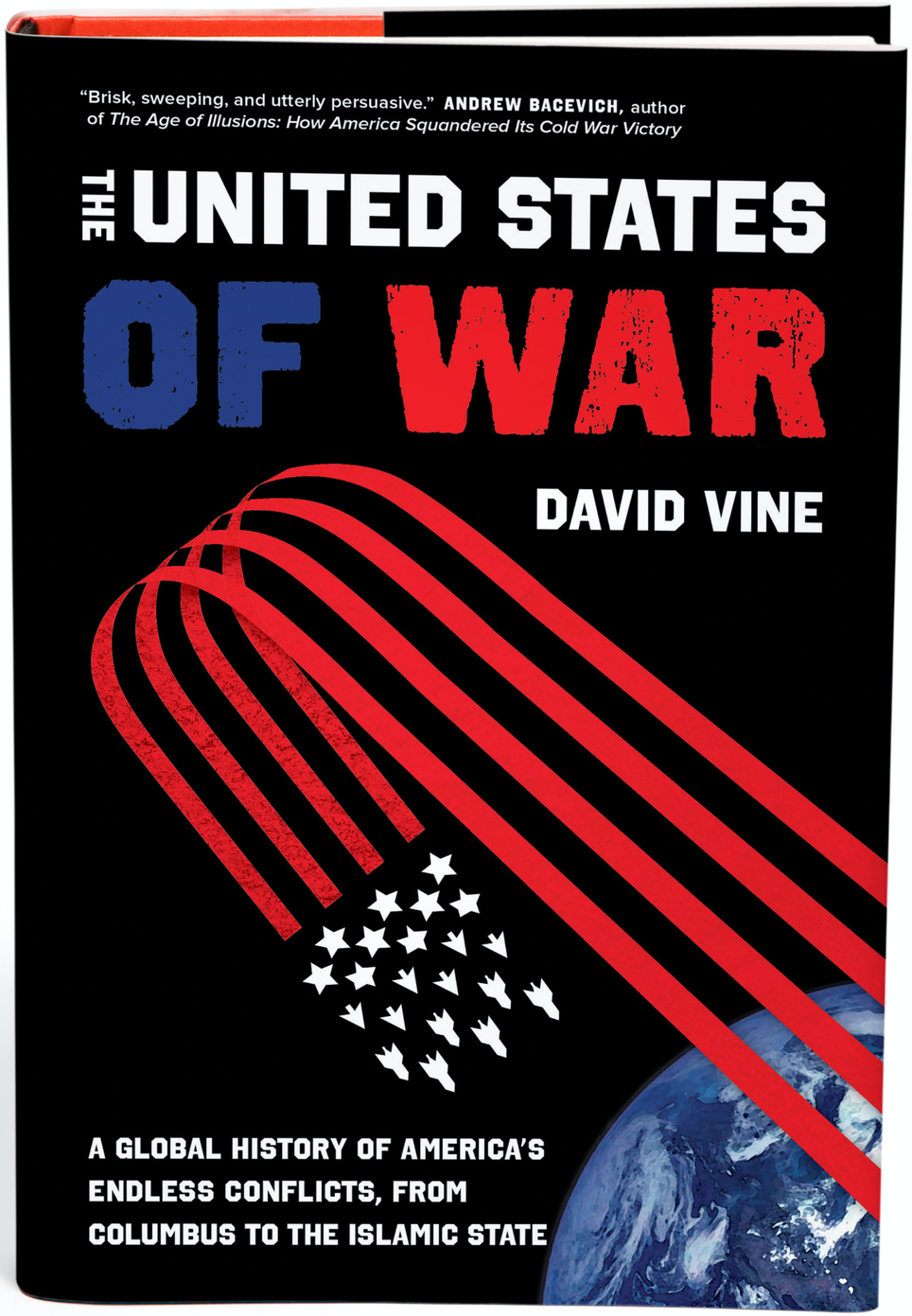
"Brisk, sweeping, and utterly persuasive." ANDREW BACEVICH, author of The Age of Illusions: How America Squandered Its Cold War Victory
THE UNITED STATES OF WAR
DAVID VINE
A GLOBAL HISTORY OF AMERICA'S ENDLESS CONFLICTS, FROM COLUMBUS TO THE ISLAMIC STATE

MADDEN
U.S.

19 years of war

24 countries

~15,000 deaths

770,000-801,000 combat deaths

770,000-801,000 combat deaths

3.1-4 million total deaths

770,000-801,000 combat deaths

3.1-4 million total deaths

37 million displaced

770,000-801,000 combat deaths

3.1-4 million total deaths

37 million displaced

$6.4 trillion spent

“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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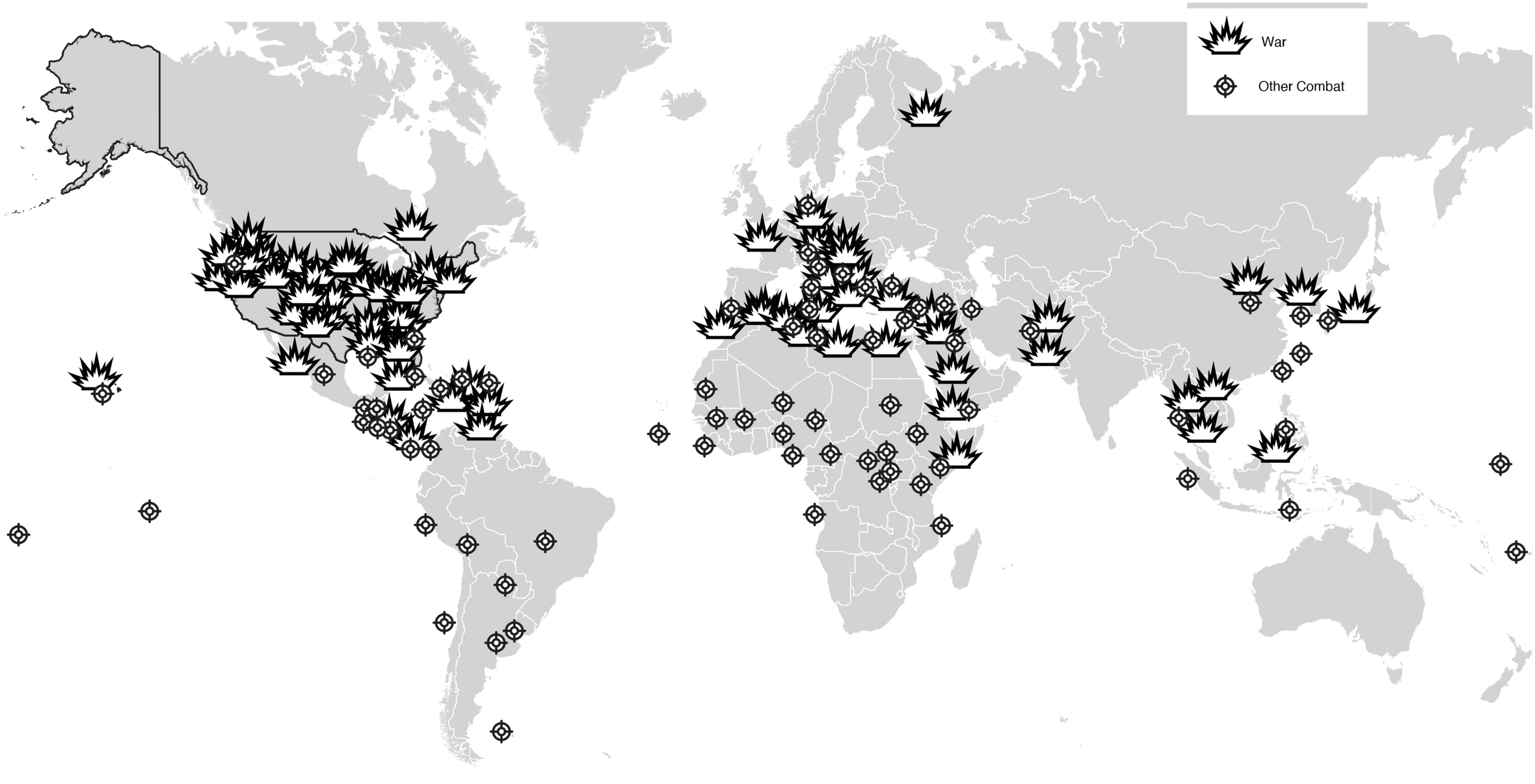
COWBO
1

STAR WARS

DESTROY
THE EMPIRE
IMPERIAL
SCUM
MURDERER
JOIN THE
REBEL
ALLIANCE

United States Wars and Combat, 1776–2020

U.S. wars, combat short of war, and other actions involving combat forces beyond U.S. borders. Because of space limitations, map does not reflect all conflicts with Native American peoples. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.

