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By World BEYOND War, July 14, 2025

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Foreign military bases are expanding. While they are still principally a phenomenon created by a single nation's military (and that military is building more of them), 18 other nations also now have military bases outside their own borders.

Below we review the count of bases, as they are displayed on <u>World BEYOND War's Military</u> <u>Empires Visual Guide</u> -- an online tool that allows one to spin the globe, zoom in, click on a base, and obtain further information. Of 1,247 foreign bases in the world, at current count, 877 are U.S. foreign bases, a number that includes new bases in several parts of the world, most heavily in Scandinavia.

Next we survey the impacts these bases are having, which include heightening tensions, facilitating conflicts, fueling anger and resentment, and supporting unpopular governments, thereby diminishing democracy. Other impacts discussed below are the escalation of arms races, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and enormous environmental -- including climate -- damage. Maintaining foreign military bases is also a major financial expense.

World BEYOND War

World BEYOND War | 513 E Main St #1484 | Charlottesville, VA 22902 USA World BEYOND War | PO Box 152, Toronto PO E, ON, M6H 4E2 Canada World BEYOND War | CC Unicentro Bógota Local 2-222 | Apartado Postal 358646 Colombia worldbeyondwar.org — info@worldbeyondwar.org Founded January 1, 2014 World BEYOND War is a 501(c)3 non-profit organization. Our U.S. tax ID is 23-7217029. Donations are U.S. tax deductible to the fullest extent of the law. We examine growing popular movements around the world that work to prevent planned bases and to close existing bases -- movements which are increasingly in touch with each other, and which have achieved some successes. On February 23, individuals and organizations around the world took coordinated action to call for the closure of all military bases as part of the Global Day of Action to Close Bases.

In no case that we have found anywhere on Earth is a foreign military base the result of a popular demand by the population of either the nation occupying the base or the nation hosting it, much less both. On the contrary, foreign military bases are often created, expanded, and maintained despite strong popular opinion against them within a host country or a portion of it, and widespread ignorance in the occupying nation -- ignorance of how many bases their government is using, in what other countries, at what costs, and for what stated purposes and actual results.

Numerous elements of militarism have been banned by treaty, and foreign bases could be too. Many bases have been closed and converted to other purposes, offering models for what might be done with all foreign bases.



METHODOLOGY

World BEYOND War adopts a methodical approach to collecting information about overseas military bases, relying exclusively on publicly available sources rather than conducting ground-based research. We include citations and links wherever possible in the detailed information on each specific base in our online bases tool.

In the case of U.S. military bases, World BEYOND War does not rely solely on reports issued by the Pentagon; instead, it incorporates data from a wide range of credible media outlets, academic research, investigative journalism, and independent analyses. Given the welldocumented history of the Pentagon releasing incomplete or selectively framed information—often omitting numerous overseas installations—World BEYOND War seeks to correct this by compiling and cross-referencing alternative sources into a centralized platform, including through its interactive global bases maps.

For U.S. bases as well as those of other imperial powers, the data collection process undergoes several stages: it includes the systematic review of open-source reports, cross-verification across multiple databases, use of historical and archival documents, and tracking of local and regional news coverage that may report on the presence or expansion of foreign military infrastructure.

In addition, World BEYOND War engages with domain experts such as anthropologist David Vine, one of the leading authorities on U.S. military basing. All decisions, and all errors, are World BEYOND War's exclusively.

This multi-source, expert-informed verification strategy enables the organization to construct a more comprehensive, accurate, and transparent representation of the global network of foreign military bases.

HOW MANY BASES ARE THERE?

This is not a simple question. Principally, that is because governments don't publish complete, honest, up-to-date lists of their foreign military bases. As with their foreign missile strikes, you generally have to document them with the help of people on the receiving end. Bases are being built -- also closed, but mostly built -- and new facts are being learned about them all the time.

By a foreign military base, we refer to any installation, facility, or site located outside the operating country that is financed, operated, leased, rented, or temporarily accessed by that country, even if also used by the host country, and even if not formally labeled a base of the occupying country. These bases accommodate military personnel, weapons systems, and/or logistical infrastructure, and fulfill diverse functions such as training, information gathering, operational planning, command and control, administrative tasks, weapons storage, and/or launching attacks.

