

"What Are We Getting Out of This?" Empire and the U.S. Military Overseas under Trump November 2017

*For questions, concerns, or information about any of these slides,
please see www.basestation.us or email vine@american.edu.*



THANKS

- ★ Locals, members of the US military, family members, scholars, everyone who assisted my research
- ★ Chagos Refugees Group & Chagossians
- ★ American Univ. Faculty Research Support
- ★ Fund for Constitutional Government
- ★ Frequent flyer miles, salary, savings, Klaus Ruben

This book is dedicated
to the memory of my grandparents,
Tea Eichengruen Stiefel and Master Sergeant Erwin Stiefel and
Gloria Simon Vine and Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt Vine,
and to the memory of
U.S. Army Specialist Russell E. Madden,
who died of combat injuries in Afghanistan, June 23, 2010

“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

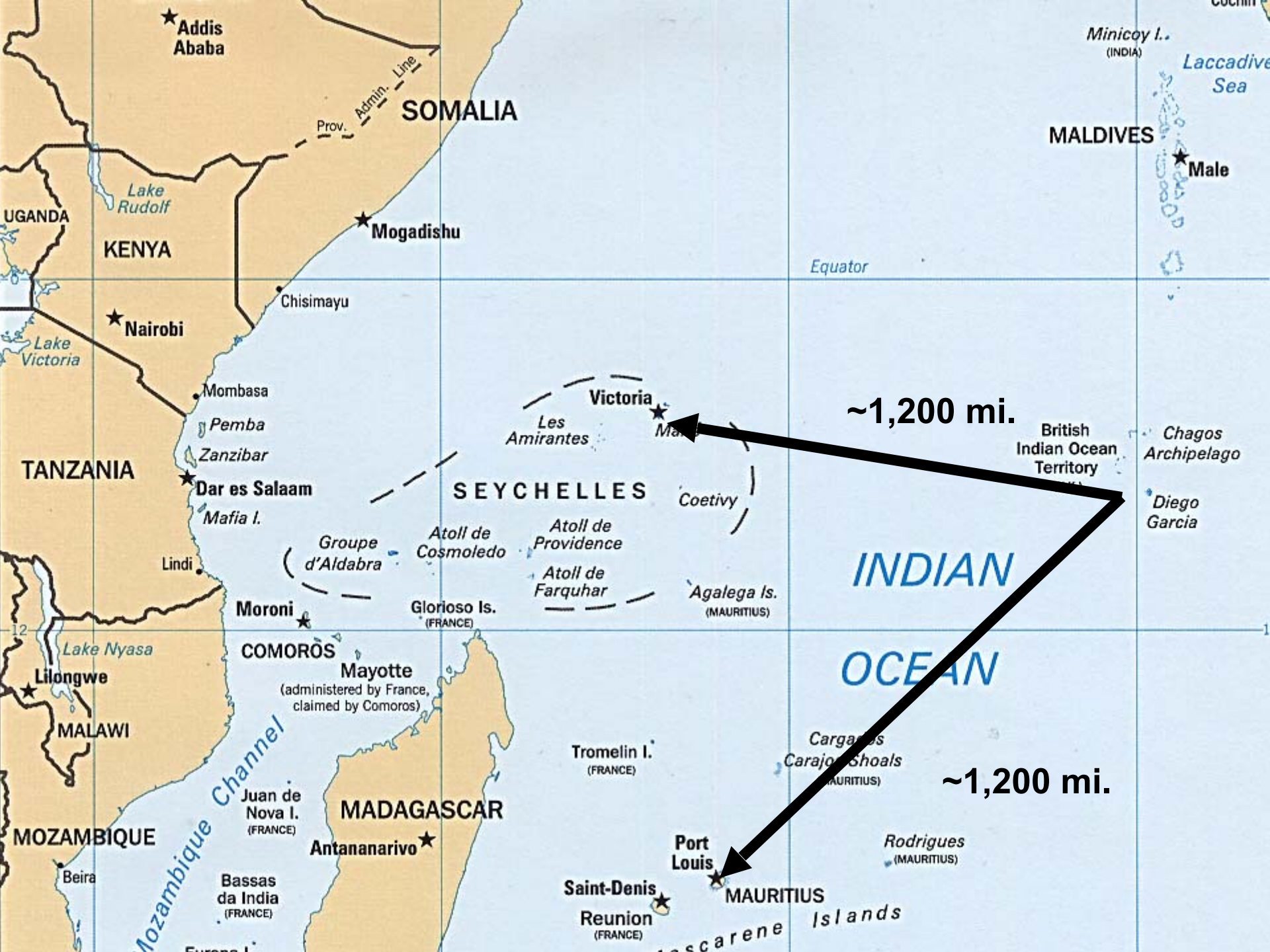
OUTLINE

- ★ Trump's Record & the Base Nation
- ★ US Bases Abroad: Brief History
- ★ US Bases Abroad: Harms
- ★ *What Are We Getting Out of This?*
- ★ Optimism, Alternatives, Change



**Aurelie
Talate**





★ Addis Ababa

SOMALIA

MALDIVES

★ Male

KENYA

★ Mogadishu

Equator

UGANDA

★ Nairobi

Chisimayu

TANZANIA

Mombasa

~1,200 mi.

★ Lilongwe

Pemba

SEYCHELLES

British Indian Ocean Territory

MOZAMBIQUE

★ Dar es Salaam

Mafia I.

Victoria

INDIAN OCEAN

MALAWI

Lindi

Groupe d'Aldabra

Atoll de Cosmoledo

Atoll de Providence

Coetivy

Agalega Is. (MAURITIUS)

★ Moroni

Glorioso Is. (FRANCE)

COMOROS

Mayotte

(administered by France, claimed by Comoros)

Tromelin I. (FRANCE)

Cargados Carajos Shoals (MAURITIUS)

Beira

Juan de Nova I. (FRANCE)

MADAGASCAR

★ Antananarivo

Port Louis

MAURITIUS

~1,200 mi.

Bassas da India (FRANCE)

Saint-Denis Reunion (FRANCE)

Rodrigues (MAURITIUS)

Mascarene Islands



U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 2015



DIEGO GARCIA

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



**DIEGO GARCIA, CHAGOS ARCHIPELAGO
(BRITISH INDIAN OCEAN TERRITORY)**





A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H
I	J	K	L
M	N	O	P
Q	R	S	T
U	V	W	X
Y	Z		

a	b	c	d
e	f	g	h
i	j	k	l
m	n	o	p
q	r	s	t
u	v	w	x
y	z		



DECLASSIFIED
★ ★ ★ ★

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS

1087-71
(OO Control #)

3-26-71
(Date)

CNO COMMENT SHEET

Subj: Copra workers on Diego Garcia

Ref: Op-61 memo ser 01846P61 of 24 Mar 1971

1. The CNO made the following comment/notation on referenced material:

[Absolutely must go.]

*



★ Addis Ababa

SOMALIA

MALDIVES

★ Male

Equator

~1,200 mi.

British Indian Ocean Territory (U.K.)

SEYCHELLES

★ Victoria

Les Amirantes

★ Mahé

Coetivy

Atoll de Providence

Atoll de Farquhar

Agalega Is. (MAURITIUS)

Glorioso Is. (FRANCE)

Groupe d'Aldabra

★ Moroni

COMOROS

Mayotte

(administered by France, claimed by Comoros)

INDIAN OCEAN

~1,200 mi.

Cargados Carajo Shoals (MAURITIUS)

Tromelin I. (FRANCE)

Rodrigues (MAURITIUS)

★ Port Louis

MAURITIUS

★ Saint-Denis

★ Reunion (FRANCE)

Mascarene Islands

UGANDA

KENYA

★ Nairobi

★ Mogadishu

Chisimayu

Mombasa

Pemba

Zanzibar

★ Dar es Salaam

Mafia I.

Lindi

TANZANIA

Lake Nyasa

★ Lilongwe

MALAWI

MOZAMBIQUE

Beira

Juan de Nova I. (FRANCE)

MADAGASCAR

★ Antananarivo

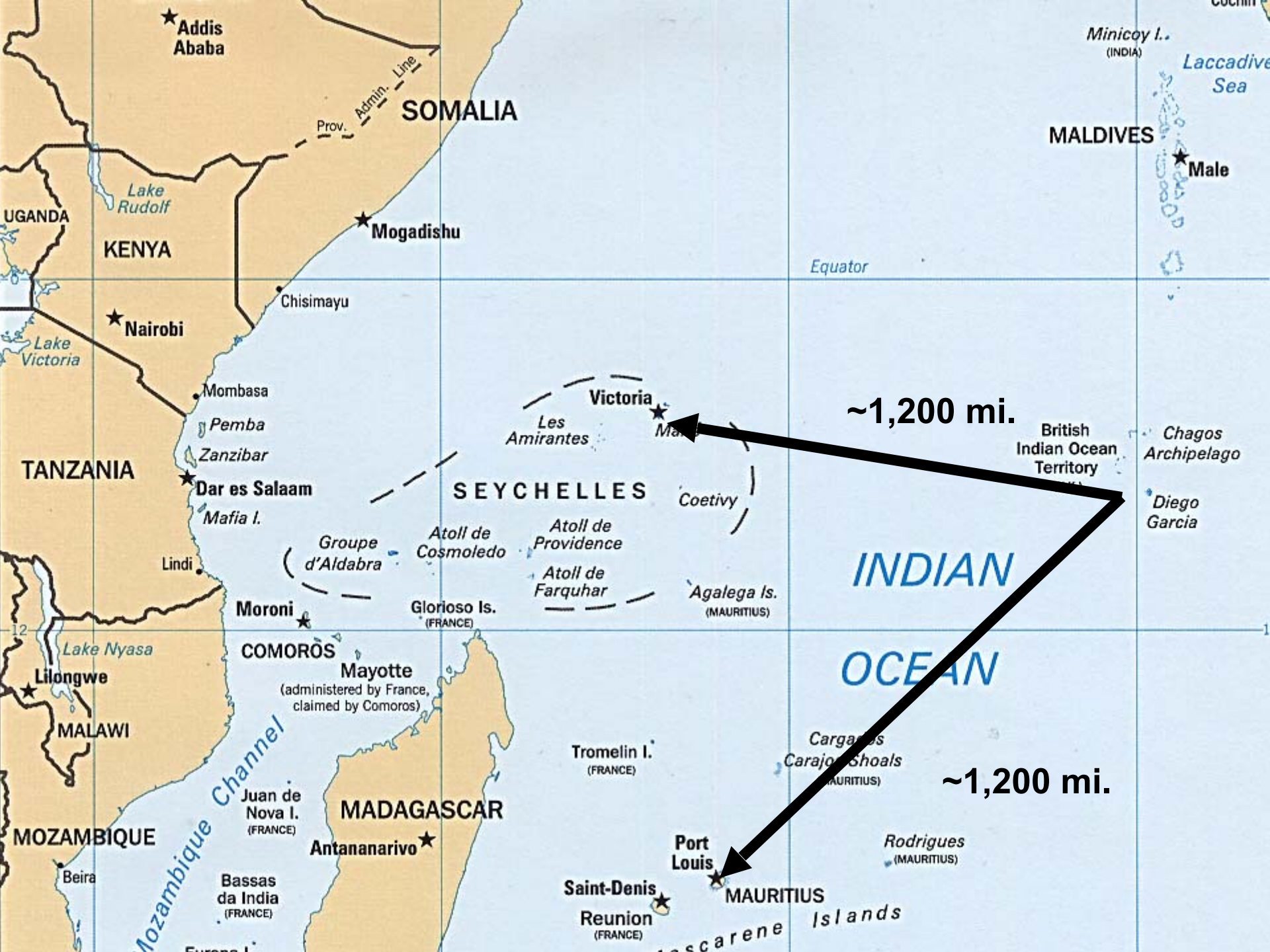
Bassas da India (FRANCE)

Europa I.

Mozambique Channel

Minicoy I. (INDIA)

Laccadive Sea



★ Addis Ababa

SOMALIA

MALDIVES

Laccadive Sea

★ Male

Equator

UGANDA

KENYA

★ Mogadishu

Chisimayu

★ Nairobi

Lake Rudolf

Lake Victoria

TANZANIA

Mombasa

Pemba
Zanzibar

★ Dar es Salaam

Mafia I.

Lindi

SEYCHELLES

★ Victoria

Les Amirantes

★ Mahe

Coetivy

British Indian Ocean Territory

Chagos Archipelago

★ Diego Garcia

INDIAN OCEAN

OCEAN

~1,200 mi.

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Rodrigues (MAURITIUS)

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★ Reunion (FRANCE)

