

# Militarism

by James F Grant

Researchers and clinicians treating families of alcoholics and addicts summarize the denial of the problem, as the “elephant in the living room.” Ignored, the elephant continues to grow, yet remains invisible to the family members. When the situation becomes untenable, someone finally says, “There is an Elephant in the living room.” Only then do they start seeking treatment for the problem! Other professionals prefer to call this phenomenon “the merry-go-round of denial.

If you substitute country for family, a similar phenomenon exists when it comes to militarism in the USA. Currently, militarism is the “invisible elephant” in the daily lives of the citizens of the United States. While the families of alcoholics or addicts fail to see the Elephant, their friends and neighbors do indeed see it clearly. This seems to be also true of the militarism in the United States, whereas most of the citizens are blind and in denial, other citizens of the world unmistakably see the results of our militarism. We must pay attention to those scholars, journalists, and writers who have been describing what they have seen and are trying to break through our denial and to educate us about militarism.

Basevich in *The New American Militarism* says that as early as the 1990s the main feature of US policy was the “*marriage of a militaristic cast of mind with utopian ends*” and he further stated his book would examine the origins of this marriage and his recommendation for its annulment. Basevich points out that after the American invasion of Iraq in 2003, many voices claimed militarism and identified it in the following” books:

- *The Sorrows of Empire; Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*, by Chalmers Johnson
- *Hegemony or Survival: America’s Quest for Global Dominance*, by Norm Chomsky;
- *Masters of War: Militarism and Blowback in the Era of American Empire*, edited by Carl Boggs
- *Rogue Nation: American Unilateralism and the Failure of Good Intentions*, by Clyde Prestowitz
- *Incoherent Empire*, by Michael Mann, with its concluding chapter called “The New Militarism.”<sup>1</sup>

Chalmers Johnson, a Historian states, “As distinct from other peoples on this earth, most Americans do not recognize-or do not want to recognize-that the United States dominates the world through its military power. Due to government secrecy, they are often ignorant of the fact that their government garrisons the globe. They do not realize that a vast network of American military bases on every continent except Antarctica actually constitutes a new form of empire.”<sup>2</sup>

Boggs tells us, “The ceaseless global expansion of US military power since the early 1940s is matched by an astonishing public refusal to incorporate an understanding of that power into the various discourses political, educational, media, cultural. The more omnipresent power has become, the more it permeates virtually every corner of international and domestic life, the more it seems to be ignored or deflected, suppressed or forgotten, kept safely outside the established public sphere.”<sup>3</sup> Howard Zinn, in the graphic adaptation of **A People’s History of American**

1 Basevich, 2006 p3

2 Johnson, 2004 p1

3 Boggs, 2005 p.xx

**Empire** wrote, “Throughout US history our military has been used not for moral purposes but to expand economic, political, and military power.”<sup>4</sup> “A century ago, Woodrow Wilson, then an academic, described an America in which “comparatively small groups of men,” corporate managers, “wield a power and control over the wealth and the business operations of the country,” becoming “rivals of the government itself.”<sup>5</sup>

All of these writers and others have been telling us about U.S militarism and imperialism. Is the message being heard or are they preaching to the choir?

When I began my research to answer the question: What are thoughtful people saying about militarism in our time, it never occurred to me how many thoughtful people are saying nothing or very little about it, militarism. Is it denial or educational deficit at work? As Boggs reports “A survey of 36 widely used college texts in the fields of history, political science, and sociology- those disciplines expected to address the US role in world affairs- reveals some fascinating but disturbing information. No fewer than twenty-seven of these required course readings, ranging in length from three hundred to six hundred pages, contain absolutely *nothing* about the American military in *any* of its dimensions.”<sup>6</sup>

The mystery of denial also occurs in academia with many disciplines paying little or no attention to militarism. Political Science, for example, in their main professional journal has ignored military power ever since the Vietnam War which was forty years ago. Boggs in his reading of Political Science and International Relations continues to identify major works that he several times applauds for the scholarship of the authors but points out again and again how they either ignore or pay scant attention to the issues of militarism. The disciplines of History and Sociology given their broader perspective and more students and faculty from outside the mainstream would be expected to do a much better job of addressing militarism than the discipline of Political Science but according to Boggs readings the differences in attention to militarism is slight. Boggs continues to be generous in his praise of certain works of sociology, some of which are texts and classic works in the field. He continues to point out the absence or the minimal attention paid to militarism or even the military. There is no “sociology of military” while there is a “sociology of” many other topics. Norm Chomsky, Tariq Ali, and Chalmers Johnson, are identified as writers who will thoughtfully examine, with a critical eye, militarism in the U.S.<sup>7</sup>

How can it be that militarism is so big when it is neither seen nor discussed? We will need to look at the history of militarisms growth and then describe its size and its global reach. That will be the next installment of what thoughtful people are saying about militarism in our time

We need to define militarism, then examine the extent of militarism in the United States, within the context of world military expenditures, determining just how big militarism (the elephant) has become. We will examine data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and other sources to provide the context. Then we will discuss how the U.S, has become an empire, through its use of bases in other countries, and how this all developed historically.