Some of these physical installations are on land occupied as spoils of war. Most are maintained through collaborations with governments, many of them brutal and oppressive governments benefiting from the bases' presence. In many cases, human beings were displaced to make room for these military installations, often depriving people of farmland, adding huge amounts of pollution to local water systems and the air, and creating structures that exist as a lasting unwelcome presence.

Maintaining foreign military bases is largely a U.S. activity. By our current count, the United States has 877 foreign military bases -- far more than all other nations on Earth



Foreign military bases, by operating country.

combined. Some are small bases, but some are larger than any belonging to any other nation. Some are massive gated communities with shopping malls, golf courses, and menial labor provided by people with second-class rights on bases in their own countries.

Despite recent statements about a "Golden Dome," we do not yet need to include in this report any weapons bases in outer space.

Here is a list of nations and how many foreign bases they have:

United States 877 Türkiye 133 United Kingdom 117 Russia 29 India 20 Israel 14 **UAE 12** Singapore 11 France 7 China 6 Canada 7 Netherlands 4 Saudi Arabia 2 Australia 2 Italy 2 Bangladesh 1 Pakistan 1 Japan 1 Iran 1



While U.S. bases are in 95 foreign countries and darn near every longitude and latitude, Türkiye, in second place for bases count, has bases in only nine foreign countries -- all of them nearby Türkiye, except for one in Somalia, including two bases in Libya, two in Qatar, one in Albania, one in Kosovo, one in Azerbaijan, and one in Cyprus. The rest of Türkiye's bases are in the portions of Syria and Iraq nearest Türkiye, where it has been waging wars. During U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the United States has added, and later closed, hundreds of bases. While Türkiye and the U.S. have sometimes been at odds, they are allied members of NATO and weapons traders, and the United States maintains a military presence at nine bases within Türkiye, at one of which it keeps nuclear weapons.

The only other nation on Earth with even a tenth as many foreign military bases as the United States is the United States' very closest military, NATO, weapons-trading, and nuclear-weapons-

sharing ally, the United Kingdom. The UK's bases are spread around the globe in 38 countries, remnants of an empire long past its glory days. Some of the bases are joint U.S.-UK operations, such as those on Diego Garcia, Ascension, and on other islands. Of the UK's 117 foreign bases, 17 are on the Mediterranean island of Cyprus (and are currently <u>being used to assist in the Israeli genocide in Gaza</u> -- illustrating one of the many concerning issues with foreign bases: they may facilitate actions the occupying nation's own population might oppose).

The combined foreign military bases of the top three nations on the list, NATO members all, total 1,127. The fourth nation on the list, NATO's *raison d'être*, Russia, has 29 foreign military bases. These are all found in 10 countries, all of which are near Russia, apart from one base in Sudan. Russia has two bases in Belarus, one in Moldova, two in Kazakhstan, two in Kyrgyzstan, two in Tajikistan, two in Georgia, and one in Abkhazia. The rest are mostly relatively recent developments, and are found in Armenia and Syria. This list does not attempt to count new Russian bases in Ukraine, for lack of good information. It also does not define Crimea as not-Russia. Redrawing the world map to undo territorial changes a reader may reasonably object to would be a massive undertaking beyond the scope of this short report.

Israel is a new addition to the list of nations with foreign bases, as it has recently established 14 bases in Syria, expanding its occupation beyond Palestine. Meanwhile, France has closed 8 of its formerly 15 foreign bases, as a result of Chad and Senegal evicting the French military.



Foreign military base opponents in Lithuania in February 2025.

U.S. Foreign Military Bases.

U.S. foreign bases are packed heavily into Europe, Africa, Western Asia, East Asia, and the Pacific, as well as scattered across Latin America and Canada. From Iran to North Korea, the nations most often discussed in hostile terms by the U.S. government, including Russia and China, are encircled by hundreds of U.S. bases, stretching in a thick wall from the top of Scandinavia, through those nations bordering Russia and Belarus, and all the way to Oman, dotting the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia, and squeezed most tightly of all into Okinawa, the rest of Japan, and South Korea. Alaskan U.S. bases are not included in a list of foreign U.S. bases, but the U.S. base in Greenland is -- at least for the time being. Even demilitarized Iceland has two U.S. bases.

Here's a chart of countries, displaying how many U.S. bases they have, including only those countries that have at least 10.



Number of U.S. bases in each country.