Mascarene Islands



**Aurelie
Talate**



FOOTPRINT OF FREEDOM

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



David Vine

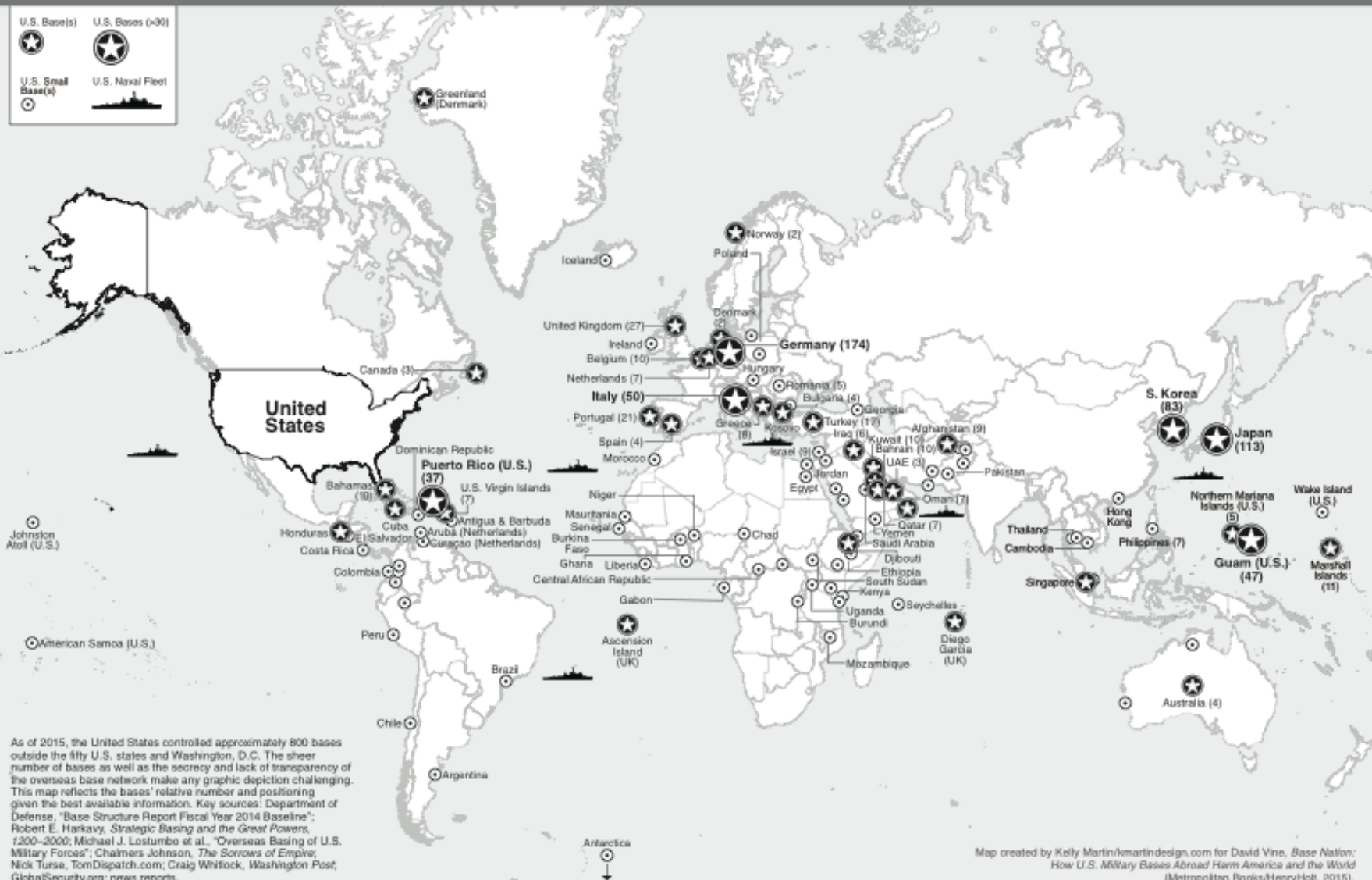
ISLAND OF SHAME



***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**

U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 2015

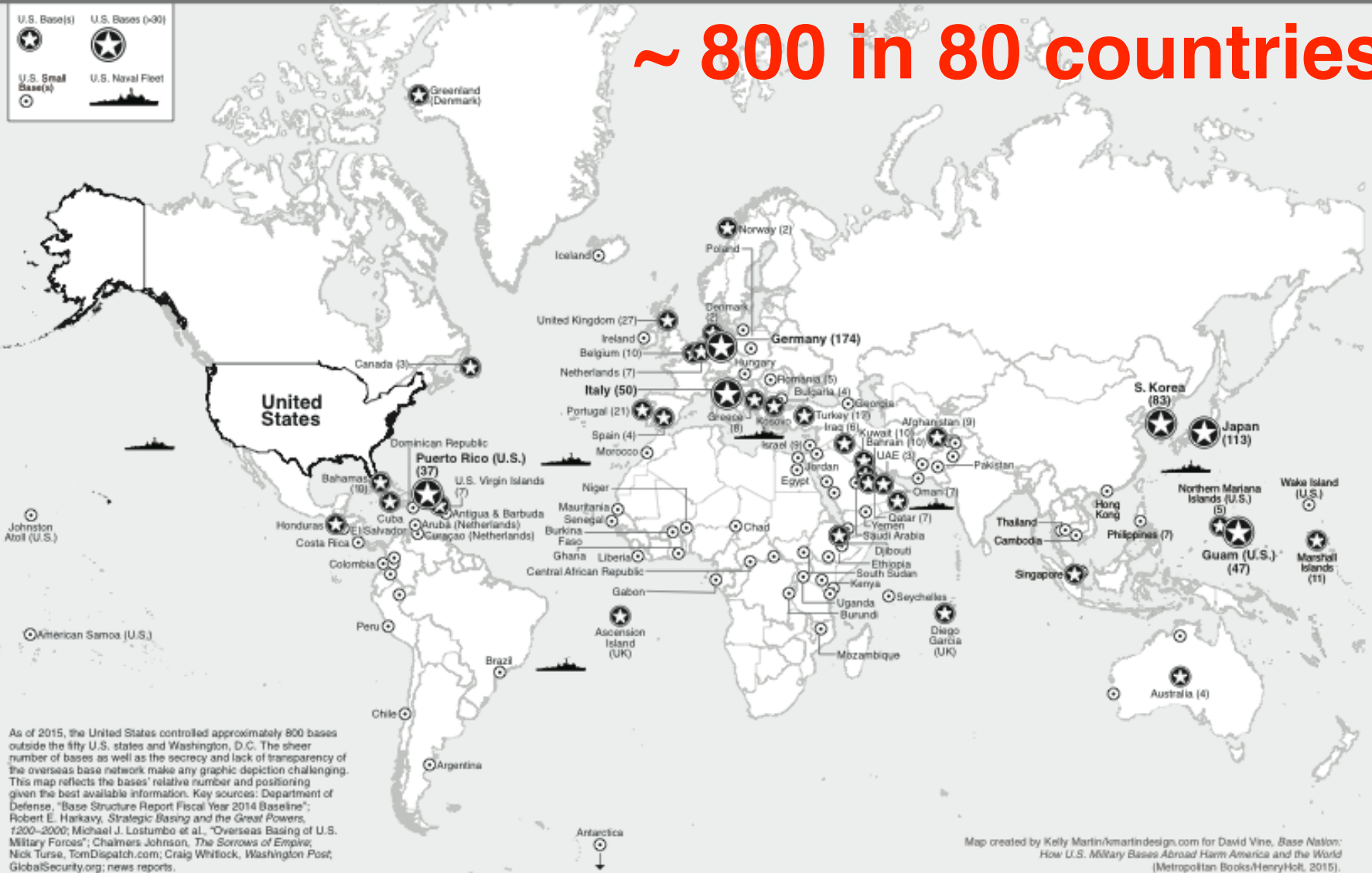


As of 2015, the United States controlled approximately 800 bases outside the fifty U.S. states and Washington, D.C. The sheer number of bases as well as the secrecy and lack of transparency of the overseas base network make any graphic depiction challenging. This map reflects the bases' relative number 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.

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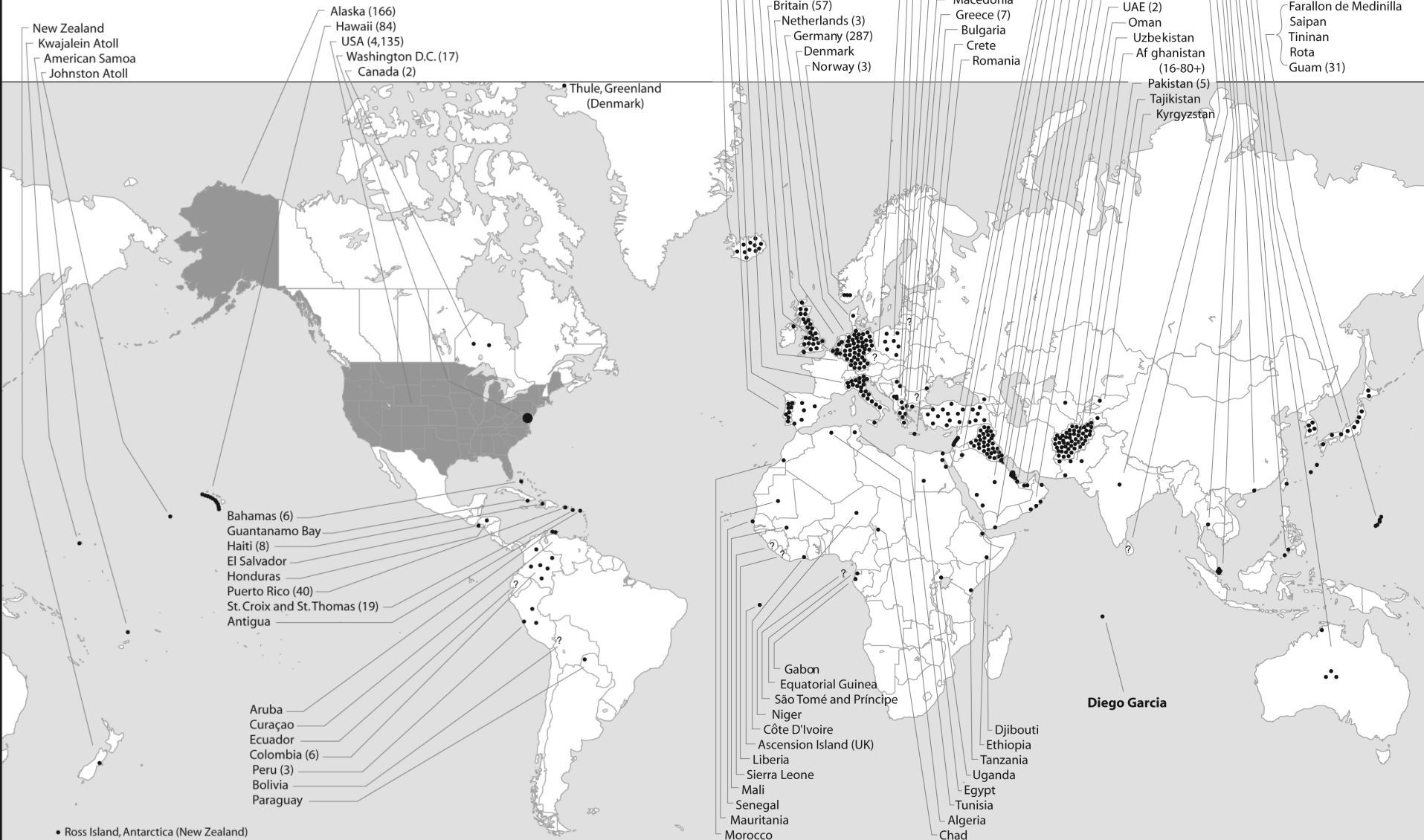
~ 800 in 80 countries



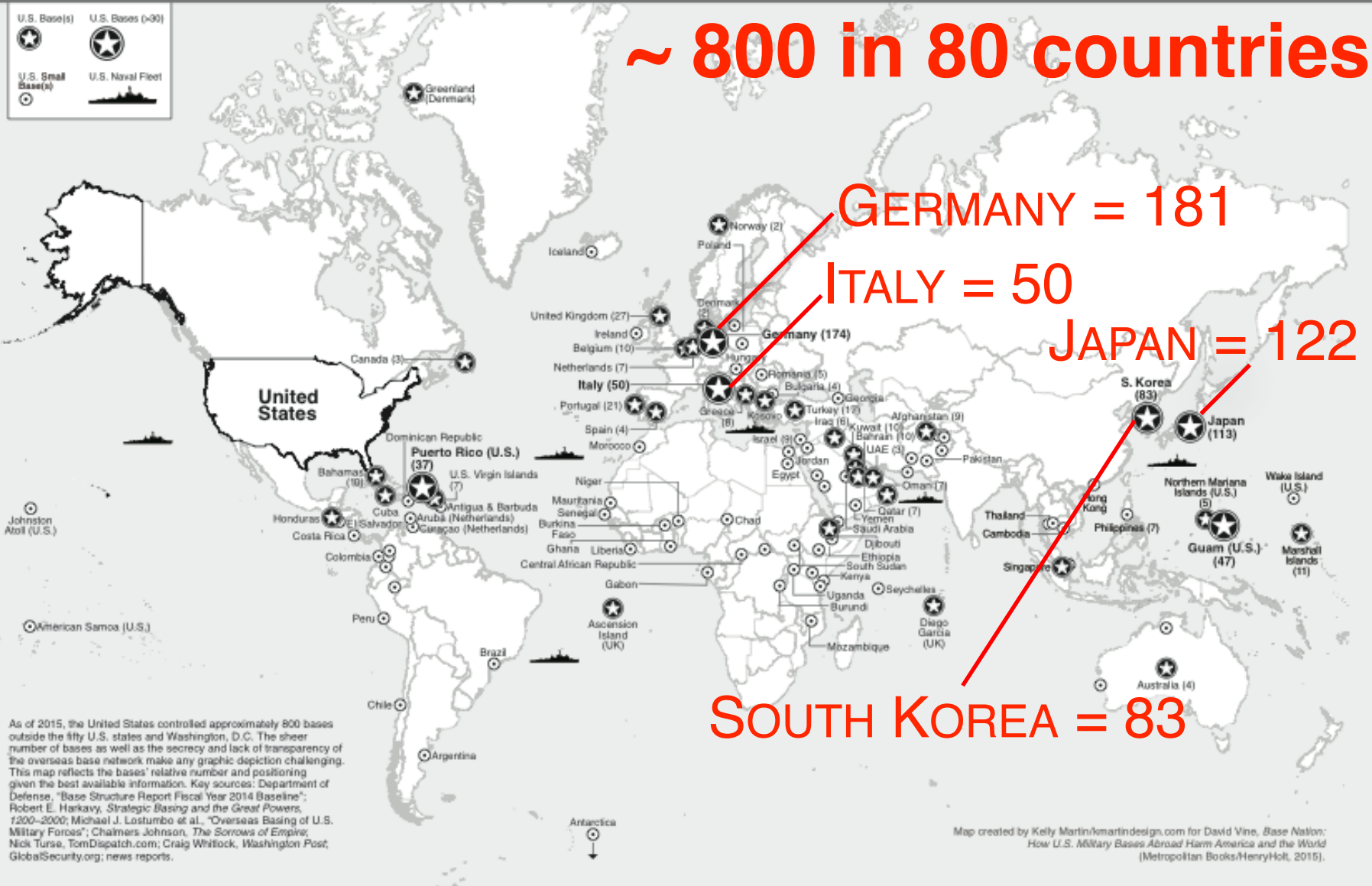
U.S. Military Bases

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; 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.



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“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



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
Total	124	117	4,035	579	4,855

Handwritten annotations: 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
	United States Total:	100	101	3,475	478	4,154
US Territories	Army	1	0	40	0	41
	Navy	3	0	29	32	64
	Air Force	0	0	9	0	9
	US Territories Total:	4	0	78	32	114
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
		Overseas Total:	20	16	482	69
	Grand Total:	124	117	4,035	579	4,855

- 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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Greetings from... **Guantanamo Bay**



