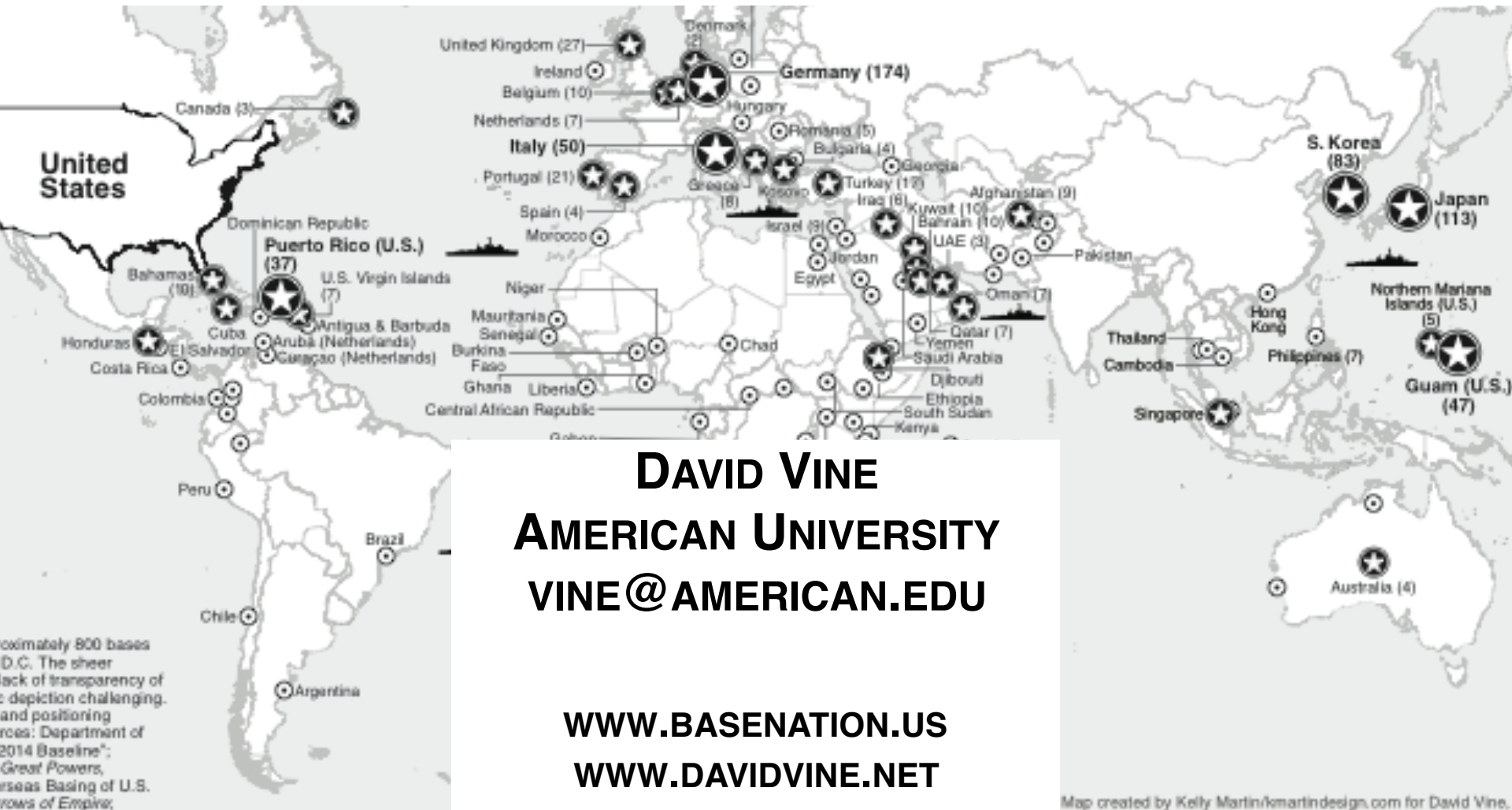


# Presentation from

## Conference on U.S. Foreign Military Bases

### Baltimore, MD, January 13, 2018

*For questions, concerns, or information about any of these slides, please see [www.basestation.us](http://www.basestation.us) or email [vine@american.edu](mailto:vine@american.edu).*



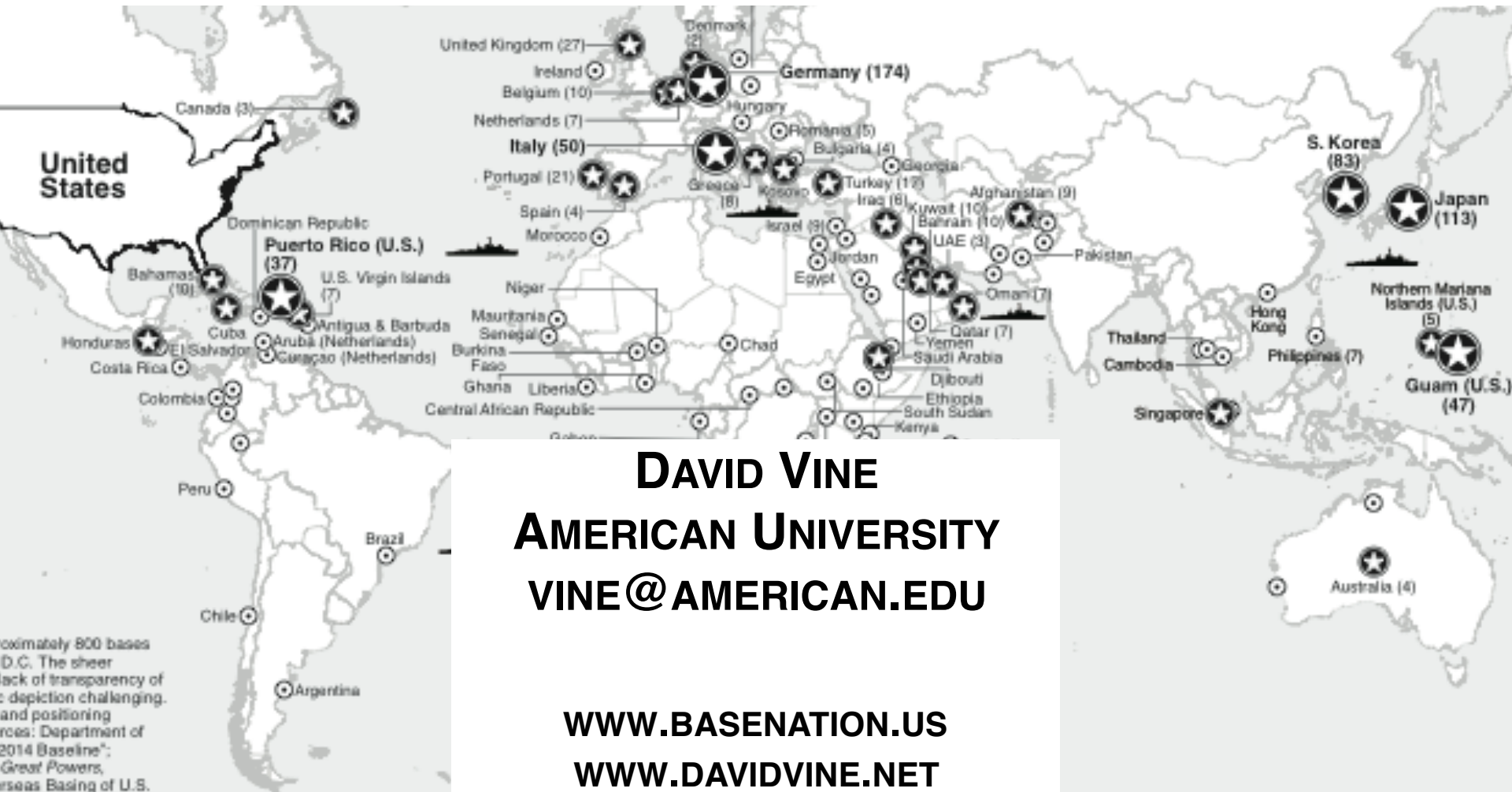
**DAVID VINE**  
**AMERICAN UNIVERSITY**  
**VINE@AMERICAN.EDU**

**WWW.BASENATION.US**  
**WWW.DAVIDVINE.NET**

Approximately 800 bases  
D.C. The sheer  
lack of transparency of  
the depiction challenging.  
and positioning  
sources: Department of  
2014 Baseline";  
Great Powers,  
Overseas Basing of U.S.  
Empire of Empire;

Map created by Kelly Martin/kmartindesign.com for David Vine

# An Unprecedented Moment: Strategizing to Build a Broader Coalition to Close U.S. Bases Abroad



# THANKS

- ★ The Coalition, Leah Bolger and other conference organizers, University of Baltimore
- ★ Locals, members of US military, families, scholars, everyone assisting research
- ★ Chagos Refugees Group and Chagossians
- ★ American University Faculty Research Support
- ★ Fund for Constitutional Government
- ★ Freq. flyer miles, salary, savings, Klaus Ruben

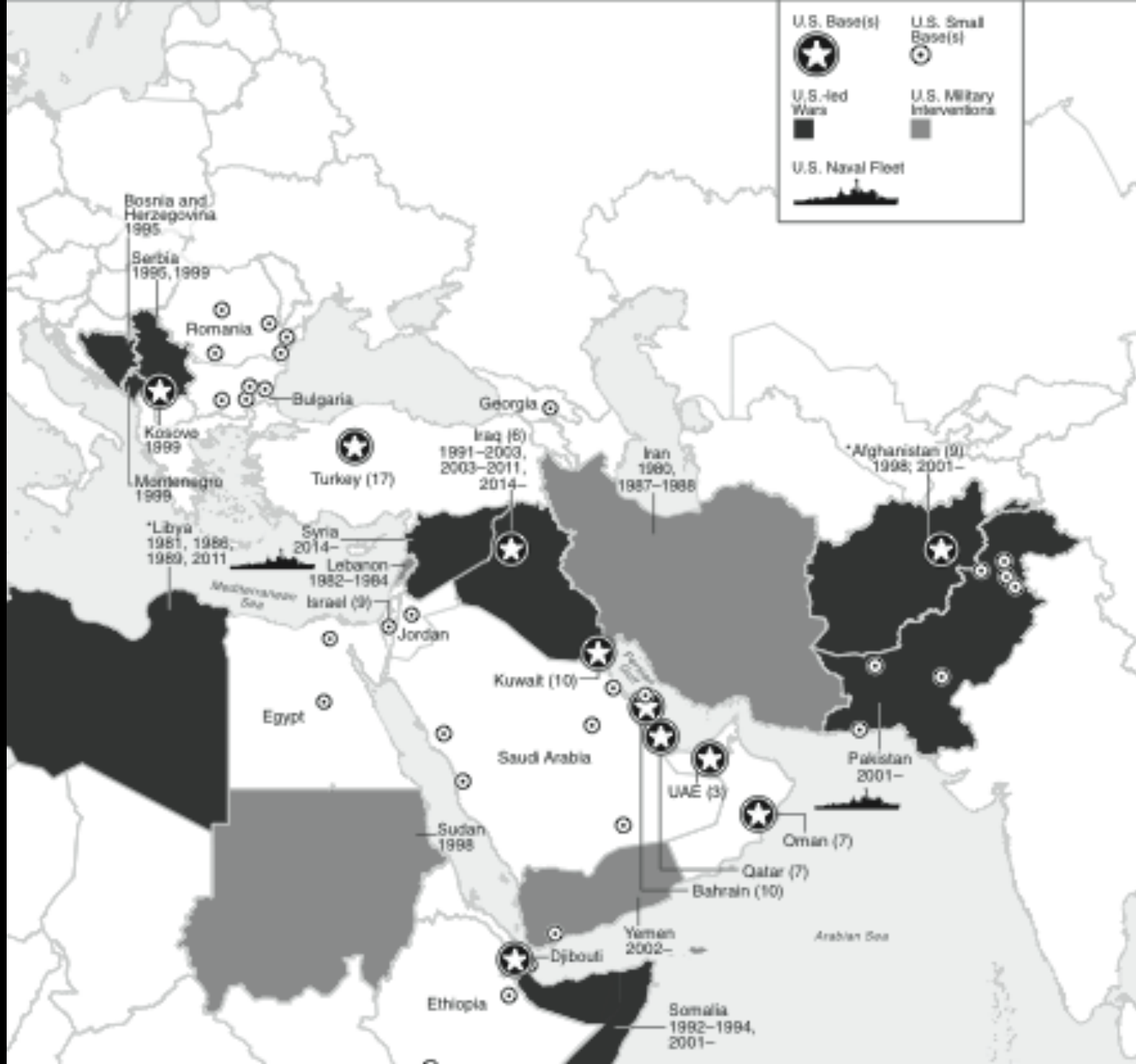
**What's our strategy  
to close bases?**

**“The money we spend [abroad] is... protecting other places, like we protect Saudi Arabia, we protect South Korea, we protect Germany, we protect so many other places. So I’m saying...**

***What are we getting out of this?"***



**- Presidential Candidate Donald Trump, 2016**





# Concerns about Bases Abroad

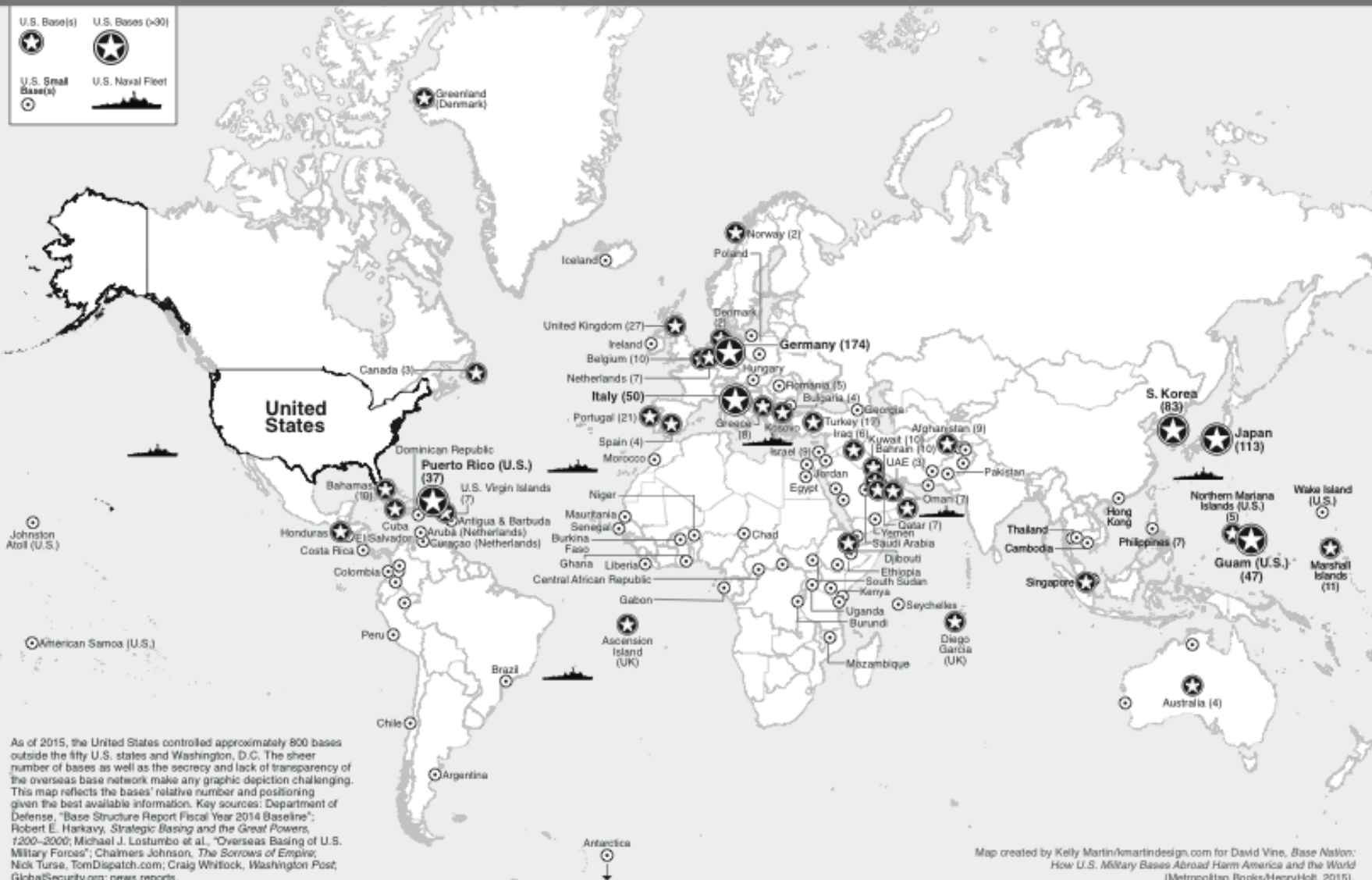
- ★ 3 of 4 Prez Candidates: Trump, Johnson, Stein
- ★ Dem. Sens. Tester, Feinstein, etc.
- ★ GOP Reps. Doggett, Coffman, etc.
- ★ Retired GOP Sens. Hutchison, Coburn
- ★ Former Prez Candidates Paul, Kucinich
- ★ CATO Institute, Center for American Progress, Institute for Policy Studies, etc.
- ★ *American Conservative, Reason, Vice News, Vox.com*
- ★ Nicholas Kristof, Bill Maher

