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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF OVERSEAS MILITARY BASES WITH REGARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DISTRIBUTION OF POWER

M.A. THESIS

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results, which are not original to this thesis. (/ /2018).

Volkan FERLENGEZ

FOREWORD

Many years from now while I am staring at my family photo, I will just recall my father and all his immensely great supports and fostering even on the tough days that he eked out them by his endless patience. Thus, I do not have more than bowing in front of his greatness. Further, all the gratitude and admiration go to my mother and sister who always stand by me.

Furthermore, I learnt quite a lot from my lecturer; Assist. Prof. Dr. Gökhan DUMAN during my master degree. Thus, I consider myself very fortune as he did favour to me by accepting my thesis advisor request.

Moreover, I am deeply grateful of all my professors. I enjoyed with their precious wisdom at the Department of Political Sciences and International Relations.

I wrote this Thesis on an era which has numerous of conflicts around the world. I pondered following each readings which convinced me that military interaction seems to thrive on international security. As my knowledge, social integration is a vital means for a nation. Setting up military base around the world does not just cease the threat but also contributes the cultural exchange among nations who may look different perspectives to the events and so provides peace. This is why overseas military basing are so crucial for bilateral and multilateral interests amid this unsteady world.

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ABBREVIATIONS

U.S.	:The United States of America
USSR	:Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UK	:United Kingdom
VFA	:Visiting Force Agreement
SOFA	:Status of Force Agreement
NATO	:North Atlantic Treaty Organization
UN	:United Nations
AU	:African Union
AMISOM	:African Union Mission in Somalia
IGASOM	:IGAD Peace Support Mission in Somalia

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DENİZAŞIRI ASKERİ ÜSLERİN ULUSLARARASI GÜVENLİK VE GÜÇ DAĞILIMI BAKIMINDAN KURULMASI

ÖZET

Yabancı ülkelerde askeri üslerin ve tesislerin kurulması, iki Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra 20. yüzyıla kadar uzanır; çünkü ülkeler, birbirlerini etkilemek ve egemen olmak istemektedir. Realist bir bakış açısına göre, üsler çeşitli nedenlerden dolayı farklı ülkelerde kurulmuştur; en dikkat çeken şey ise, hem üslere ev sahibi hem de askeri-tedarik eden ulus için ulusal ve siyasi çıkarların uyumlu hale getirilmesine ihtiyaç duyulmasıdır. Bu üsler stratejik olarak önemlidir ve çeşitli ülkelerde görülen gelişmeler bu gerçeği ispatlamaktadır. Bazı ülkeler, özellikle sömürgecilikten sonra başkaları üzerinde otoriteyi kullanmaya ihtiyaç duyarlarken, bazılarıda diğerlerine güvenlik, silah ve ekonomik büyüme şeklinde verilen yardıma ihtiyaç duydular. Buna mukabil üslere ev sahipliği yapan ülkeler üsler için iyi çalışma ortamı sağlamaktadır. Bununla birlikte, bu ülkelerdeki kontrol kademelerini yönetmek için birçok yasa ve yönetmelik bulunmaktadır.

Literatür taraması bölümü, denizaşırı askeri üslerin büyük güçlerin küresel güvenliğin güçlendirilmesinin yanı sıra güç dagılımında oynayabileceği rolünü ve tarihini inceliyor. Güvenlik tehditlerini ve dünya barışını yıllar boyunca karakterize eden önemli değişiklikleri ve güçlü devletlerin bu gibi durumları kontrol altına almak için attığı adımları özetliyor.

Buna ek olarak, bu çalışma, tek kutuplu dünya statüsüne götüren Sovyetler Birliği'nin çöküşünü, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ni dünya genelinde daha da fazla askeri üs kurmaya nasıl götürdüğünü ve bu üslerin Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve dünyadaki diğer güçlü uluslar için nasıl yararlı olduklarını inceliyor.

Bu çalışma, denizaşırı askeri üslerin kurulmasının uluslararası güvenliğin geliştirilmesini ve güç dağılımını nasıl elverisli duruma getirdigini realist bir bakış açısıyla incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, denizaşırı askeri üslerin kurulmasının güvenlik yönetmeliklerini geliştirmesine ve güç dağılımına yardımcı olup olmadığını araştırmaktır. Bu araştırma veri toplama ve analizinde realist bir yaklaşım kullanacaktır. Veriler, konuyla alakalı ve 2000 ile 2017 yılları arasında yayınlanan ikincil kaynaklardan alınacaktır. Niteliksel analiz yöntemleri kullanılacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Realizm, denizaşırı askeri üsler, uluslararası güvenlik, güç dağılımı*

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF OVERSEAS MILITARY BASES WITH REGARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DISTRIBUTION OF POWER

ABSTRACT

The practice of establishing military installations and facilities in foreign countries dates back to the 20th century after the two World Wars as nations sought to exercise influence and domination over others. From a realist point of view, bases have been set up in different countries for some reasons with the most notable being the need to align national and political interests in both the host and the military-providing nation. These bases are of strategic importance and developments seen in various countries attest to this fact. Some countries needed to exercise authority over others, especially after colonization while others needed the help granted to them in the form of security, weaponry, and economic growth. The host countries in return provide good working environments for the installations. However, there are several laws and regulations to control the levels of control in these countries.

The literature review section explore the history and the role that overseas military basing has been able to play in enhancing global security as well as power distribution across major powers. It outlines the significant changes that have characterised security threats and world peace over the years and steps that have been taken by major powers to contain these situations.