CUBA
Cooper Field

Greetings from... **Guantanamo Bay**



CUBA
Cooper Field



David Vine, American University
vine@american.edu



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



ZONA MILITARE

DIVIETO DI ACCESSO

**SORVEGLIANZA
ARMATA**



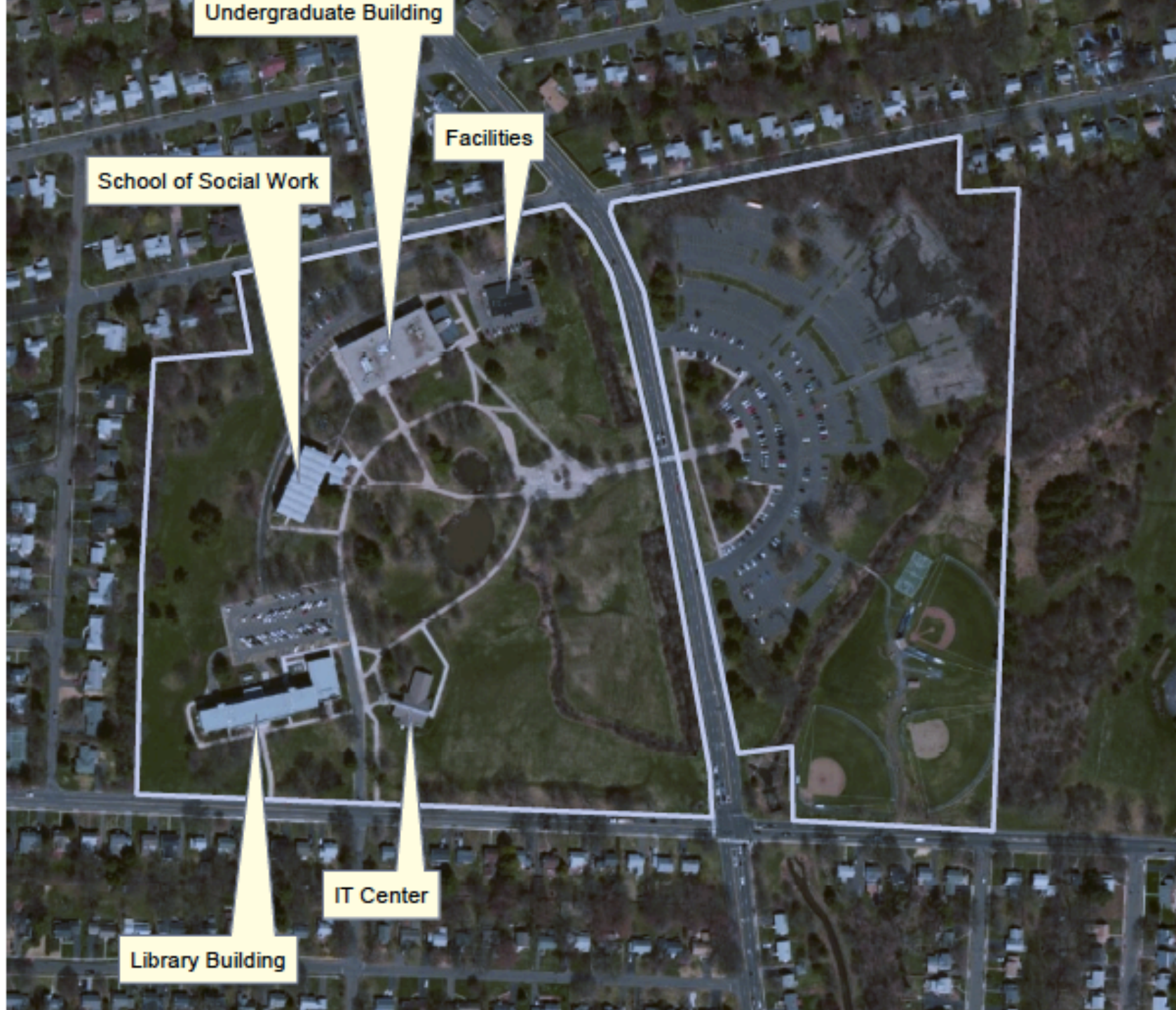
CESSO











Undergraduate Building

Facilities

School of Social Work

IT Center

Library Building

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**



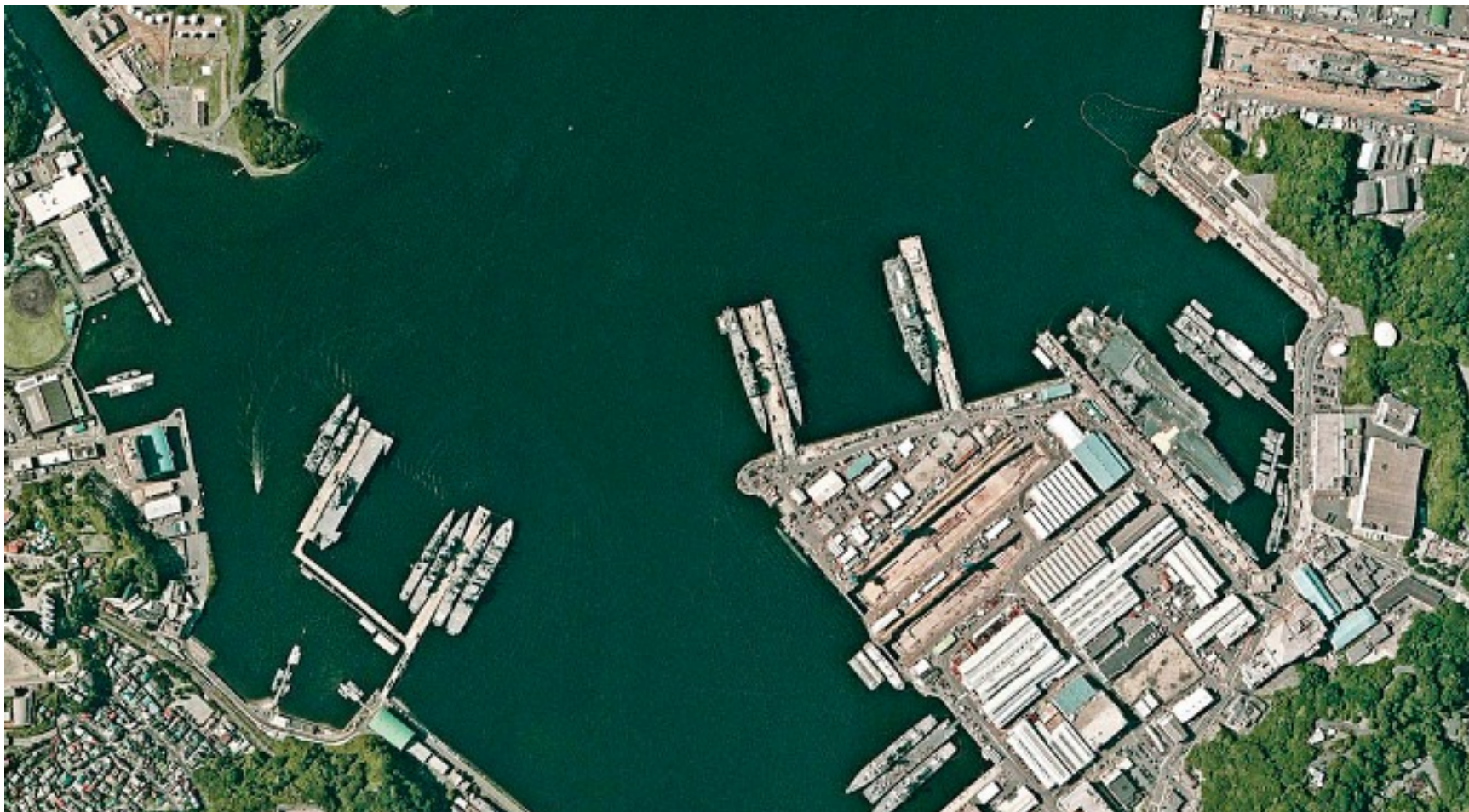
**Heavy Airlift Wing
Pápa Air Base, Hungary
47°21'43"N 17°29'50"E**



**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





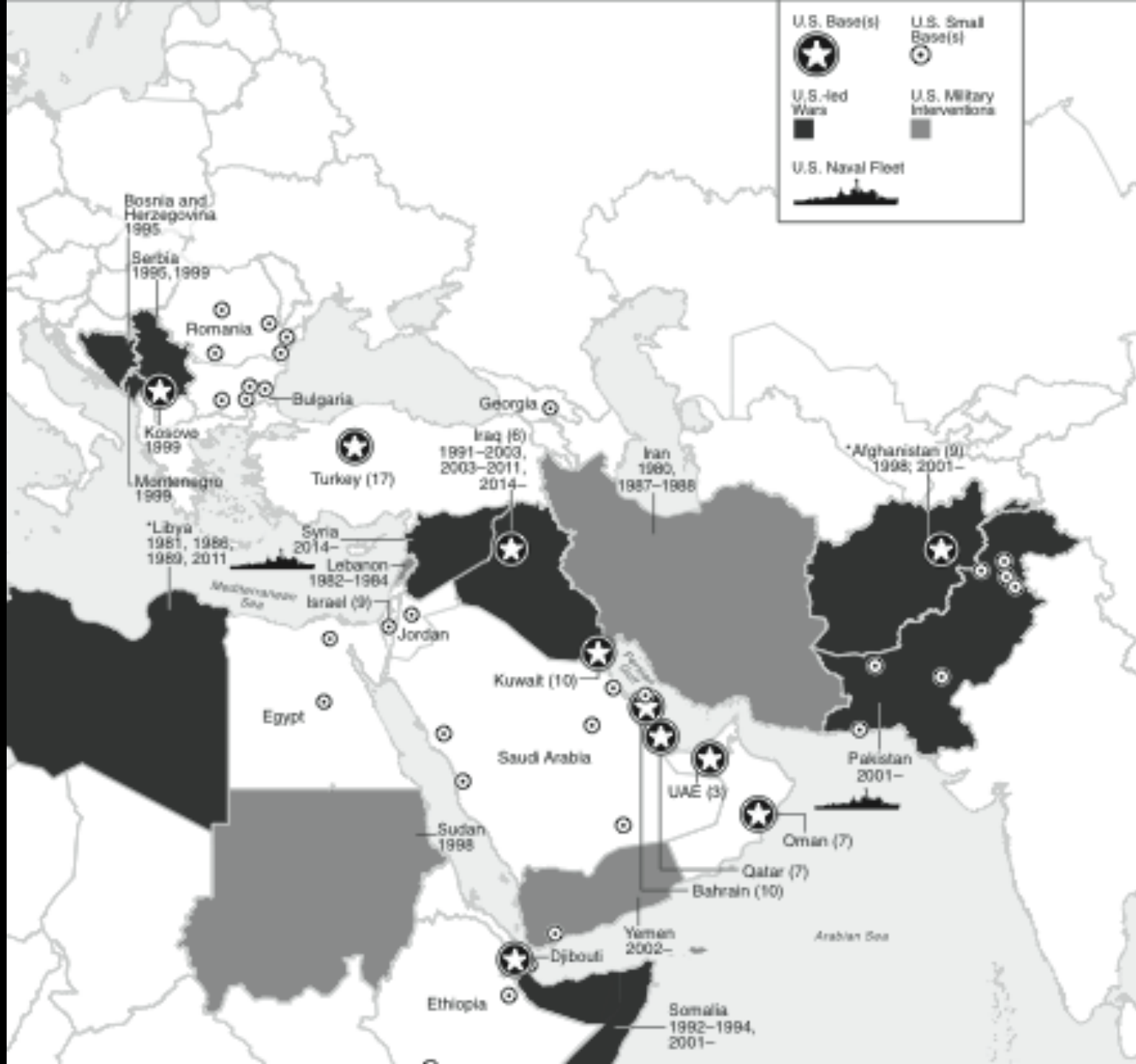


U.S. Military Bases Overseas

- ★ ~ 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?

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- ★ 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) for bases, troops abroad



“Especially in the anti-Trump camp, getting rid of Trump himself (Collusion! Corruption! Obstruction! Impeachment!) has become the overriding imperative.... The irony of Trump perpetuating wars that he once roundly criticized and then handing the conduct of those wars to generals devoid of ideas for ending them almost entirely escapes notice.”

- Andrew Bacevich, October 2017





JOHN WAYNE
HENRY FONDA
SHIRLEY TEMPLE

eMoviePoster.com

UN FILM DI
JOHN FORD

FORT APACHE

(MASSACRO DI FORT APACHE)



M*A*S*H™

4077th MILITARY BASE

16
 SQ. FOOT
 PRINTED VINYL
 PLAY SURFACE

OVER 60
 PLAY
 PIECES

HIGH IMPACT
 PLASTIC
 BUILDINGS

M*A*S*H.
 ACTION FIGURES
 AND VEHICLES
 SOLD SEPARATELY

- M*A*S*H 4077th HEADQUARTERS FOR COL. POTTER
- SWAMP (OFFICERS' QUARTERS) FOR HAWKEYE, B.J. & WINCHESTER
- OFFICERS' MESS WITH MESS HALL TABLES & BENCHES
- PILE-UP WARD FOR EMERGENCY SURGERY
- HOSPITAL WITH BEDS FOR WOUNDED
- 16 SQ. FT. PRINTED FOUR COLOR VINYL PLAY SURFACE
- 63 PIECES FOR GREAT PLAY VALUE

DESIGNED TO SCALE FOR ALL 3 1/2" INCH ACTION FIGURES AND VEHICLES THEY FIT.