“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

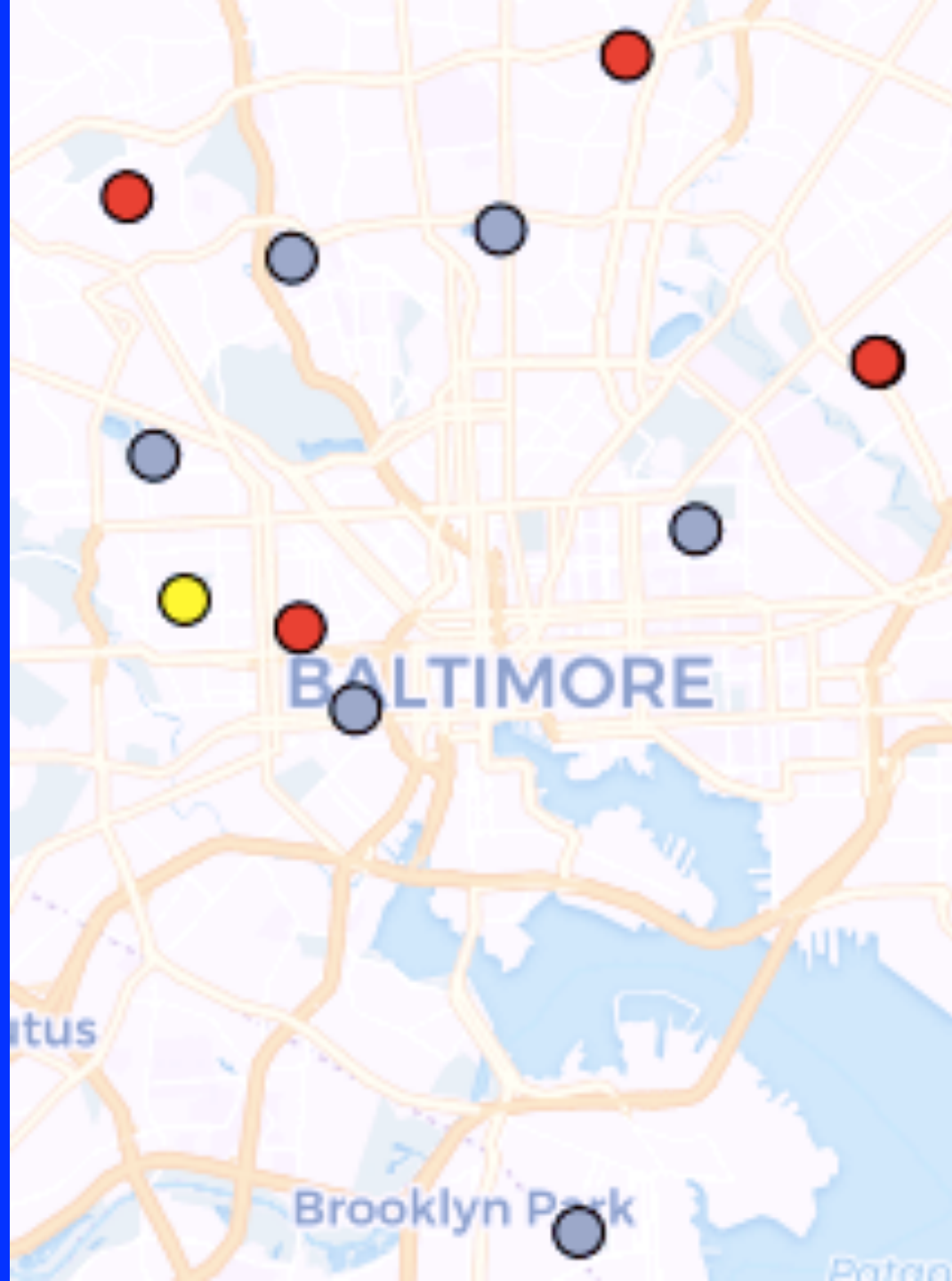
**What's our strategy  
to close bases?**

# U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 2015



As of 2015, the United States controlled approximately 800 bases outside the fifty U.S. states and Washington, D.C. The sheer number of bases as well as the secrecy and lack of transparency of the overseas base network make any graphic depiction challenging. This map reflects the bases' relative number and positioning given the best available information. Key sources: Department of Defense, "Base Structure Report Fiscal Year 2014 Baseline"; Robert E. Harkavy, *Strategic Basing and the Great Powers, 1200-2000*; Michael J. Lostumbo et al., "Overseas Basing of U.S. Military Forces"; Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*; Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*; Craig Whitlock, *Washington Post*; *GlobalSecurity.org*; news reports.

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







This campaign is trending!



## We need heat in our public schools

**\$8,164** of \$20,000 goal



Raised by 193 people in 22 hours

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





Greetings from... **Guantanamo Bay**



**CUBA**  
Cooper Field



LIVE  
NEW YORK

NEWS  
ALERT

NO TRAIN SERVICE IN AND  
OUT OF PENN STATION

CNBC







**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**



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



**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**



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

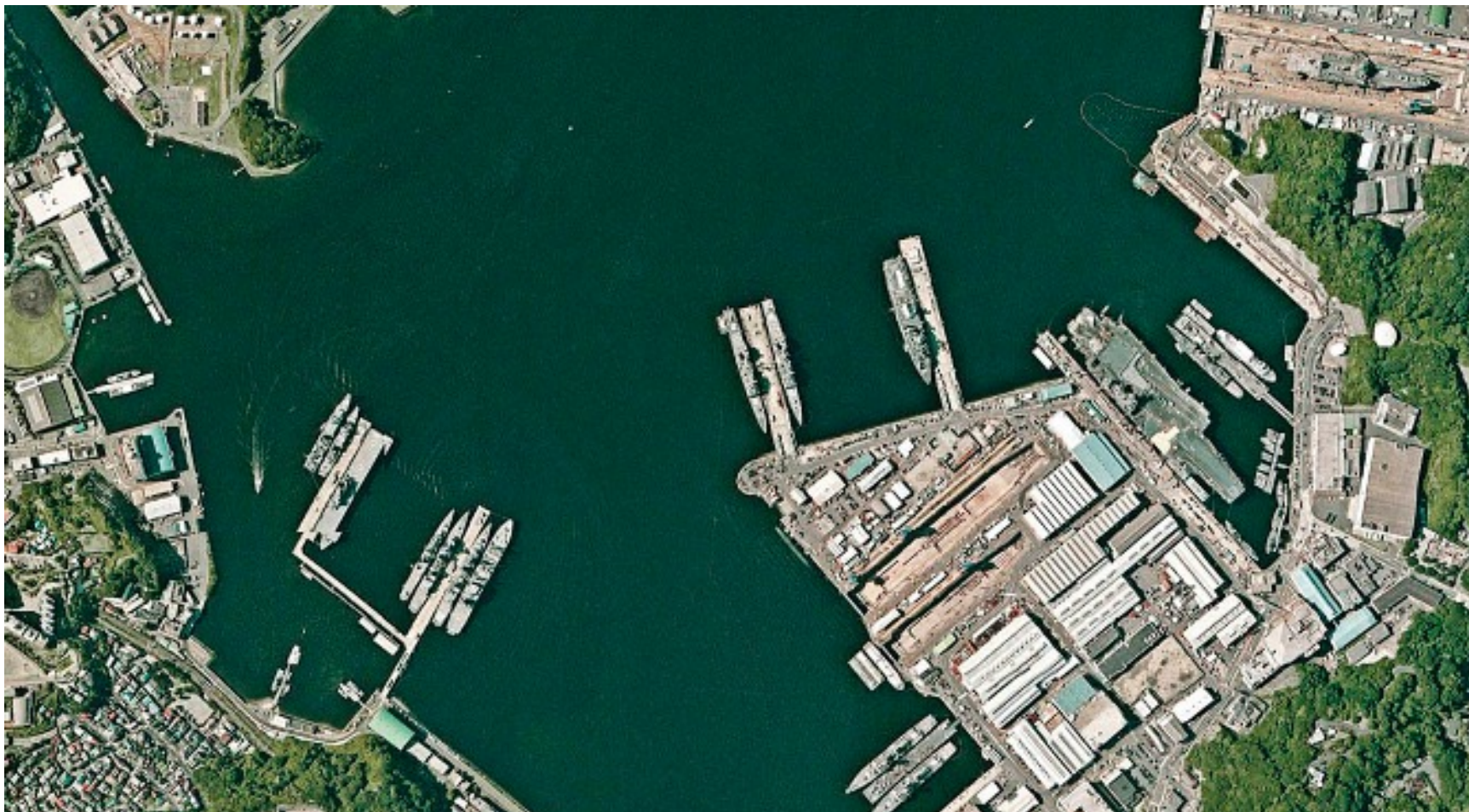


**407th Air Expeditionary Group  
Camp Adder, Nasiriyah, Iraq  
30°56'13"N 46°5'27"E**





**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**



**Central Intelligence Agency Predator Drone Launch Site  
Shamsi Airfield, Pakistan  
27° 50'52"N 65° 9'40"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**





