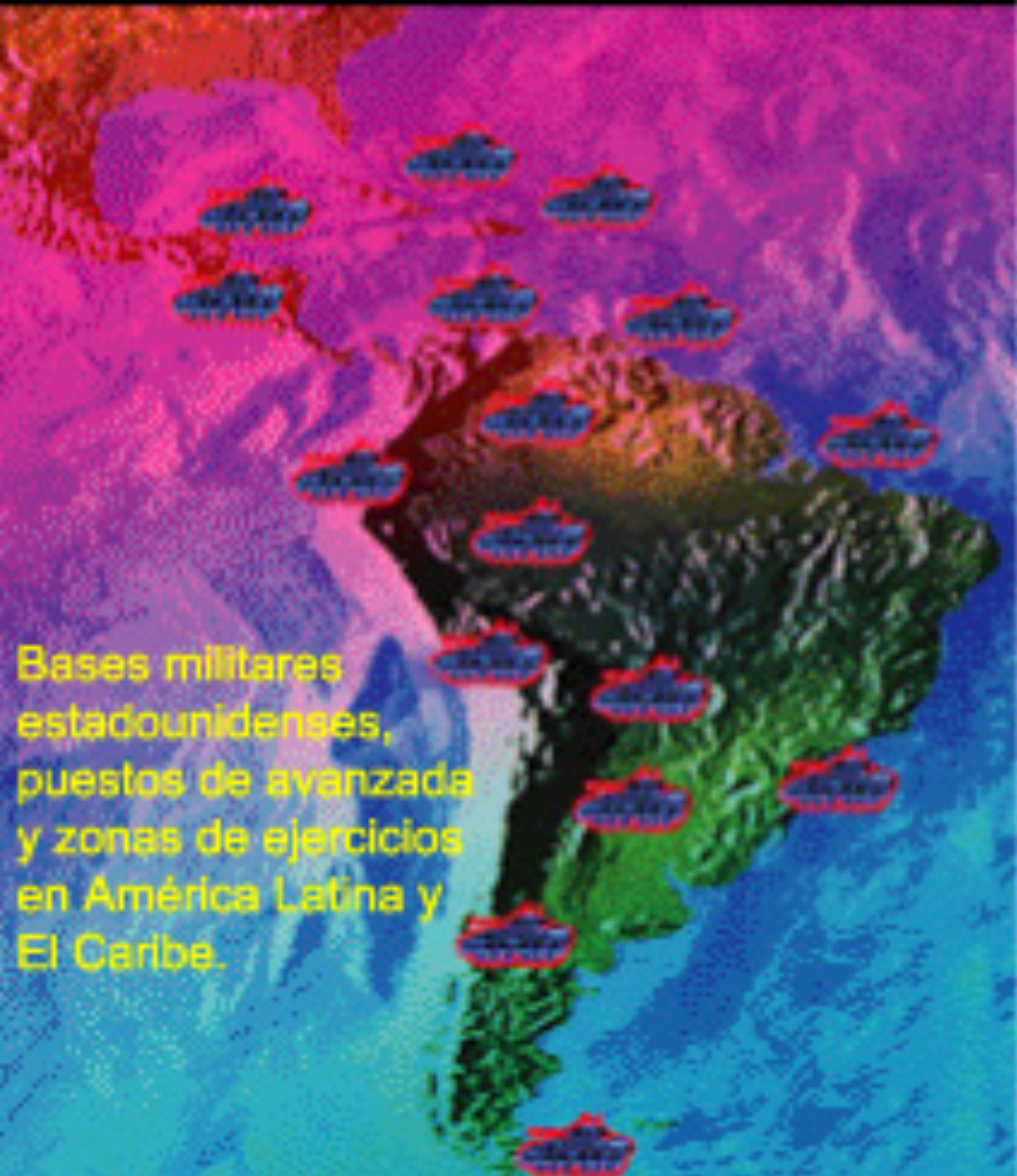


投票に行こう





NO + bases



Bases militares estadounidenses, puestos de avanzada y zonas de ejercicios en América Latina y El Caribe.

COALICIÓN NO BASES - ECUADOR



“A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on [its] military ... than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.”

- Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1967)

**“Our greatest defense...
is to take offensive action
on behalf of justice.
We must...remove those
conditions of poverty,
insecurity, and injustice.”**

- Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1967)

“War is not the answer.”

- Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1967)



QUINCY INSTITUTE
FOR RESPONSIBLE
STATECRAFT



WORLD BEYOND WAR.org
a global movement to end all wars

Drawdown: Improving U.S. and Global Security Through Military Base Closures Abroad

SEPTEMBER 2021 | QUINCY BRIEF NO. 16

by David Vine

Professor, American University

Patterson Deppen

Researcher, World BEYOND War

Leah Bolger

President, World BEYOND War

Find at www.overseasbases.net

<https://quincyinst.org/report/drawdown-improving-u-s-and-global-security-through-military-base-closures-abroad/>

American Friends Service Committee: afsc.org

Code Pink: codepink.org

Costs of War Project: costsofwar.org

Dissenters: wearedissenters.org

Friends Committee on National Legislation:

fcnl.org/about/policy/issues/wars-militarism

Global Campaign on Military Spending: demilitarize.org

Overseas Base Realignment and Closure Coalition: overseasbases.net

Peace Action: peaceaction.org

Poor People's Campaign: poorpeoplescampaign.org

National Priorities Project: nationalpriorities.org/cost-of

War Resisters International: wri-irg.org/en

GET INVOLVED