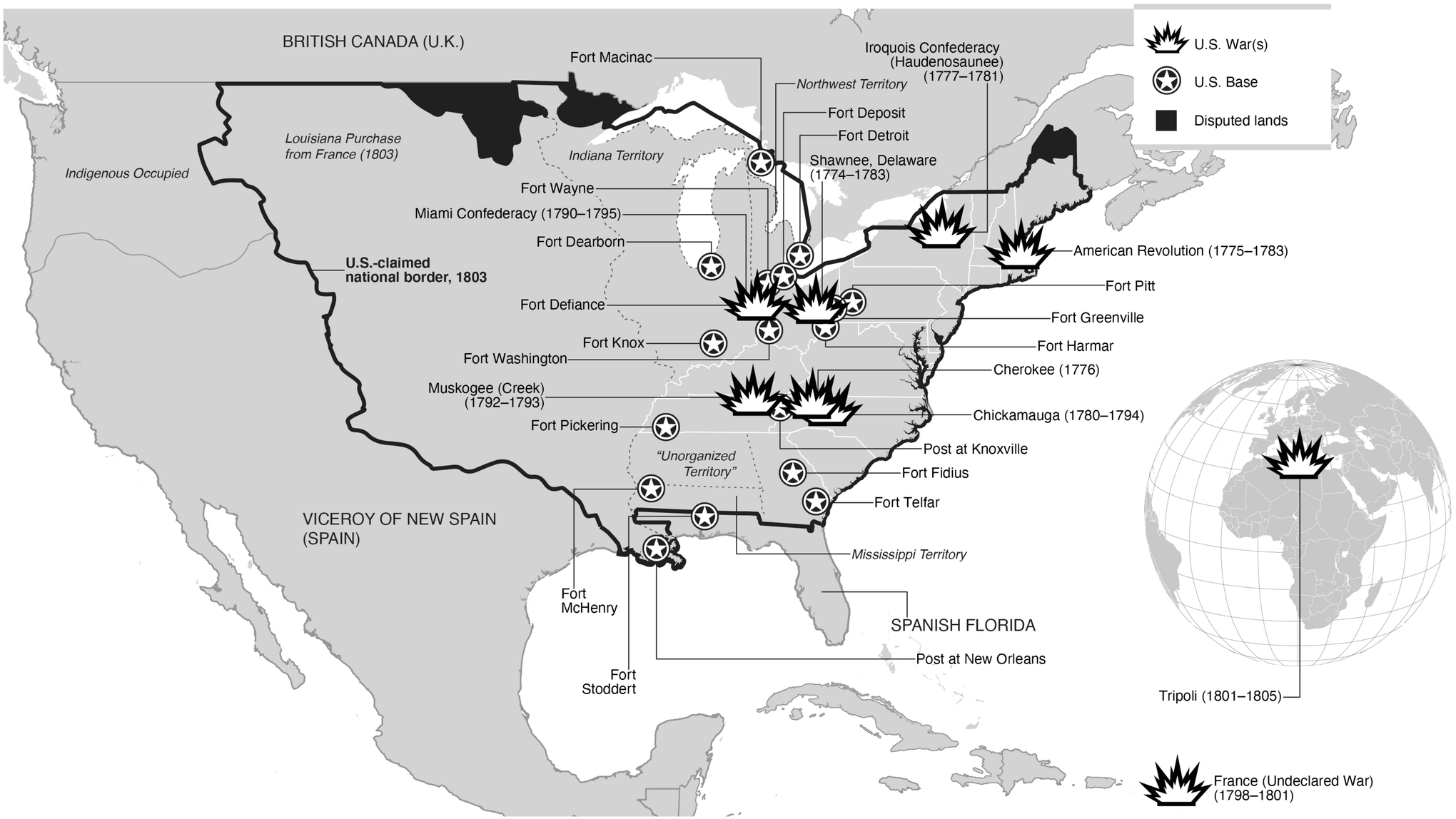


Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020).

1774–1783 Shawnee, Delaware ○ 1776 Cherokee ○ 1777–1781 Iroquois Confederacy (Haudenosaunee) ○ 1780–1794 Chickamauga ○ 1790–1795 Miami Confederacy ○ 1792–1793 Muskogee (Creek) ○ 1798–1801 France (undeclared war) ○ 1801–1805 Tripoli ○ 1806 Mexico ○ 1806–1810 Spanish, French privateers ○ 1810 Spanish West Florida ○ 1810–1813 Shawnee Confederacy ○ 1812 Spanish Florida ○ 1812–1815 Canada (War of 1812 with Great Britain) ○ 1812–1815 Dakota Sioux ○ 1812–1815 Iroquois Confederacy (Haudenosaunee) ○ 1813 Spanish West Florida ○ 1813–1814 Marquesas Islands ○ 1813–1814 Muskogee (Creek) Confederacy ○ 1814 Spanish Florida ○ 1814–1825 Pirates ○ 1815 Algiers ○ 1815 Tripoli ○ 1816 Spanish Florida ○ 1817 Spanish Florida ○ 1817–1819 Seminole ○ 1818 Oregon (Russia, Spain) ○ 1820–1861 African slave trade patrol ○ 1822–1825 Cuba (Spain) ○ 1824 Puerto Rico (Spain) ○ 1827 Greece ○ 1831–1832 Falkland Islands ○ 1832 Sauk ○ 1832 Sumatra ○ 1833 Argentina ○ 1835–1836 Peru ○ 1835–1842 Seminole ○ 1836 Mexico ○ 1836–1837 Muskogee (Creek) ○ 1838–1839 Sumatra ○ 1840 Fiji Islands ○ 1841 Samoa ○ 1841 Tabiteuea ○ 1842 Mexico ○ 1843 China ○ 1844 Mexico ○ 1846–1848 Mexico ○ 1847–1850 Cayuse ○ 1849 Turkey ○ 1850–1886 Apache ○ 1851 Johanna Island ○ 1851 Turkey ○ 1852–1853 Argentina ○ 1853–1854 Japan ○ 1853–1854 Nicaragua ○ 1853–1854 Ryukyu, Bonin Islands ○ 1854–1856 China ○ 1855 Fiji Islands ○ 1855 Uruguay ○ 1855–1856 Rogue River Indigenous Peoples ○ 1855–1856 Yakima, Walla Walla, Cayuse ○ 1855–1858 Seminole ○ 1856 Panama (Colombia) ○ 1856–1857 Cheyenne ○ 1857 Nicaragua ○ 1858 Coeur d'Alene Alliance ○ 1858 Fiji Islands ○ 1858 Uruguay ○ 1858–1859 Turkey ○ 1859 China ○ 1859 Mexico ○ 1859 Paraguay ○ 1860 Angola ○ 1860 Colombia ○ 1862 Sioux ○ 1863–1864 Japan ○ 1864 Cheyenne ○ 1865 Panama (Colombia) ○ 1866 China ○ 1866 Mexico ○ 1866–1868 Lakota Sioux, Northern Cheyenne, Northern Arapaho ○ 1867 Formosa (Taiwan) ○ 1867 Nicaragua ○ 1867–1875 Comanche ○ 1868 Colombia ○ 1868 Japan ○ 1868 Uruguay ○ 1870 Hawaii ○ 1870 Mexico ○ 1871 Korea ○ 1872–1873 Modoc ○ 1873 Colombia (Panama) ○ 1873–1896 Mexico ○ 1874 Hawai'i ○ 1874–1875 Comanche, Apache, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Kiowa ○ 1876–1877 Sioux ○ 1877 Nez Perce ○ 1878 Bannock (Bana'kwut) ○ 1878–1879 Cheyenne ○ 1879–1880 Utes ○ 1882 Egypt ○ 1885 Panama (Colombia) ○ 1888 Haiti ○ 1888 Korea ○ 1888–1889 Samoa ○ 1889 Hawai'i ○ 1890 Argentina ○ 1890 Lakota Sioux ○ 1891 Bering Strait ○ 1891 Chile ○ 1891 Haiti ○ 1893 Hawai'i ○ 1894 Brazil ○ 1894 Nicaragua ○ 1894–1895 China ○ 1894–1896 Korea ○ 1895 Panama (Colombia) ○ 1896 Nicaragua ○ 1898 Cuba (Spain) ○ 1898 Nicaragua ○ 1898 Philippines (Spain) ○ 1898 Puerto Rico (Spain) ○ 1898–1899 China ○ 1899 Nicaragua ○ 1899 Samoa ○ 1899–1913 Philippines ○ 1900 China ○ 1901–1902 Colombia ○ 1903 Honduras ○ 1903 Syria ○ 1903–1904 Abyssinia (Ethiopia) ○ 1903 Dominican Republic ○ 1903–1914 Panama ○ 1904 Dominican Republic ○ 1904 Tangier ○ 1904–1905 Korea ○ 1906–1909 Cuba ○ 1907 Honduras ○ 1909–1910 Nicaragua ○ 1911–1912 Honduras ○ 1911–1941 China ○ 1912 Cuba ○ 1912–1925 Turkey ○ 1912–1933 Nicaragua ○ 1914 Dominican Republic ○ 1914 Haiti ○ 1914–1919 Mexico ○ 1915–1934 Haiti ○ 1916–1924 Dominican Republic ○ 1917–1918 World War I (Europe) ○ 1917–1922 Cuba ○ 1918–1920 Russia ○ 1918–1921 Panama ○ 1919 Dalmatia ○ 1919 Turkey ○ 1919–1920 Honduras ○ 1920 Guatemala ○ 1921 Costa Rica, Panama ○ 1922 Turkey ○ 1924–1925 Honduras ○ 1925 Panama ○ 1932 El Salvador ○ 1941–1945 World War II (Europe, North Africa, Asia/Pacific) ○ 1946 Trieste ○ 1947–1949 Greece ○ 1948–1949 Berlin, Germany ○ 1950 Formosa (Taiwan) ○ 1950–1953 Korea ○ 1953–1954 Formosa (Taiwan) ○ 1955–1975 Vietnam ○ 1956 Egypt ○ 1958 Lebanon ○ 1962 Cuba ○ 1962 Thailand ○ 1962–1975 Laos ○ 1964 Congo (Zaire) ○ 1965 Dominican Republic ○ 1965–1973 Cambodia ○ 1967 Congo (Zaire) ○ 1976 Korea ○ 1978 Congo (Zaire) ○ 1980 Iran ○ 1981 El Salvador ○ 1981 Libya ○ 1981–1989 Nicaragua ○ 1982–1983 Egypt ○ 1982–1983 Lebanon ○ 1983 Chad ○ 1983 Grenada ○ 1986 Bolivia ○ 1986 Libya ○ 1987–1988 Iran ○ 1988 Panama ○ 1989 Bolivia ○ 1989 Colombia ○ 1989 Libya ○ 1989 Peru ○ 1989 Philippines ○ 1989–1990 Panama ○ 1990 Saudi Arabia ○ 1991 Congo (Zaire) ○ 1991–1992 Kuwait ○ 1991–1993 Iraq ○ 1992–1994 Somalia ○ 1993–1994 Macedonia ○ 1993–1996 Haiti ○ 1993–2005 Bosnia ○ 1995 Serbia ○ 1996 Liberia ○ 1996 Rwanda ○ 1997–2003 Iraq ○ 1998 Afghanistan ○ 1998 Sudan ○ 1999–2000 Kosovo ○ 1999–2000 Montenegro ○ 1999–2000 Serbia ○ 2000 Yemen ○ 2000–2002 East Timor ○ 2000–2016 Colombia ○ 2001– Afghanistan ○ 2001– Pakistan ○ 2001– Somalia ○ 2002–2015 Philippines ○ 2002– Yemen ○ 2003–2011 Iraq ○ 2004 Haiti ○ c. 2004– Kenya ○ 2011 Democratic Republic of the Congo ○ 2011–2017 Uganda ○ 2011– Libya ○ c. 2012– Central African Republic ○ c. 2012– Mali ○ c. 2013–2016 South Sudan ○ c. 2013– Burkina Faso ○ c. 2013– Chad ○ c. 2013– Mauritania ○ c. 2013– Niger ○ c. 2013– Nigeria ○ 2014 Democratic Republic of the Congo ○ 2014– Iraq ○ 2014– Syria ○ 2015 Democratic Republic of the Congo ○ c. 2015– Cameroon ○ 2016 Democratic Republic of the Congo ○ 2017– Saudi Arabia ○ c. 2017 Tunisia ○ 2019– Philippines