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

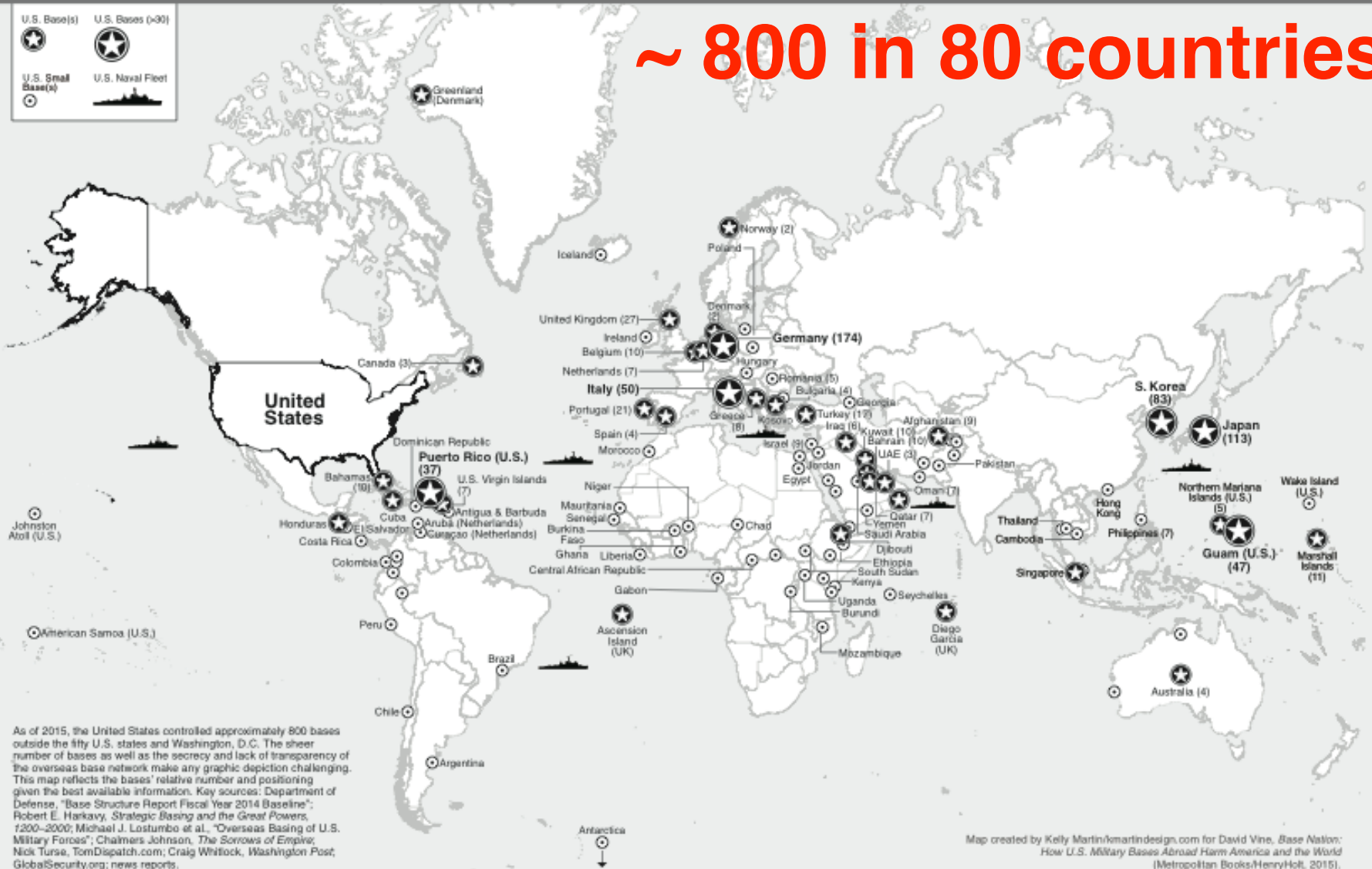




# U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 2015



**~ 800 in 80 countries**



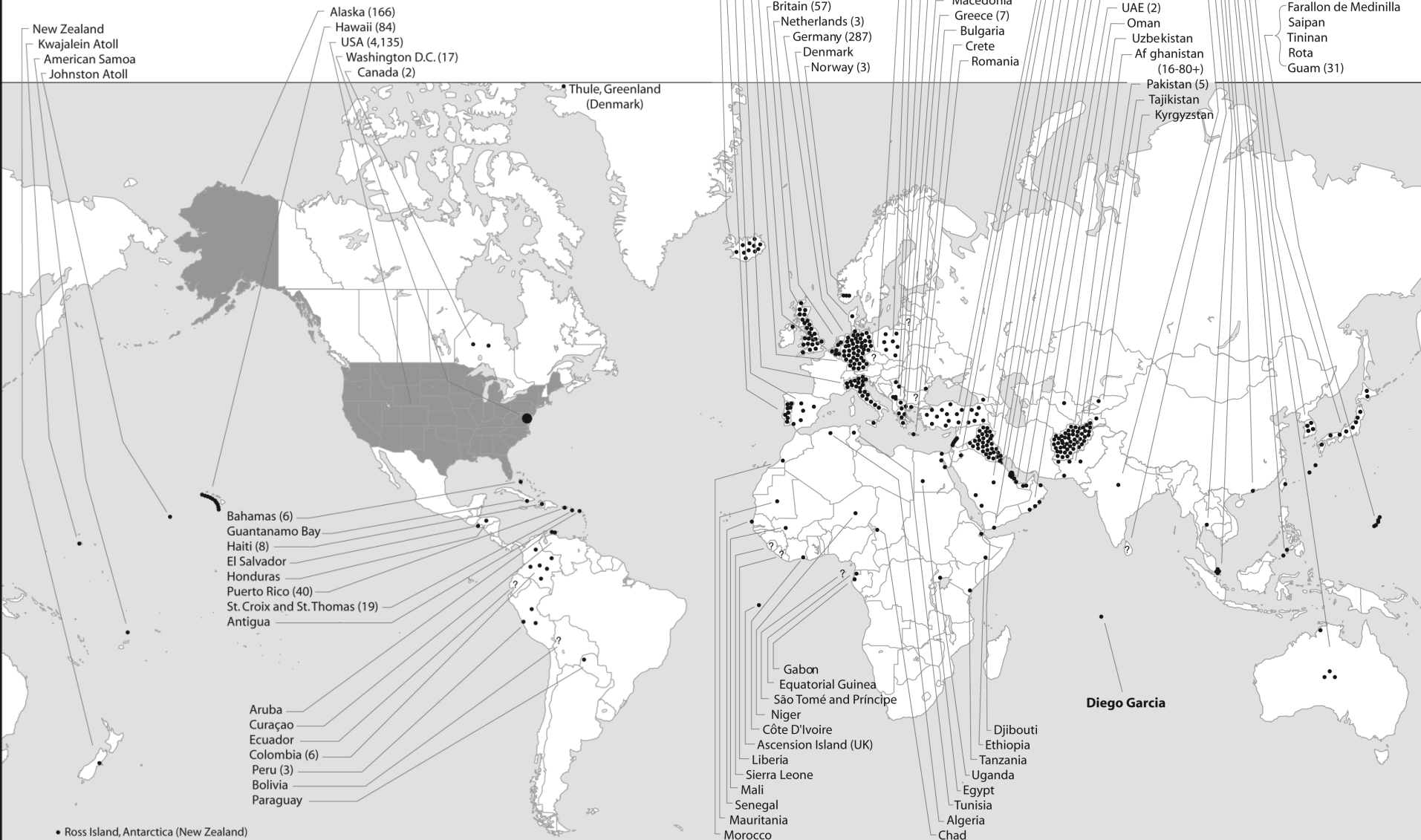
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Map created by Kelly Martin/Amartinidesign.com for David Vine, *Base Nation: How U.S. Military Bases Abroad Harm America and the World* (Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2015).

## U.S. Military Bases

Because of the base network's size, complexity, and secrecy, base numbers cited are the most accurate available; locations are not always precise. "?" indicates a base under development or negotiation or where a base is suspected but cannot be confirmed.

Sources: Department of Defense, "Base Structure Report, Fiscal Year 2007 Baseline (A Summary of DoD's Real Property Inventory)," 2007; Transnational Institute, "Military Bases Google Earth File," available at [http://www.tni.org/detail\\_page.phtml?act\\_id=17252](http://www.tni.org/detail_page.phtml?act_id=17252); Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004); Chalmers Johnson, *Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007); GlobalSecurity.org <<http://www.GlobalSecurity.org>>; news reports.

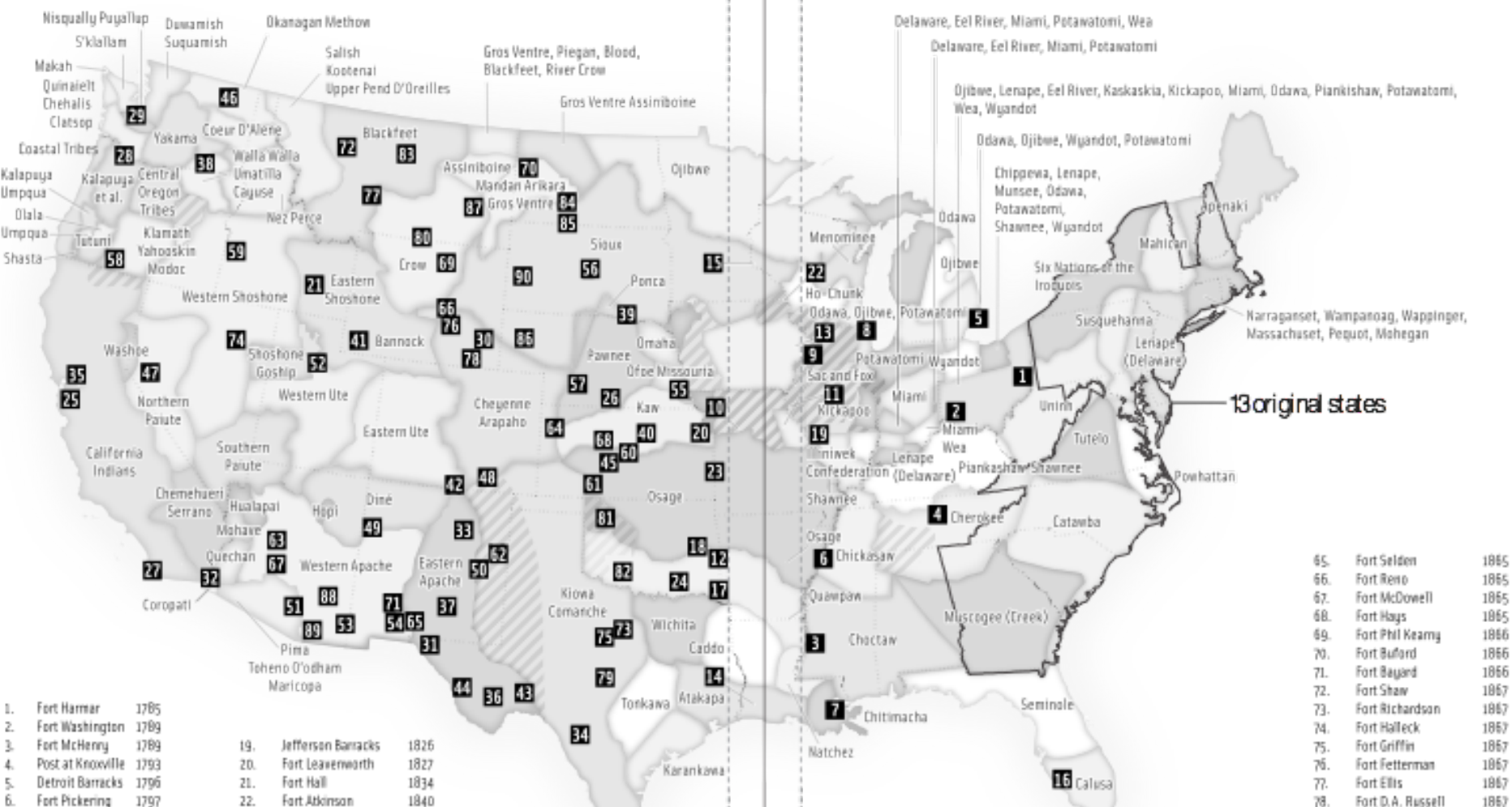


# U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 2015

~ 800 in 80 countries



# NATIVE LANDS AND EARLY U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD



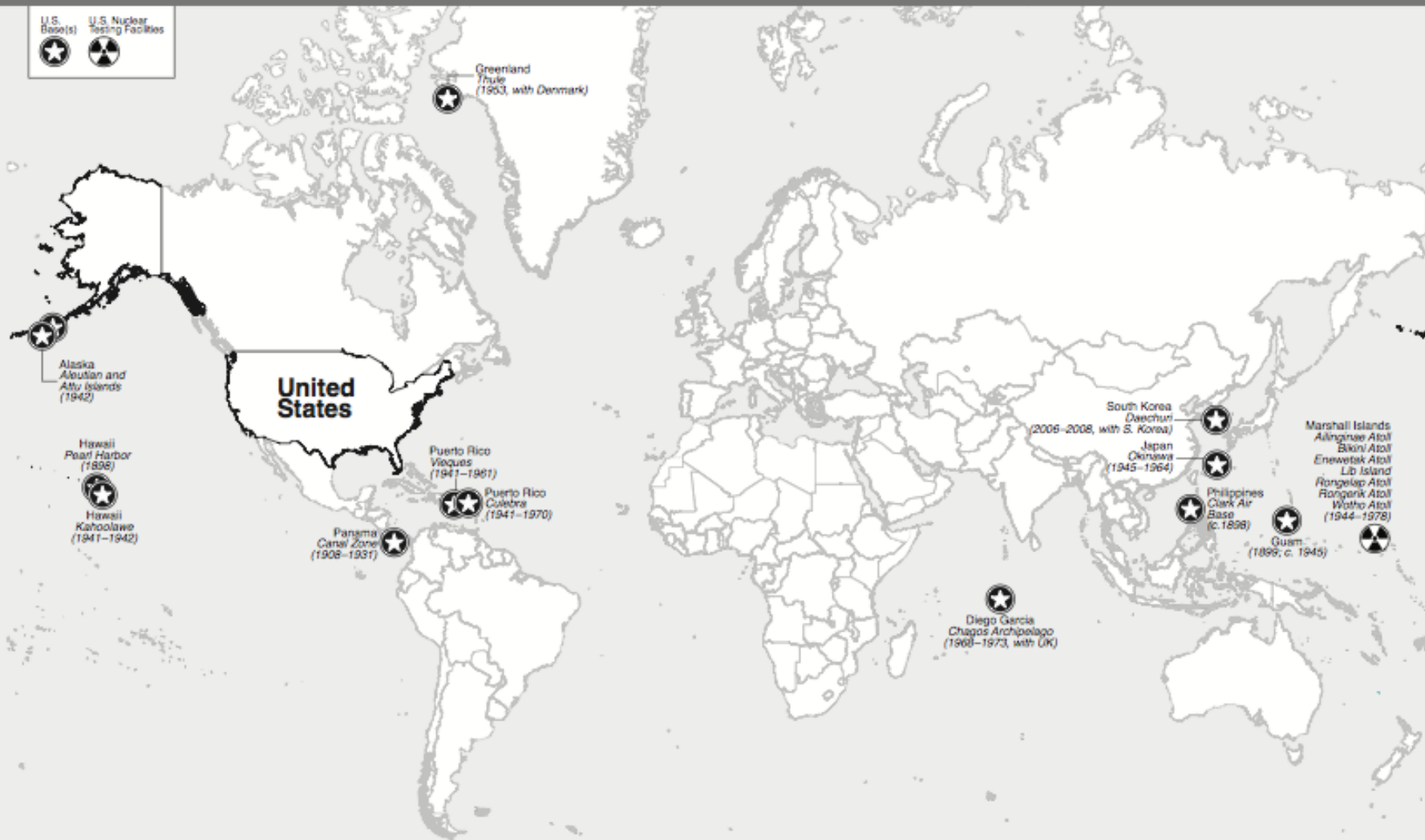
1. Fort Harmer	1785	19. Jefferson Barracks	1826
2. Fort Washington	1789	20. Fort Leavenworth	1827
3. Fort McHenry	1789	21. Fort Hall	1834
4. Post at Knoxville	1793	22. Fort Atkinson	1840
5. Detroit Barracks	1796	23. Fort Scott	1842
6. Fort Pickering	1797	24. Fort Washita	1842
7. Post at N. Orleans	1803	25. Presidio San Francisco	1847
8. Fort Dearborn	1803	26. Fort Kearney	1848
9. Fort Madison	1805	27. San Diego Barracks	1849
10. Fort Osage (Clark)	1808	28. Fort Vancouver	1849
11. Fort Edwards	1814	29. Fort Steilacoom	1849
12. Fort Smith	1817	30. Fort Lanamie	1849
13. Fort Armstrong	1819	31. Fort Bliss	1849
14. Fort Jessup	1822	32. Fort Yuma	1850
15. Fort Snelling	1822	33. Fort Union	1851
16. Fort Brooke	1824	34. Fort Clark	1852
17. Fort Townsend	1824		
18. Fort Gibson	1824		
		35. Mare Isl. Shipyard	1853
		36. Fort Davis	1854
		37. Fort Stanton	1855
		38. Fort Walla Walla	1856
		39. Fort Randall	1856
		40. Fort Riley	1857
		41. Fort Bridger	1858
		42. Fort Garland	1858
		43. Fort Stockton	1859
		44. Fort Quitman	1859

65. Fort Selden	1865	55. Fort Omaha	1863
66. Fort Reno	1865	56. Fort Sully	1863
67. Fort McDowell	1865	57. Fort McPherson	1863
68. Fort Hays	1865	58. Fort Klamath	1863
69. Fort Phil Kearny	1866	59. Fort Boise	1863
70. Fort Buford	1866	60. Fort Harker	1864
71. Fort Bayard	1866	61. Fort Dodge	1864
72. Fort Shaw	1867	62. Fort Bascom	1864
73. Fort Richardson	1867	63. Camp Verde	1864
74. Fort Halleck	1867	64. Fort Wallace	1865
75. Fort Griffin	1867		
76. Fort Fetterman	1867		
77. Fort Ellis	1867		
78. Fort D.A. Russell	1867		
79. Fort Canby	1867		
80. Fort C.F. Smith	1867		
81. Camp Supply	1868		
82. Fort Sill	1869		
83. Fort Benton	1869		
84. Fort Abraham Lincoln	1872		
85. Fort Yates	1874		
86. Fort Robinson	1874		
87. Fort Keogh	1876		
88. Fort Thomas	1876		
89. Fort Huachuca	1877		
90. Fort Meade	1878		

Sources: Sam B. Hilliard / Dan Irwin / Southern Illinois University Cartographic Laboratory; University of Texas Libraries; United States Army Office

of the Chief of Military History, Winning the West: The Army in the Indian Wars, 1865-1890. Map by John Emerson and Siobhan McGuire.

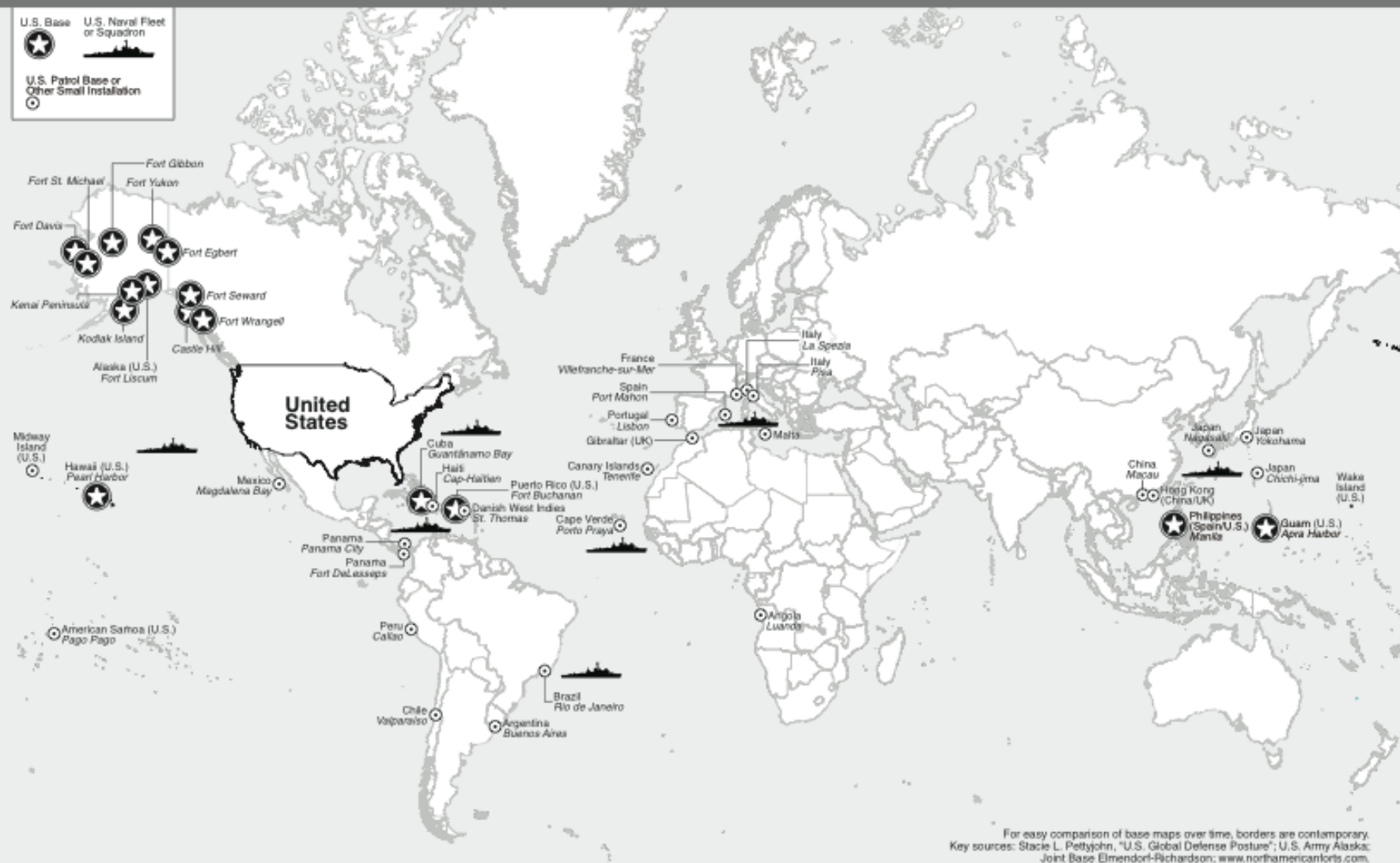
# THE DISPLACED, 1898–2015



Bases and other military facilities whose establishment or expansion has displaced local peoples. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, bases in North America assisted in the displacement of millions of Native American peoples. See David Vine, *Island of Shame*.