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4 Zinn, 2008 p.7

5 Chomsky, .2010

6 Boggs, 2005 p xxiv-xxv

7 Boggs 2005, pxxv-xxxii

Let us look at a basic dictionary definition of

militarism |'milətə,rizəm|

noun chiefly derogatory

the belief or desire of a government or people that a country should maintain a strong military capability and be prepared to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests.

DERIVATIVES

militarist noun & adjective

militaristic |,milətə'ristik| adjective

ORIGIN mid 19th cent.: from French militarisme, from militaire (see military).

followed by what scholars say about militarism. It is important to distinguish between military and militarism and the historian Chalmers Johnson says "By military I mean all the activities, qualities, and institutions required by a nation to fight a war in its defense. A military should be concerned with ensuring national independence, a sine qua non for the maintenance of personal freedom. But having a military by no means has to lead to militarism".<sup>8</sup>

Another historian, Alfred Vagts, who wrote a history of militarism, also agrees the distinction is necessary and says "the military way is marked by a primary concentration men and materials on winning specific objectives of power with the utmost efficiency, that is, with the least expenditure of blood and treasure".<sup>9</sup>

Countries can have military without militarism. But when military is transformed into militarism a process occurs where various customs, actions, and thinking associated with military forces are developed that will transcend actual military purposes even to the extent that institutional preservation of the armed services is more important than national security of the country; thus militarism can actually be detrimental to military objectives.<sup>10</sup>

Vagts believes "the standing army in peacetime is the greatest of all militaristic institutions"<sup>11</sup> and Johnson comments "when a military is transformed into an institution of militarism, it naturally begins to displace all other institutions within a government devoted to conducting relations with other nations. One sign of the advent of militarism is the assumption by a nation's armed forces of numerous tasks that should be reserved for civilians".<sup>12</sup>

As Vagts sees it: "Militarism is thus not the opposite of pacifism; it's true counterpart is civilianism. Love of war, bellicosity, is a counterpart of the love of peace, pacifism; but militarism is more and sometimes less, than the love of war. It covers every system of thinking and valuing in every complex of feelings which rank military institutions and ways above the

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8 Johnson 2004 page 24

9 Vagts, 1959, p13

10 Johnson, 2004, p24, Vagts, 1959, p1.

11 Vagts, 1959, p13

12 Johnson, 2004, p24.

ways of civilian life, carrying military mentality and modes of acting and decision into the civilian sphere.”

Even during the second world war, some of the American elite anticipating victory were preparing to replace the British Empire, and as the war ended with America as the richest and most powerful nation on earth at that time those who were ready to build an empire were curtailed by a population eager for peace, demobilization of the military, for employment and local development. As Johnson says “Peace did not last long, however. The Cold War and a growing conviction that vital interests, even national survival, demanded the "containment" of the Soviet Union helped turn an informal empire begun during World War II into hundreds of installations around the world for the largest military we ever maintained in peacetime.”<sup>13</sup>

What happened in the cold war regarding militarism is summed up by Johnson as “The military paranoia of the Cold War promoted massive military-industrial complexes in both the United States and the USSR and helped maintain high levels of employment through "military Keynesianism", that is, substantial governmental expenditures on munitions and war preparedness. The Cold War also promoted employment in the armed forces themselves, in huge espionage and clandestine service apparatuses, and in scientific and strategic research institutes in universities that came to serve the war machine. Both countries wasted resources at home, undercut democracy whenever it was inconvenient abroad, promoted bloody coups and interventions against anyone who resisted their plans, and savaged the environment with poorly monitored nuclear weapons production plants. Official propagandists justified the crimes and repressions of each empire by arguing that at least a cataclysmic nuclear war had been avoided and the evil intentions of the other empire thwarted or contained.”<sup>14</sup>

In terms of spending levels for the US, spending increased to a militarism baseline averaging \$281 billion dollars per year (2002 adjusted dollars) and spending never fell to pre cold war levels. After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the cold war defense spending stayed at the cold war level despite that the US under President Reagan the country became the biggest debtor country in the world.<sup>15</sup>

What follows is data on world military spending from 1988 to 2009 showing an increase of 49 percent since 2000 with the USA being the major contributor to the increase. And one can see in the pie chart of global distribution of military spending the United States of America accounts for almost 50% of the total, and the nearest spender China is outspent by the United States by a factor of seven.