U.S. Wars, Bases, and Expansion Abroad, 1776–1803

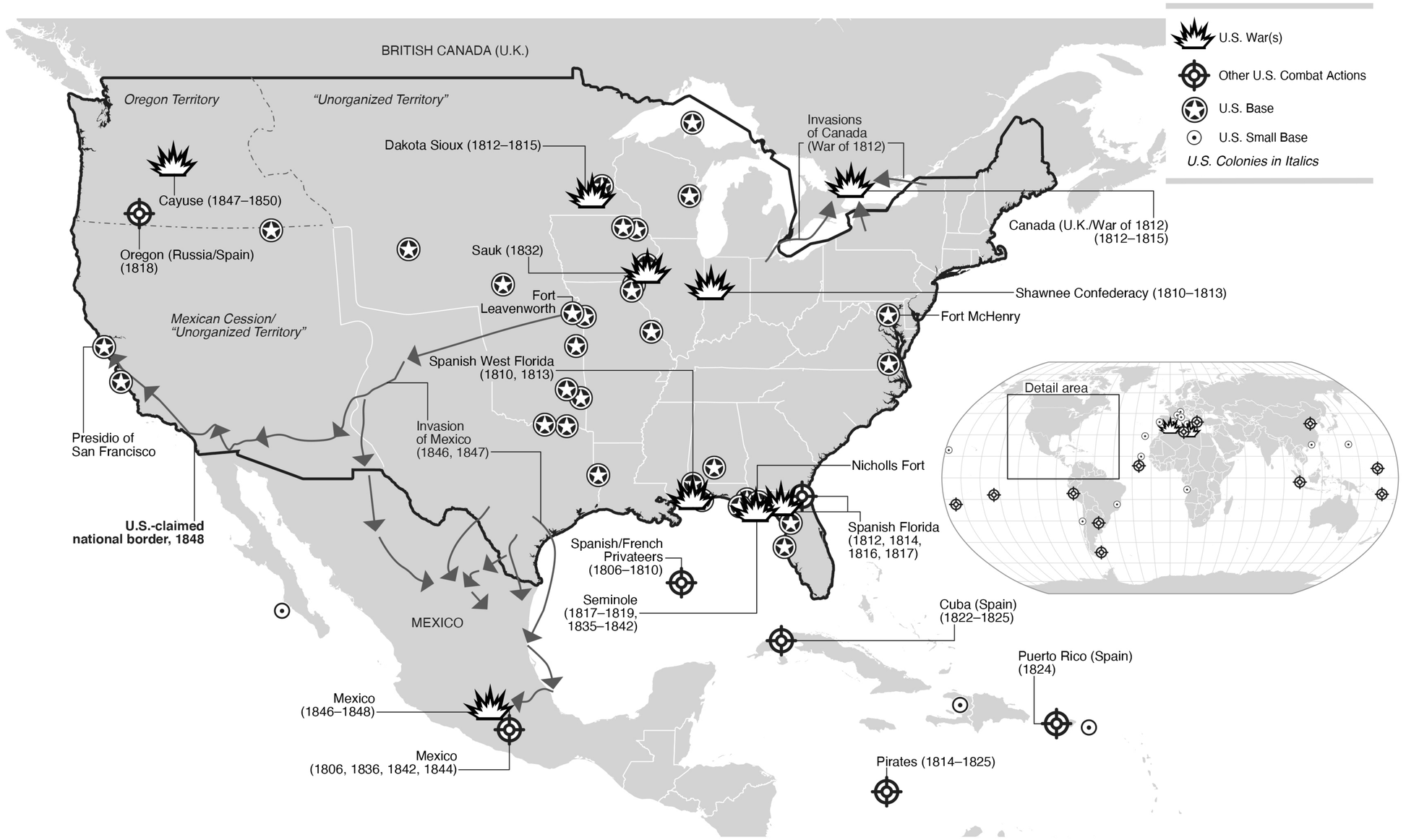
Significant combat, bases, and expansion outside U.S. states. Some bases occupied for only part of this period. Approximately 60% of U.S. bases abroad closed after the end of the so-called Cold War. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.



Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020).

U.S. Wars, Bases, and Expansion Abroad, 1804–1848

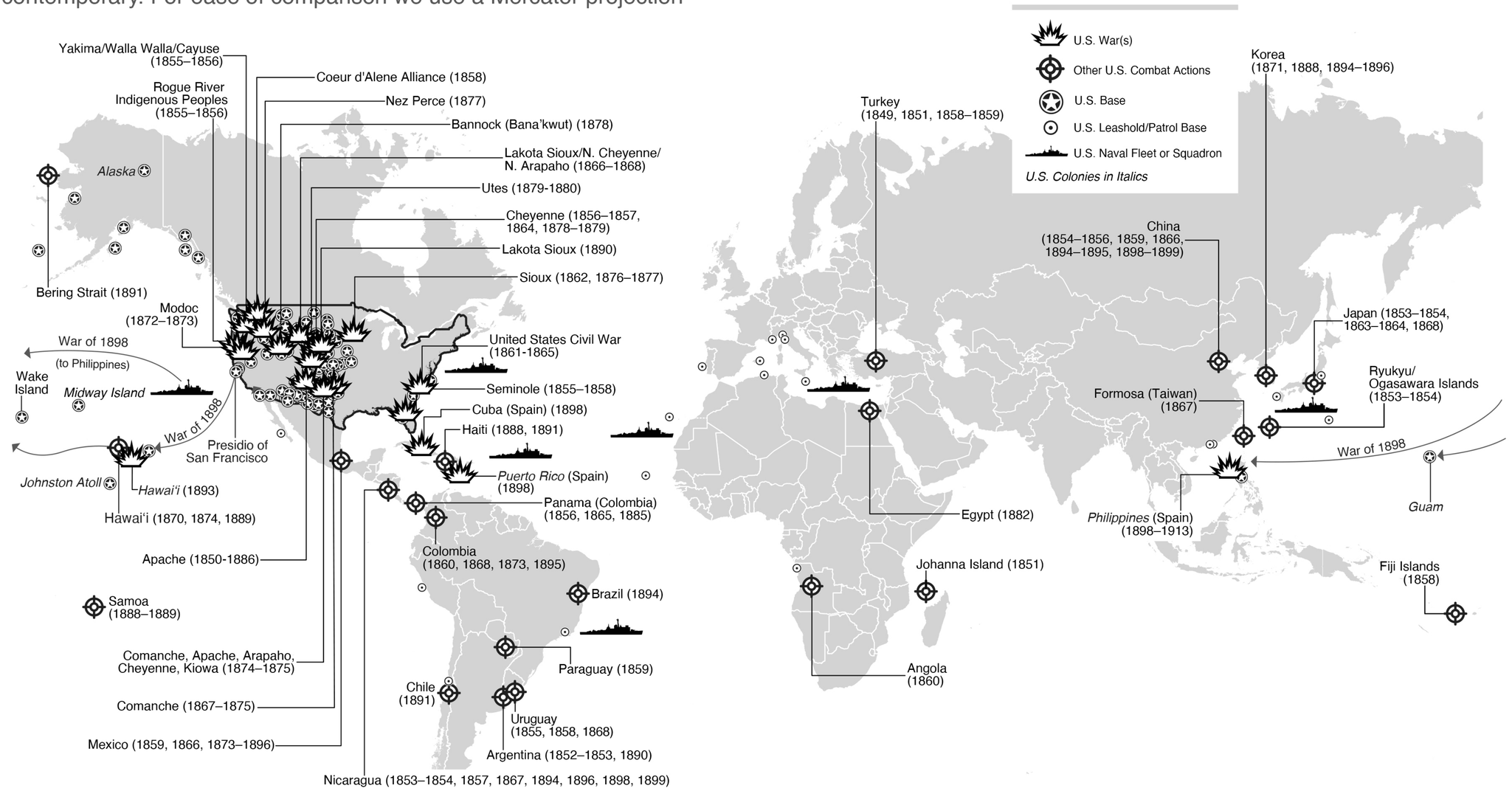
Significant combat, bases, and expansion outside U.S. states. Because of space limitations, map does not reflect all conflicts between U.S. forces and Native American peoples. Some bases occupied for only part of this period. For ease of comparison we use a Mercator projection



Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020).