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).

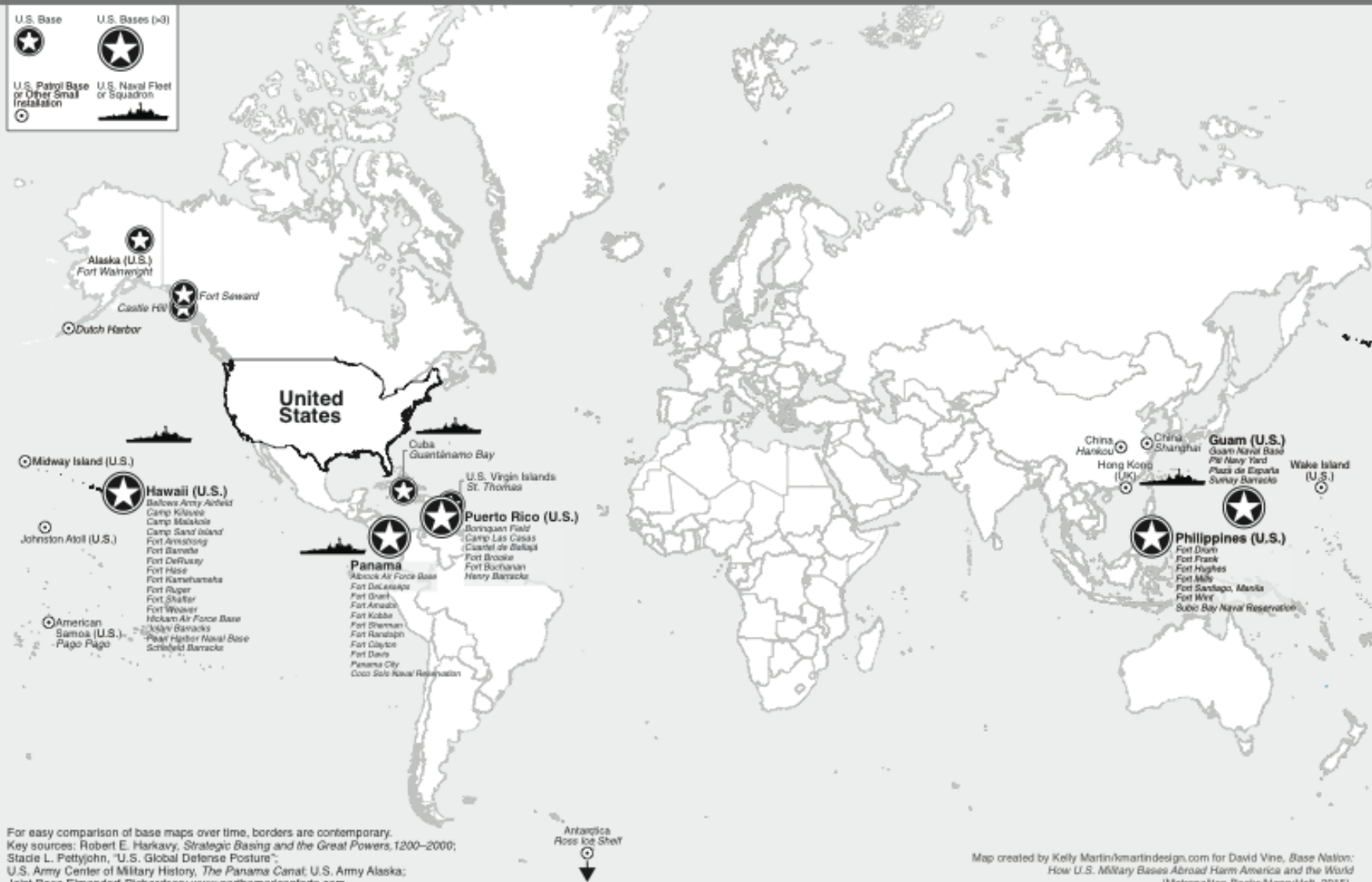
# U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 1776–1903



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](http://www.northernforts.com).

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

# U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 1939



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";  
 U.S. Army Center of Military History, *The Panama Canal*; U.S. Army Alaska;  
 Joint Base Elmendorf-Richardson; [www.northernamericanforts.com](http://www.northernamericanforts.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, 1945

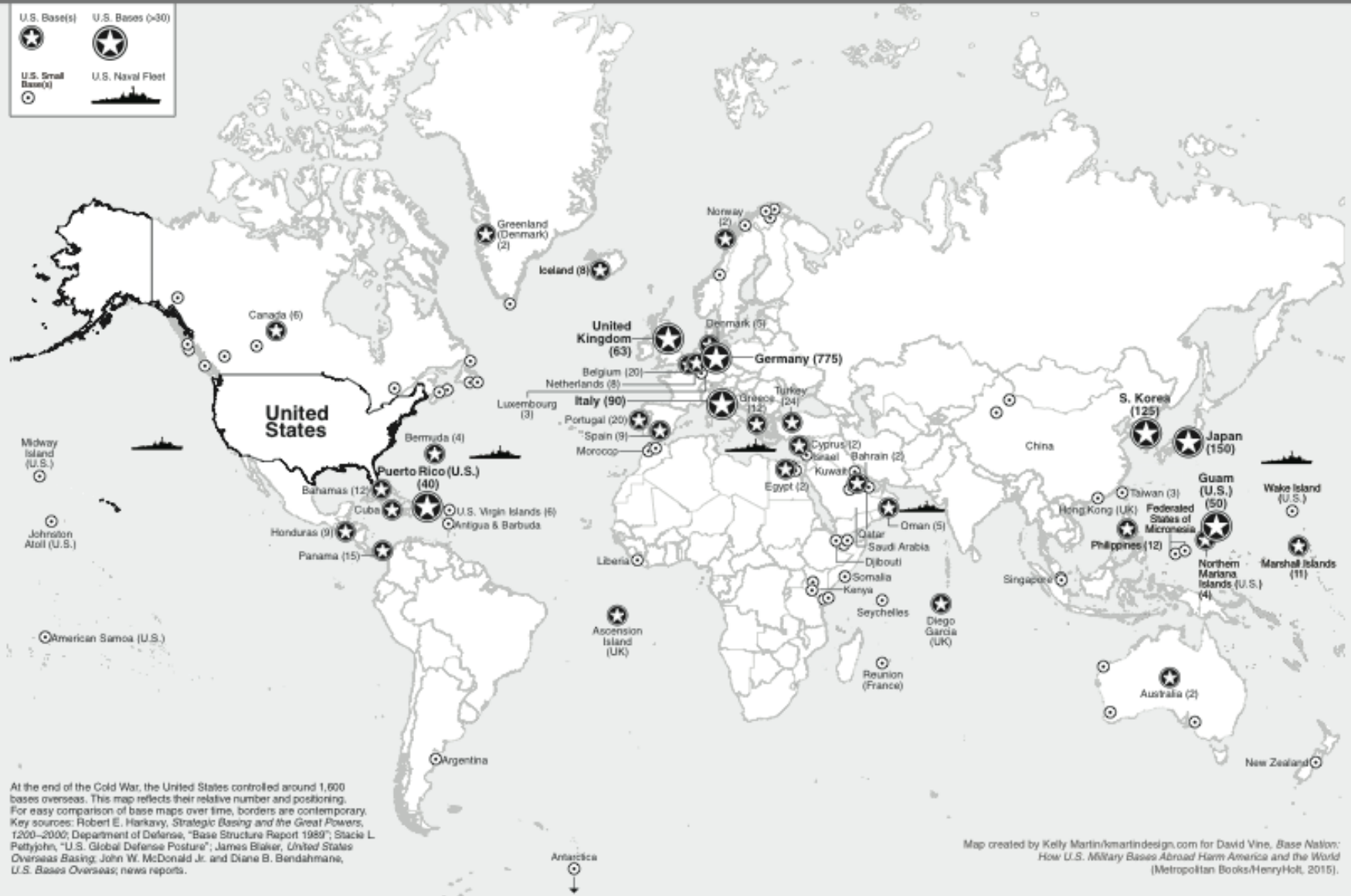


At the height of World War II, the United States controlled more than 2,000 bases and 30,000 installations overseas. This was the largest collection of bases possessed by one power in world history. This map reflects the relative number and positioning of these bases around 1945. For easy comparison 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.

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).



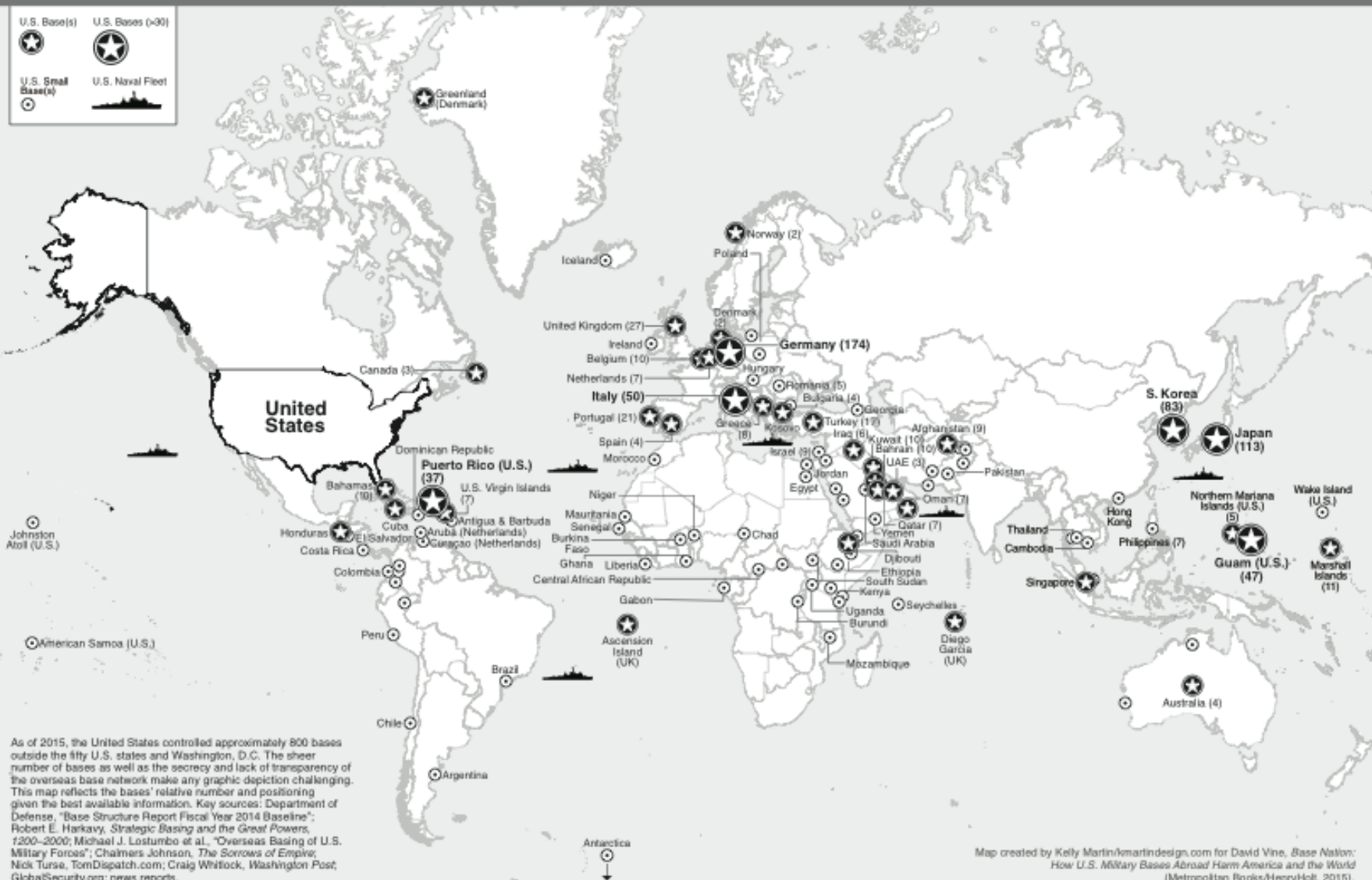
# U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 1989



At the end of the Cold War, the United States controlled around 1,600 bases overseas. This map reflects their relative number and positioning. For easy comparison of base maps over time, borders are contemporary. Key sources: Robert E. Harkavy, *Strategic Basing and the Great Powers, 1200-2000*; Department of Defense, "Base Structure Report 1989"; Stacie L. Pettyjohn, "U.S. Global Defense Posture"; James Blaker, *United States Overseas Basing*; John W. McDonald Jr. and Diane B. Bendahmane, *U.S. Bases Overseas*; news reports.