In the raw data on United States spending one is struck by the massive amount spent on militarism and the seemingly minimal amounts relatively speaking spent

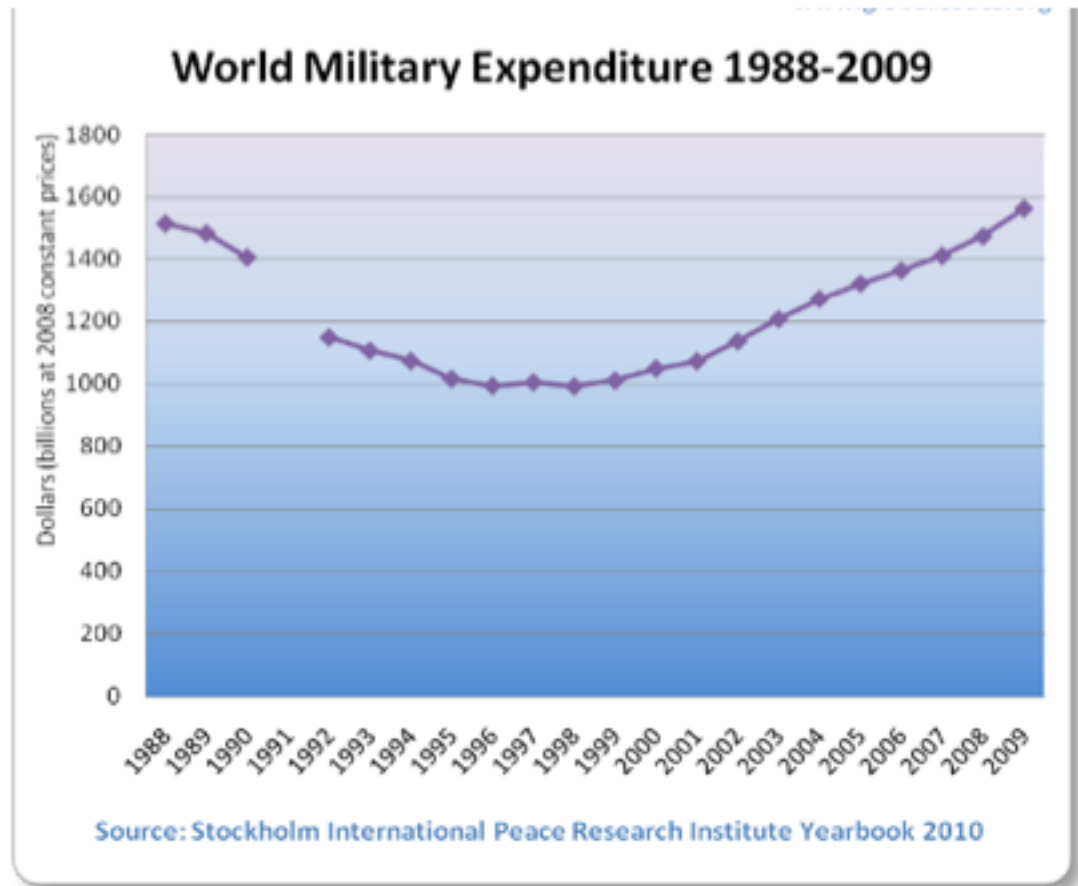
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13 Johnson,2004p2

14 Johnson,.2004,32

15 Johnson 2004 56

on jobs and education for example. The pie chart on arms exportation shows United States leading all other countries with a 30% share followed closely by a Russia. The big business of arms sales and exportation is graphically depicted in billions of dollars showing sales and exportation to developing and industrial countries.



(1991 figures are unavailable.)