U.S. Wars, Bases, and Expansion Abroad, 1849–1898

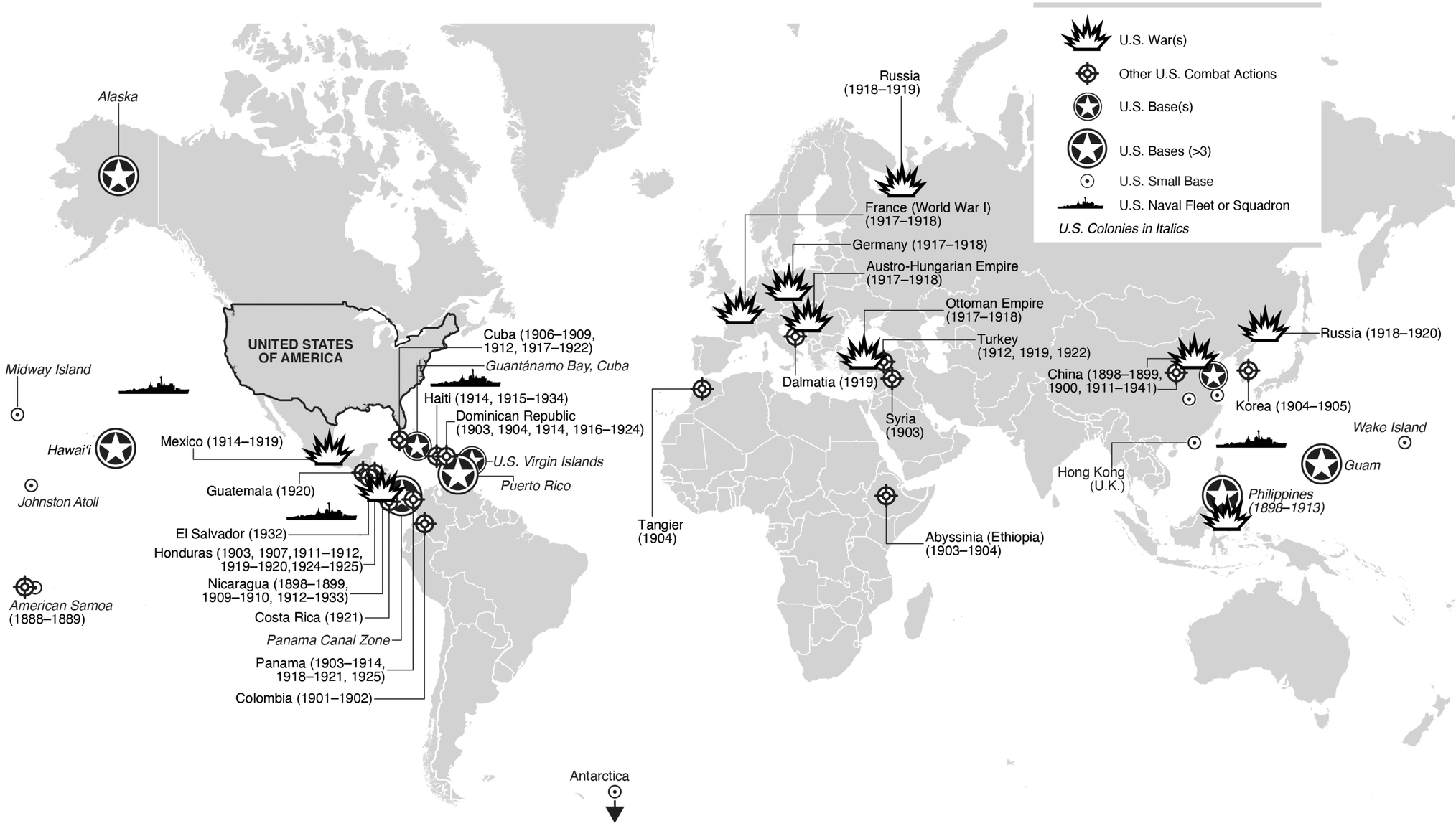
Significant combat, bases, and expansion outside U.S. states. Because of space limitations, map does not reflect all conflicts between U.S. forces and Native American peoples. Some bases occupied for only part of this period. U.S. borders are for 1898. Other borders are contemporary. For ease of comparison we use a Mercator projection



Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020).

U.S. Wars, Bases, and Expansion Abroad, 1899–1940

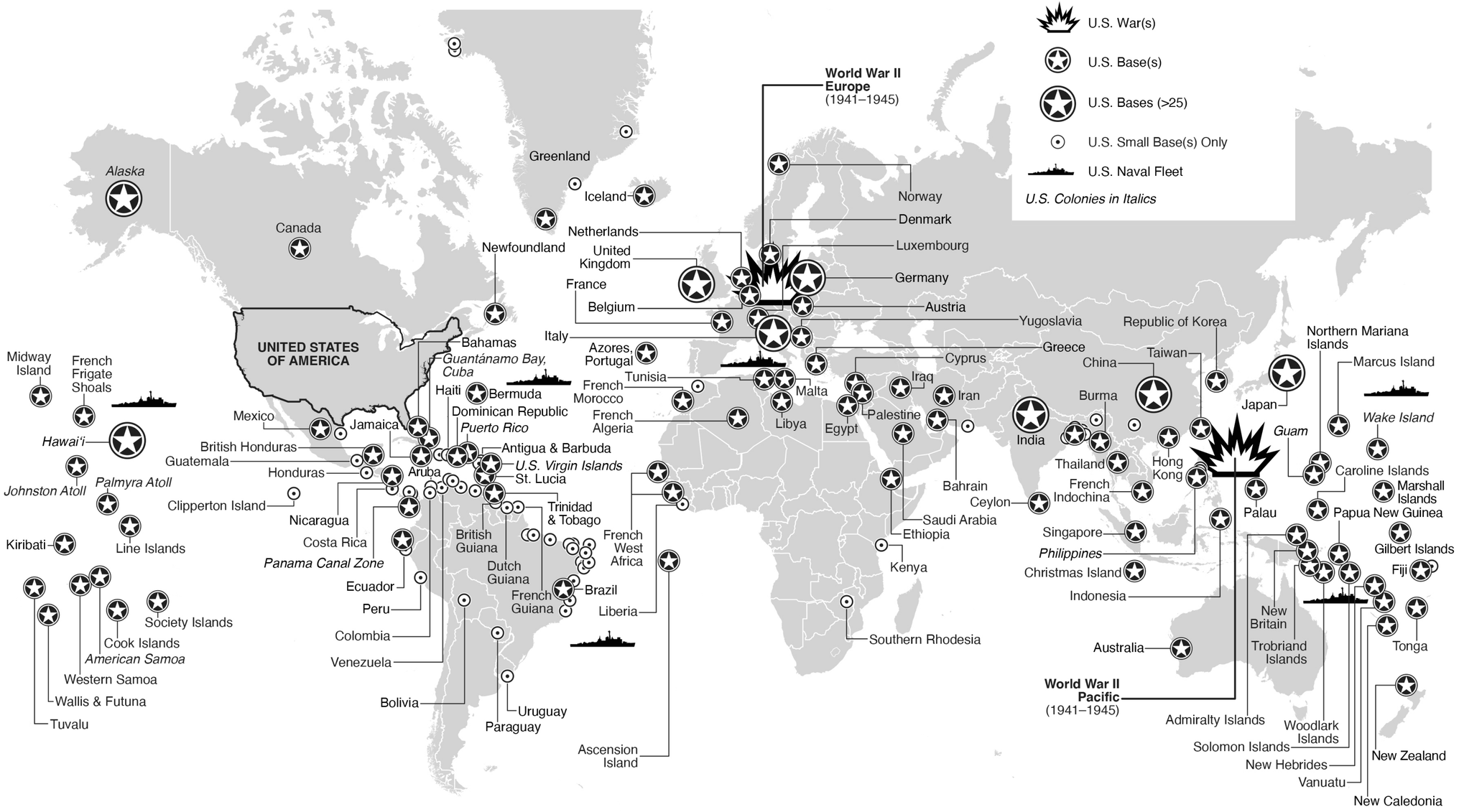
Significant combat, bases, and expansion outside U.S. states. Some bases occupied for only part of this period. Additional bases existed during frequent invasions and years- and decades-long occupations of Latin American countries. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.



Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020).

U.S. Wars, Bases, and Expansion Abroad, 1941–1945

Significant combat, bases, and expansion outside U.S. states. At World War II's height, the United States controlled approximately 30,000 installations at 2,000 base sites abroad. Map reflects relative number and positioning of bases around 1945. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.



Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020).

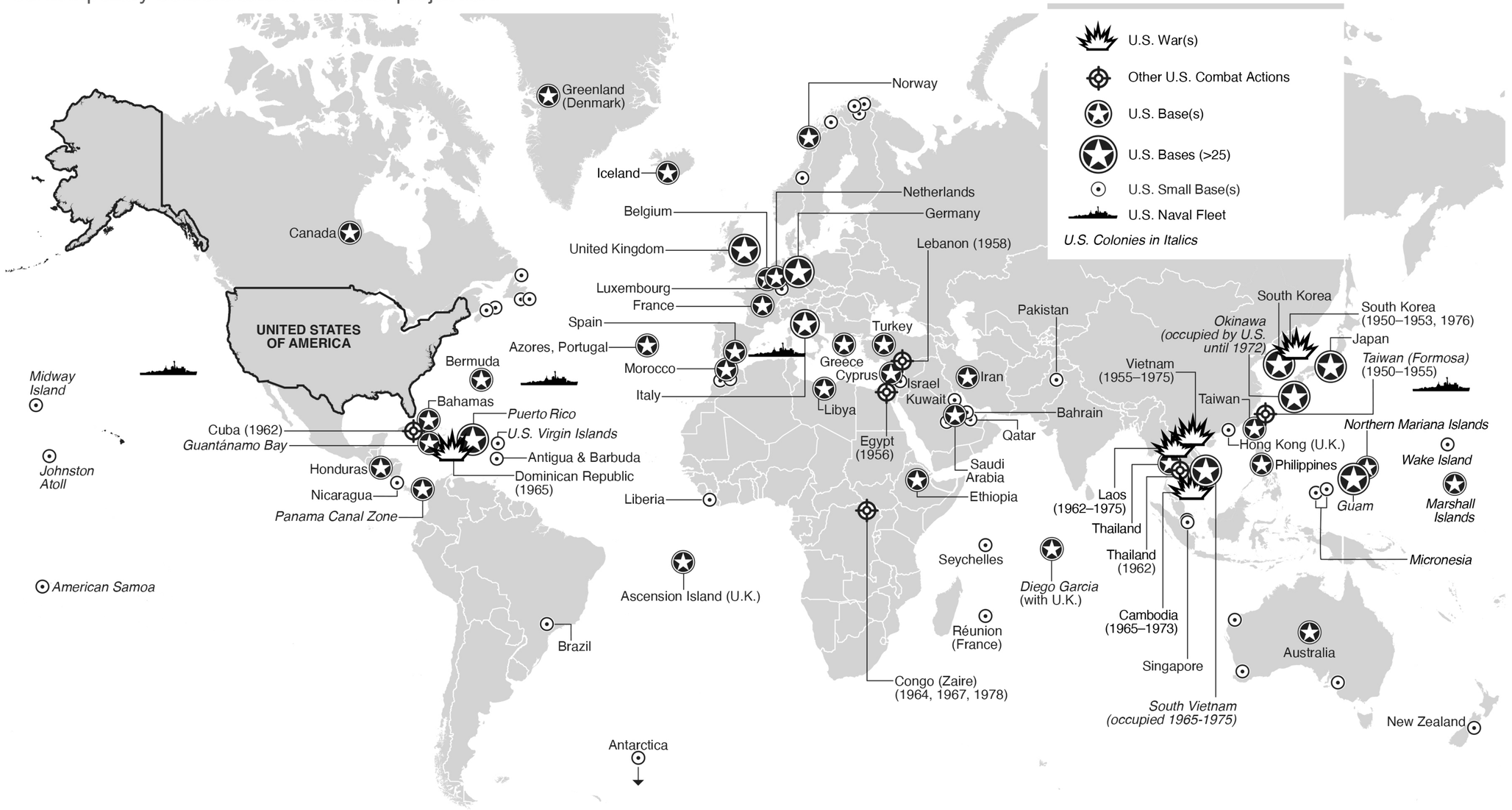
U.S. Wars, Bases, and Expansion Abroad, 1946–1949