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, 2015



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

**1989**

**~ 1,600 Bases**

**~ 40 Countries**

**1989**

**~ 1,600 Bases**

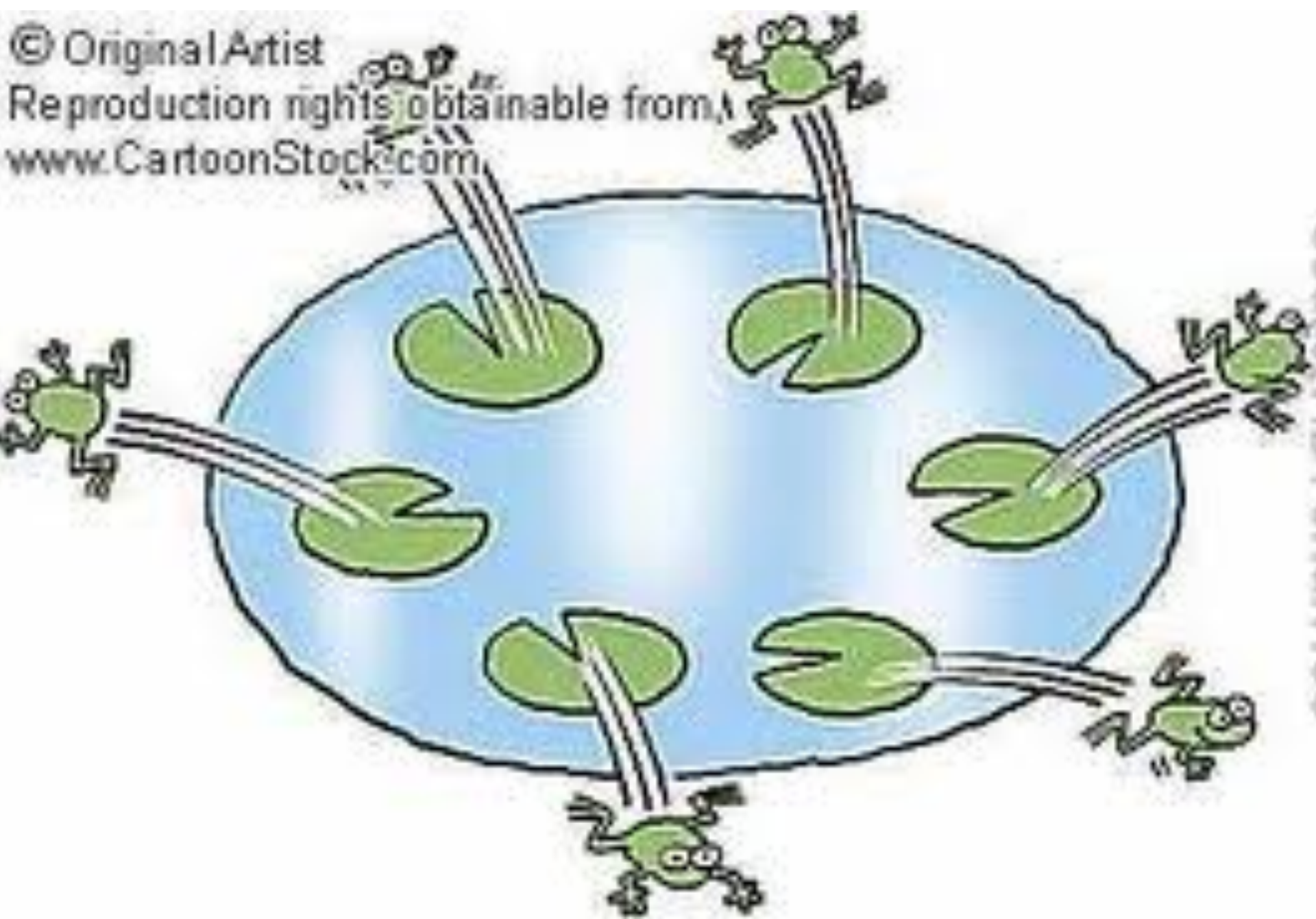
**~ 40 Countries**

**2018**

**~ 800 Bases**

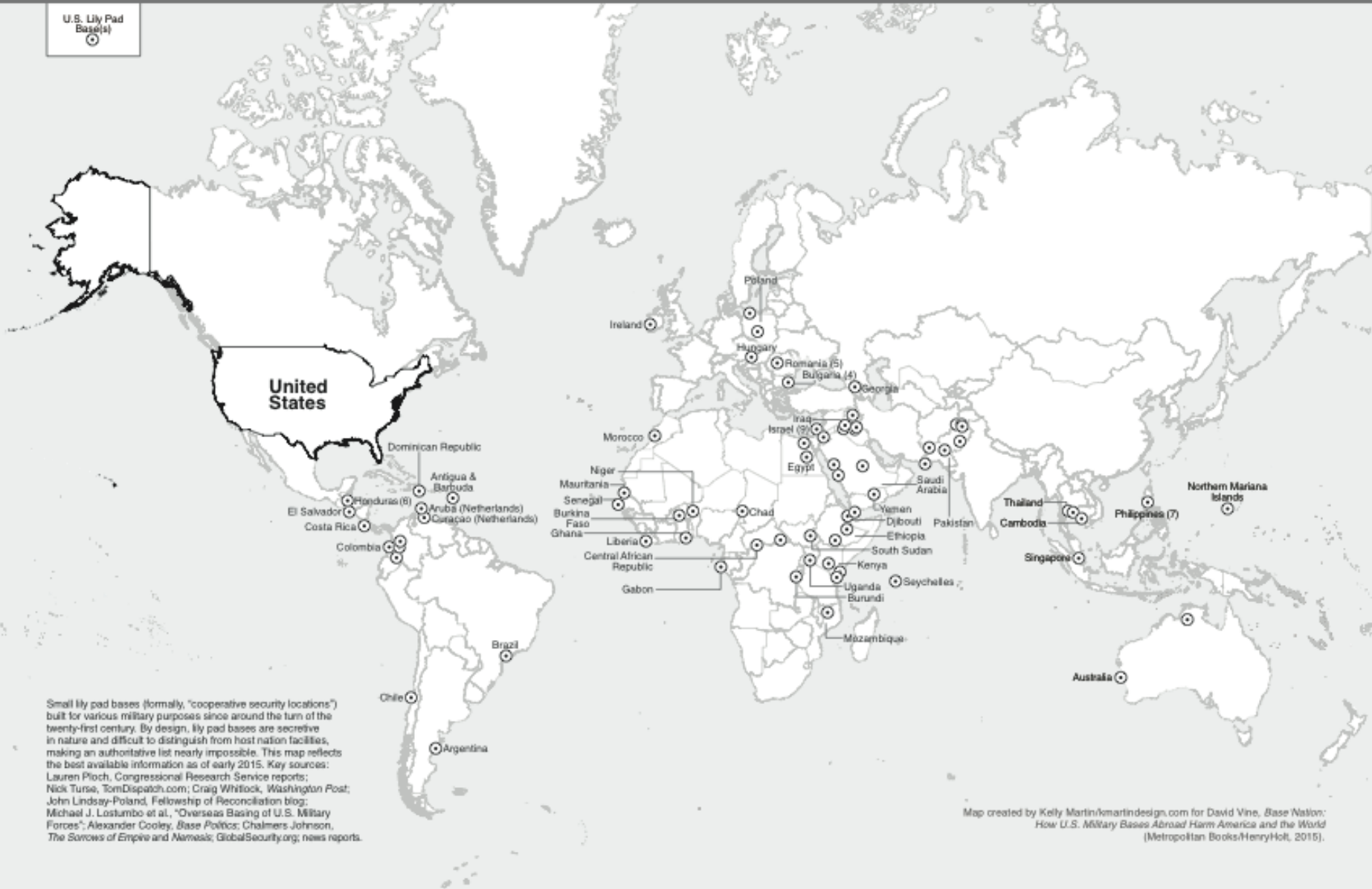
**~ 80 Countries**

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# THE GLOBAL PROLIFERATION OF LILY PAD BASES

U.S. Lily Pad Bases



Small lily pad bases (formally, "cooperative security locations") built for various military purposes since around the turn of the twenty-first century. By design, lily pad bases are secretive in nature and difficult to distinguish from host nation facilities, making an authoritative list nearly impossible. This map reflects the best available information as of early 2015. Key sources: Lauren Ploch, Congressional Research Service reports; Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*; Craig Whitlock, *Washington Post*; John Lindsay-Poland, *Fellowship of Reconciliation* blog; Michael J. Losumbo et al., "Overseas Basing of U.S. Military Forces"; Alexander Cooley, *Base Politics*; Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire and Nemesis*; *GlobalSecurity.org*; news reports.

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).

# THE U.S. MILITARY'S GROWING INTEREST IN AFRICA

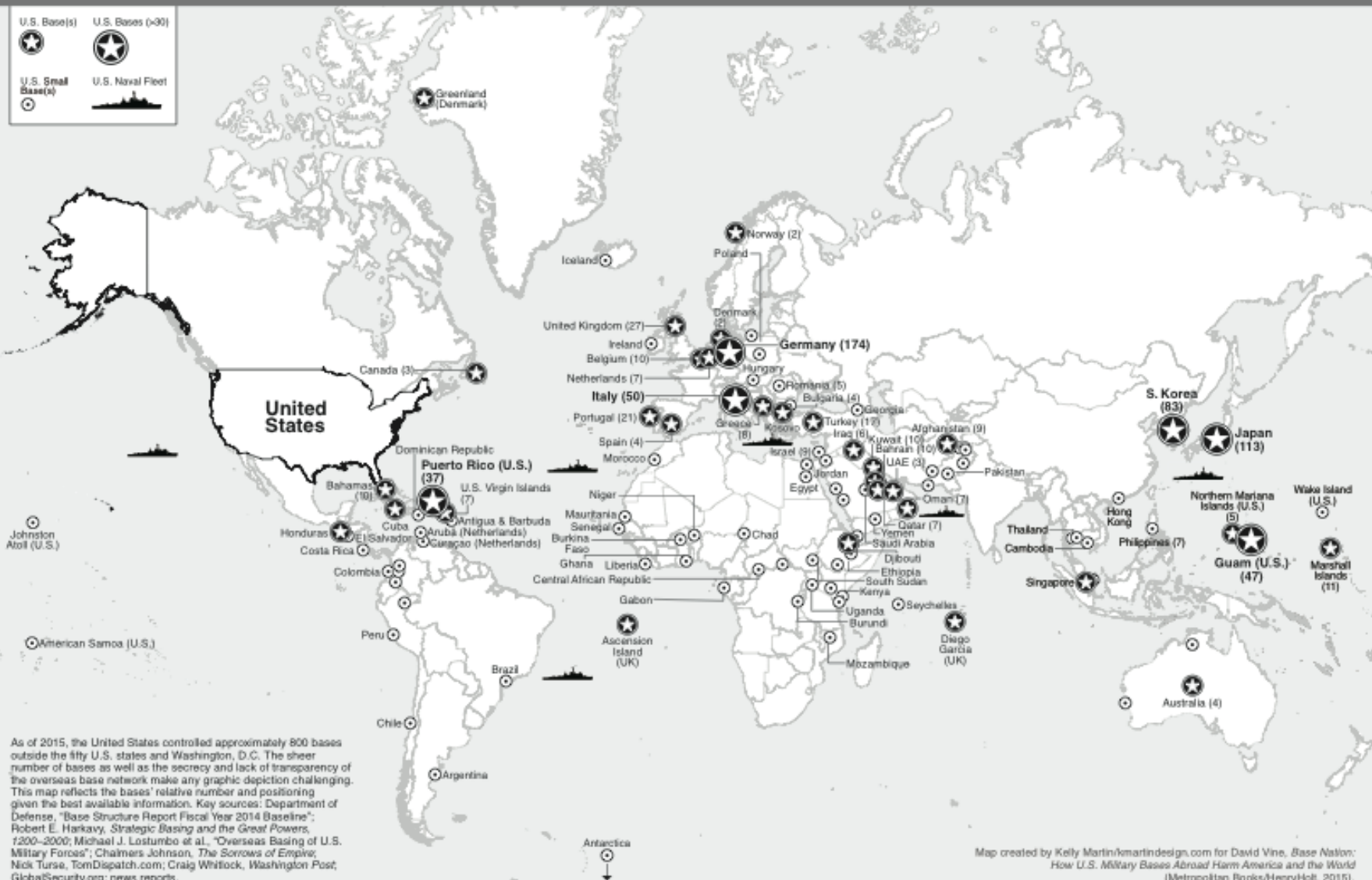


The U.S. military presence in Africa is especially difficult to determine given the secrecy and lack of transparency involved in U.S. Africa Command operations. This map reflects the best available information. Fuel bunkers are indicated only in countries without a confirmed base presence; most countries hosting U.S. lily pads also host U.S. fuel bunkers. The U.S. military also has access agreements for military facilities in the following countries, although there is no confirmed base presence: Algeria, Botswana, Ghana, Namibia, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Zambia. Key sources: Lauren Ploch, Congressional Research Service reports; Nick Turse, TomDispatch.com; Craig Whitlock, Washington Post; Richard Reave and Zoë Peltier, "From New Frontier to New Normal" Alexander Cooley, *Base Politics*; Chalmers Johnson, *Nemesis*; news reports.

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



# U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 2015

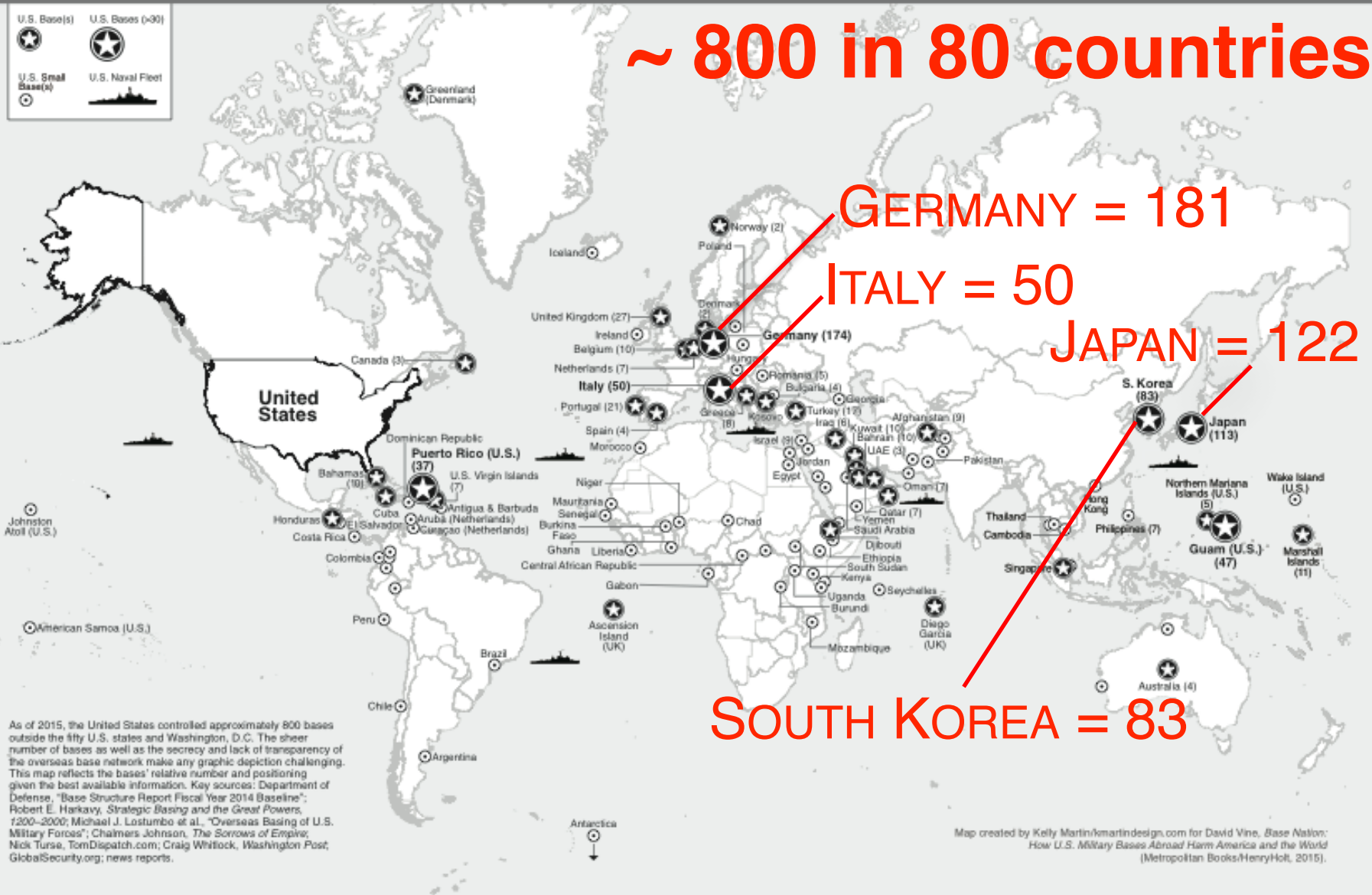


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# BASE STRUCTURE REPORT - FISCAL YEAR 2015 BASELINE



A Summary of the Real Property Inventory



Area	Army	Navy	Air Force	Marine Corps	WHS	Total
United States	1,562	803	1,535	160	94	4,154
Territories	41	64	9	0	0	114
Overseas	255	128	182	22	0	587
DoD Total	1,858	995	1,726	182	94	4,855