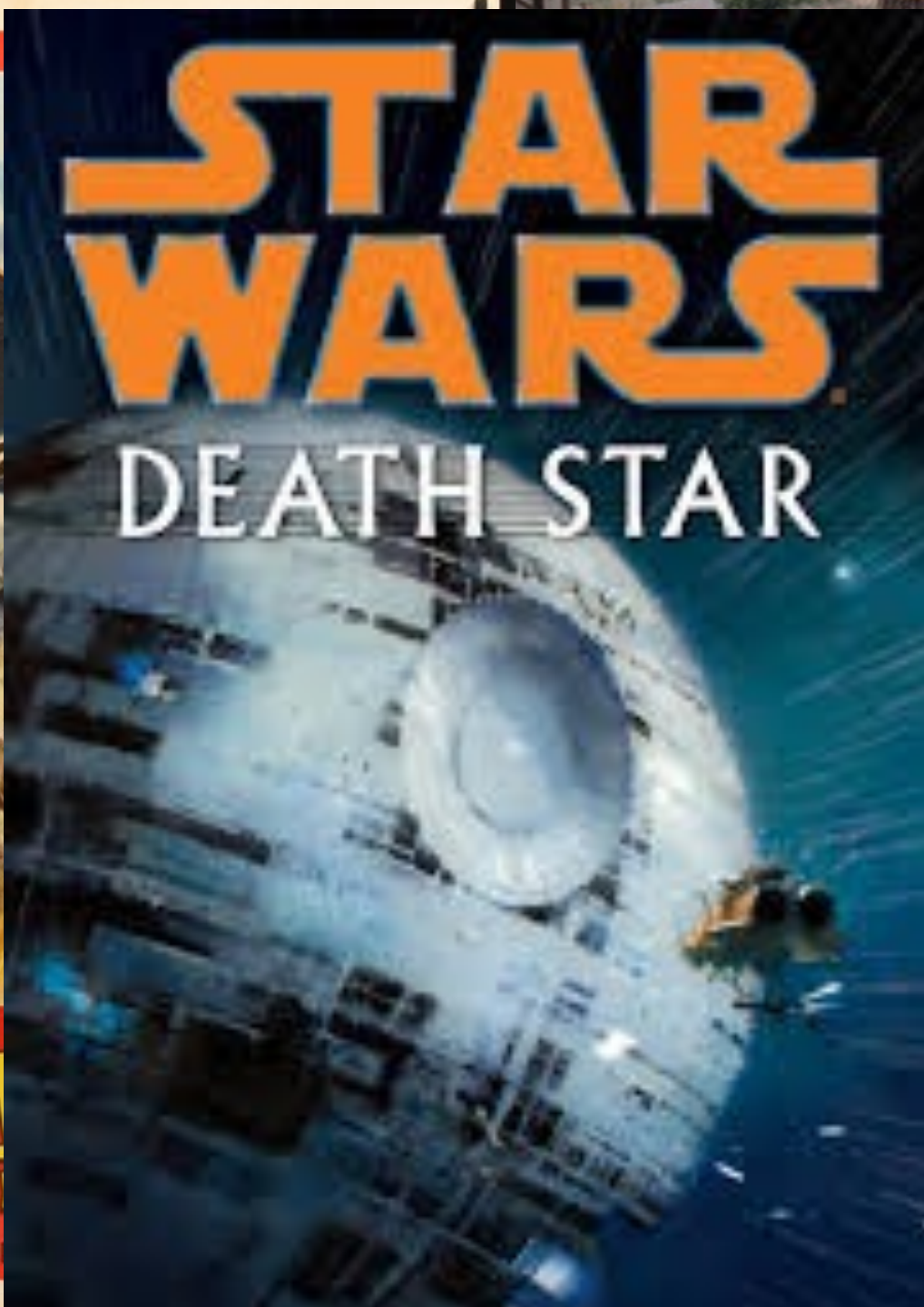


eMovieP

UN FILM DI
JOHN FORD

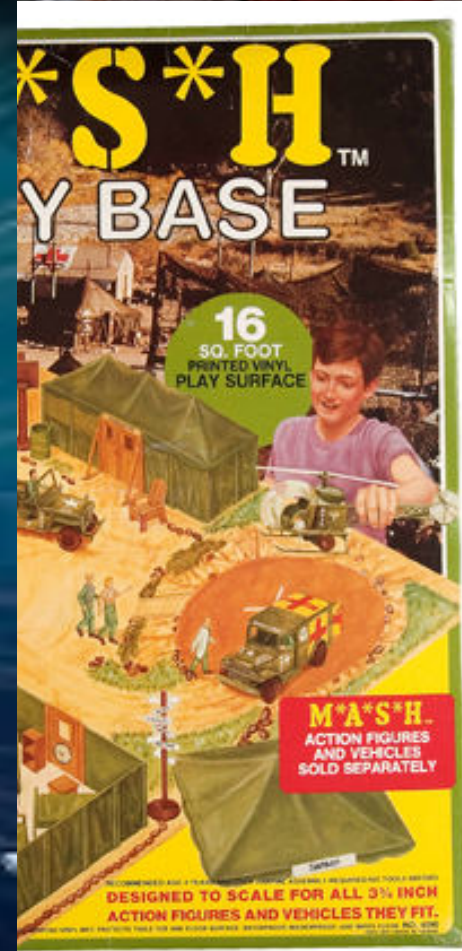
FORT A

(MASSACRO



**STAR
WARS**

DEATH STAR



***S*H**
Y BASE™

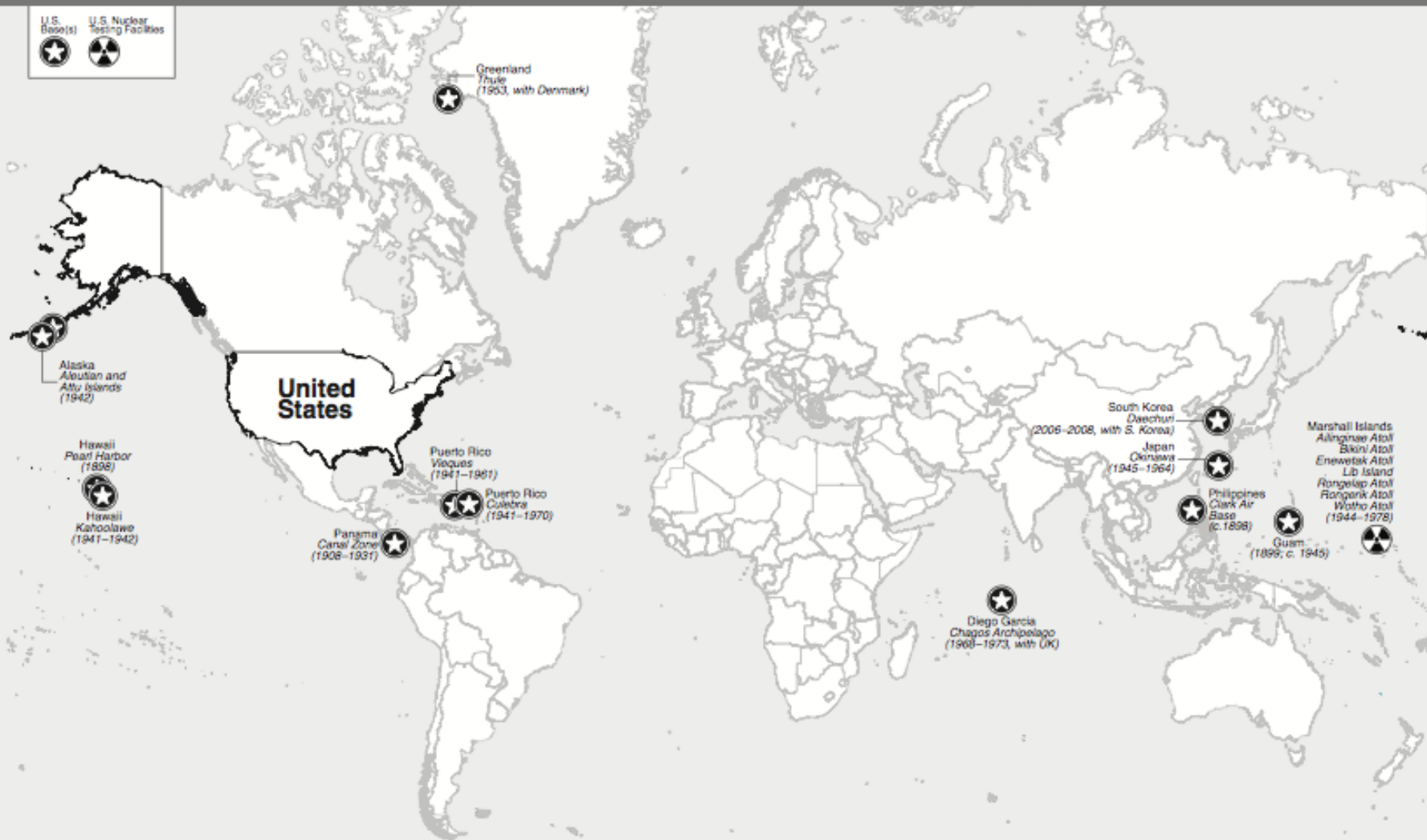
16
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ACTION FIGURES
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SOLD SEPARATELY

DESIGNED TO SCALE FOR ALL 3 1/2 INCH
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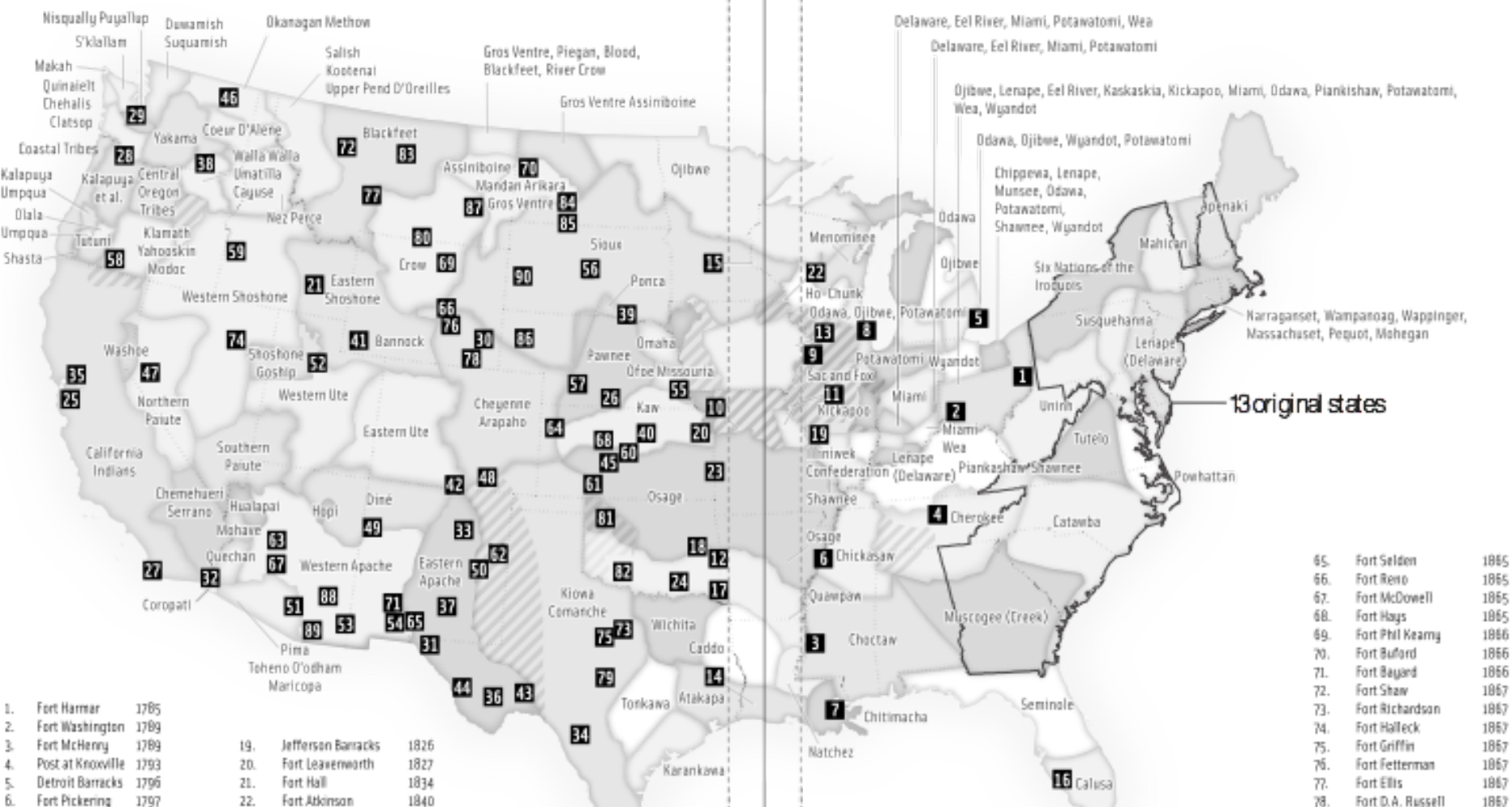
THE DISPLACED, 1898–2015



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).

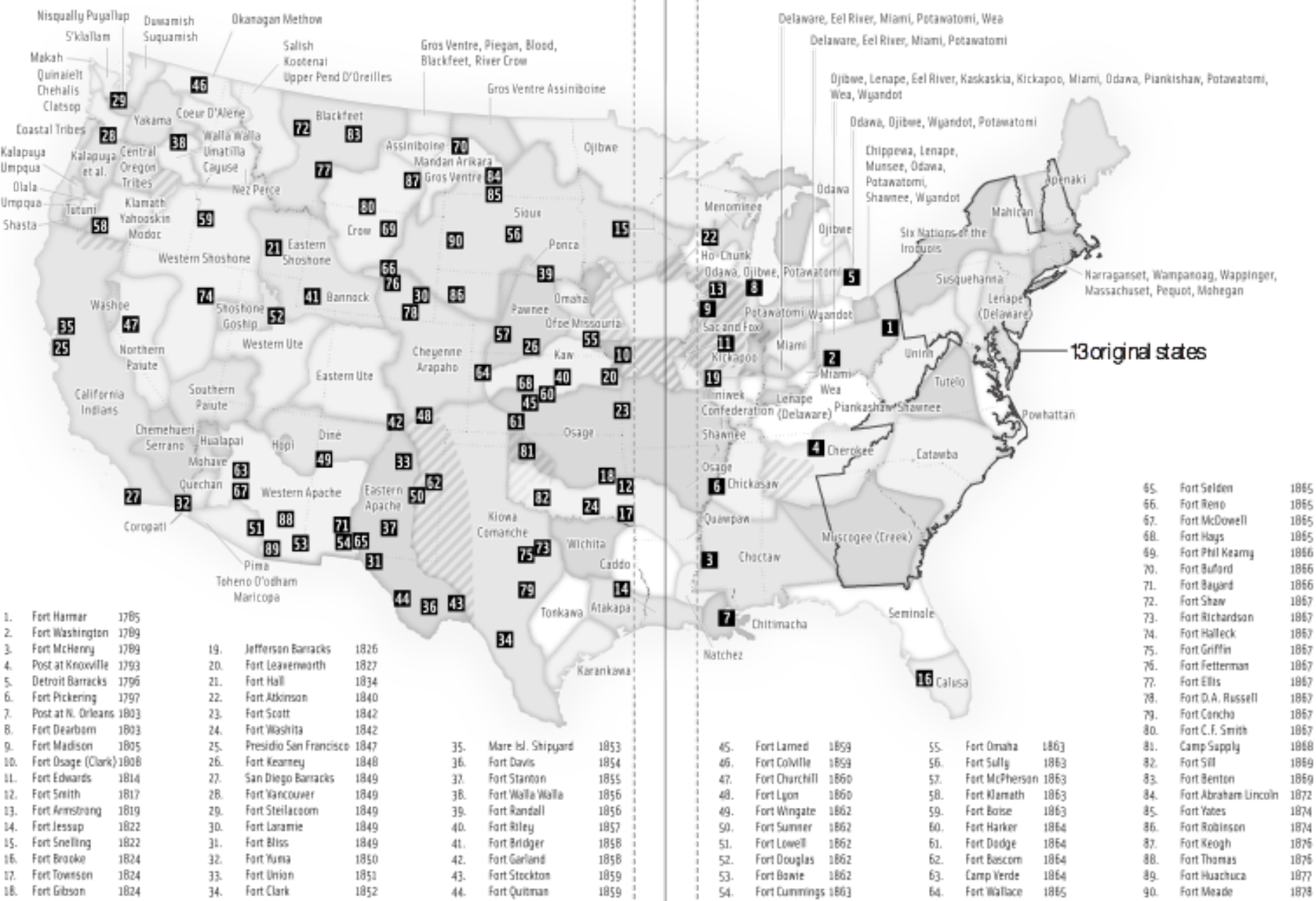
NATIVE LANDS AND EARLY U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD



1. Fort Harmar 1785	19. Jefferson Barracks 1826	65. Fort Selden 1865
2. Fort Washington 1789	20. Fort Leavenworth 1827	66. Fort Reno 1865
3. Fort McHenry 1789	21. Fort Hall 1834	67. Fort McDowell 1865
4. Post at Knoxville 1793	22. Fort Atkinson 1840	68. Fort Hays 1865
5. Detroit Barracks 1796	23. Fort Scott 1842	69. Fort Phil Kearny 1866
6. Fort Pickering 1797	24. Fort Washita 1842	70. Fort Buford 1866
7. Post at N. Orleans 1803	25. Presidio San Francisco 1847	71. Fort Bayard 1866
8. Fort Dearborn 1803	26. Fort Kearney 1848	72. Fort Shaw 1867
9. Fort Madison 1805	27. San Diego Barracks 1849	73. Fort Richardson 1867
10. Fort Osage (Clark) 1808	28. Fort Vancouver 1849	74. Fort Halleck 1867
11. Fort Edwards 1814	29. Fort Steilacoom 1849	75. Fort Griffin 1867
12. Fort Smith 1817	30. Fort Laramie 1849	76. Fort Fetterman 1867
13. Fort Armstrong 1819	31. Fort Bliss 1849	77. Fort Ellis 1867
14. Fort Jessup 1822	32. Fort Yuma 1850	78. Fort D.A. Russell 1867
15. Fort Snelling 1822	33. Fort Union 1851	79. Fort Canby 1867
16. Fort Brooke 1824	34. Fort Clark 1852	80. Fort C.F. Smith 1867
17. Fort Townsend 1824		81. Camp Supply 1868
18. Fort Gibson 1824		82. Fort Sill 1869
	35. Mare Isl. Shipyard 1853	83. Fort Benton 1869
	36. Fort Davis 1854	84. Fort Abraham Lincoln 1872
	37. Fort Stanton 1855	85. Fort Yates 1874
	38. Fort Walla Walla 1856	86. Fort Robinson 1874
	39. Fort Randall 1856	87. Fort Keogh 1876
	40. Fort Riley 1857	88. Fort Thomas 1876
	41. Fort Bridger 1858	89. Fort Huachuca 1877
	42. Fort Garland 1858	90. Fort Meade 1878
	43. Fort Stockton 1859	
	44. Fort Quitman 1859	
		45. Fort Larned 1859
		46. Fort Colville 1859
		47. Fort Churchill 1860
		48. Fort Lyon 1860
		49. Fort Wingate 1862
		50. Fort Sumner 1862
		51. Fort Lowell 1862
		52. Fort Douglas 1862
		53. Fort Bowie 1862
		54. Fort Cummings 1863
		55. Fort Omaha 1863
		56. Fort Sully 1863
		57. Fort McPherson 1863
		58. Fort Klamath 1863
		59. Fort Boise 1863
		60. Fort Harker 1864
		61. Fort Dodge 1864
		62. Fort Bascom 1864
		63. Camp Verde 1864
		64. Fort Wallace 1865