Significant combat, bases, and expansion outside U.S. states. Map reflects relative number and positioning of bases, which totaled just under 600 in 1949. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.

Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020).

U.S. Wars, Bases, and Expansion Abroad, 1950–1978

Significant combat, bases, and expansion outside U.S. states. Map reflects relative number and positioning of bases, which totaled over 1,000 by the 1960s. Some bases occupied for only part of this period. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.



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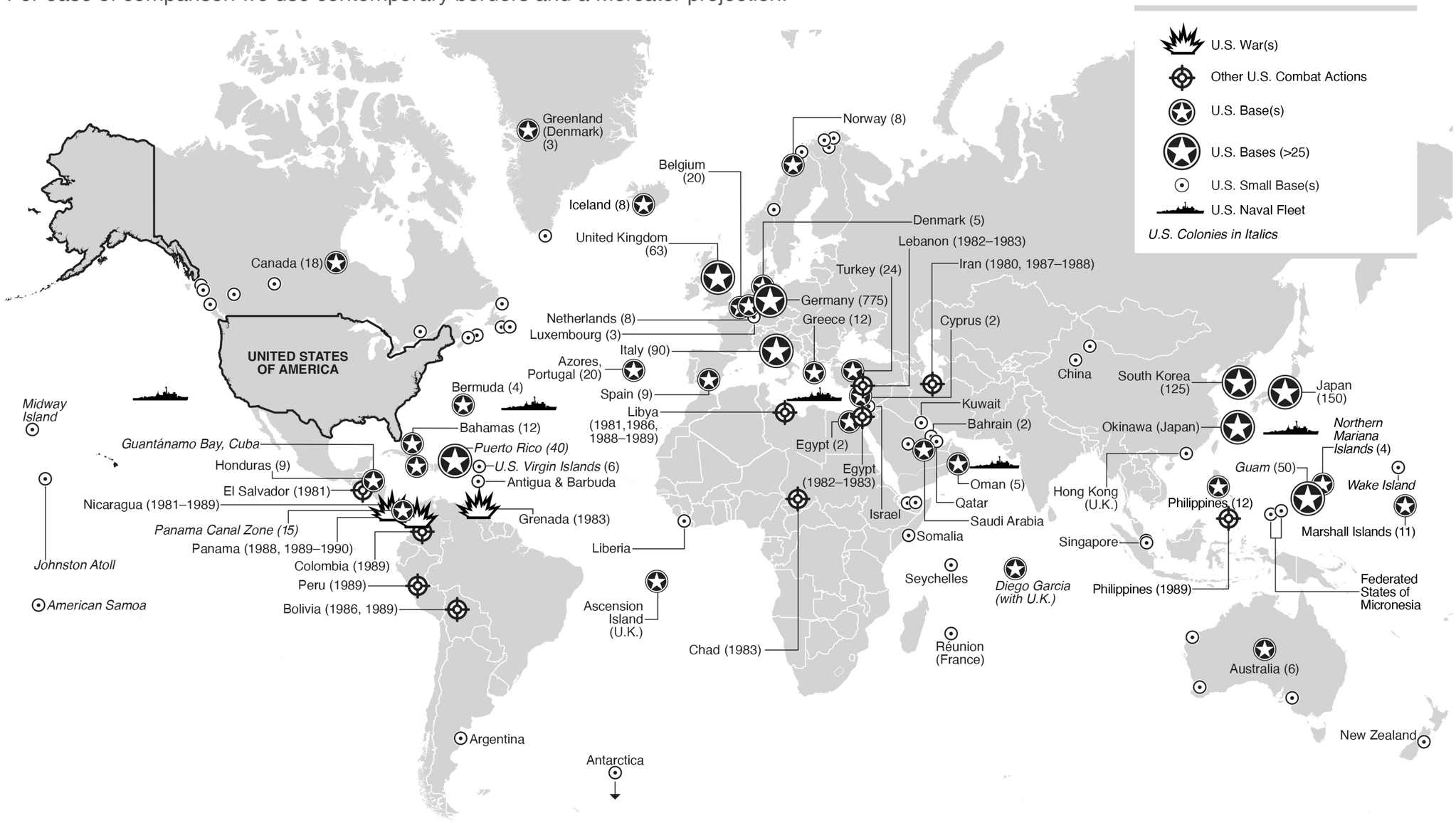
U.S. Wars, Bases, and Expansion Abroad, 1979–1989

Significant combat, bases, and expansion outside U.S. states. Map reflects relative number and positioning of bases, which totaled around 1,600 near the end of the so-called Cold War. Some bases occupied for only part of this period. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.



Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020).

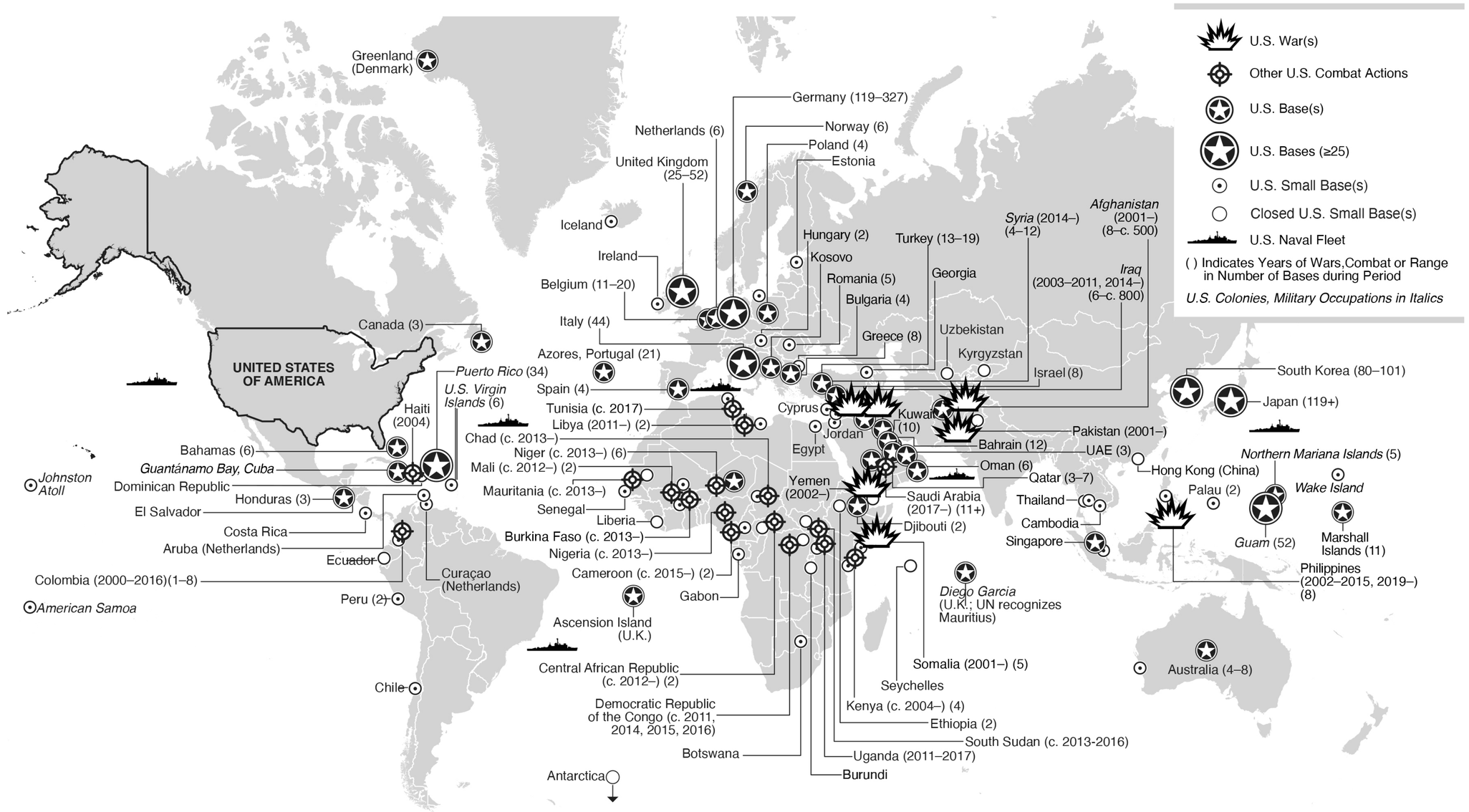
U.S. Wars, Bases, and Expansion Abroad, 1990–2000

Significant combat, bases, and expansion outside U.S. states. Some bases occupied for only part of this period. Approximately 60% of U.S. bases abroad closed after the end of the so-called Cold War. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.

Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020).

U.S. Wars, Bases, and Expansion Abroad, 2001–2020

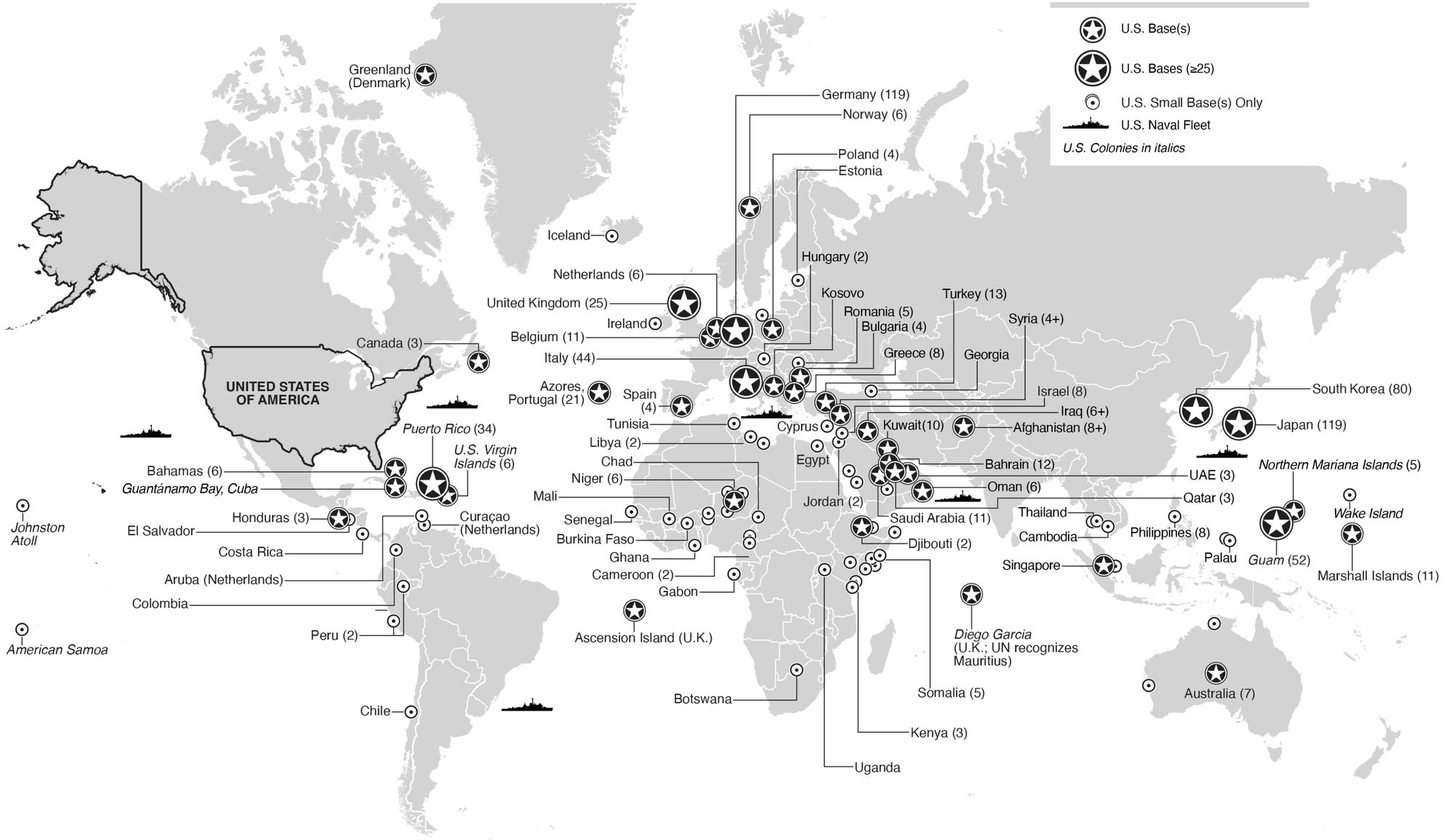
Significant combat, bases, and expansion outside U.S. states. Some bases occupied for only part of this period. Base numbers range provided for countries with significant change during the period. During U.S. wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, there were over 2,000 bases abroad. There were around 800 in 2020. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.



Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020).

U.S. Military Bases Abroad, 2020

In 2020, the United States controlled around 800 bases outside the 50 U.S. states and Washington, DC. Map reflects bases' relative number and positioning given best available data. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.



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“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)

“War is not the answer.”

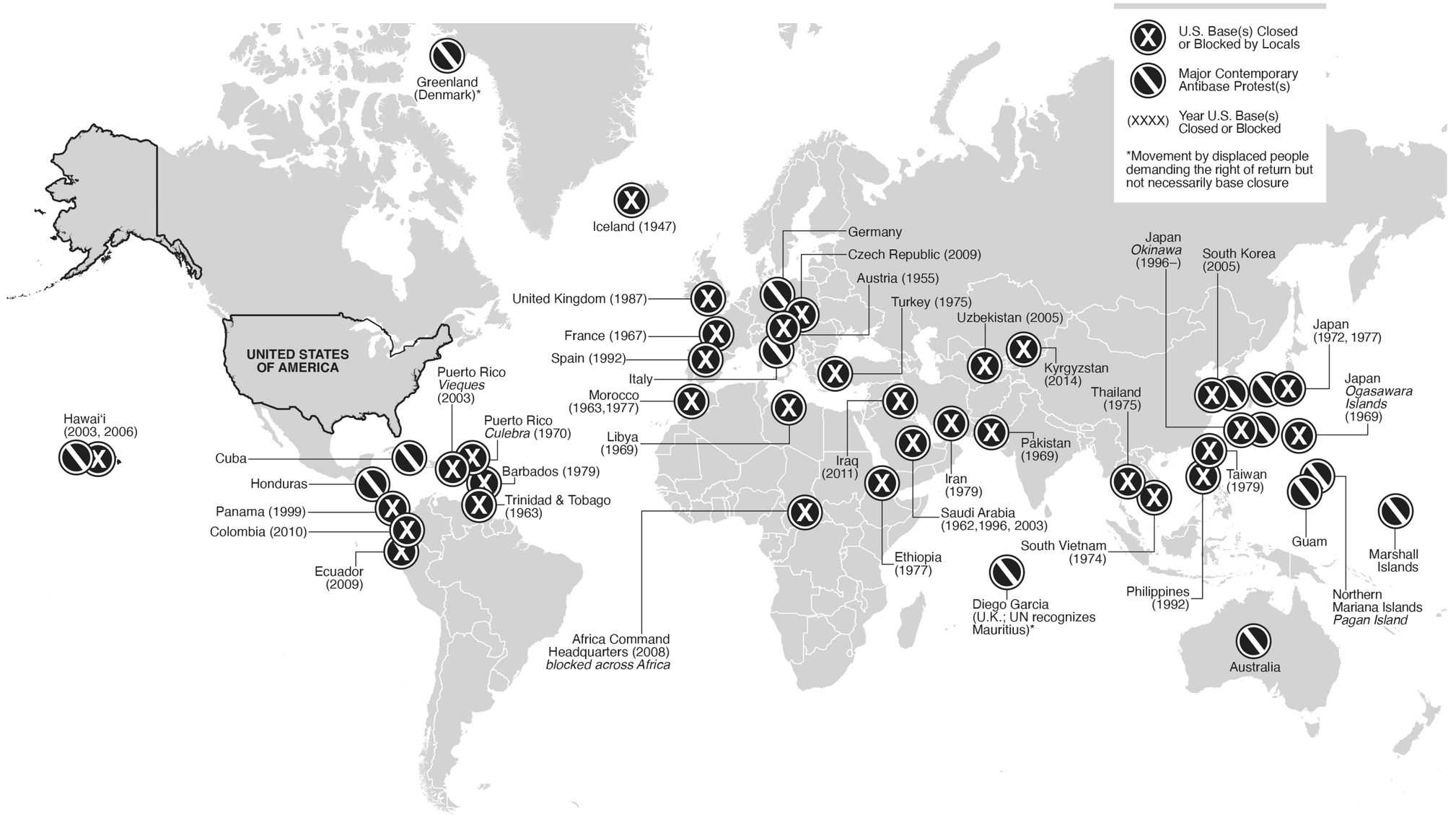
- Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1967)

Steps toward Urgent Change

✓ Democratize U.S. Foreign Policymaking

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.



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✓ New Visions for U.S. Foreign Policy

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- War Is Not an Effective Response to “Terrorism”
- Abolition of Nuclear Weapons

✓ Defund the Warfare State

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- Move the Money: Meet Human Needs
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- Cross-Issue Organizing

✓ 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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- Anti-Trust Law to Break Up or Nationalize Arms Manufacturers
- Constitutional Amendment to Reduce Pentagon’s Power
- Constitutional Amendment to Return War Powers to Congress

✓ *Deimperialize* the United States

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- Drawdown/Build-Up:
  Close Bases, Build Diplomatic Presence Abroad

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  - Prepositioning, Access Agreements
  - Fast Deployment Technologies