= 701

Figure 1. Number of DoD Sites by Service/Agency

VII. SITE SIZE SUMMARIES

**Site Size By Location - FY 2015 Baseline Data**

Location	No. of Large Sites	No. of Medium Sites	No. of Small Sites	No. of Other Sites	Total Sites
United States	100	101	3,475	478	4,154
US Territories	4	0	78	32	114
Overseas	20	16	482	69	587
<b>Total</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>4,035</b>	<b>579</b>	<b>4,855</b>

Handwritten annotations in red: **4 = 24 large**, **0 = 16 med**, **78 = 560 small**, **32 = 101 other**

Location	Component	No. of Large Sites	No. of Medium Sites	No. of Small Sites	No. of Other Sites	Total Sites
United States	Army	35	30	1,395	102	1,562
	Navy	24	26	570	183	803
	Air Force	32	40	1,319	144	1,535
	Marine Corps	8	5	98	49	160
	WHS	1	0	93	0	94
	<b>United States Total:</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>3,475</b>	<b>478</b>	<b>4,154</b>
US Territories	Army	1	0	40	0	41
	Navy	3	0	29	32	64
	Air Force	0	0	9	0	9
	<b>US Territories Total:</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>114</b>
Overseas	Army	3	7	212	33	255
	Navy	5	2	101	20	128
	Air Force	9	5	158	10	182
	Marine Corps	3	2	11	6	22
		<b>Overseas Total:</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>482</b>	<b>69</b>
	<b>Grand Total:</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>4,035</b>	<b>579</b>	<b>4,855</b>

- Large Site - Total PRV greater than or equal to \$1.876B
- Medium Site - Total PRV less than \$1.876B and greater than or equal to \$1000M
- Small Site - Total PRV less than \$1000M and greater than 0
- Other Site - PRV equal to 0 (Zero) - primarily land records

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	Air Force	32	40	1,319	144	1,535
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	WHS	1	0	93	0	94
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US Territories	Army	1	0	40	0	41
	Navy	3	0	29	32	64
	Air Force	0	0	9	0	9
	<b>US Territories Total:</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>114</b>
Overseas	Army	3	7	212	33	255
	Navy	5	2	101	20	128
	Air Force	9	5	158	10	182
	Marine Corps	3	2	11	6	22
		<b>Overseas Total:</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>482</b>	<b>69</b>
	<b>Grand Total:</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>4,035</b>	<b>579</b>	<b>4,855</b>

- Large Site - Total PRV greater than or equal to \$1.876B
- Medium Site - Total PRV less than \$1.876B and greater than or equal to \$1000M
- Small Site - Total PRV less than \$1000M and greater than 0
- Other Site - PRV equal to 0 (Zero) - primarily land records

# U.S. Military Bases Overseas

- ★ ~ 800 outside 50 states, DC
- ★ Troops in ~170 countries (many small #s)
- ★ 11 aircraft carriers
- ★ ~230 U.S. embassies, consulates overseas
- ★ Other countries combined ~ 60-80 foreign bases

# Countries with Foreign Bases

790-810 bases: United States

26-40: Russia

11-25: UK, France

4-10: Turkey

1-3: India, China, Japan, Germany, Italy,  
South Korea, Netherlands, Greece,  
Australia, Israel, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia,  
Pakistan, UAE, Chile

*Estimates. Limited transparency makes exact figures impossible.*

# U.S. Military Bases Overseas

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- ★ The Bill?

# U.S. Military Bases Overseas

- ★ ~ 800 outside 50 states, DC
- ★ Troops in ~170 countries (many small #s)
- ★ 11 aircraft carriers
- ★ ~230 U.S. embassies, consulates overseas
- ★ Other countries combined ~45 foreign bases
- ★ The Bill? ~\$150 billion (FY15) = bases, troops abroad



# THE COSTS OF BASES & TROOPS ABROAD

★ **\$22.1 Billion (“Overseas Cost Summary”)**

*Department of Defense, “Operations and Maintenance Overview Fiscal Year 2013 Budget Estimates,” Washington, DC, February 2013, p. 199-202.*

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## ★ **\$250 Billion (Dancs)**

*Anita Dancs, “The Cost of the Global U.S. Military Presence,” Foreign Policy in Focus, report, July 3, 2009.*

# THE COSTS OF BASES & TROOPS ABROAD

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★ **~\$150 Billion (Vine 2015)**

**CALCULATING THE COSTS OF U.S. MILITARY BASES AND U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE ABROAD**

<b>PENTAGON TOTAL AND OMITTED SPENDING</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Pentagon "Overseas Cost Summary" Total	\$22,670,400,000
Missing Countries	435,404,000
Territories, Possessions, and Pacific Island Nations*	3,181,672,562
Navy Outside U.S. Waters; Pre-positioning; Sealift, Airlift, and Mobilization	5,244,562,000
Health Care, Military/Family Housing Construction, PX, Postal Subsidies	13,403,114,900
"Rent" Payments and NATO Contributions (Less Funds from Other Nations*)	6,230,063,000
Combatant Commands Funding	2,844,743,150
Counternarcotics, Humanitarian, Environmental, and Research Programs	887,628,000
Classified Programs, Military Intelligence, and CIA Paramilitary Activities	16,875,558,250
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$71,773,145,862</b>
<b>Additional Costs in War Budget (Operations and Maintenance, Military Construction, Personnel)</b>	<b>\$96,996,568,660</b>
<b>TOTAL (Including War Budget Costs)</b>	<b>\$168,769,714,522</b>

All data FY2012 unless indicated by \* when the most recent data are from 2004, 2008, or 2011.

## TOP 25 RECIPIENTS OF PENTAGON CONTRACTS ABROAD

CONTRACT AWARDEE	TOTAL IN BILLIONS
1. Miscellaneous Foreign Contractors	\$47.1
2. KBR, Inc.	44.4
3. Supreme Group	9.3
4. Agility Logistics (PWC)	9.0
5. DynCorp International	8.6
6. Fluor Intercontinental	8.6
7. ITT/Exelis, Inc.	7.4
8. BP, PLC	5.6
9. Bahrain Petroleum Company	5.1
10. Abu Dhabi Petroleum Company	4.5
11. SK Corporation	3.8
12. Red Star Enterprises (Mina Corporation)	3.8
13. World Fuel Services Corporation	3.8
14. Motor Oil (Hellas), Corinth Refineries S.A.	3.7
15. Combat Support Associates Ltd.	3.6
16. Refinery Associates Texas, Inc.	3.3
17. Lockheed Martin Corporation	3.2
18. Raytheon Company	3.1
19. S-Oil Corporation (Ssangyong)	3.0
20. International Oil Trading Co./Trigeant Ltd.	2.7
21. FedEx Corporation	2.2
22. Contrack International, Inc.	2.0
23. GS/LG-Caltex (Chevron Corporation)	1.9
24. Washington Group/URS Corporation	1.6
25. Tutor Perini Corporation (Perini)	1.5
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>	<b>\$201.8</b>
<i>All Other Contractors:</i>	<b>\$183.4</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$385.2</b>

**“We’re  
Profiteers”**

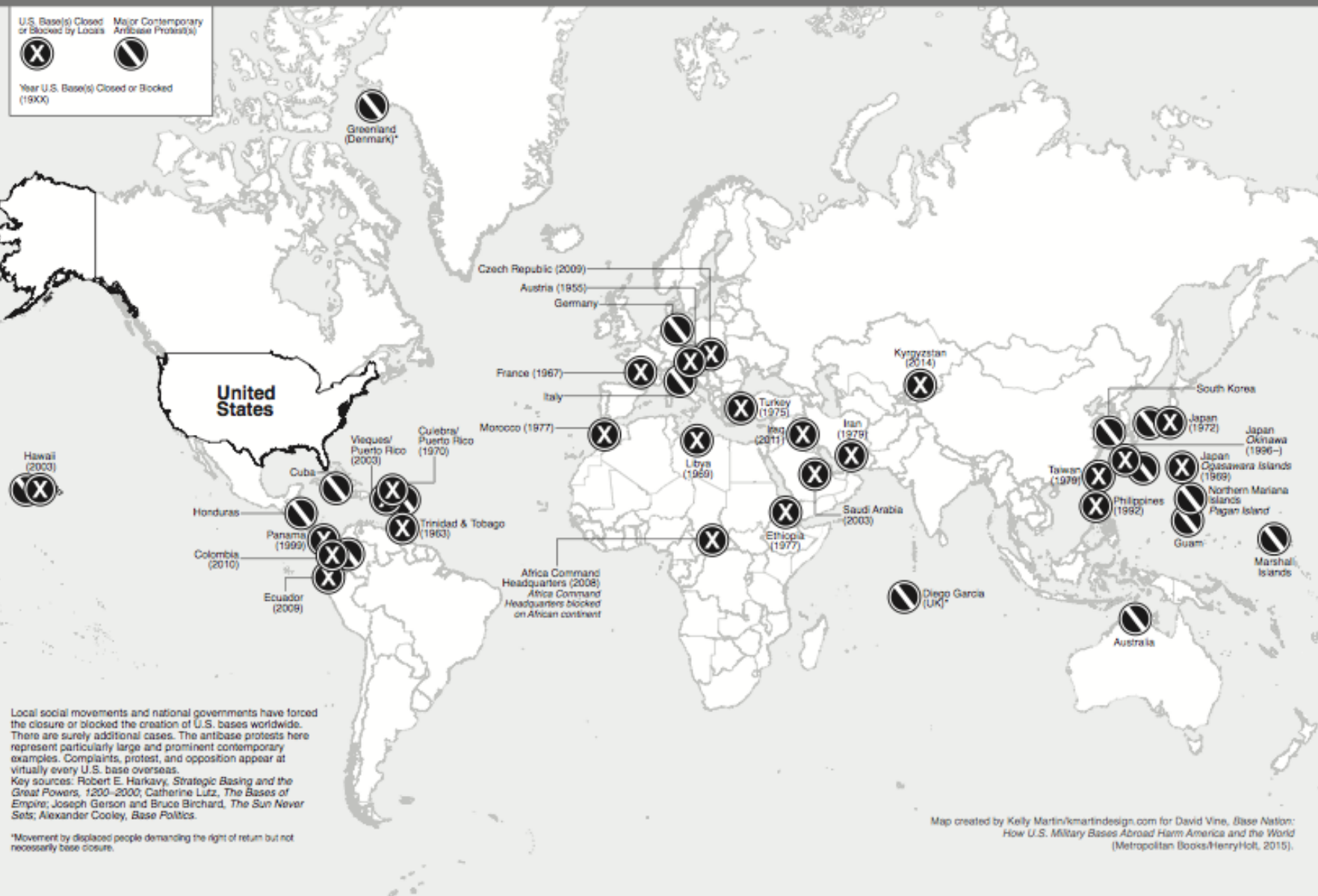
Note: Numbers may not add up due to rounding.

# Supporting the Status Quo

- Base Contractors (US, foreign, incl. investors)
- Pentagon, Military Branches
- Military & State Department Officials
- Politicians (some)
- Foreign Policy Analysts, Academics, Journalists
- Local Elites

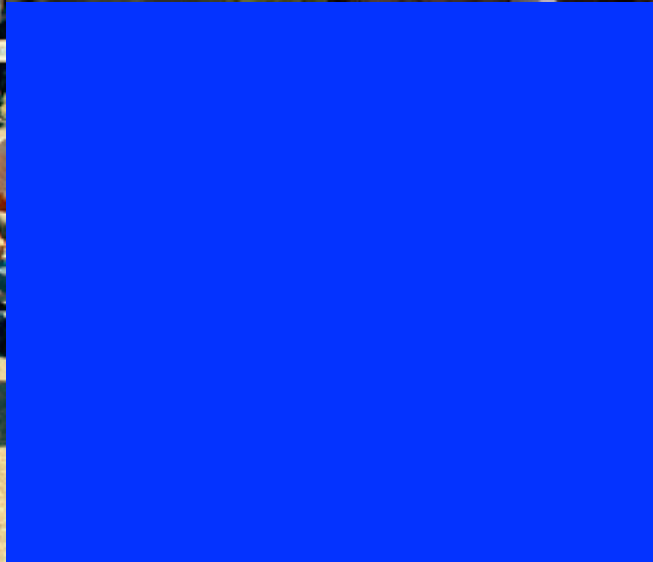
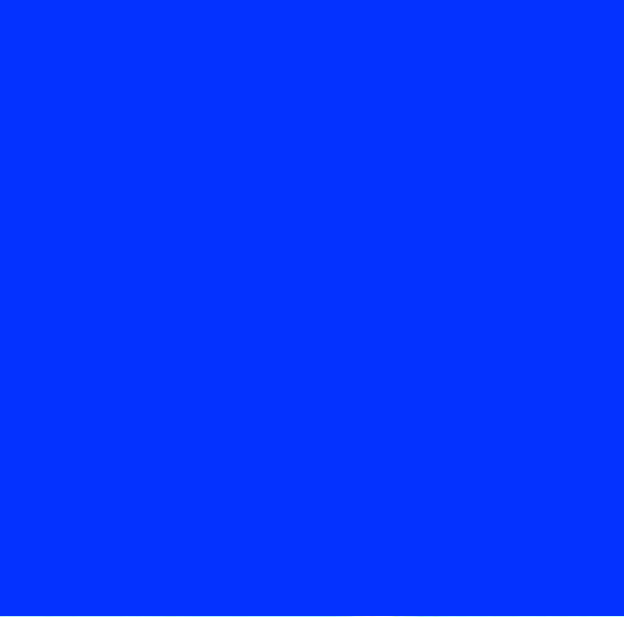
**Questions?**

# ANTIBASE PROTEST AND OPPOSITION, 1945–2015

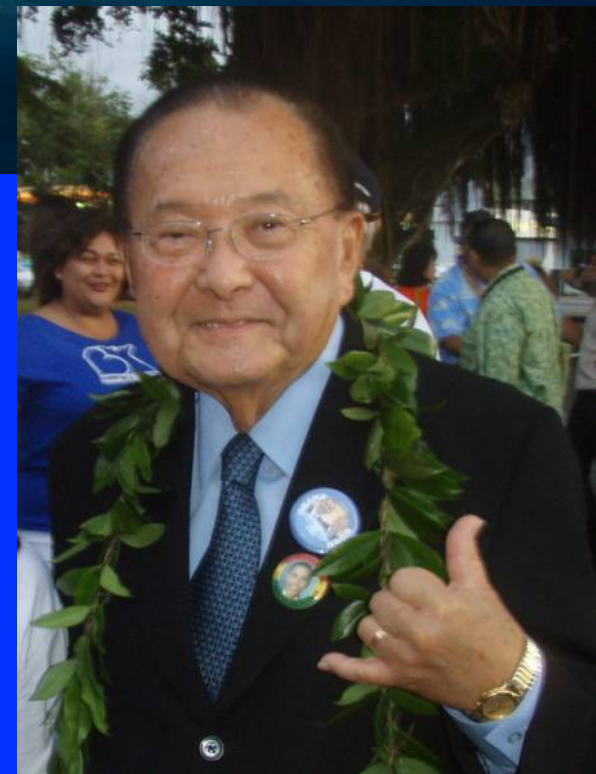








PATH TO RECOVERY CHARTED FOR  
**KAHO‘OLAWE ISLAND, HI**

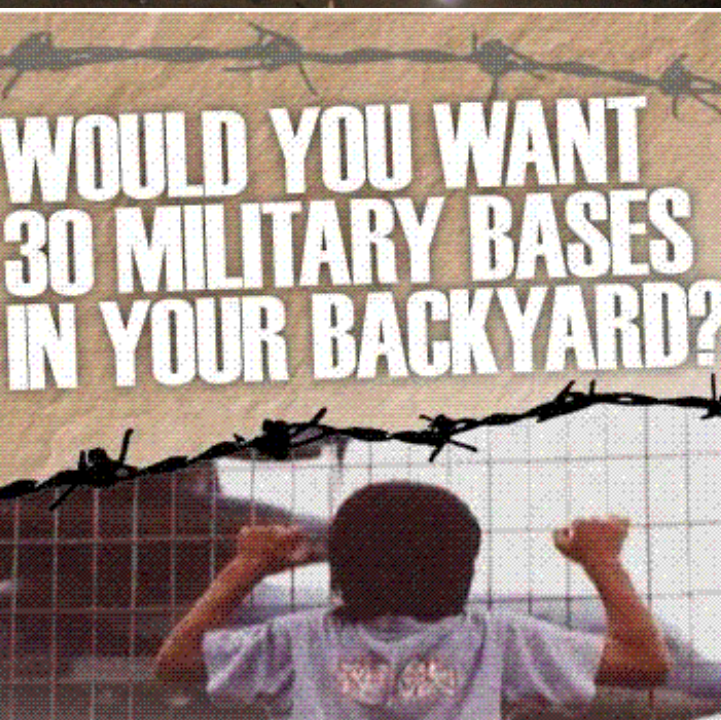




*Resist AFRICOM*

From  
[www.defense.gov](http://www.defense.gov)