Top-ranked Germany and fifth-ranked Italy lead the U.S. military presence in Europe, together with the United Kingdom, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Belgium, and others. The Scandinavian portion of this picture is new. The image displayed on <u>World BEYOND War's Military Empires</u> <u>Visual Guide</u> when set to U.S. bases opened since 2020 is stunning:



Scandinavia has been loaded up with U.S. military bases in the past few years, utterly unbeknownst to the U.S. public, and without any meaningful support -- in fact, despite significant opposition -- in Scandinavia. This is largely a result of the war in Ukraine, and the predictable, enormous boost it has given to NATO (as perhaps expected by various strategists who <u>encouraged such a war</u>).

U.S. bases opened since 2020

The U.S. has also been opening new bases in Western Asia, Somalia, and South Africa, as well as in Panama, Puerto Rico, and Peru, and significantly in the parts of the world southeast of China (including in China, depending on how you think of Taiwan). These new bases are in Taiwan, the Philippines, Guam, the Northern Marianas, Papua New Guinea, and Australia.

The new U.S. bases in Asia join the hundreds already there, including those in Japan (mostly Okinawa) and South Korea (including Jeju Island). South Korea, Japan, and Guam are ranked numbers 2, 3, and 4 in number of U.S. foreign bases in the world, and Australia joins in at eighth in the rankings. While Japan has fewer U.S. bases than Germany, it comes in the top of the rankings for U.S. troops stationed in those bases (60,049, vs. 48,322 in Germany). South Korea adds 26,556 more, and Guam 10,593. Italy and the United Kingdom host 15,319 and 11,546 U.S. troops respectively.



Demonstrators against foreign military bases on Jeju Island in February 2025.

Foreign military bases serve not only to provoke and facilitate wars and arms races, or to assert foreign control over a host country's own military, but also to strengthen the grip of an oppressive host government on its own people. U.S. foreign bases are located in many of the most oppressive nations, where they support the abusive governments of Bahrain, Egypt, Gabon, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Uganda, and United Arab Emirates, among many others. A dozen U.S. bases in a tiny island dictatorship like Bahrain can be a more prominent and impactful presence than a larger number of U.S. bases in a larger nation, such as Italy.

The U.S. military uses the NATO alliance to expand its force in the world, and has bases in NATO member and partner nations across the globe. But we have identified 69 of the U.S. bases in our <u>Military Empires Visual Guide</u> as formally NATO bases. These are found in 22 countries and their possessions, stretching from Greenland, Iceland, and the Azores Islands to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Türkiye, and Georgia. In five nations, these bases are used in what many see as a violation of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to maintain U.S. nuclear weapons in the supposedly non-nuclear nations of Türkiye, Italy, Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

The U.S. is reportedly also moving nuclear weapons into the UK, which also has its own, while Russia is following the same model and putting its nuclear weapons into Belarus. If they accomplish nothing else, foreign military bases increase the likelihood of nuclear apocalypse.

We have also identified 17 U.S. foreign bases as <u>drone</u> <u>bases</u>. These bases, scattered across Europe, Africa, and Asia, make deadly attacks quick and easy, with seemingly less cost to those attacking, while doing horrible damage, fueling hostility, laying the basis for expanded wars (as the "successful" drone war on Yemen has generated endless killing there), and proliferating technology for a new arms race that endangers us all but makes its first victim the rule of law.

The U.S. has also long used foreign bases as locations for lawless imprisonment and torture, and is now using them to deport people from the United States and imprison them abroad.



Opponents of U.S. nukes in the UK in April 2025.

WHAT IMPACT DO FOREIGN BASES HAVE

Facilitating Conflict

Foreign military bases make it easier to launch missiles into nearby nations. While such capability can be described as "defensive," nothing can cause those in the region's other nations to believe it. U.S. bases in Romania and Poland significantly increased tensions with Russia, contributing to the development of the war in Ukraine. The U.S. government went through the motions of claiming that those bases, capable of launching missiles into Russia, would be either targeting Iran, or were simply jobs programs for U.S. weapons makers, or were purely defensive. These claims went over as well as anything said about Russian missiles in Cuba had gone over in the United States during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

U.S. bases and troops have provoked terrorist threats, radicalization, and anti-U.S. propaganda. Bases near Muslim holy sites in Saudi Arabia were a major recruiting tool for al-Qaeda, and excuse for the criminal attacks of September 11, 2001. Bases constructed as part of a so-called war on terror have been part of a dramatic, and predictable, <u>increase</u> in terrorism.