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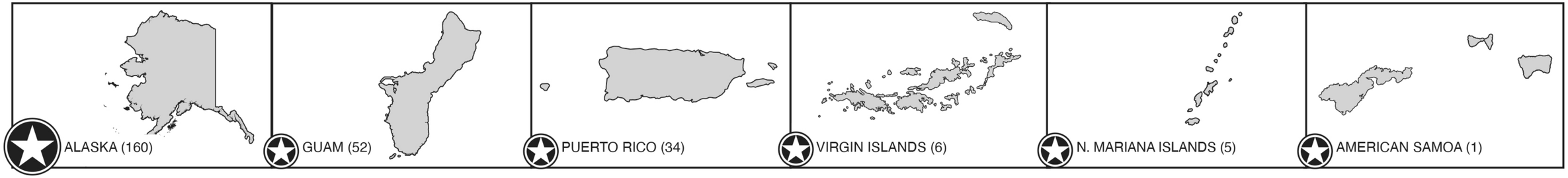
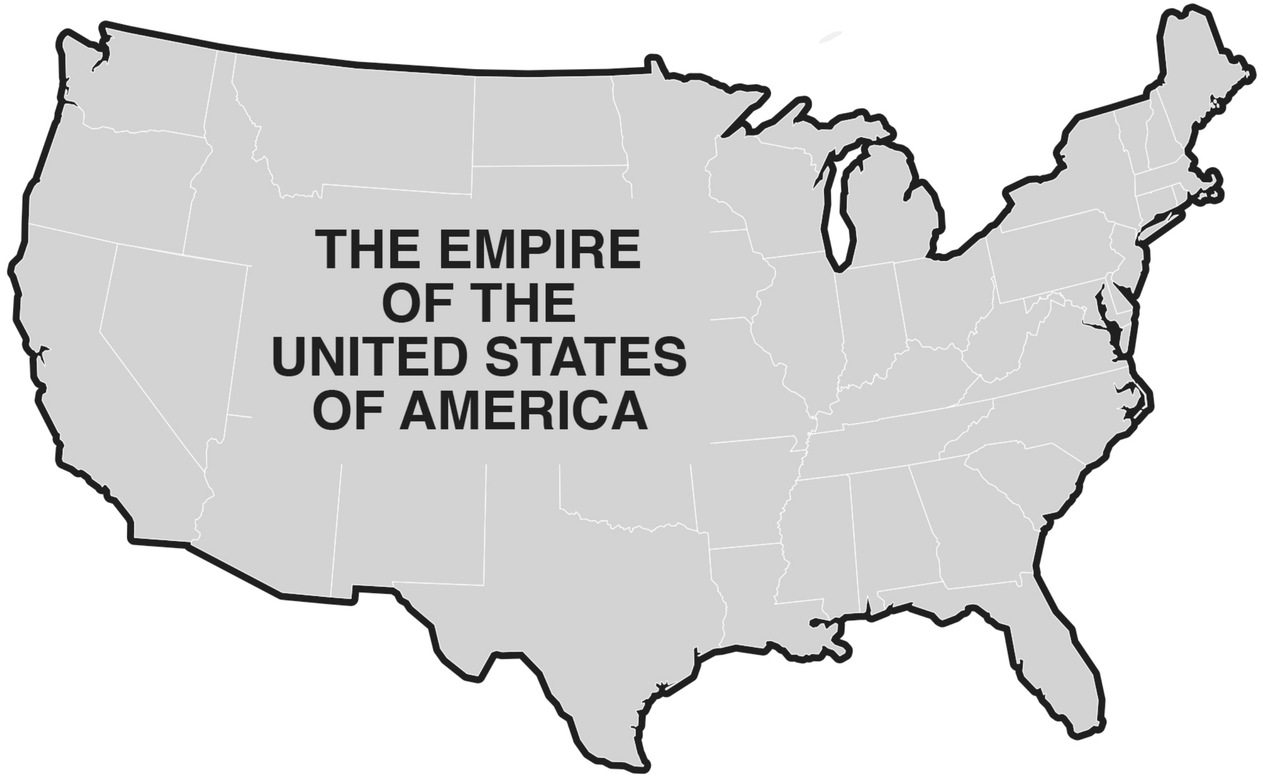
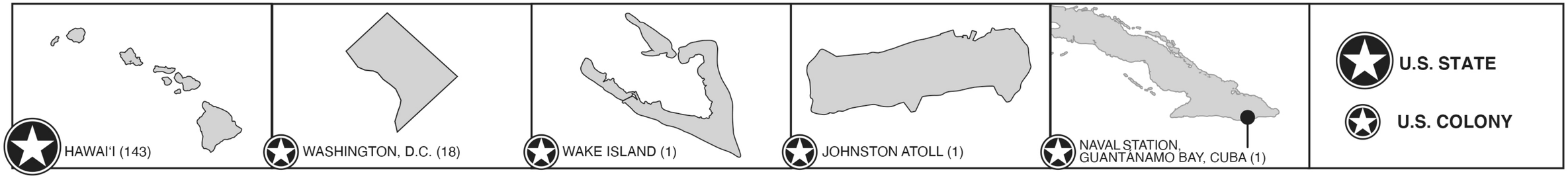
- Decolonize U.S. Colonies



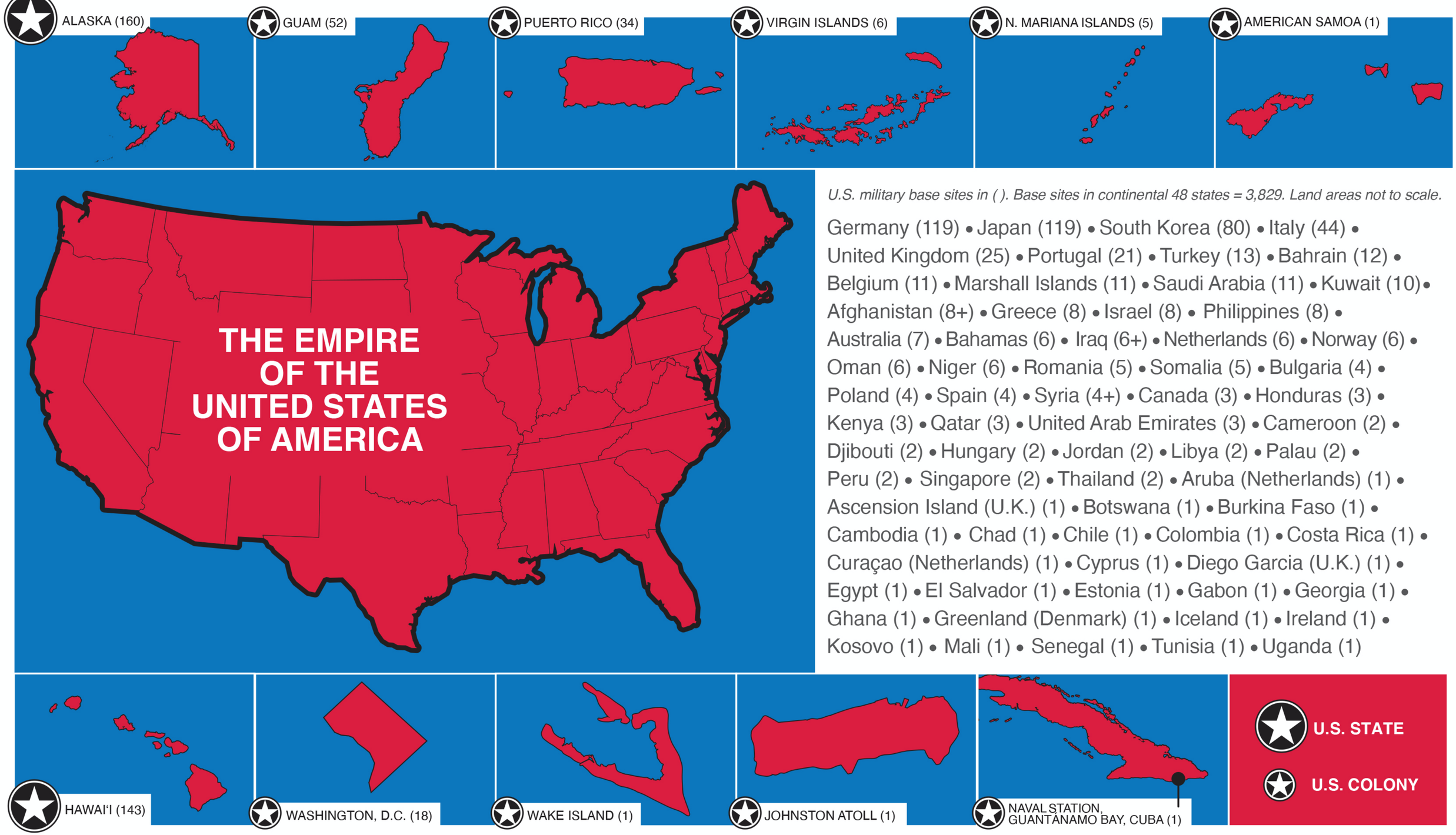


U.S. military base sites in ( ). Base sites in continental 48 states = 3,829. Land areas not to scale.

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)



Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War (2020).* Inspired by Daniel Immerwahr.



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)

Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War (2020).* Inspired by Daniel Immerwahr.