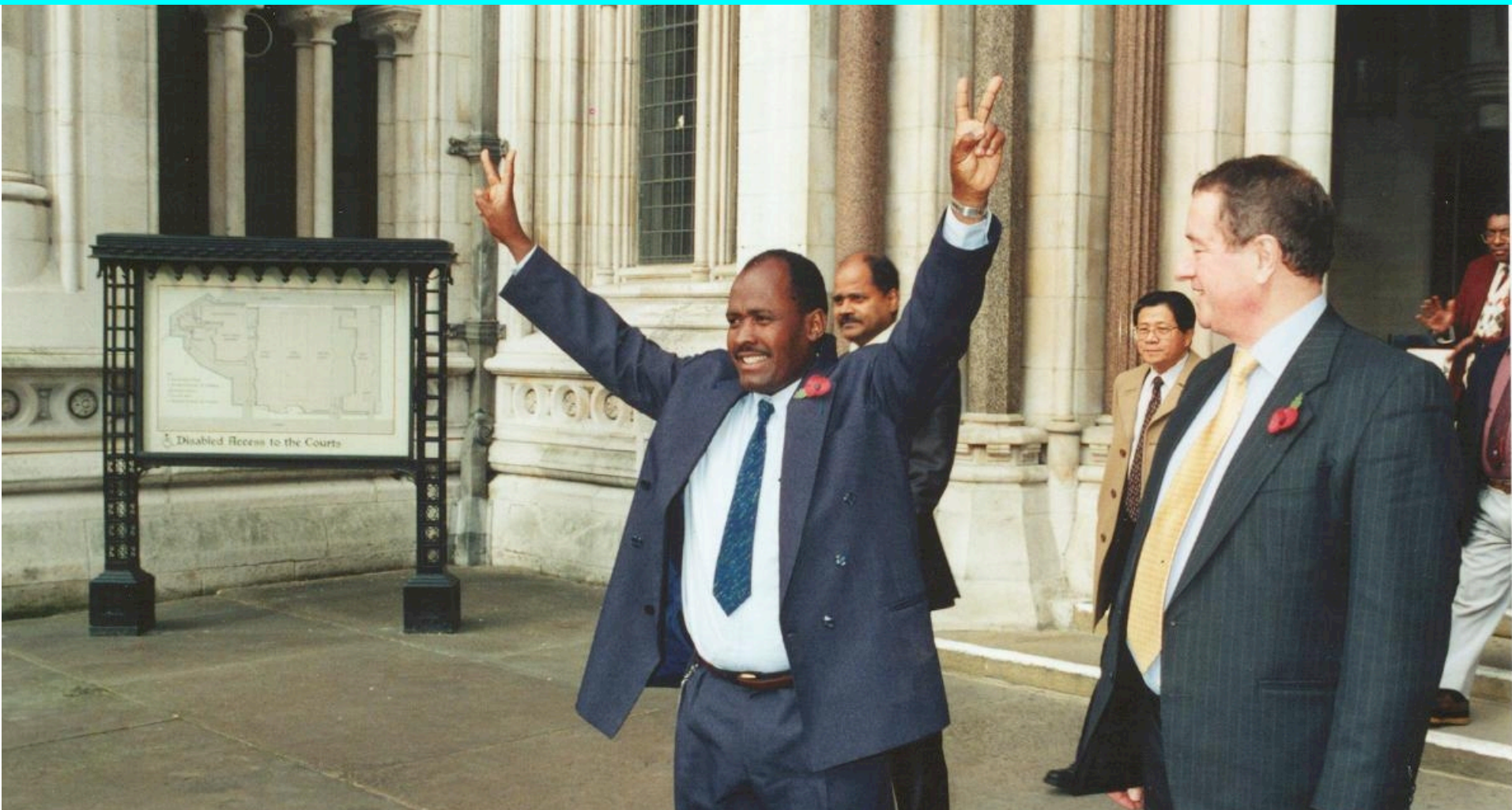
WOULD YOU WANT  
30 MILITARY BASES  
IN YOUR BACKYARD?





# Support the Chagos islanders!

[www.chagossupport.org.uk](http://www.chagossupport.org.uk)



## **CHAGOS REFUGEES GROUP**

*Fighting for rights of Chagossians worldwide*





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[www.fuorimercato.eu](http://www.fuorimercato.eu)

# TOSCANA ROSSO

INDICAZIONE GEOGRAFICA TIPICA  
2005

~~VINO~~

## Dal Molin

seconda serie limitata - 1500 bottiglie

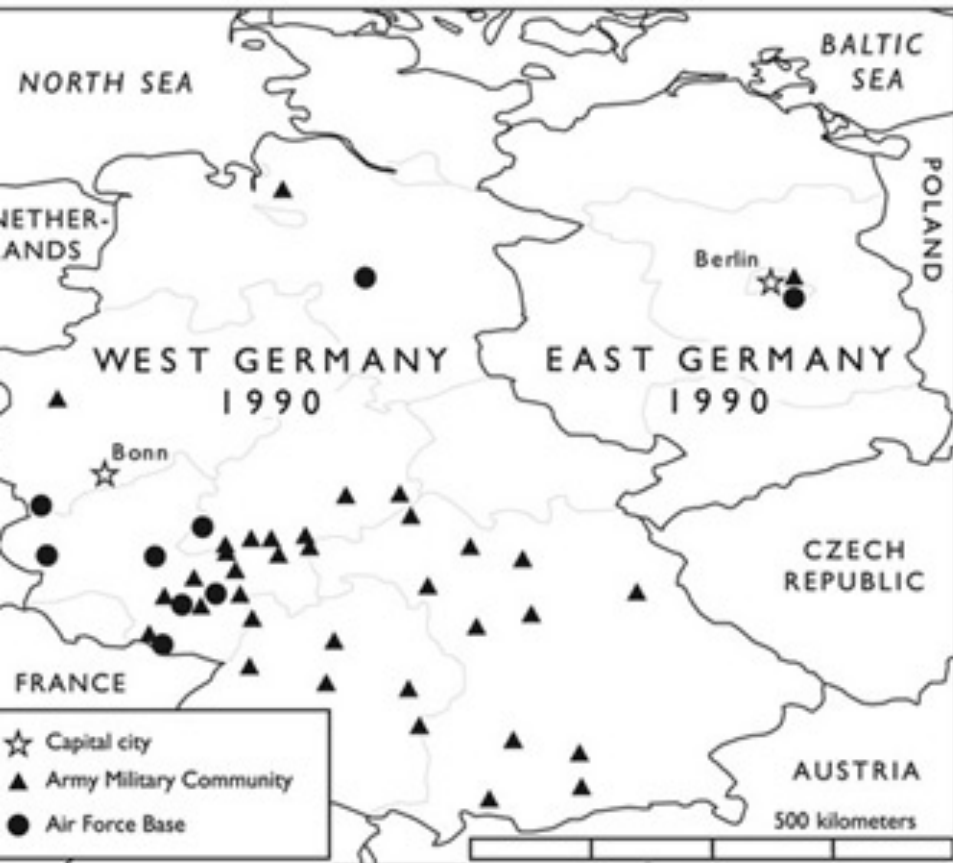
750 ml e

13% vol

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Tel. 0521 446111 - Fax 0521 446112

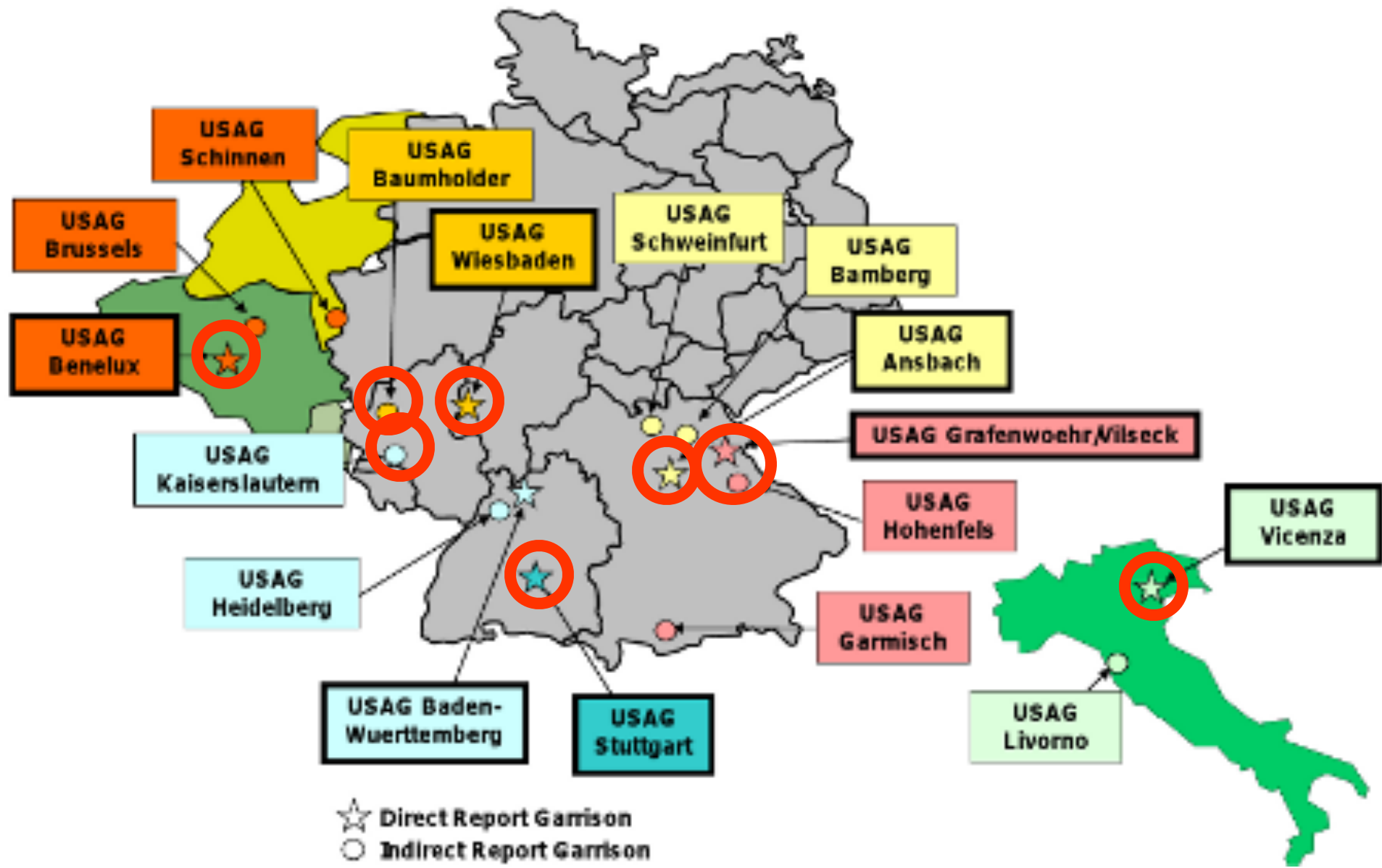




Meg Stewart

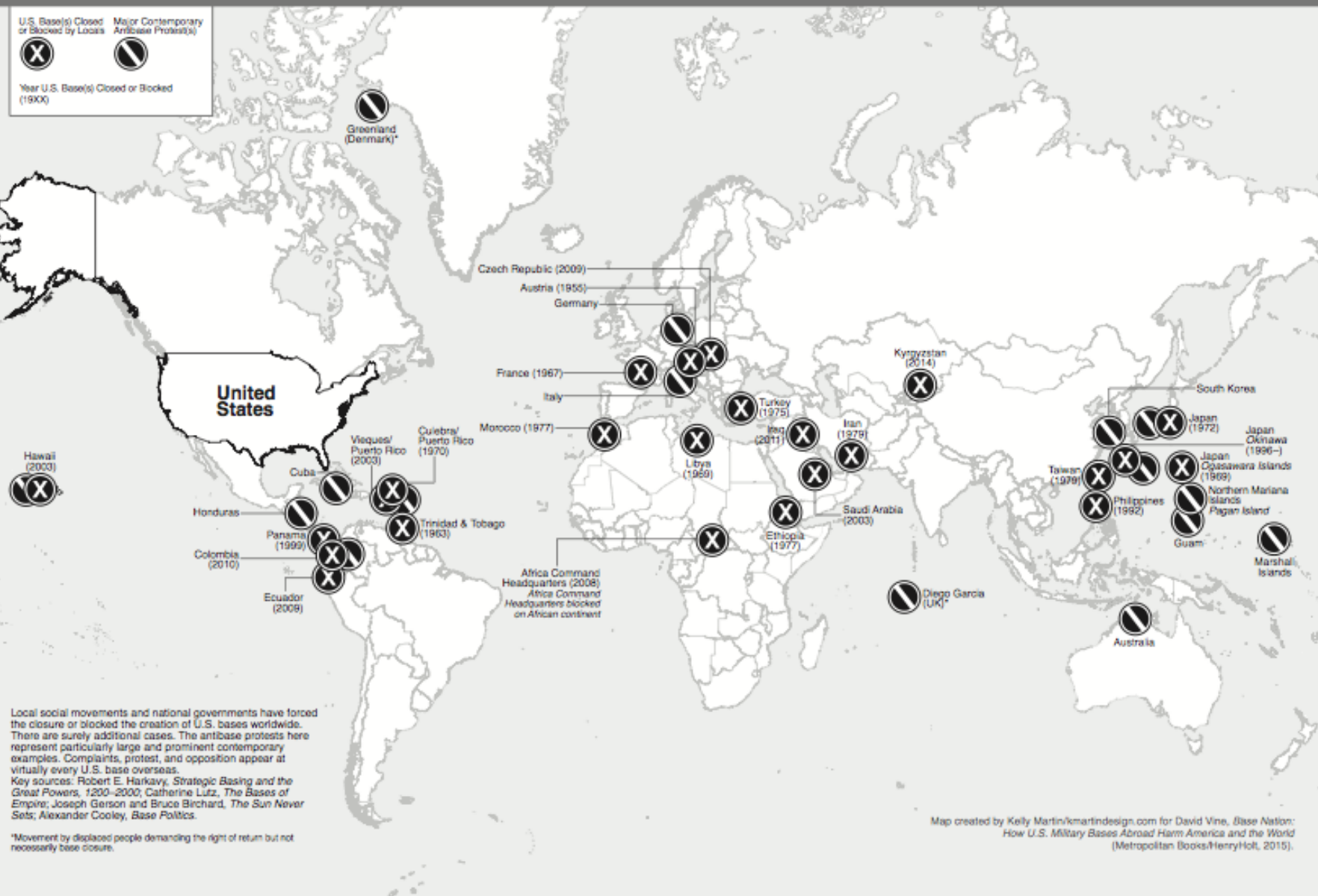
1990

1996



# US ARMY

# ANTIBASE PROTEST AND OPPOSITION, 1945–2015



Local social movements and national governments have forced the closure or blocked the creation of U.S. bases worldwide. There are surely additional cases. The antibase protests here represent particularly large and prominent contemporary examples. Complaints, protest, and opposition appear at virtually every U.S. base overseas.  
 Key sources: Robert E. Harkavy, *Strategic Basing and the Great Powers, 1200-2000*; Catherine Lutz, *The Bases of Empire*; Joseph Gerson and Bruce Birchard, *The Sun Never Sets*; Alexander Cooley, *Base Politics*.