Violating Self-Governance

Bases make the areas they are built in into potential targets for the enemies they are provoking. This is a theme that often comes up in campaigns to prevent bases. In fact a U.S. base might make a nation hosting it more likely to be attacked than the United States itself. A base-hosting government is willing to pay that price, and also to give up its own sovereignty. Despite opposition from the people, Papua New Guinea's government agreed in 2023 to allow in U.S. bases. The <u>Constitution of the nation</u> says that its sovereignty "must not be undermined by dependence on foreign assistance of any sort" including "no investment, military or foreign-aid agreement or understanding to be entered into that imperils our self-reliance and self-respect, or our commitment to these National Goals and Directive Principles, or that may lead to substantial dependence upon or influence by any country, investor, lender or donor."

Nonetheless, a new written agreement with the U.S. government declares that U.S. troops can be based there, and even goes out of its way to mention the Constitution when declaring -- as is typical of such agreements -- that those troops will not be subject to the nation's laws: "Papua New Guinea, in exercising its sovereign prerogative, consistent with the authority under the Constitution of Papua New Guinea, to concede jurisdiction over members of a visiting force, and recognizing the particular importance to U.S. authorities of retaining disciplinary control over U.S. personnel, agrees that U.S. authorities shall have the exclusive right to exercise criminal jurisdiction over U.S. personnel."

Nations with foreign bases are not even permitted to know what sort of provocation or danger those bases may contain. The Australian government has <u>publicly supported</u> the right of the U.S. government not to tell the Australian public whether or not there have been or will be nuclear weapons in Australia. Such weapons could be brought into Australia, and the Chinese or other governments could become aware of it, while the people of Australia -- and perhaps



Activists against foreign military bases in Australia in February 2025.

even the government that supposedly represents them -- could remain ignorant. This is a recipe for blowback -- for hostility directed at a country for reasons its population has no knowledge of and certainly never asked for. More provocative than the mere presence of bases, or of weapons of mass destruction on those bases, is the "exercises" or rehearsals for war that troops stationed at such bases spend much of their time on when not engaged in war.

Fueling Arms Races

Bases do not always lead to war, but very often lead to more bases nearby within nations designated as enemies, and to a heightened arms race of which the base race is only a part. This benefits those profiting from base expansion, but does not benefit the cause of security.

Norwegians <u>opposed</u> the recent expansion of U.S. bases in Norway, not only because militarism leads to war, not only because U.S. troops would be immune from Norwegian laws, and not only because of the land to be given over to the bases, but also because the U.S. military would be (now is) allowed to engage in its "activities" beyond the bases, throughout the so-called independent nation of Norway.

The danger is very real that military bases could create a major war far from any of the nations involved in that war. Djibouti is a small East African country with an area of 23,200 square km, yet <u>it contains numerous</u> <u>military bases</u> belonging to France, China, the United States, Japan, Germany, Spain, and Italy. Already there have been <u>accusations</u> <u>of hostile actions</u> between the United States and China in Djibouti. Its bizarre array of



A U.S. base in Guam in February 2025.

mutually hostile foreign bases makes Djibouti a target for terrorism/war. While Djibouti's government takes in over \$170 million a year in rent from foreign militaries, the people of Djibouti do not benefit, and the poverty rate is 79 percent with 42 percent in extreme poverty.

Damaging the Environment

Bases -- and the weapons manufacturing, troops and weapons transporting, war rehearsals, and wars they facilitate -- cause irreparable <u>environmental damage</u>. The exhaust of U.S. planes and vehicles causes significant degradation of air quality. Toxic chemicals from the bases enter the local water sources, and jets create enormous noise pollution. The U.S. military is the <u>single biggest consumer of fossil fuels and producer of</u> <u>greenhouse gas emissions in the world</u>, yet this is rarely acknowledged during discussion of climate change. In fact, the United States insisted on an exemption for reporting military emissions in the 1997 Kyoto Protocol.

Most host country agreements were made in the years before many environmental regulations were in place, and even now, the standards and laws that have been created for the U.S. do not apply to U.S. foreign military bases. There are no enforcement mechanisms for host countries to apply to ensure adherence to local environmental regulations. Host nations may not even be permitted, by their agreements with the U.S. government, to do inspections of the damage a base is doing to their air, land, and water. U.S. military bases abroad -- like U.S. military bases <u>within the United States</u> -- are a major source of PFAS "forever chemicals" pollution, including <u>in Germany</u>, and <u>in Okinawa</u>.