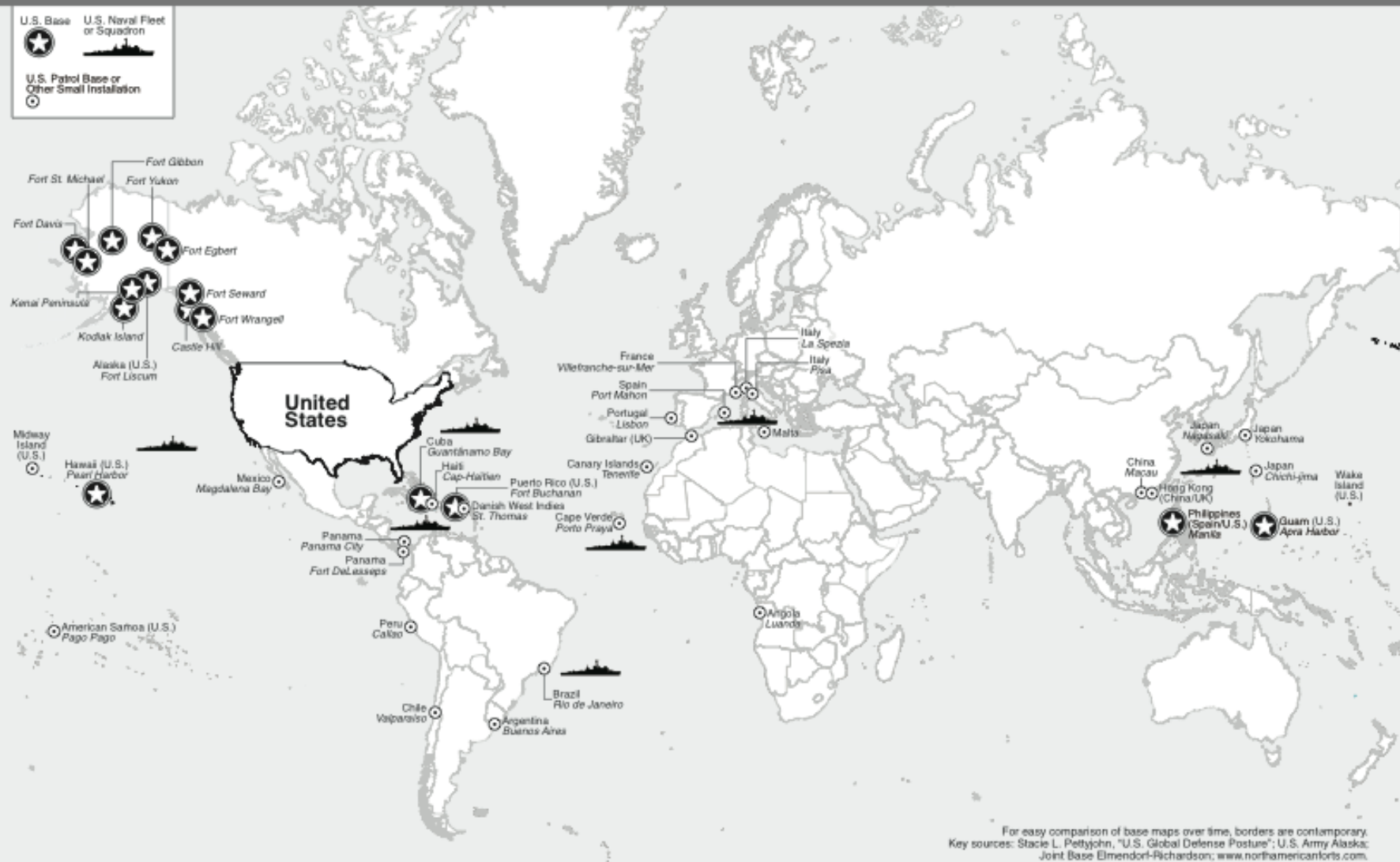
Sources: Sam B. Hilliard / Dan Irwin / Southern Illinois University Cartographic Laboratory; University of Texas Libraries; United States Army Office of the Chief of Military History, *Winning the West: The Army in the Indian Wars, 1865-1890*. Map by John Emerson and Siobhan McGuirk.

NATIVE LANDS AND EARLY U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD



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 McGuirk.

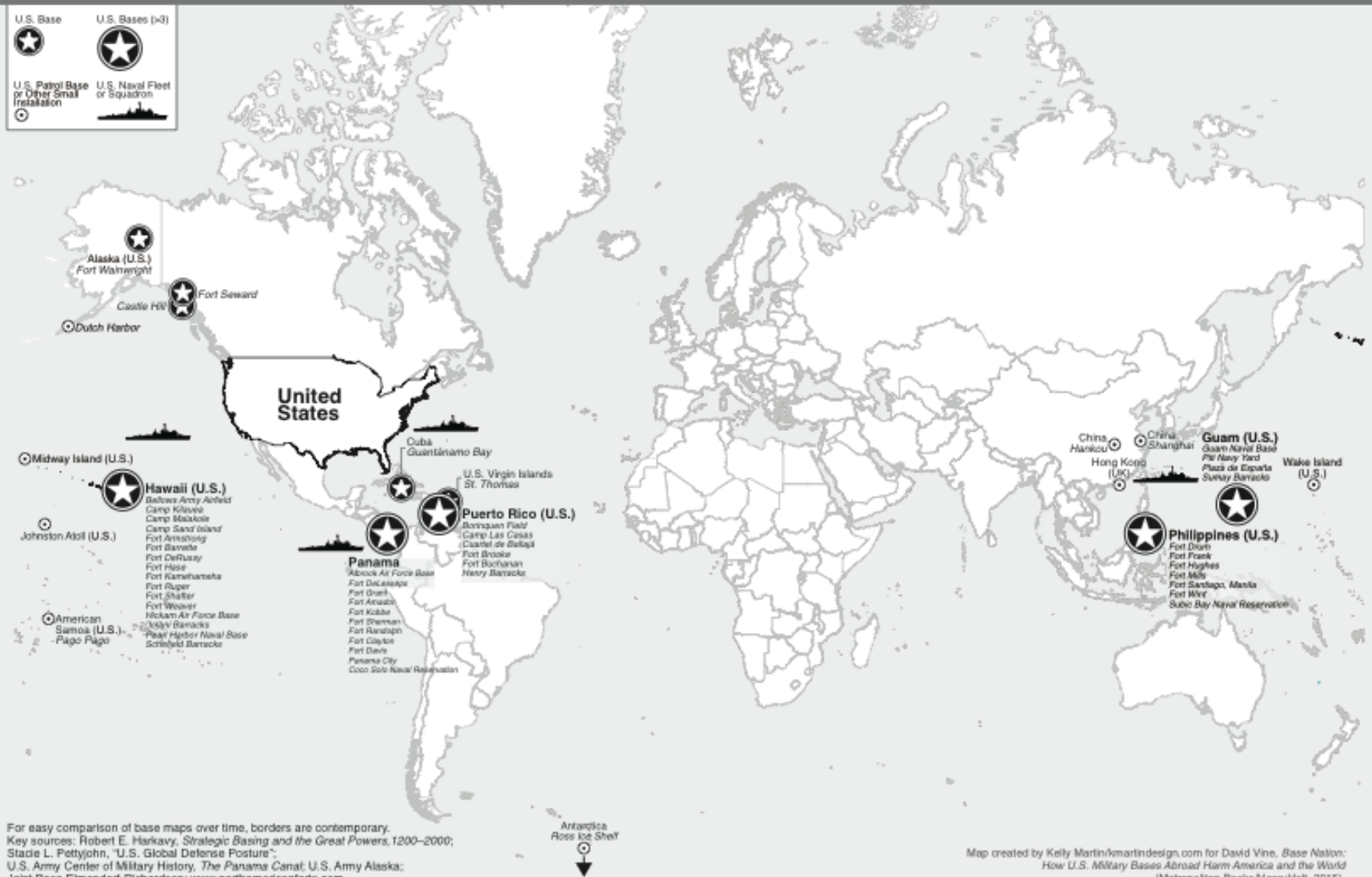
U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 1776–1903



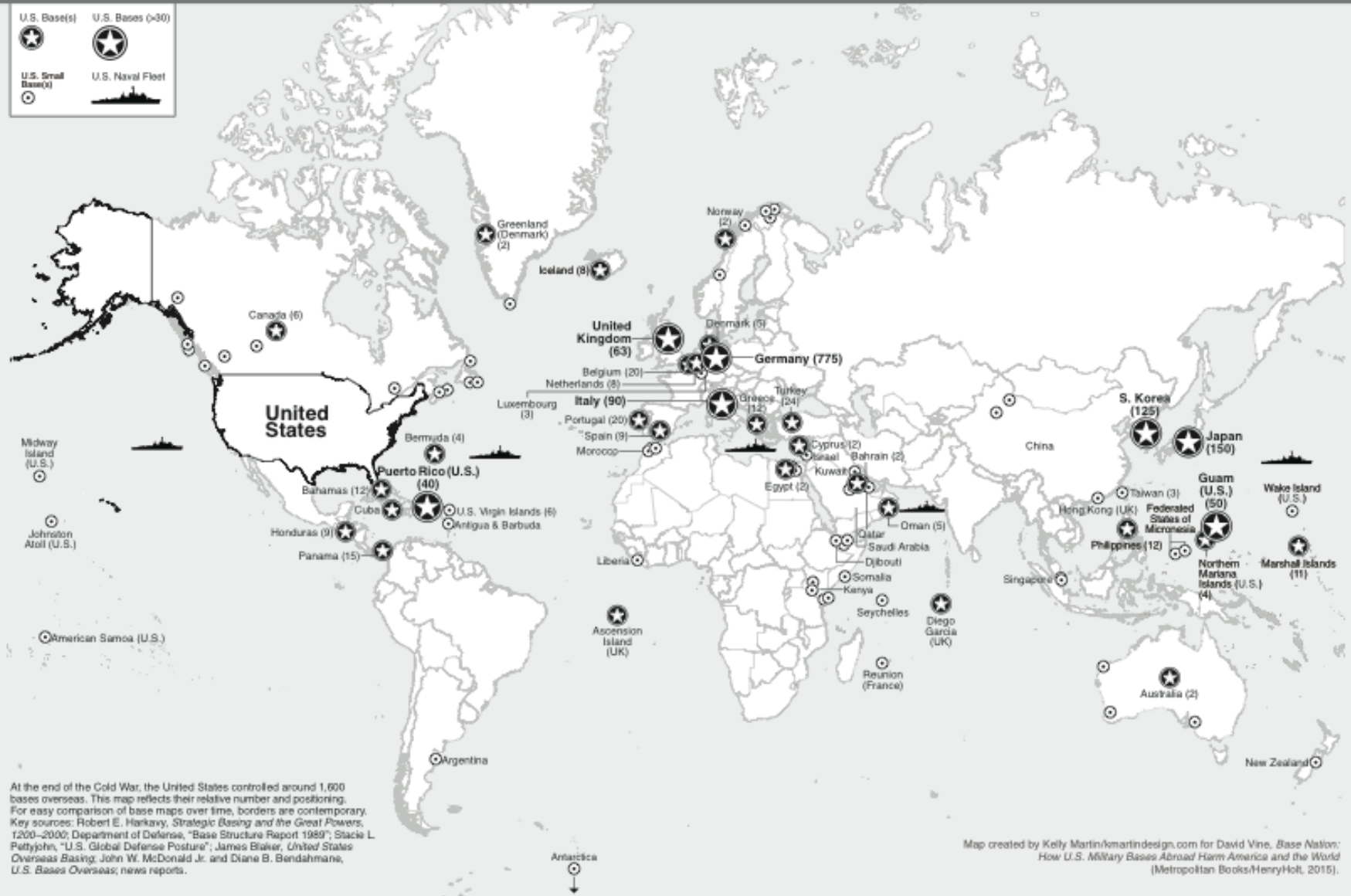
For easy comparison of base maps over time, borders are contemporary.
 Key sources: Stacie L. Pettyjohn, "U.S. Global Defense Posture"; U.S. Army Alaska; Joint Base Elmendorf-Richardson; www.northernforts.com.

Map created by Kelly Martin (@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



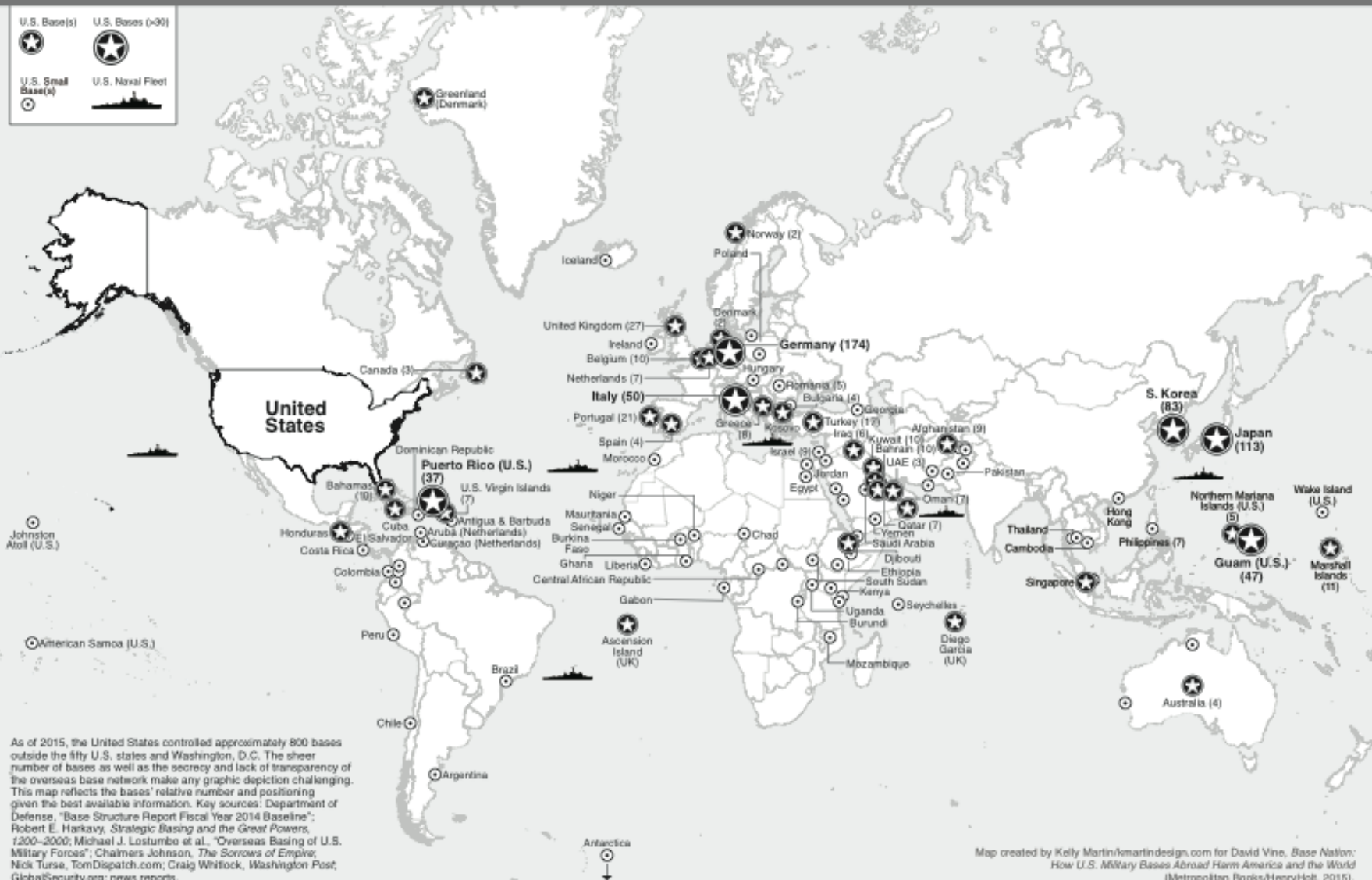
U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 1989



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



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).