\*Movement by displaced people demanding the right of return but not necessarily base closure.

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).

# [www.basenation.us](http://www.basenation.us)

## Learn More about Military Bases

### Base Social Movements

Coalition against U.S. Foreign Military Bases: [noforeignbases.org](http://noforeignbases.org)

Transnational Institute: [www.tni.org/archives/act/17124](http://www.tni.org/archives/act/17124) and  
[www.tni.org/primer/foreign-military-bases-and-global-campaign-close-them](http://www.tni.org/primer/foreign-military-bases-and-global-campaign-close-them)

### Africa

America's Codebook: Africa: [codebookafrica.wordpress.com](http://codebookafrica.wordpress.com)

"Camp Justice," Pivot TV (documentary about Diego Garcia and US bases abroad; also on iTunes)

Chagos Refugees Group [Diego Garcia]: [chagosrefugeesgroup.org](http://chagosrefugeesgroup.org)

*Island of Shame: The Secret History of the U.S. Military Base on Diego Garcia*

"New Atlantis Project: A Story of the People of the Chagos Islands" [Diego Garcia]: [newatlantisproject.com](http://newatlantisproject.com)

Lalit de Klas [Mauritius/Diego Garcia]: [www.lalitmauritius.org](http://www.lalitmauritius.org)

[Resist Africom](http://ResistAfricom.org)

UK Chagos Support Association [Diego Garcia]: [www.chagossupport.org.uk](http://www.chagossupport.org.uk)

### Asia

Australia Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition: [www.anti-bases.org](http://www.anti-bases.org)

Close the Base [Okinawa]: [closethebase.org](http://closethebase.org)

Ghosts of Jeju: [www.theghostsofjeju.net](http://www.theghostsofjeju.net)

Independent and Peaceful Australia Network: <http://www.ipan.org.au>

My Sister's Place (Durebang) [South Korea]: [durebang.org](http://durebang.org)

National Campaign for Eradication of Crimes by U.S. Troops in Korea: [www.usacrime.or.kr](http://www.usacrime.or.kr)

No Base Stories Korea: [nobasestorieskorea.blogspot.com](http://nobasestorieskorea.blogspot.com)

**What's our strategy  
to close bases?**

# Types of Strategies

- ★ Legislative
- ★ Activist/Protest
- ★ Courts
- ★ International Law, Treaties, UN
- ★ Economic
- ★ Military



# Geographic Focus of Strategies

- ★ National (US and Host)
- ★ International/Multi-base
- ★ Transnational
- ★ Local

# Examples of a Broader Coalition?

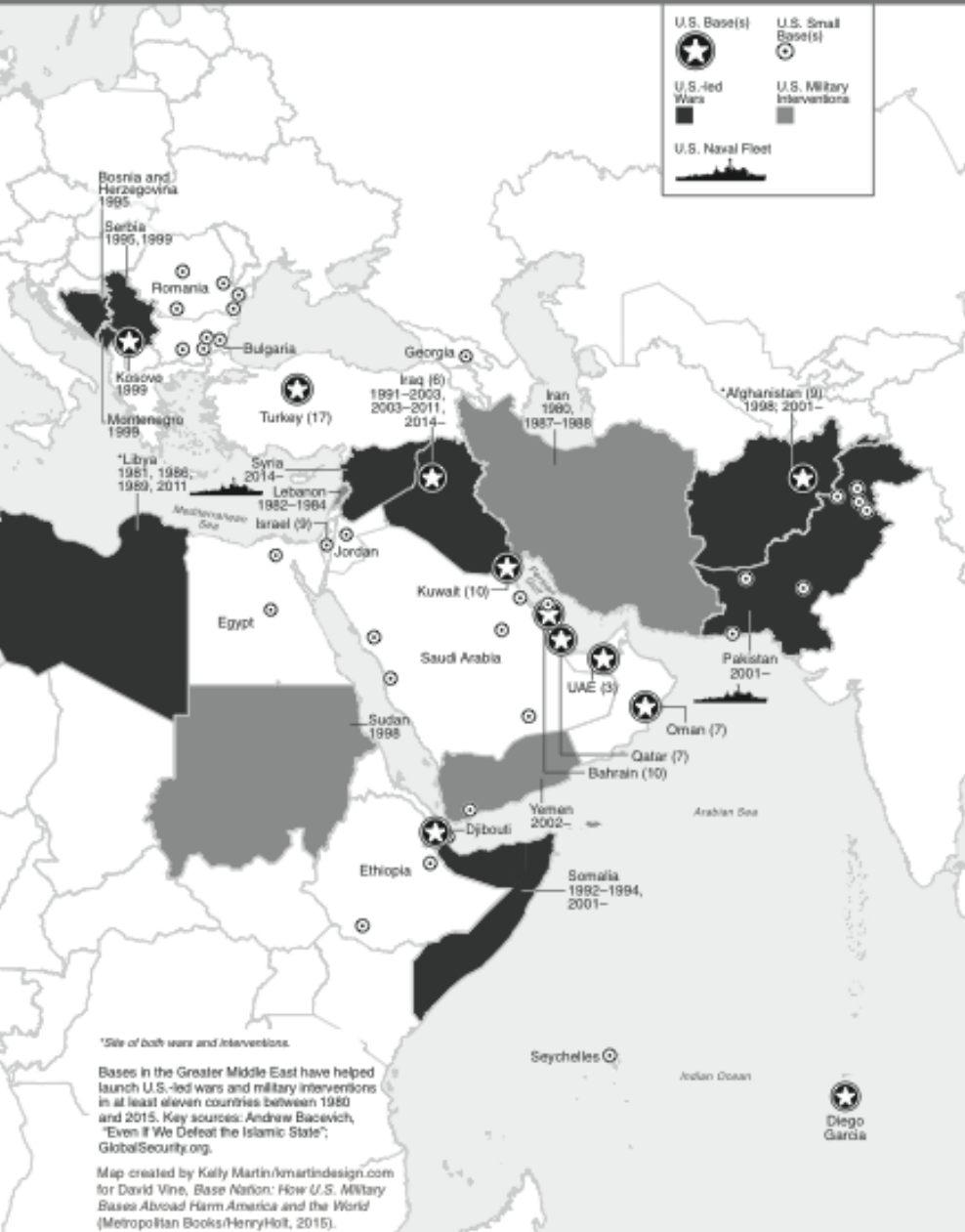
- ★ Dem. Sens. Tester, Feinstein, etc.
- ★ GOP Reps. Doggett, Coffman, etc.
- ★ Retired GOP Sens. Hutchison, Coburn
- ★ Former Prez Candidates Paul, Kucinich
- ★ CATO Institute, Center for American Progress, Institute for Policy Studies, etc.
- ★ *American Conservative*, *Reason*, [vox.com](https://www.vox.com)
- ★ Nicholas Kristof, Bill Maher



# Shared Arguments for a Broader Coalition?

1. Wasting Billions
2. Enabling disastrous wars, interventionist foreign policy
3. Outdated, Cold War-era strategy
4. Weakening national, global security
5. Realign, reform, renew U.S. national security strategy

# ENABLING WARS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, 1980–2015



# Shared Arguments for a Broader Coalition?

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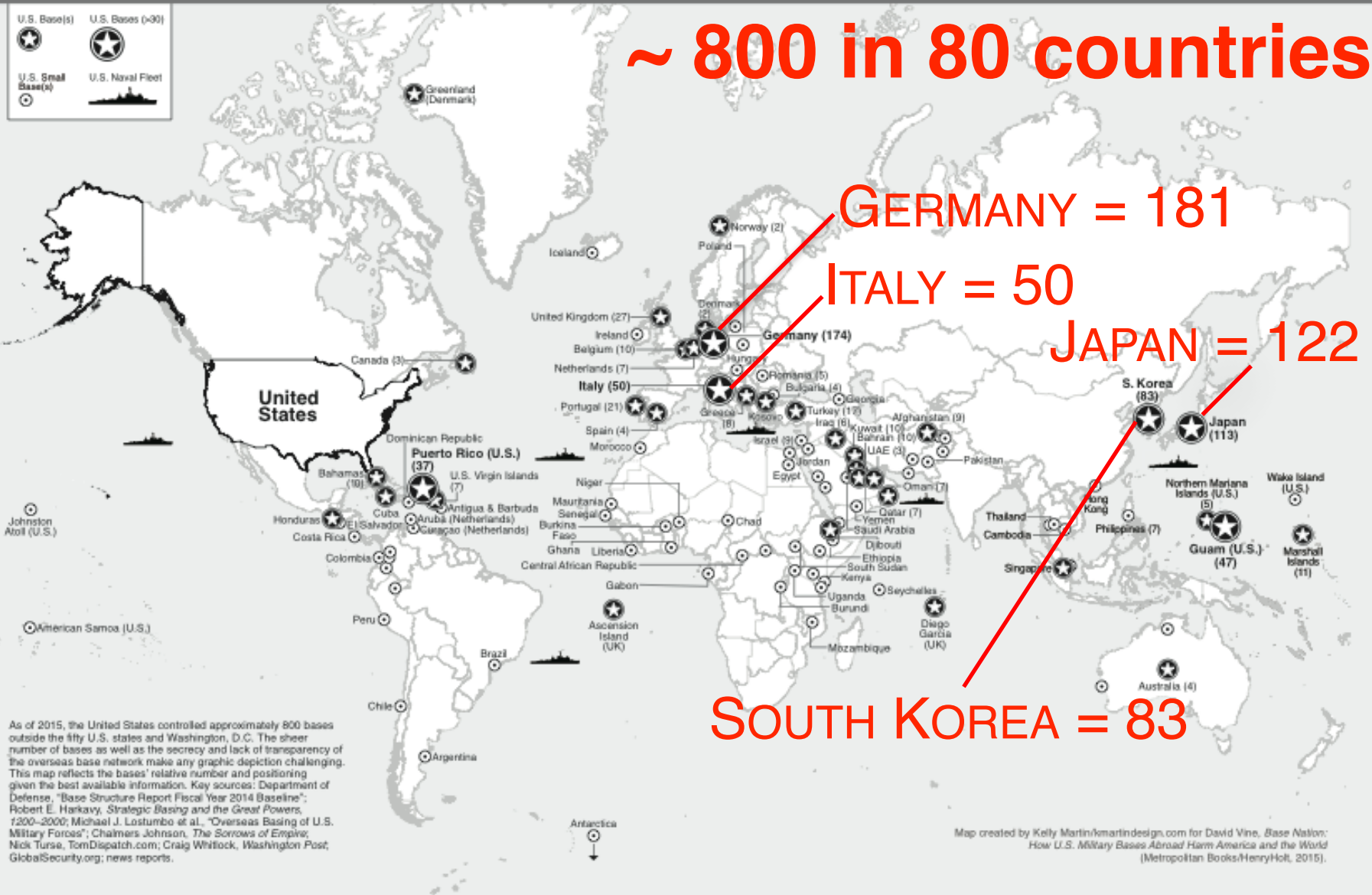


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5. Realign, reform, renew U.S. national security strategy



# U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 2015



As of 2015, the United States controlled approximately 800 bases outside the fifty U.S. states and Washington, D.C. The sheer number of bases as well as the secrecy and lack of transparency of the overseas base network make any graphic depiction challenging. This map reflects the bases' relative number and positioning given the best available information. Key sources: Department of Defense, "Base Structure Report Fiscal Year 2014 Baseline"; Robert E. Harkavy, *Strategic Basing and the Great Powers, 1200-2000*; Michael J. Lostumbo et al., "Overseas Basing of U.S. Military Forces"; Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*; Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*; Craig Whitlock, *Washington Post*; *GlobalSecurity.org*; news reports.

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



Welcome the Public  
**ESTABLISHING A  
 VIBRANT COMMUNITY**



The Walsh Family at home in the Infantry Terrace Neighborhood

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*Housing has always been an essential feature of the Presidio landscape and is critical to the character of the place.*

*The Presidio Trust will seek tenants that can help fund the preservation and enhancement of the Presidio's resources and meet the community service needs of the park's visitors, tenants, and residents.*



# Alternatives and Conversion Opportunities

# Alternatives

- Regular review process by Pentagon/Congress for every base
- Incentives for military to close unnecessary bases
- Environmental clean-up contracts for companies losing base contracts
- Continued cuts/restriction of overseas military construction \$
- Moratorium on new base construction

# Alternatives

- Extend Leahy Law: No bases in undemocratic nations
- Tax code changes so base contracts abroad do not offer tax advantages vs. domestic contracts
- End secret SOFAs/base agreements: Effectively treaties, should be subject to Congressional approval, public inspection
- International ban on foreign bases? Prevent “base races” (strict exceptions for credible threats, prepo, peacekeeping, monitoring)



“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)

# Get Involved: Move the Money

➔ **National Priorities Project:**

[www.nationalpriorities.org/analysis/2014/move-the-money/](http://www.nationalpriorities.org/analysis/2014/move-the-money/)

➔ **American Friends Service Committee:**

[www.afsc.org/resource/move-money-action-toolkit](http://www.afsc.org/resource/move-money-action-toolkit)

➔ **Peace Action:** [www.peace-action.org/](http://www.peace-action.org/)

[issues/move-the-money](http://www.peace-action.org/issues/move-the-money)

The Secret History  
of the U.S. Military Base  
on Diego Garcia



David Vine

# ISLAND OF SHAME



***Island of Shame: The Secret History of  
the U.S. Military Base on Diego Garcia  
(Princeton University Press, 2009)***

**All royalties donated to the  
Chagossians**





**Support the Chagos islanders!**

[www.chagossupport.org.uk](http://www.chagossupport.org.uk)

**[www.ChagosRefugeesGroup.org](http://www.ChagosRefugeesGroup.org)**

**[www.LetUsReturnUSA.org](http://www.LetUsReturnUSA.org)**

**[www.ChagosSupport.org.uk](http://www.ChagosSupport.org.uk)**

**[www.basenation.us](http://www.basenation.us)**

**[www.davidvine.net](http://www.davidvine.net)**



**BASE**

**NATION**

**HOW U.S.**

**MILITARY BASES**

**ABROAD HARM**

**AMERICA AND**

**THE WORLD**

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**WWW.BASENATION.US**

**PROCEEDS GO TO**  
**ORGANIZATIONS**  
**SERVING VETERANS,**  
**THEIR FAMILIES, AND**  
**OTHER VICTIMS OF**  
**WAR**

# “Base Nation” Research

- ★ 6 years (14 years total, 2001-2015)
- ★ > 60 current, former bases in:  
Cuba, Japan, South Korea, Italy, Germany,  
Britain, Honduras, El Salvador, Ecuador, Guam,  
Northern Mariana Islands, continental US
- ★ > 70 formal interviews; 100s informal  
conversations
- ★ Literature review of bases worldwide