The recent construction of a new facility in Henoko, Okinawa, has severely damaged soft coral reefs and the environment of various endangered species. A similar story can be told about Jeju Island, South Korea, an area designated as an "Absolute Conservation Area" and a UNESCO Biosphere Conservation. Despite strong opposition by inhabitants of Jeju Island, a deep water port has been constructed for use by the U.S. Navy. The construction has done irreparable damage.

When a base is returned to the host country there are no requirements for the United States to clean up the damage it has caused, or even disclose the presence of certain toxins like Agent Orange or depleted uranium. The cost to clean up fuel, firefighting foam, etc., can add up to billions of dollars.



Kwajalein Atoll is part of the Marshall Islands, which were taken during World War II by the United States from Japan, to whom they did not belong. The United States not only took over these islands, and built military bases on them, but also tested nuclear weapons there between 1946 and 1958, above ground, in much greater quantity than in the continental United States, where the people could vote. The people of the Marshall Islands were and remain colonial subjects. On the island of Kwajalein at the southern end of the Kwajalein Atoll, the U.S. evicted the residents and created — or recreated — a U.S. suburb with U.S. shopping venues, golf courses, baseball fields, etc., plus free housing so that occupiers could save most of their salaries for the future benefit of their nuclear families. The people who had lived in and owned Kwajalein and other islands from which they were removed were permitted to live on the impoverished disease-ridden slum island of Ebeye, from which (if they had a pass from the U.S. military) they could commute by boat under armed guard each day to work on Kwajalein, cleaning homes, landscaping yards, etc. The U.S. eventually stopped nuclear testing, which it may resume, but it took up long-distance missile testing, targeting the same corner of the world from farther away. And U.S. President Ronald Reagan insisted on a "Star Wars" missile defense scheme, the same corner of the world became the testing area. So, this apartheid nuclear island remained "critical" to "national security" long after the Civil Rights movement, and even after the demise of South African Apartheid. This case is, in fact, not entirely unlike many U.S. foreign military bases currently active. A thorough study should be done of attitudes toward class segregation that U.S. military personnel bring home with them from periods abroad.



Injuring Societies

Bases tend to cause other types of harm in the areas where they are located as well. They create zones of prostitution, drunkenness, and reckless, abusive, and criminal behavior, including sexual assault and rape. Beyond the obvious, large-scale disasters of airplanes crashing into ski-lifts or buildings, are the small-scale personal crimes that cannot be prosecuted by host countries and add up to something of an epidemic in some areas, such as Okinawa.

Interacting with loneliness, frustration, and criminal immunity, is often a culture of superiority, if not contempt, toward local populations -- the people who speak another language, have other customs, are themselves subject to the laws of the land, and are sometimes brought onto a base to do menial labor for low pay while being afforded second-class rights on that base and being forbidden to live there or remain there after dark. That last element is eerily similar to the rules of sundown towns in the United States which traditionally required African Americans to leave town by sundown.

Feeding into bigotry and hostility at various bases is the history of the theft of the land on which the bases sit. During World War II the U.S. Navy seized the small Hawaiian island of Koho'alawe for a weapons testing range and ordered its inhabitants to leave. The island has been <u>devastated</u>. In 1942, the U.S. Navy displaced Aleutian Islanders. President Harry Truman made up his mind that the 170 native inhabitants of Bikini Atoll had no right to their island in 1946. He had them evicted in February and March of 1946, and dumped as refugees on other islands without means of support or a social structure in place. In the coming years, the United States would remove 147 people from Enewetak Atoll and all the people on Lib Island. U.S. atomic and hydrogen bomb testing rendered various depopulated and still-populated islands uninhabitable, leading to further displacements.

On <u>Vieques</u>, off Puerto Rico, the U.S. Navy displaced thousands of inhabitants between 1941 and 1947, announced plans to evict the remaining 8,000 in 1961, but was forced to back off and — in 2003 — to stop bombing the island. On nearby Culebra, the Navy displaced thousands between 1948 and 1950 and attempted to remove those remaining up through the 1970s. The U.S. Navy began looking at the island of <u>Pagan</u> as a possible replacement for Vieques, the population already having been removed by a volcanic eruption. Of course, any possibility of return would be greatly diminished by a base occupying the island.