✓ *Deimperialize* the United States

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

GET INVOLVED

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

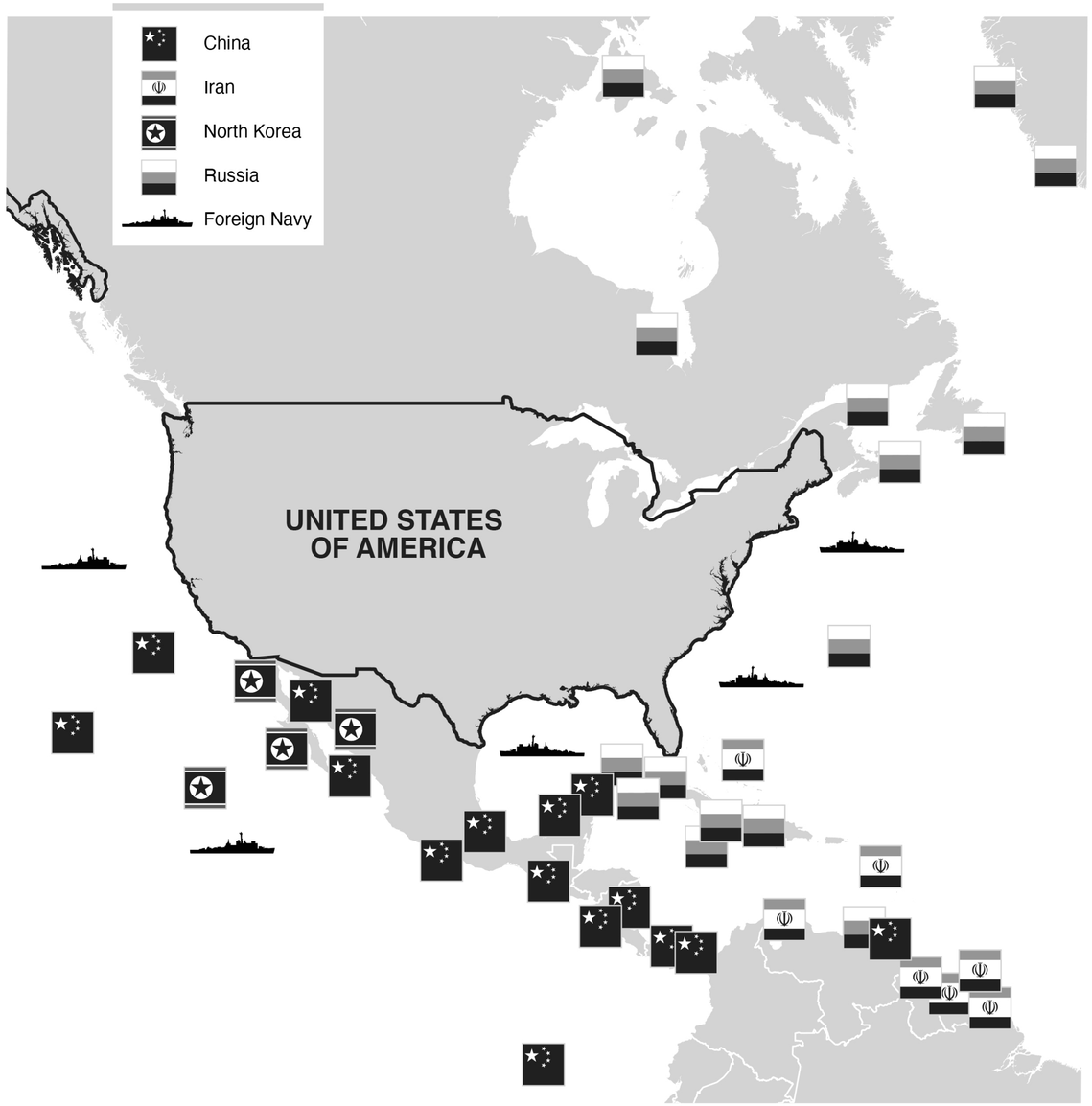
Encircling “Enemies”

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.

Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020).

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.



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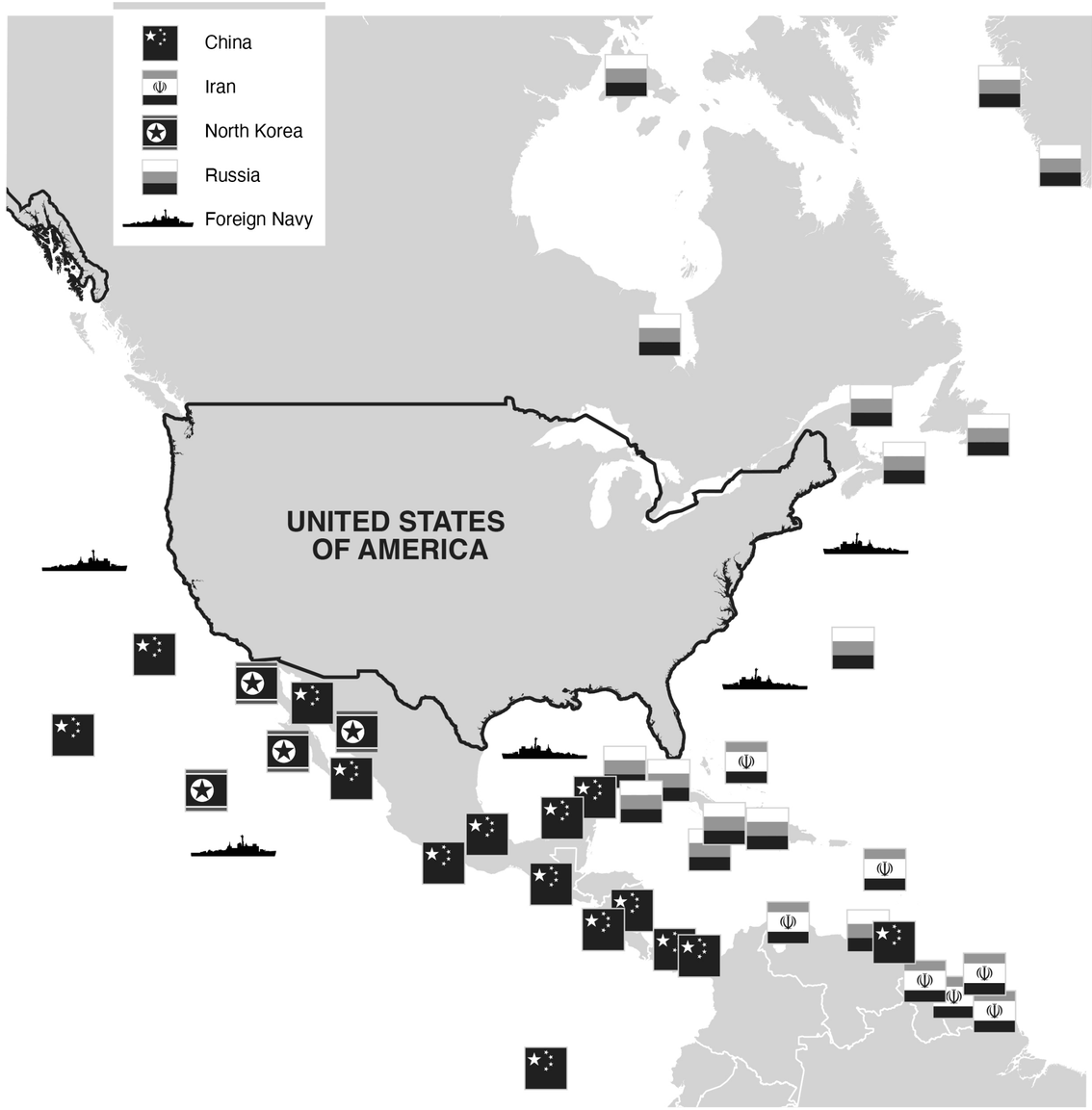

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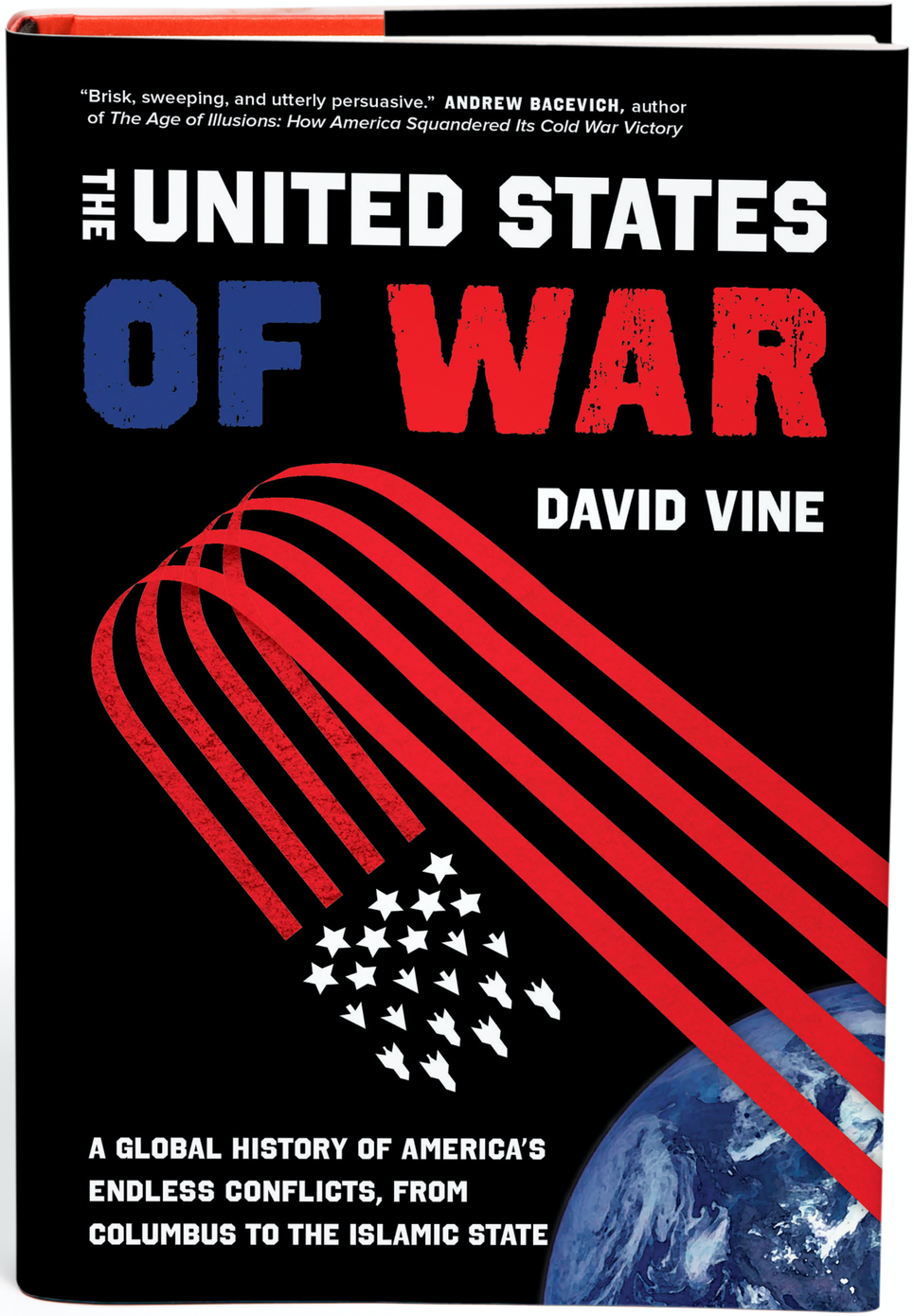
MONROE DOCTRINE
U.S.
CLAIMS
EUROPE
REPUBLIC OF SANTO DOMINGO



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Honoraria, royalties donated to victims of war