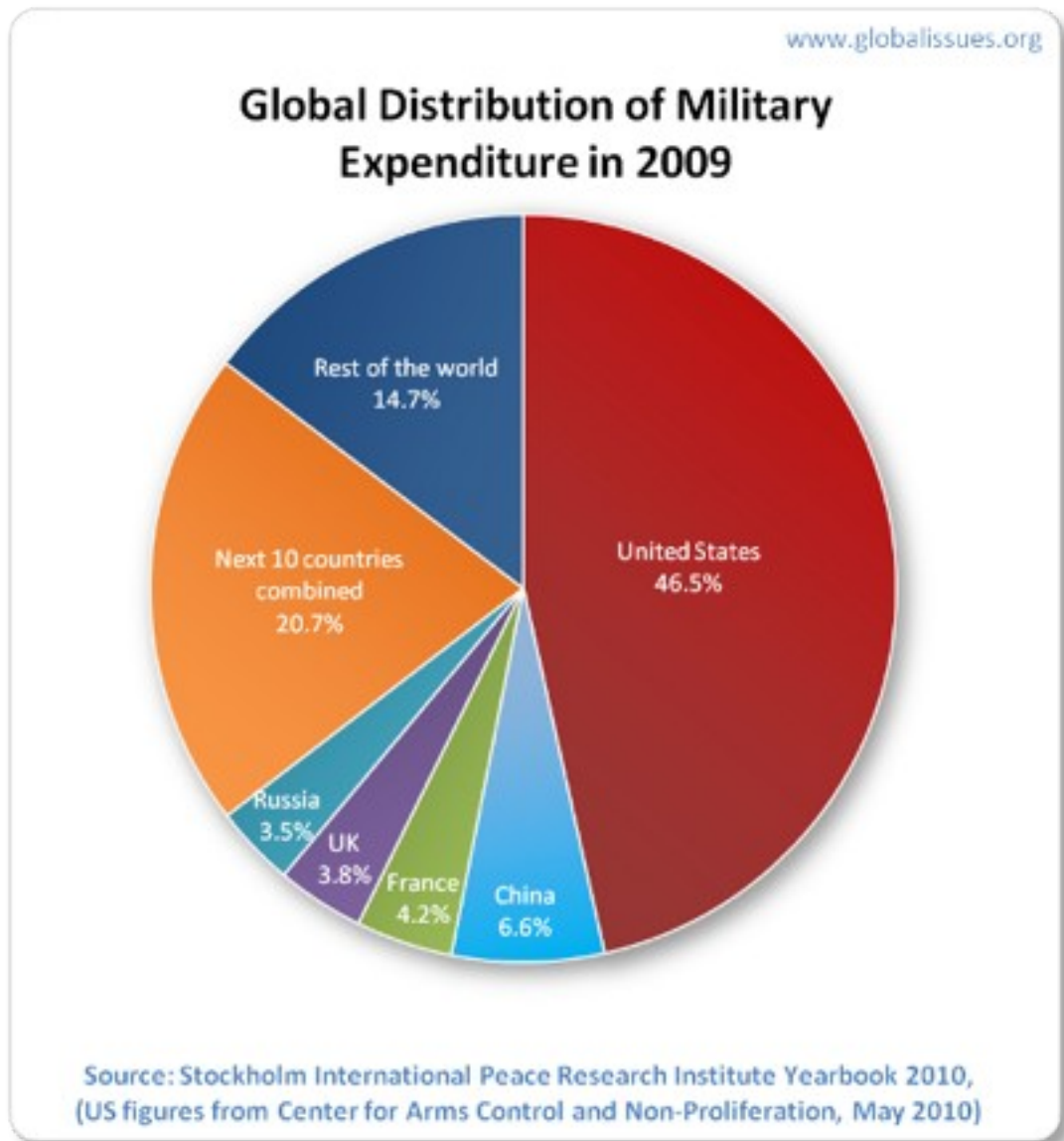
Summarizing some key details from chapter 5 of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)'s 2010 Year Book<sup>1</sup> on Armaments, Disarmament and International Security for 2008:

- World military expenditure in 2009 is estimated to have reached \$1.531 trillion in current dollars;
- This represents a 6 per cent increase in real terms since 2008 and a 49 per cent increase since 2000;
- This corresponds to 2.7 per cent of world gross domestic product (GDP), or approximately \$225 for each person in the world;
- The USA with its massive spending budget, is the principal determinant of the current world trend, and its military expenditure now accounts for just under half of the world total, at 46.5% of the world total;