1989

~ 1,600 Bases

~ 40 Countries

1989

~ 1,600 Bases

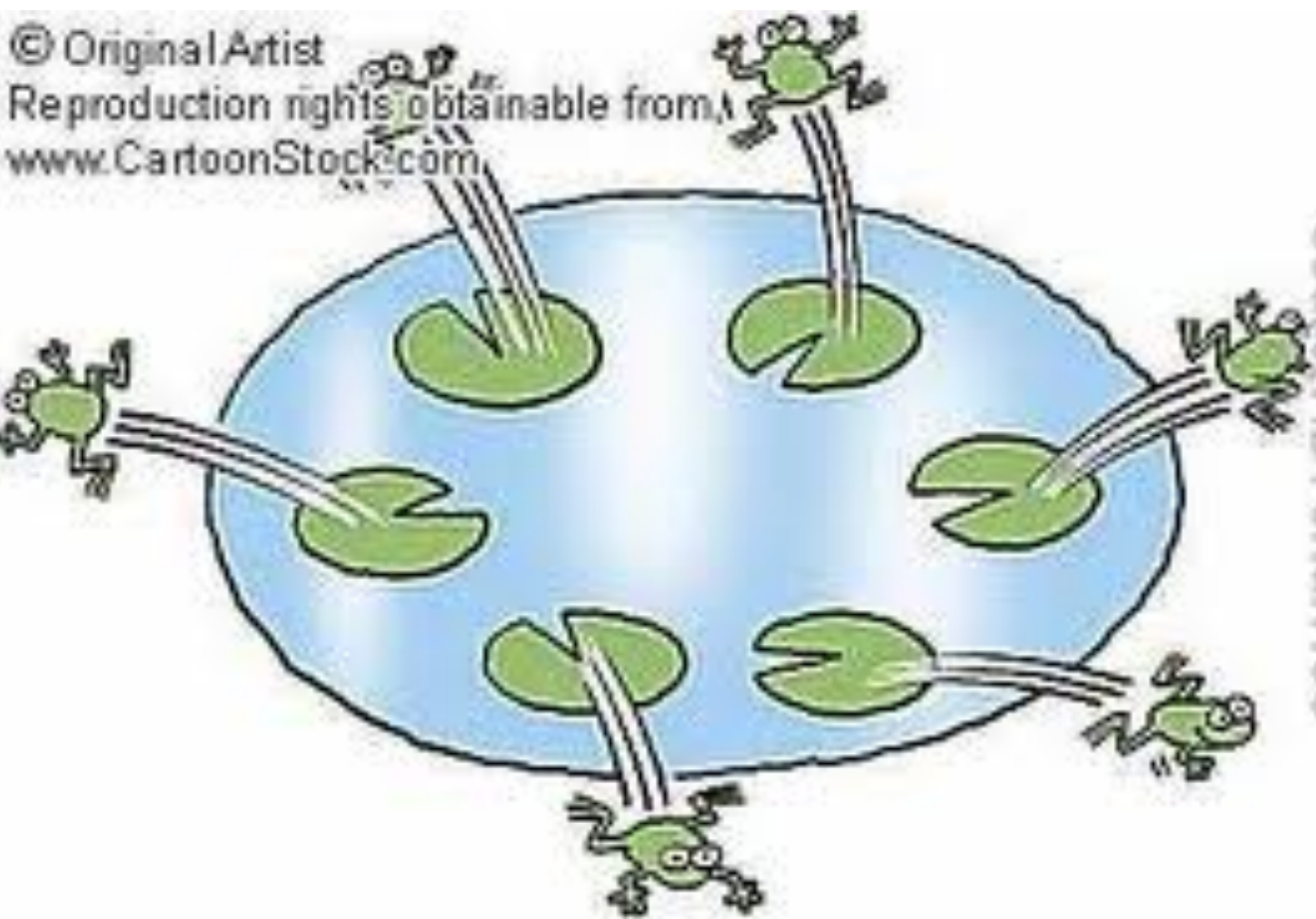
~ 40 Countries

2017

~ 800 Bases

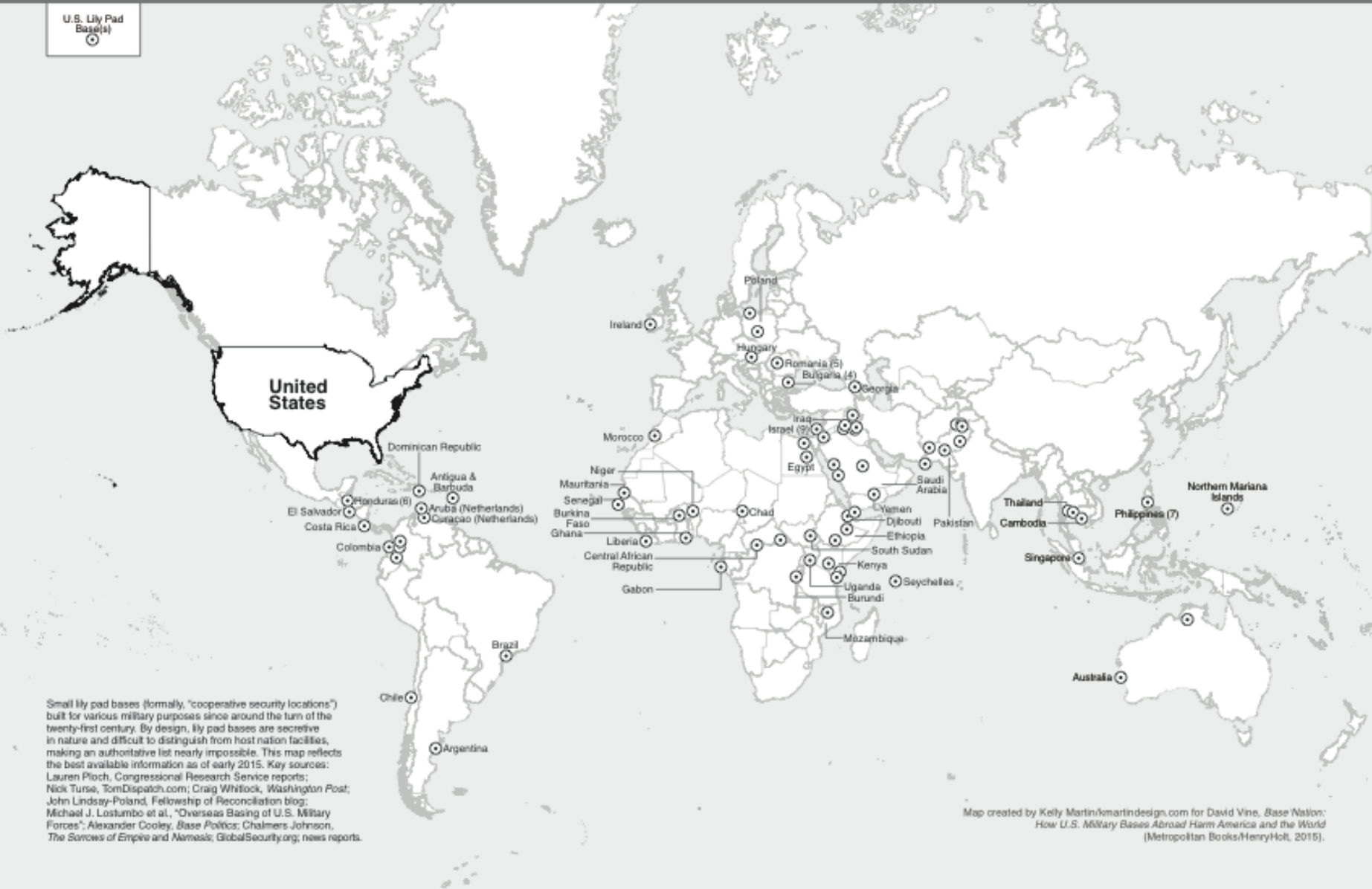
~ 80 Countries

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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

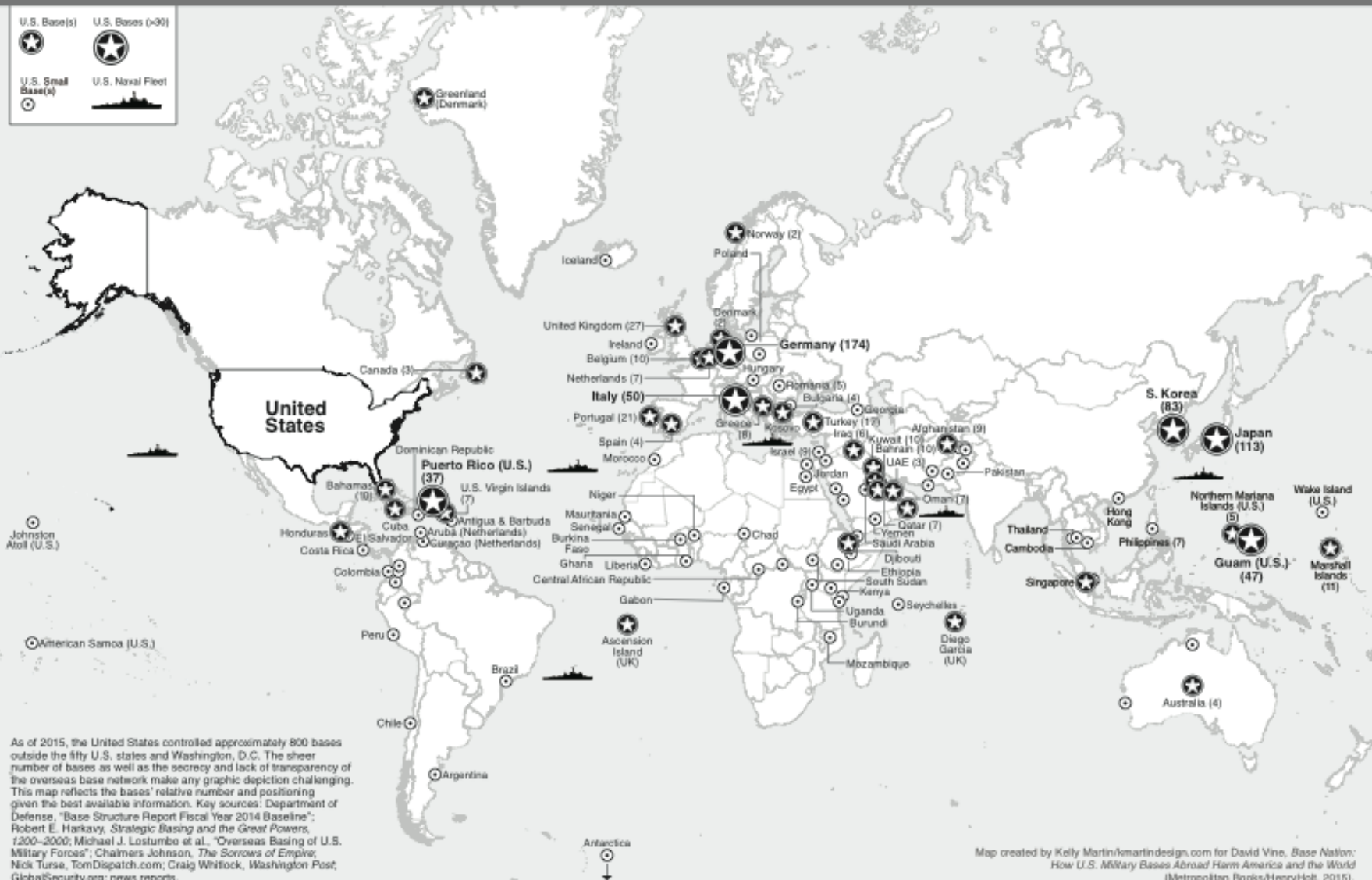


The U.S. military presence in Africa is especially difficult to determine given the secrecy and lack of transparency involved in U.S. Africa Command operations. This map reflects the best available information. Fuel bunkers are indicated only in countries without a confirmed base presence; most countries hosting U.S. military 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* (Hachette, 2013, \$16.99)



U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 2015



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
SUBTOTAL	\$201.8
<i>All Other Contractors:</i>	\$183.4
TOTAL	\$385.2

Note: Numbers may not add up due to rounding.

“We’re
Profiteers”

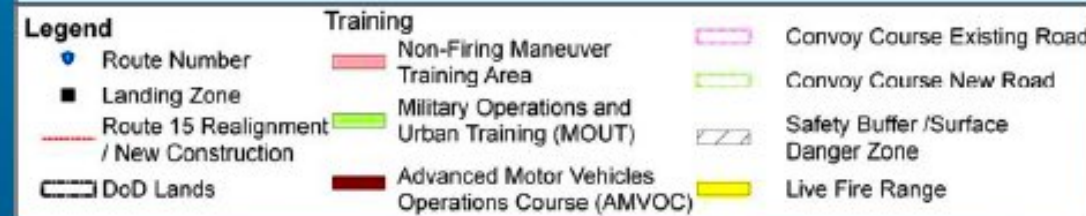
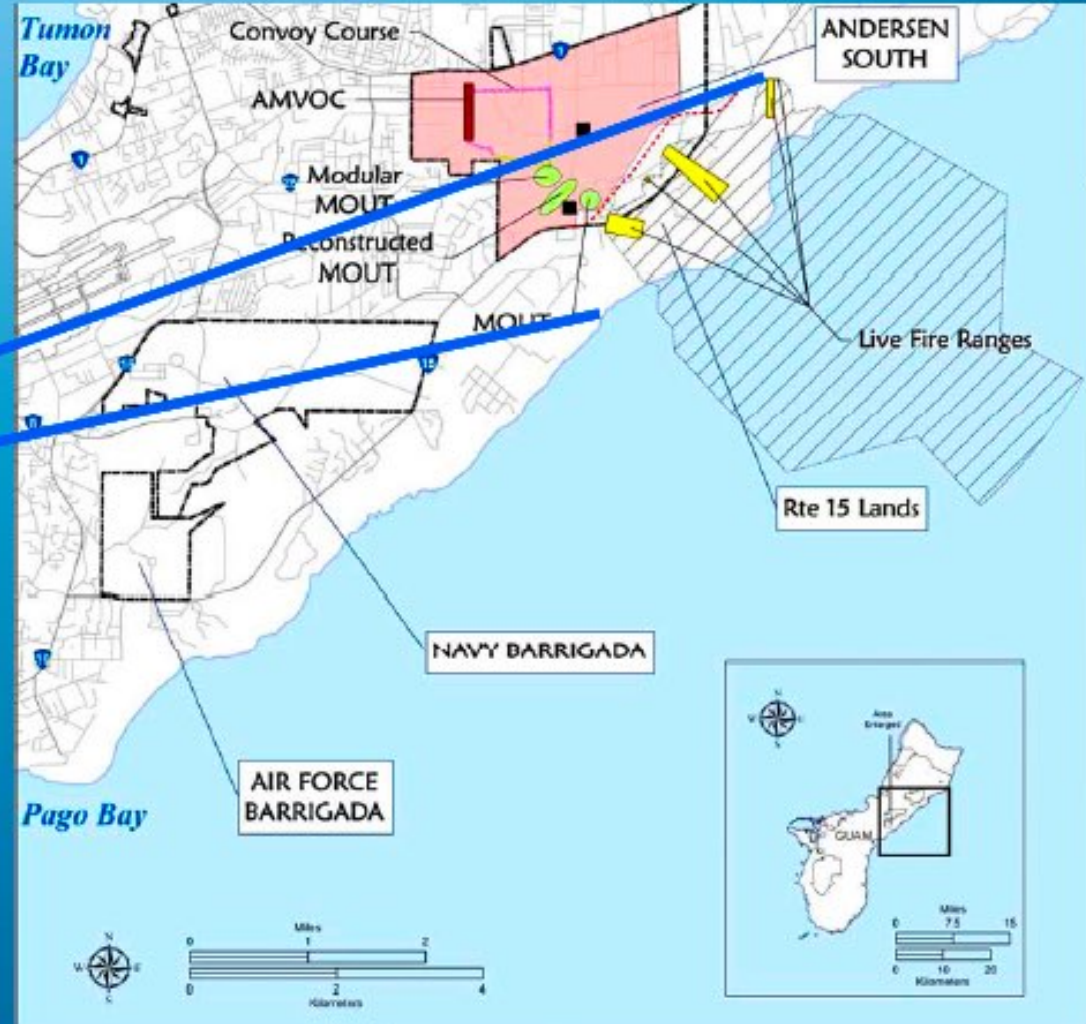