Beginning during World War II but continuing right through the 1950s, the U.S. military displaced a quarter million Okinawans, or half the population, from their land, forcing people into refugee camps and shipping thousands of them off to Bolivia — where land and money were promised but not delivered. In 1953, the United States made a deal with Denmark to remove 150 Inughuit people from Thule, Greenland, giving them four days to get out or face bulldozers. They are being denied the right to return.

Between 1968 and 1973, the United States and Great Britain exiled all 1,500 to 2,000 inhabitants of Diego Garcia, rounding people up and forcing them onto boats while killing their dogs in a gas chamber and seizing possession of their entire homeland for the use of the U.S. military. The Chagossian people were taken off their island by force and transported in conditions compared to those of slave ships. The Chagossians have petitioned the British government many times for the return of their home, and their situation has been addressed by the United Nations. Despite an overwhelming vote of the UN General Assembly, and an advisory opinion by the International Court of Justice in the Hague, that the island should be returned to the Chagossians, the UK has refused and the United States continues operations on Diego Garcia.

The South Korean government in recent years has been evicting people from their homes on the peninsula and on Jeju Island to make room for the construction and expansion of U.S. military bases.

The Cuban government wants the U.S. base at Guantanamo closed and the U.S. military to depart Cuba. Most other governments are not hosting U.S. bases under the same sort of duress. Some government officials, whether or not personally corrupted by war profiteers or foreign governments, see economic or military advantages in hosting bases. Troops may spend money, after all. But in many locations, bases cause economic difficulties rather than advantages. The rise in property taxes and inflation in areas surrounding U.S. foreign bases has been known to push locals out of their homes to seek more affordable areas. Some areas, especially in <u>low-income rural communities</u>, have seen short-term economic booms touched off by base construc-



In Ireland (seen here in February 2025) many <u>oppose</u> the U.S. military's use of Shannon Airport.

tion. In the long-term, however, most bases rarely create sustainable, healthy local economies. Compared with other forms of economic activity, they represent unproductive uses of land, employ relatively few people for the expanses occupied, and contribute little to local economic growth. Research has consistently shown that when bases finally close, the <u>economic impact</u> is <u>generally limited</u> and in some cases actually positive — that is, local communities can end up <u>better off</u> when they trade bases for housing, schools, shopping complexes, and other forms of economic development. To make matters worse for host countries, the U.S. President has recently demanded that more of them <u>pay the U.S. government for the privilege</u> of allowing it to maintain its bases.

Bases, and the weapons and troops that go with them, are a huge financial expense for a baseoperating country like the United States, whose government officials talk frequently about trying to save money, even while dramatically increasing military spending, which includes <u>at least</u> <u>\$80 billion a year for foreign bases</u>. That kind of money could, rather than going into something that nobody asked for, something that endangers us rather than protecting us, could be invested elsewhere and <u>do a world of good</u>.

WHO IS WORKING TO CLOSE AND PREVENT FOREIGN MILITARY BASES?

Local people have built popular movements to prevent planned bases and to close existing bases at many locations around the world, and increasingly they are in touch with each other. On February 23, 2025, and surrounding days, individuals and organizations around the world took coordinated action in their communities to call for the closure of all military bases as part of the Global Day of Action to Close Bases. Over 60 events took place in Australia, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, England, Finland, Germany, Guam, Ireland, Japan, Lithuania, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Scotland, South Korea, Sweden, United States, Venezuela, Wales, plus online events from Argentina, Bolivia, and Italy. Over 70 organizations supported this effort, including International Peace Bureau, No to War – No to NATO Network, Pace e Bene, RootsAction, Veterans For Peace, War Industry Resisters Network, War Resisters' International, and World BEYOND War.

Advocates for closing the base on Diego Garcia took the occasion to <u>petition the Prime Minister</u> <u>of the Republic of Mauritius</u> to do just that.

In some places, movements have achieved official support. The Governor of Okinawa has repeatedly visited the United States to insist that military bases be closed. This past September, he <u>remarked in Washington, D.C.</u>, "During this visit to the U.S., in addition to the felonious crimes committed by U.S. military personnel, the new Henoko base construction, PFAS issues, and the solid implementation of the U.S. Forces recommission we would like to appeal for efforts to ease tension and build trust through people diplomacy and dialogue so that Okinawa will never become a battleground." He is up against the governments of the United States and Japan.

In January 2025, the President of Honduras <u>threatened</u> to evict U.S. troops if the U.S. President deported immigrants from the United States. Thus far, that threat has not been followed through on.