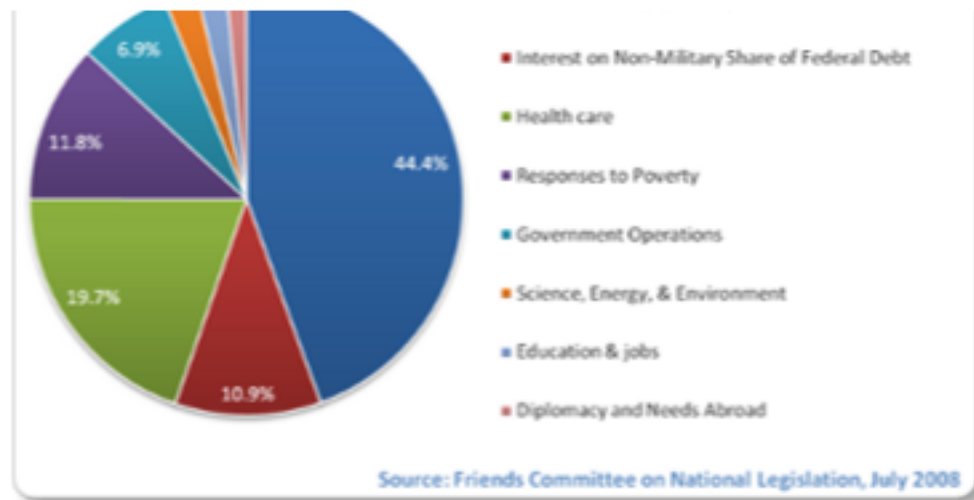
SIPRI has commented in the past on the **increasing concentration of military expenditure**, i.e. that a small number of countries spend the largest sums. This trend carries on into 2009 spending. For example,

- The 15 countries with the highest spending account for over 82% of the total;

- The USA is responsible for 46.5 per cent of the world total, distantly followed by the China (6.6% of world share), France (4.2%), UK (3.8%), and Russia (3.5%):



Military spending is concentrated in North America, Europe, and increasingly, Asia:



### Raw data and sources

	2009 (in billions of dollars)	2009 percent of federal funds budget
Current Military Spending	742	30.9%
Cost of Past Wars	324	13.5%
Total military percent		44.4%
Health care	472	19.7%
Responses to Poverty	284	11.8%
Interest on Non-Military Share of Federal Debt	261	10.9%
Government Operations	166	7%
Education and jobs	52	2.2%
Science, Energy, & Environment	60	2.5%
Non-Military International Programs	37	1.5%

Source: Budget Chart: President Bush's FY 09 Budget Proposal<sup>41</sup>, *Friends Committee on National Legislation*, February 15, 2008

Furthermore, “national defense” category of federal spending is typically just over half of the United States discretionary budget (the money the President/Administration and Congress have direct control over, and must decide and act to spend each year. This is different to mandatory spending, the money that is spent in compliance with existing laws, such as social security benefits, medicare, paying the interest on the

## The Top 20 Arms Exporters, 2005–2009

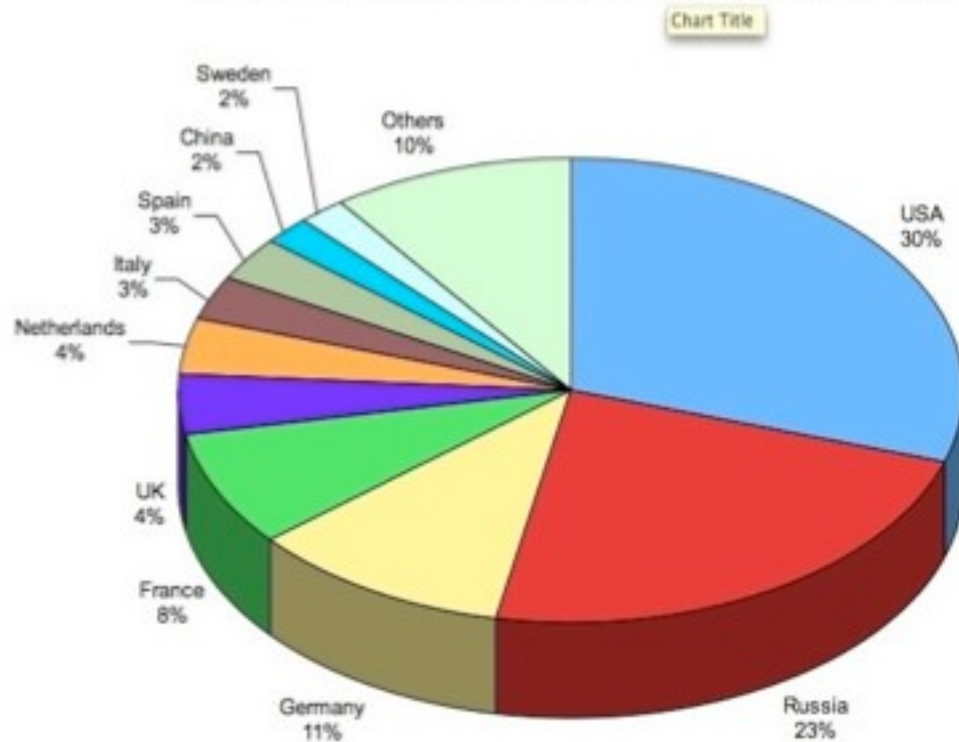


Data accurate as of 15 March 2010. Map created by Noel Kelly using [MapBuilder.net](http://MapBuilder.net).