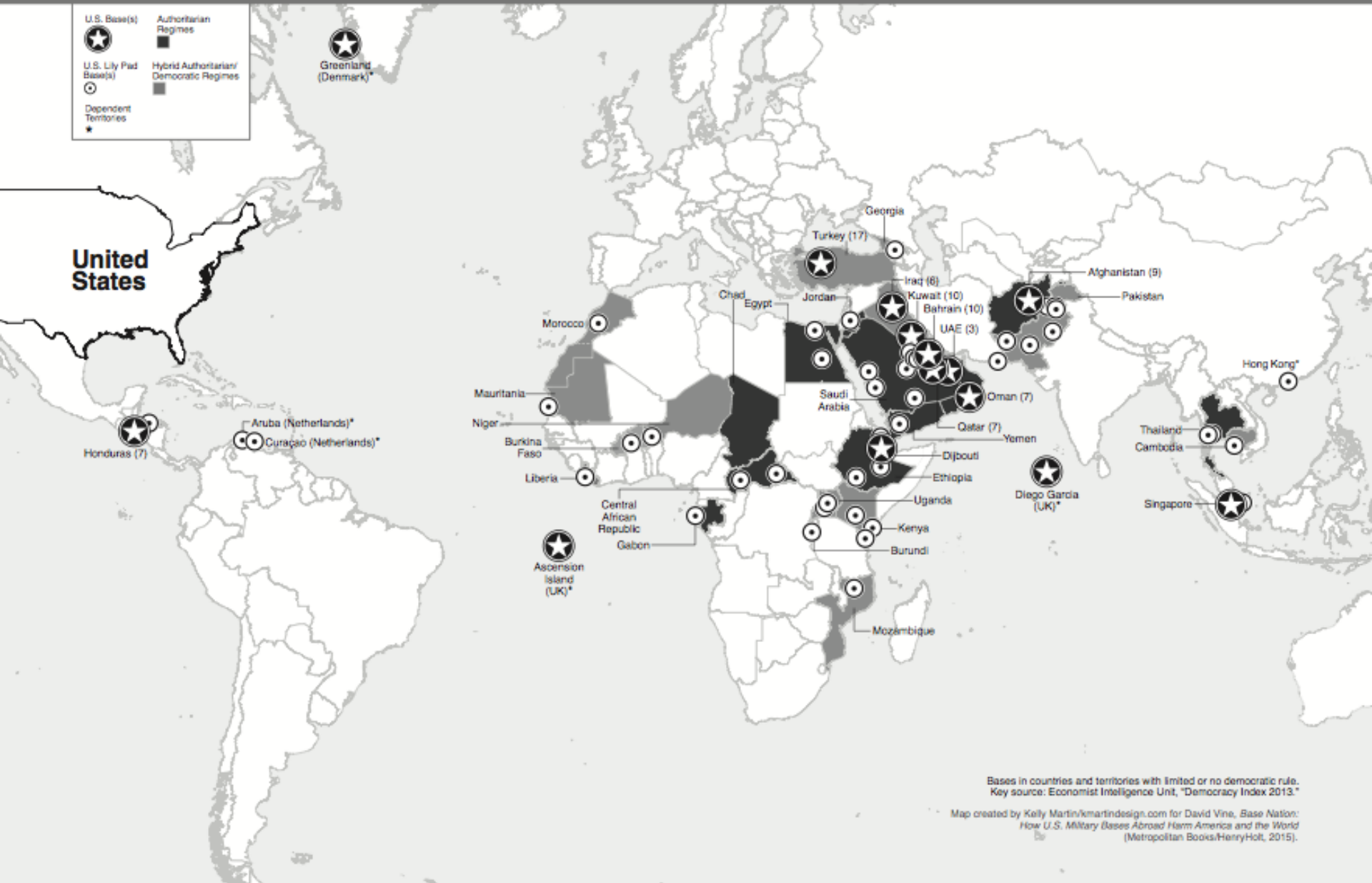


Live-Fire Training: Guam





SPREADING DEMOCRACY?



Bases in countries and territories with limited or no democratic rule.
 Key source: Economist Intelligence Unit, "Democracy Index 2013."

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).

NAPLES, ITALY


U.S. Base 
 U.S. Naval Fleet 
 Campania Region 



Charles "Lucky" Luciano

 Naval Support Activity Gaeta

Castelvolturno
 Casal di Principe
 Former U.S. Navy Housing (Villaggio Coppola)
 NATO Allied Joint Forces Command Naples (Lago Patria)
 Lago Patria Receiver Site
 Carney Park Navy Recreation Area (Pozzuoli)
 Former Naval Support Activity Naples (Agrano)
 Former NATO Allied Joint Forces Command Naples (Bagnoli)
 Naples International Airport
 Mt. Vesuvius
 Tyrrhenian Sea

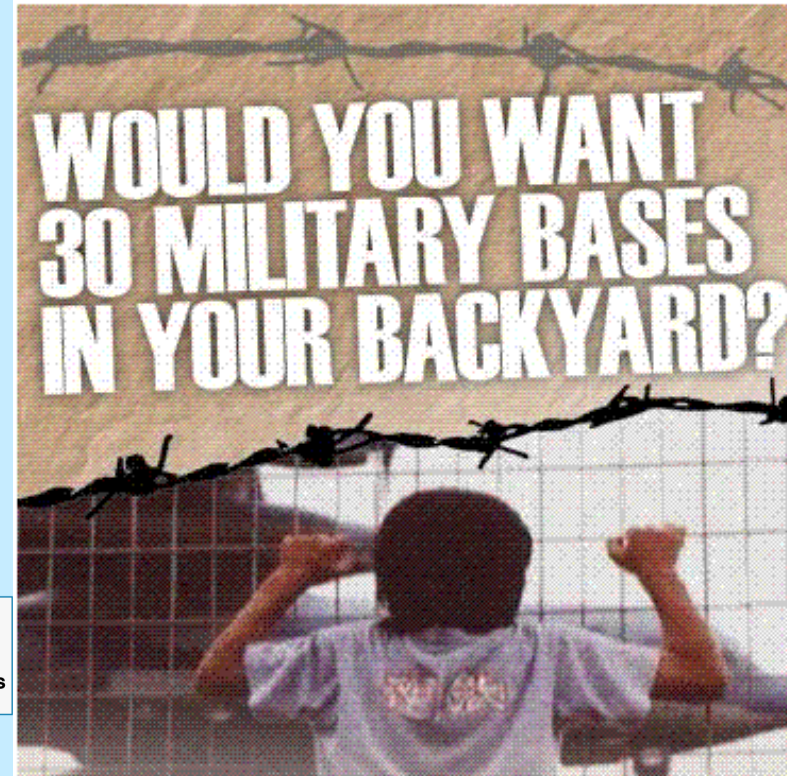
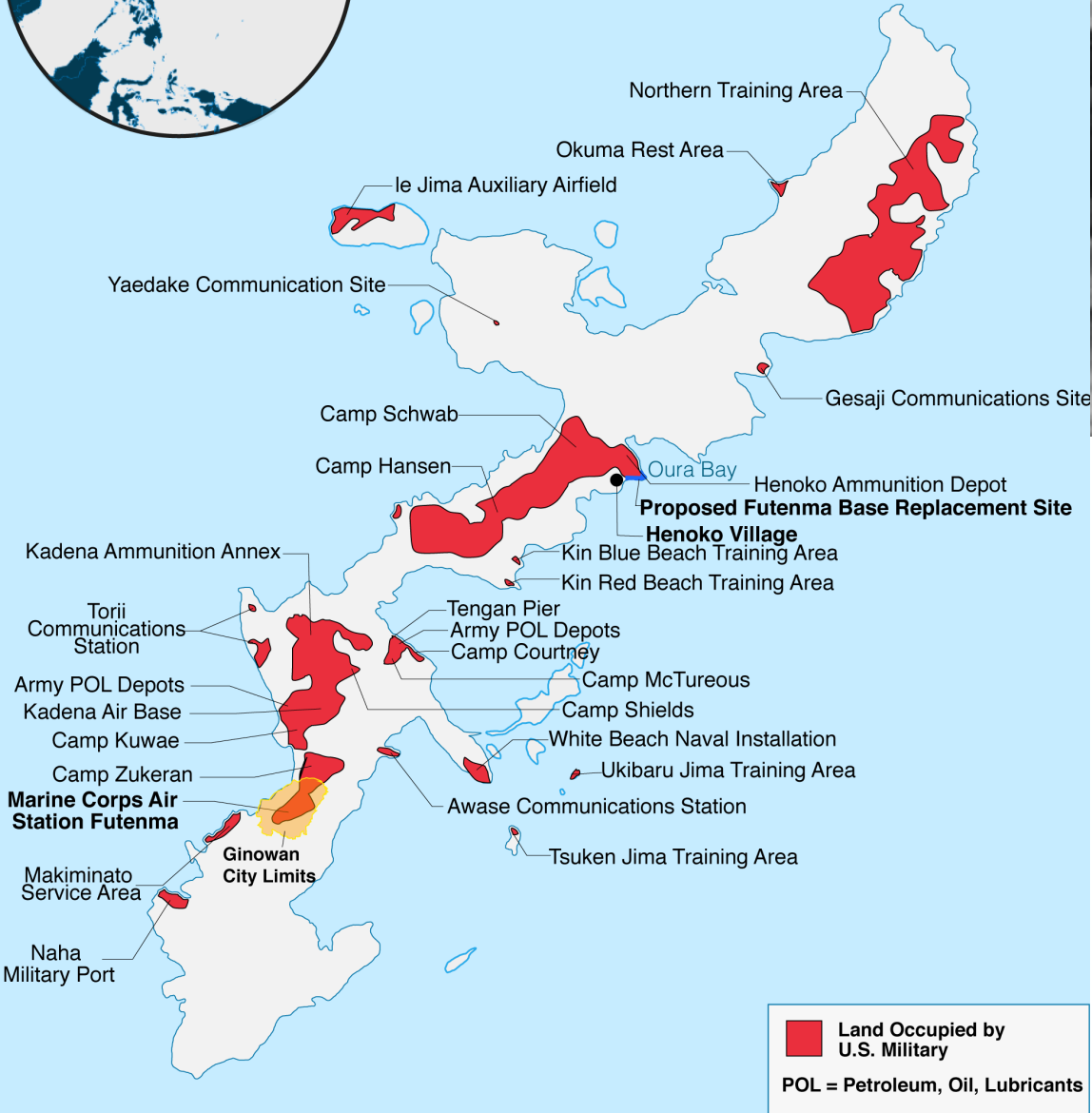
 Navy Support Site Gricignano di Aversa
 Naval Support Activity Naples (Capodichino)

Major U.S. military bases in and around Naples. Inset shows major U.S. base locations in Italy. Key source: U.S. Naval Support Activity Naples.

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).



OKINAWA, JAPAN



ANTIBASE PROTEST AND OPPOSITION, 1945–2015

U.S. Base(s) Closed or Blocked by Locals
 Major Contemporary Antibase Protest(s)
 Year U.S. Base(s) Closed or Blocked (19XX)

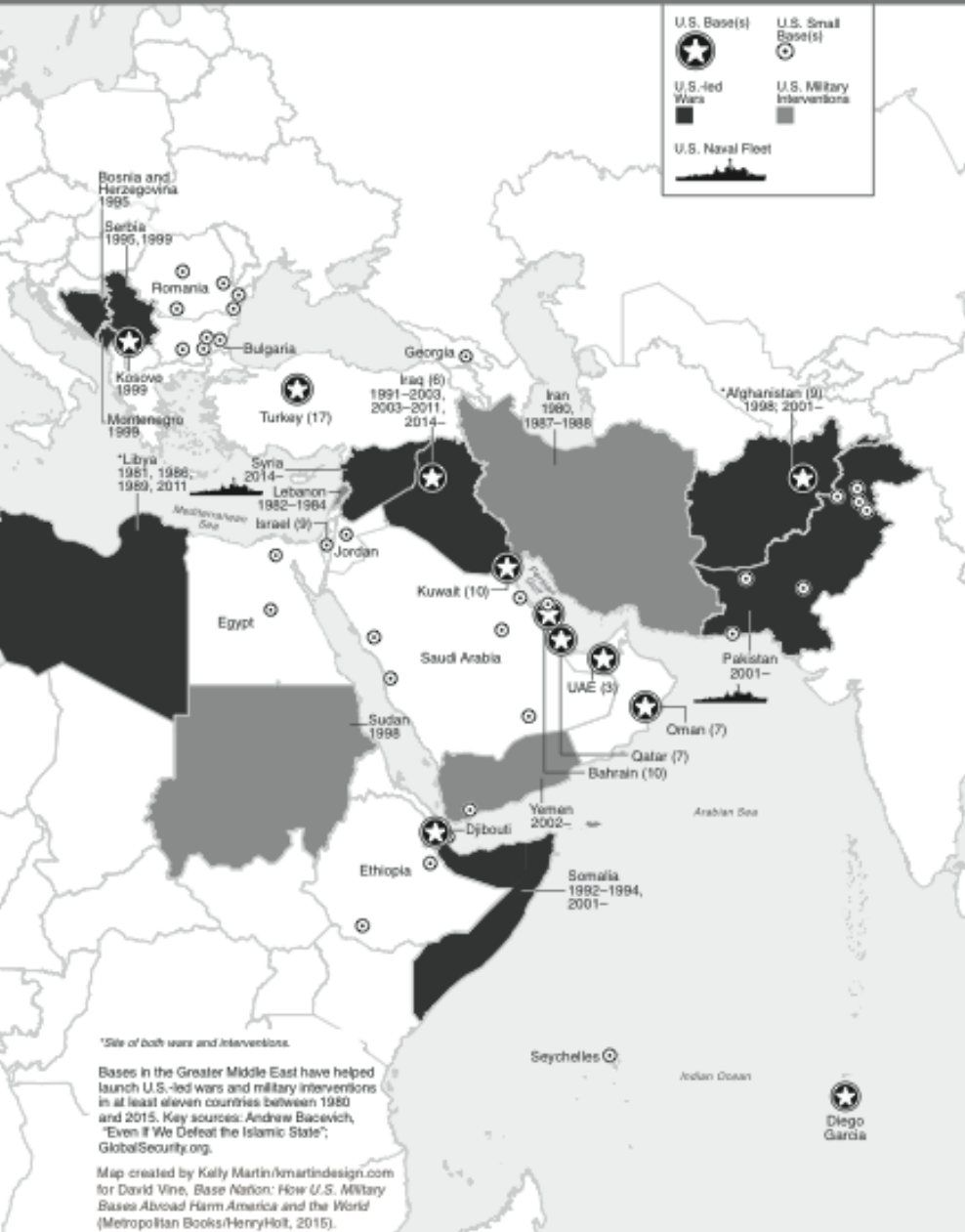


Local social movements and national governments have forced the closure or blocked the creation of U.S. bases worldwide. There are surely additional cases. The antibase protests here represent particularly large and prominent contemporary examples. Complaints, protest, and opposition appear at virtually 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).

ENABLING WARS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, 1980–2015



Questions?

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.