Almost 20 years ago, the Government of Ecuador evicted the U.S. military and banned foreign bases. More recently, the Ecuadorian government has violated its Constitution to allow foreign bases in the <u>Galapagos Islands</u>, and proposed to do the same on the mainland, despite <u>opposition</u> from Members of Parliament, including a <u>former foreign minister</u>. Constitutions that explicitly ban foreign military bases include those of Ecuador, Angola, Bolivia, Cape Verde, Lithuania, Malta, Nicaragua, Rwanda, and Venezuela -- as well as Ukraine, which now has both Russian bases and <u>reportedly</u> 12 CIA bases.

In Africa, the U.S. government has suggested that it might <u>close embassies</u>, but not military bases. On the Global Day of Action, peace advocates in Cameroon <u>held a meeting and submitted a letter</u> to the U.S. Ambassador asking for the closure of bases.





Opponents of foreign bases in Ecuador in February 2025.

There are some success stories in anti-bases work.

On February 12, 2024, after years of <u>struggle</u>, supported by World BEYOND War and others, the <u>Save Sinjajevina</u> campaign met with the Prime Minister of Montenegro and gained his <u>promise</u> that there would be no military training ground built at Sinjajevina in Montenegro. This was to have been a massive and destructive project for the benefit of NATO and the U.S. military. It now seems clear that it will not happen.

In 2006, people in the Czech Republic learned of plans to create U.S. bases in their country. They <u>organized and prevented</u> those bases from being built. In 2007 localities in the <u>Czech</u> <u>Republic</u> held referenda that matched national opinion polls and demonstrations; their opposition moved their government to refuse to host a U.S. base.



Participants in the Global Day of Action to Close Bases in Cameroon in February 2025.

In Colombia, a popular movement has prevented construction of a base for use by the U.S. military on Providencia Island, and a new movement to prevent such a base on Gorgona Island is <u>drawing on the lessons from that success</u>.

Hawaiians won back an island in 2003.

Bases have been closed for a variety of reasons, not always entirely or at all driven by public pressure. World BEYOND War has created <u>a map of bases that have been closed</u>.

In 2005 the U.S. closed a base in Sardegna.

<u>Saudi Arabia</u> closed its U.S. bases in 2003 (later reopened), as did <u>Uzbekistan</u> in 2005, <u>Kyrgyz-</u> <u>stan</u> in 2009.

The U.S. military decided it had done enough damage to <u>Johnston/Kalama Atoll</u> in 2004.

Activists compelled the United States to give up a firing range in <u>South Korea</u> in 2005.

Activism in <u>Vicenza, Italy</u>, (and around Italy and Europe and in Washington, D.C.) between 2005 and 2010 resulted in the United States getting only 50% of the land it wanted for its new bases.

In 2010, bases were blocked by the <u>Colombian</u> Supreme Court. <u>Iraq</u> closed bases in 2011, reopened in 2013, told U.S. troops to leave in 2020.

In 2020, the <u>Philippines</u> gave the United States 180 days to get out.

In 2020, the U.S. returned 12 military sites to South Korea.

Bases that have been closed have been <u>converted to serve</u> <u>peaceful functions</u>. That could be the future of all foreign military bases, if they are all shut down. It would be ideal to outlaw them by <u>international treaty</u>.

Getting there will take a lot more education, communication, and activism.

Public opinion in occupier countries is not so much opposed to closing foreign bases as impossible to measure because people know so very little about them. A great deal of unprecedented work by media outlets, educational institutions, and polling companies may be required before we are able to clearly document that the people of each nation, who had never been asked, enthusiastically demand that no foreign military bases be maintained in their name.



Rallying against foreign military bases in Gothenburg, Sweden, in February 2025.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Media outlets and pollsters should survey public opinion on foreign military bases, in both host and occupying countries.
- Where ignorance is too great for public opinion to be measured, journalists, teachers, and institutions of higher learning should educate people about foreign military bases.
- Nations hosting or at risk of hosting foreign military bases should legally ban them.
- Nations occupying bases outside their borders should close them.
- Former host and occupying countries should work together to safely convert bases to affordable housing, green energy facilities, schools, parks, wilderness, and other useful purposes.
- The world's nations should ban foreign military bases by treaty.



Supporters of the Global Day of Action to Close Bases in February 2025 in Tucson, Arizona.