Map Locations [-]

- 1. USA
- 2. Russia
- 3. Germany
- 4. France
- 5. United Kingdom
- 6. Netherlands
- 7. Italy
- 8. Spain
- 9. China
- 10. Sweden
- 11. Ukraine
- 12. Israel
- 13. Switzerland
- 14. Canada
- 15. Belgium
- 16. South Africa
- 17. South Korea
- 18. Poland
- 19. Belarus
- 20. Finland

## Top 10 arms exporters, for the period 2005-2009



The pie chart above shows how global arms imports are divided around the world. The percentage shows the country's share of total world arms exports, for the period 2005–2009.

Arms sales (agreements), by Supplier, 2002-2009 (in billions of constant 2009 U.S. dollars)

Supplier	Total Sales in US Dollars (billions)	Percent of total sales
United States	166.278	40%
Russia	73.965	18%
France	35.175	8%
United Kingdom	29.379	7%
China	13.652	3%
Germany	19.742	5%
Italy	12.531	3%
Other European	43.752	10%
Others	22.459	5%

Source: Richard F. Grimmett, *CYS Report for Congress: Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2002-2009*, September 10, 2010

Notes: Percentages are rounded; Each country shown as follows:

- developing countries
- industrialized countries



## Combined Forces Air Component Commander 2007-2010 Airpower Statistics (from the USAFCENT Public Affairs Directorate) As of 30 Sept 2010

### OPERATION ENDURING FREEDOM/International Security Assistance Force

#### Close Air Support

	Sorties
2007	13,962
2008	19,092
2009	26,474
2010	23,748

#### Weapons Releases

	Less Activity <span style="color: green;">■</span> <span style="color: red;">■</span> More Activity												Total
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	
2007	282	163	381	276	275	448	491	875	719	415	451	422	5,198
2008	236	358	388	243	427	984	752	630	375	338	210	110	5,051
2009	138	185	335	438	478	437	369	405	257	660	271	211	4,184
2010	159	132	177	197	300	500	400	500	700				3,065

	Weapons/Sorties %
2007	37%
2008	26%
2009	16%
2010	12%

#### ISR - OEF

Aug- end OIF	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	YTD
19,229	2,100				21,300

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Intel, Surveillance and Recon Sorties*	6,165	7,832	11,202	16,193	18,898	19,229
Airlift Sorties		55,264	56,179	51,945	52,905	41,000
Airlift Cargo (Short Tons)		205,816	270,007	251,738	264,839	228,200
Airlift Passengers		1,075,583	1,177,533	1,269,710	1,301,740	1,076,000
OEF Supplies Airdropped (Pounds)		3,500,000	8,182,066	16,576,297	32,267,606	40,200,000
Tanker Sorties	12,391	12,787	15,875	18,361	17,465	13,388
Fuel Offloaded (Millions of Pounds)	778	871	946	1,106	1,076	784
Aircraft Refueled	Not Avail	42,083	79,798	86,288	82,095	61,665
Personnel Recovery Sorties	154	59	51	184	6,903*	6,864
Saves	105	55	69	120	768	1,418
Assists	0	10	0	52	3,594	2,110

\*U.S. Air Force Personnel Recovery aircrews began assisting the U.S. Army casualty-evacuation mission in January 2009

Combined data includes OND and OEF

POC: AFCENT/AFFOR (CAOC) Public Affairs – DSN 318-436-1624

## NUCLEAR

“At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the United States's nuclear arsenal comprised 5,400 multiple-megaton warheads atop intercontinental ballistic missiles based on land and at sea; an additional 1,750 nuclear bombs and cruise missiles ready to be launched from B-2 and B-52 bombers; and a further 1,670 nuclear weapons classified as 'tactical' Not fully deployed but available are an additional 10,000 or so nuclear warheads stored in bunkers around the United States. One would think this might be more than enough preparedness to deter the three puny nations the president identified in early 2002 as the country's major potential adversaries—two of which, Iran and North Korea, had been trying unsuccessfully to achieve somewhat friendlier relations with the United States. The staggering overkill in our nuclear arsenal—its ability to destroy the planet several times over—and the lack of any rational connection between nuclear means and nuclear ends is further evidence of the rise to power of a militarist mind-set.”<sup>16</sup>

16 Johnson, 2004, 64



## DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BASE STRUCTURE REPORT FISCAL YEAR 2009 BASELINE (A Summary of DoD's Real Property Inventory)



OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
(INSTALLATIONS & ENVIRONMENT)

Within the context of world military spending and US military spending let's look at the bases developed by the United States at home and around the world.