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

★ **\$150 Billion (Vine 2015)**

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

PENTAGON TOTAL AND OMITTED SPENDING	TOTAL
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
TOTAL	\$71,773,145,862
Additional Costs in War Budget (Operations and Maintenance, Military Construction, Personnel)	\$96,996,568,660
TOTAL (Including War Budget Costs)	\$168,769,714,522

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

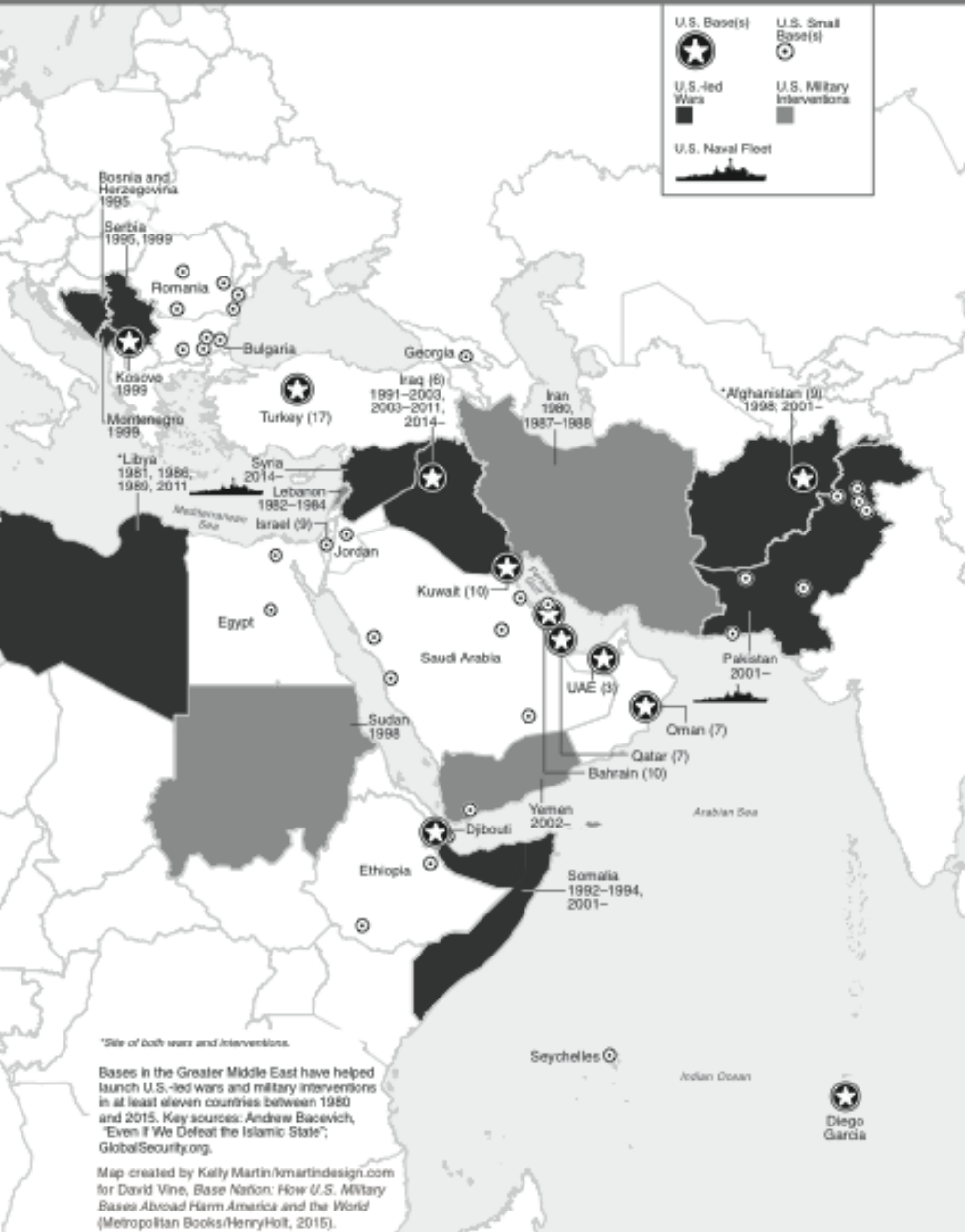
TOP 25 RECIPIENTS OF PENTAGON CONTRACTS ABROAD

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1. Miscellaneous Foreign Contractors	\$47.1
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3. Supreme Group	9.3
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<i>All Other Contractors:</i>	\$183.4
TOTAL	\$385.2

Note: Numbers may not add up due to rounding.

“We’re
Profiteers”

ENABLING WARS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, 1980–2015



The Costs of War: Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan

- 370,000 direct war deaths, combatants + civilians

The Costs of War: Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan

- 370,000 direct war deaths, combatants + civilians
- 1.2 million+ total dead (w/ indirect deaths)

The Costs of War: Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan

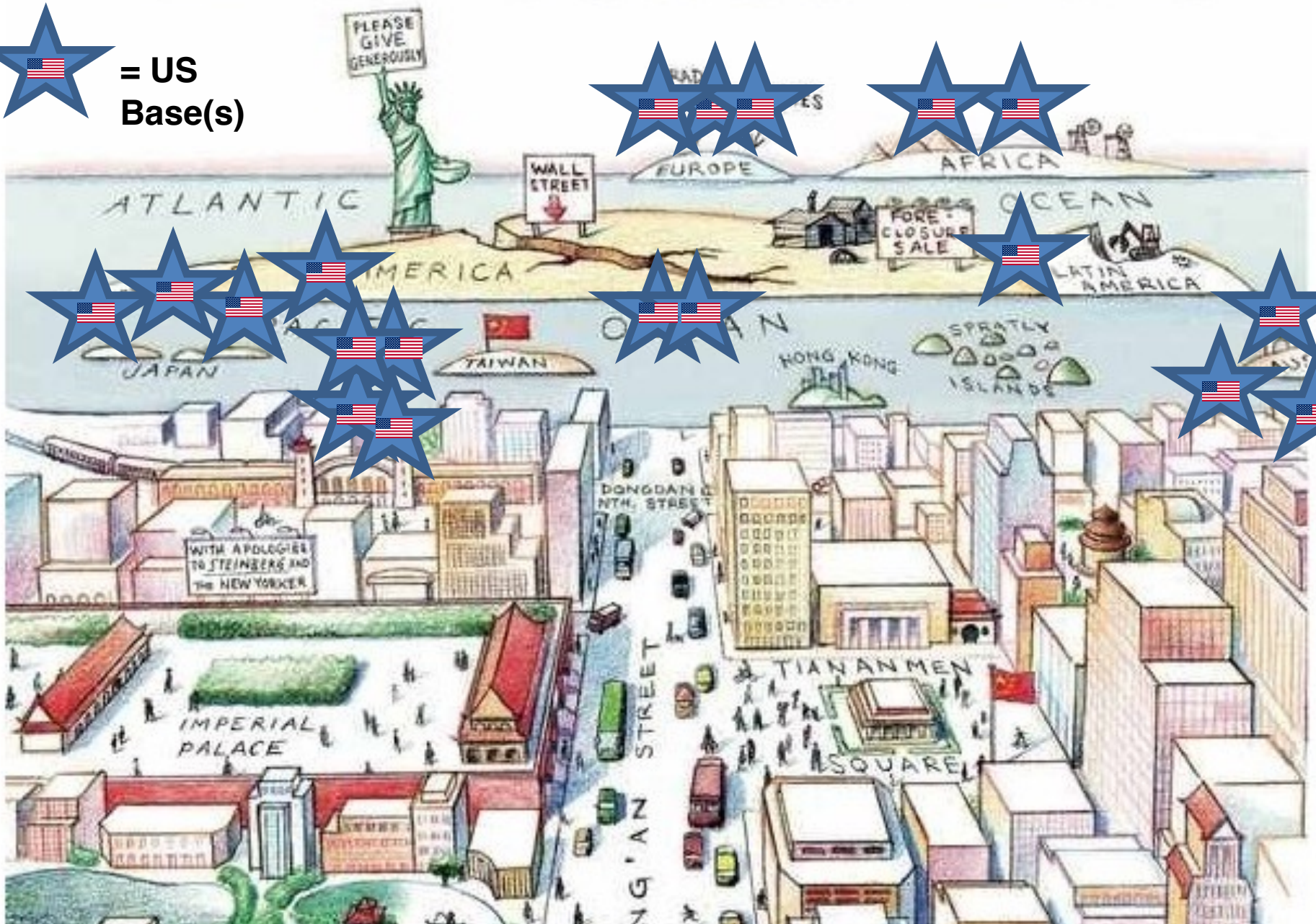
- 370,000 direct war deaths, combatants + civilians
- 1.2 million+ total dead (w/ indirect deaths)
- 10.1 million displaced

The Costs of War: Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan

- 370,000 direct war deaths, combatants + civilians
- 1.2 million+ total dead (w/ indirect deaths)
- 10.1 million displaced
- \$5.6 trillion: current + future U.S. costs

How China sees the world

 = US Base(s)







Welcome the Public
**ESTABLISHING A
 VIBRANT COMMUNITY**



The Walsh Family at home in the Infantry Terrace Neighborhood

FROM THE PRESIDIO TRUST MANAGEMENT PLAN
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

- 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)



Support the Chagos islanders!

www.chagossupport.org.uk

www.ChagosRefugeesGroup.org

www.LetUsReturnUSA.org

www.ChagosSupport.org.uk

www.basenation.us

www.davidvine.net

COALITION AGAINST U.S. FOREIGN MILITARY BASES

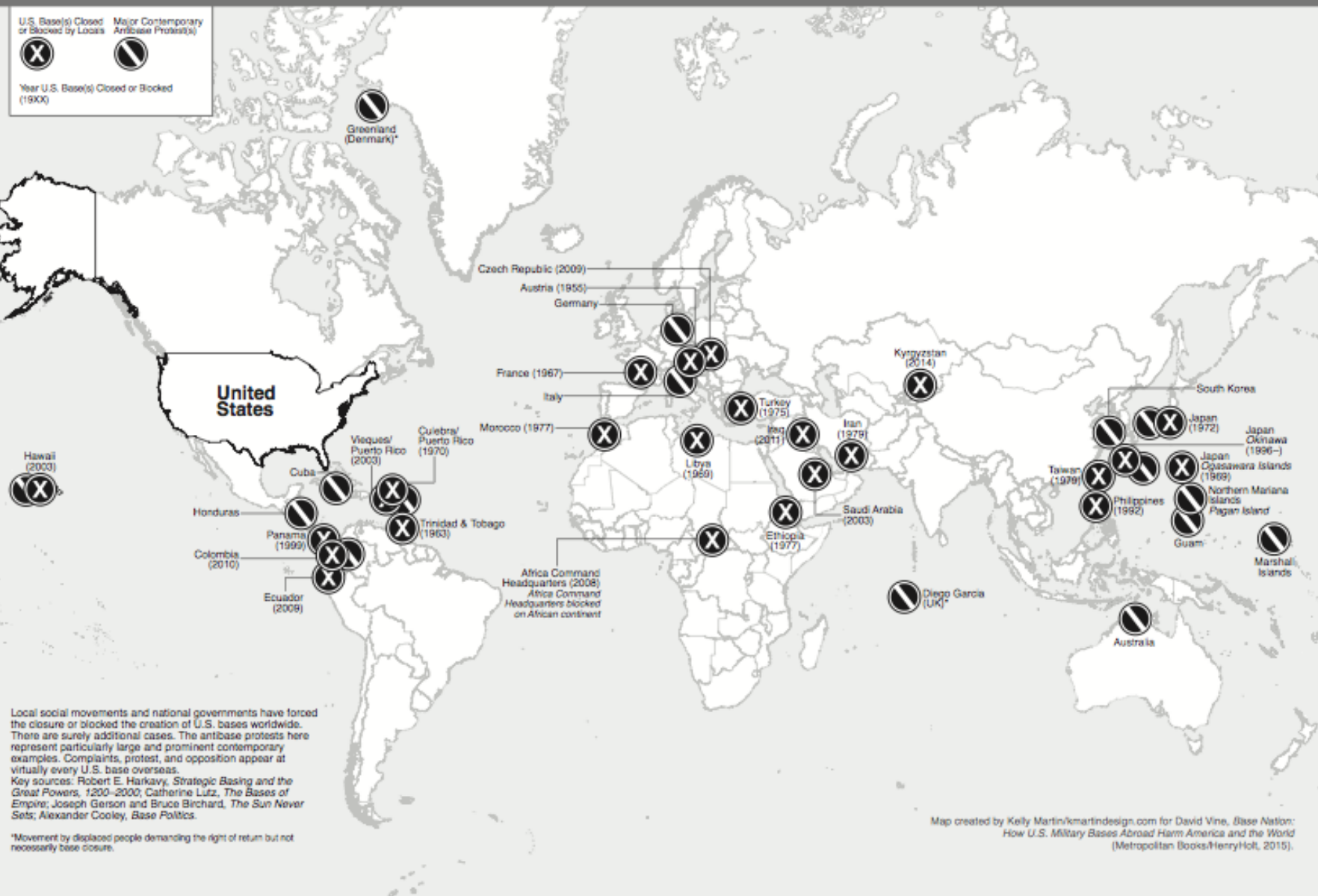
All U.S. Foreign Military Bases Must Be Closed!

CALL FOR GLOBAL ACTION AGAINST MILITARY BASES 7 October 2017



It's time to resist! TOGETHER!

ANTIBASE PROTEST AND OPPOSITION, 1945–2015



Get Involved: Move the Money

➔ **National Priorities Project:**

www.nationalpriorities.org/analysis/2014/move-the-money/

➔ **American Friends Service Committee:**

www.afsc.org/resource/move-money-action-toolkit

➔ **Peace Action:** www.peace-action.org/

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

www.basenation.us

Learn More about Military Bases

Base Nation includes extensive citations to books, articles, films, and other materials about all the topics in the book. Below are some additional resources to learn more about U.S. military bases overseas and their impacts--including resources for veterans and their family members, locals, and others directly affected. Keep in mind that this is just a small sample focused mostly on English-language materials; there are many other important resources available worldwide. If you would like to suggest a resource to add (in any language) or if a link is broken, please email: [vine \[at\] american \[dot\] edu](mailto:vine[at]american[dot]edu)

You can find additional information as well as more articles about bases at davidvine.net

General Resources

Base Websites (e.g. www.ramstein.af.mil): generally accessible online

Base Public Affairs Offices: contact information generally accessible online

Department of Defense "Base Structure Reports": www.acq.osd.mil/ie

GlobalSecurity.org

MilitaryBases.com

Militarism Watch: forusa.org/groups/services/militarism-watch

Military Installations [Department of Defense]: www.militaryinstallations.dod.mil

"Mission Creep," Mother Jones magazine series on foreign military bases

What are we getting out of this?"

- Presidential Candidate Donald Trump, 2016



ME10-0439



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 3, 2010

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

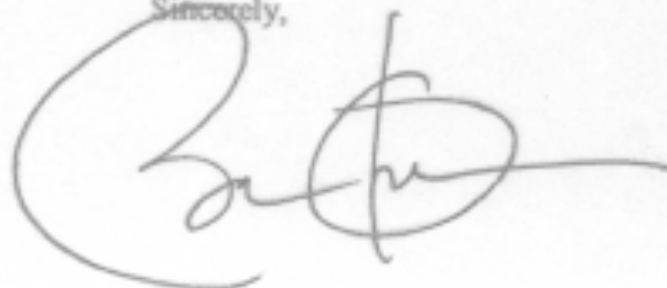
Dear Peggy:

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,".

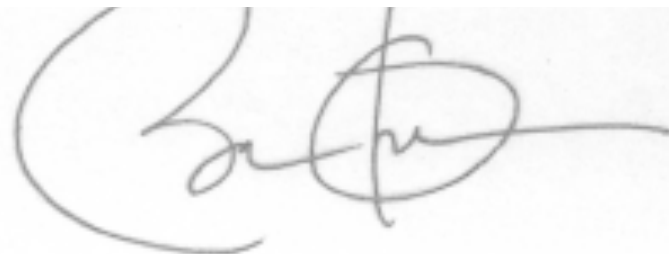
THE WHITE HOUSE

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 'Barack', written on a light-colored background.



“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)

Seoul Metropolitan Subway Route Map

Last Edit: 07/12/26, based on the data of 07/12/26





BASE

NATION

HOW U.S.

MILITARY BASES

ABROAD HARM

AMERICA AND

THE WORLD

DAVID VINE
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
VINE@AMERICAN.EDU
WWW.DAVIDVINE.NET

RESOURCES & MORE
ON BASES:
WWW.BASENATION.US

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

MILITARY BRATS

BY STEVE DICKENSON



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Dist. By Air Force Times

6/9

E-Mail: AirBrats@AOL.com