Many people have studied and researched on how many bases the Pentagon really has, not only in the USA, but around the world. Skillful researchers derive different numbers and it should be noted that the late historian Chalmers Johnson, who's done the most definitive work on the bases said that he didn't know for sure how many there were and he and other researchers like Terse claim no one may actually know how many bases exist at this time. In part because the number of bases is changing all the time and some bases are hidden and secret such as the bases in England that are masquerading as the British Royal Air Force bases or bases in countries that have agreed to have them only if they are kept a secret.

Most everyone who looks at the data on bases of the United States conclude there are over 1000 US military bases throughout the world. Despite the large numbers of bases and people deployed around the world, there is rarely any real discussion of them in the political or civic areas. Possible reasons for so little public discourse are that the bases are secret but also because they

have become uncritically accepted by a public buying into the myths presented. “Many Americans still believe that US foreign policies are designed to maintain peace, to safeguard human rights and to spread democracy around the world. Regardless of their officially stated objectives, however, those policies often lead to opposite outcomes: war, militarism and dictatorship. Evidence of the fact that US policy makers no longer uphold the ideals they state publicly is overwhelming.”<sup>17</sup>

Johnson says: “Of all the insensitive, if graphic, metaphors we've allowed into our vocabulary, none quite equals "footprint" to describe the military impact of our empire”.<sup>18</sup> Johnson also argues that understanding the size, dimensions, and impact of the United States bases in the world is key to understanding and analyzing United States imperialism and militarism, We can recall from our definitions of militarism that the bases and the empire they represent may actually be detrimental to our military, our Constitution, and our democracy. In order to understand how big the empire of bases is we will look at what different researchers are saying about bases and we will also look at what the Department of Defense says in their annual base structure report.

Johnson referring to the Defense Department's annual base structure report for fiscal year 2003 pointed out the Pentagon owned or rented 702 overseas bases in 130 countries while maintaining 6000 bases in the United States.<sup>19</sup> Catherine Lutz an anthropologist writing in 2009 said "Officially, over 190,000 troops and 115,000 civilian employees are massed in 909 military facilities in 46 countries and territories. There, the US military owns or rents 795,000 acres of land and 26,000 buildings and structures valued at 146 billion."<sup>20</sup>

An investigative journalist, Nick Turse, spent a lot of time interacting with the Department of Defense regarding their 2010 base structure report that maintains there were 662 bases in 38 countries. Because of the numerous discrepancies in the report and because, Turse had previously read from others that the data on bases are secret, he made several inquiries and requests for clarification that were never answered by DOD but he did discover that the military “has close to 52000 buildings, and more than 38 pieces of heavy infrastructure like piers, wharves, and gigantic storage tanks, not to mention more than 9,100 ‘linear structures’ like runways, rail lines, and pipelines.”<sup>21</sup>

Turse further affirmed that after several inquiries, correspondence, and e-mails with the Pentagon and Department of Defense that he was finally given the figure 411 bases in Afghanistan. This is significant as Turse points out that a careful reading of Department of Defense’s 2010 base structure report looking for places or sites in Afghanistan will reveal zero bases described in the base structure report. Turse does the math on bases and if the 411 missing bases of Afghanistan are added to the Pentagon’s official tally we end up with 1073 basis and sites overseas. This is higher than the 1967 data on bases reported by Chalmers Johnson which equaled 1014 bases on foreign soil that year (considered the peak of the Cold War) and Turse says there are also still

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17 Ismael Hossein-zadeh,2011

18 Johnson.2004a

19 Johnson2004a

20 Lutz,2009

21 Turse,2011

missing sites and bases from the Pentagon's data for example bases in Qatar, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia where Department of Defense personnel and other military members are stationed but not reported on<sup>22</sup> Lutz points out of the "bases bristle with an inventory of weapons whose worth is measured in the trillions and whose killing power could wipe out all life on earth several times over. Their presence is meant to signal, and at times demonstrate, that the US is able and willing to attempt to control events and other regions militarily."<sup>23</sup>

Other sites not accounted for in the base report are the drone operating sites of the CIA and Air Force in Pakistan, and the Joint Special Operations Command bases in the same country {exposed by Nation magazine} and some airfields operated by the XE services formerly Blackwater. Also not counted are the U.S. Navy's carrier strike groups, flotillas that consist of massive aircraft carriers, the largest warships in the world, as well as a guided missile cruiser, two guided missile destroyers, an attack submarine, and an ammunition, oiler, and supply ship. The U.S. boasts 11 such carriers, town-sized floating bases that can travel the world, as well as numerous other ships, some boasting well over 1,000 officers and crew, that may, says the Navy, travel "to any of more than 100 ports of call worldwide" from Hong Kong to Rio de Janeiro. "The ability to conduct logistics functions afloat enables naval forces to maintain station anywhere," reads the Navy's *Naval Operations Concept: 2010*. So these bases that float under the radar should really be counted, too."<sup>24</sup>

The bases are good for business and an example of "military Keynesianism" economics as Johnson states, "Our installations abroad bring profits to civilian industries, which design and manufacture weapons for the armed forces or, like the now well-publicized Kellogg, Brown & Root Company, a subsidiary of the Halliburton Corporation of Houston, undertake contract services to build and maintain our far-flung outposts. One task of such contractors is to keep uniformed members of the imperium housed in comfortable quarters, well fed, amused, and supplied with enjoyable, affordable vacation facilities. Whole sectors of the American economy have come to rely on the military for sales."<sup>25</sup>

This many bases are also supported and serviced because "Our armed missionaries live in a closed-off, self-contained world serviced by its own airline -- the Air Mobility Command, with its fleet of long-range C-17 Globemasters, C-5 Galaxies, C-141 Starlifters, KC-135 Stratotankers, KC-10 Extenders, and C-9 Nightingales that link our far-flung outposts from Greenland to Australia. For generals and admirals, the military provides seventy-one Learjets, thirteen Gulfstream IIIs, and seventeen Cessna Citation luxury jets to fly them to such spots as the armed forces' ski and vacation center at Garmisch in the Bavarian Alps or to any of the 234 military golf courses the Pentagon operate worldwide".<sup>26</sup>

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22 Turse,2011

23 Lutz,2011

24 Turse,2011

25 Johnson2004a

26 Johnson,2004a

The historian, Bacevich, discusses how during the Cold War the USA's prior principles of demilitarizing after major conflicts were replaced with a valuing of military power for its own sake. He compares the U.S. Navy and its clear superiority primarily with the Nimitz class aircraft carriers and their great range, being powered by nuclear reactors, as examples of excessive power compared to other nations, for example Britain, with its previously superior naval forces currently having zero aircraft carriers in the Royal Navy. He also points out that the US Marine Corps is superior to Britain's Royal Air Force in numbers of attack aircraft even though the US has even larger numbers of aircraft than these in the US Air Force, Not to mention that the U.S. Army also has an Air Force of its own consisting of 5000 aircraft. Military personnel shows a similar excess and redundancy for the United States compared to other countries and as Bacevichs points out the cost is commensurate with the excess resulting with a conclusion that all of this excess and expense is " without historical precedent"<sup>27</sup>

"America's foreign military enclaves, though structurally, legally, and conceptually different from colonies, are themselves something like microcolonies in that they are completely beyond the jurisdiction of the occupied nation. The United States virtually always negotiates a "status of forces agreement" (SOFA) with the ostensibly independent "host" nation, a modern legacy of the nineteenth-century imperialist practice in China of "extraterritoriality"-the "right" of a foreigner charged with a crime to be turned over for trial to his own diplomatic representatives in accordance with his national law, not to a Chinese court in accordance with Chinese law. Extracted from the Chinese at gun point, the practice arose because foreigners claimed that Chinese law was barbaric and "white men" should not be forced to submit to it."<sup>28</sup>

"Rachel Cornwell and Andrew Wells, two authorities on status of forces agreements, conclude, "Most SOFAs are written so that national courts cannot exercise legal jurisdiction over U.S. military personnel who commit crimes against local people, except in special cases where the U.S. military authorities agree to transfer jurisdiction."<sup>29</sup>

The bases often have a negative impact on the citizens living near them such as drug use, crime, assault, and rape. Some citizens of the host locale are even completely displaced and a the whole displacement of populations on islands has occurred in the past. The U.S. bases contribute to environmental damage and often with impunity for the damage caused. Clearly militarism has grown hand in glove with imperialism for the United States. Next we will look at world and US history to trace the evolution and the roots of militarism and imperialism. The survey will be followed by an in-depth look at the military-industrial complex and the revolving door of circulating elites including the "unwarranted influence" of corporations. This will be followed by an examination of how pervasive militarism has become in our society, and a look at how others in the world see the USA's militarism and empire.

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27 Bacevich,2005,17

28 Johnson,2004,39

29 Johnson,2004 35