Moreover, the research examines how the collapse of the former Soviet Union, which led to the unipolar world status made the United States to establish even more military bases across the globe and how these bases have been beneficial to the United States and other powerful nations across the globe.

This research seeks to explore the realists perspective on how the establishment of overseas military bases help to improve international security and streamline distribution of power. The major objective of this paper is to explore whether the establishment of overseas military bases helps to improve security regulations and aid power distribution. The research will use a realist approach to data collection and analysis. Data will be sourced from secondary sources which are relevant to the topic and published between 2000 and 2017. Qualitative data analysis methods will be used.

Keywords: *Realism, overseas military bases, international security, power distribution*

1   INTRODUCTION

Glebov (2009, p.56) defines a military base as a facility installed to support military logistics and operations. They can have different roles such as air, navy, or land bases. Depending on their specific functions, military settlements can act as weaponry stock, posts of intelligence, test-ranges for weaponry, military operations, and as hosts for military corps. However, some regulations are limiting the jurisdiction and level of activities by a foreign military in the host countries. These laws have been created regionally and globally regarding the rule of law. Regional regulations have a great effect on how countries run military operations in host countries. In case they do not work, international courts to deal with military issues have been set up. Overseas basing is among the most enduring characteristics of international relations. Therefore, there is no doubt about the significance of foreign military basing to enhancing international security and stability and the need to understand how it influences power balance in the global geopolitics. Lostumbo, McNerney, Peltz, Eaton and Frelinger (2013) illustrate this idea in the book, *Overseas basing of US military forces: An assessment of relative costs and strategic benefits*. Similar sentiments have been echoed by Gideon Rose (1998, p.147) in his review article, *Neoclassical Realism, and Theories of Foreign Policy* where he examines the skirmishes of the questions that seek to understand the role and influence of international system on international outcome patterns such as war and stability.

Lostumbo et al. (2013) opine that the Cold War brought about changes in security policies which created a great need for cooperation and building confidence among states across the world. When establishing these bases, logic, and interests are the main factors that provide a leeway for these installations to be created (Zanotti 2012). Strategic interest between the host nation and the military country give reasons the establishment of these bases. Bases live on for continued alliances and are used as a hedge against future security uncertainties

(Barfield 2010). However, their creation is also largely dominated by the international system structure where big countries have a bigger say.

Before military bases became what they are today, they were limited to a few aircraft carriers in offshore areas and small bases to accommodate the soldiers fighting these wars. Temporary visits by the military and officials from these nations were also some of the uses of these installations (Lostumbo et al., 2013). Today, however, they are extensive areas with state of the art technology, large buildings and more like a permanent settlement (Cordesman 2007: 66). Military personnel is deployed everywhere with countries using diplomacy to create even more bases for "expansion." Their countries invest heavily in these missions and carry out a periodic assessment to see how operations are carried out.

With the rapid expansion of military bases came the need to ensure that activities in these countries are controlled. According to the definition of a military base, these paces are extensions of their home countries in the host country. As a result, there might be effects on the sovereignty of the host. That is why regional and global laws governing these establishments were created.

However, Lostumbo et al. (2013) stress that sustaining a military base in a host country is not a cheap affair as it costs a lot to pay for utilities, feeds the military, and invests in the local communities where these bases are located. For example, the US military bases abroad have an estimated budget of more than $100 billion a year as it can be seen on table 1.1. With this kind of spending, it is crucial that these bases are kept, and the law is enforced to ensure their survival (Zannotti 2012).

Table 1.1: 2016 military expenditure by country and share of global total (McCarthy 2017).

Countries	2016 spending ($ bn)	% share of total expenditure
United States	611.0	36.0
United Kingdom	48.3	2.9
France	55.7	3.3
Russia	69.2	4.1
Turkey	22.6	1.3

Bases have different sizes and purposes (Manson 2012). Some are vast training camps, while others are spy bases which are unobtrusive to the hosts and the locals in the areas they are located. The military presence might be limited to a few activities like port-of-calls, refueling bases, and landing for intelligence and military aircraft while others are a conspicuous training camp for the military. Foreign bases are also used for imprisonment and transport of people. The perfect example of a base prison is the Guantanamo Bay Prison (Zeijden 2009). Some of the benefits of these bases are employment for local suppliers and contractors. These benefits occur without any cost to the host country which improves the overall wellbeing if the nations that the military is located in.

These bases support the locals in different ways by giving back through the creation of the school, health facilities, helping in clean-up exercises, and supporting local programs through awareness and education in different fronts (Pettyjohn 2013).

The major controversy concerning these military settlements is regarding their establishment in foreign territories which is a global issue in power distribution and influence. The World Super Powers are not strategically located while they need to exercise their influence over the world. Most of these countries are either at the farthest ends of the continents and therefore create military bases to intensify their great powers and overcome geographical disadvantage. The reasons why these bases are set up include; showing political resolve, protecting their military power, and exhibiting their military commitment across the world to their allies. Strategic alignment and interests have also led to opening up ports across the world. These bases open up new ports, promote trade and improve the overall security. It even creates power for the host country because once a country is opened up to new possibilities; it ends up being a world leader in a certain niche as well. For instance, the military bases in Asia have opened up the Gulf region to the world regarding the oil trade.

Currently, the Arab countries are the biggest exporters of oil in the world and have big ports and seaways to ensure quick distribution to other parts of the world. These ports were opened up due to interventions from the superpowers to grow the region and invest even in the military. From a liberal point of view, even with the positive interventions, there could be interference with the

running of a country due to heavy military control over the host nation. The principle of sovereignty as talked about from the times of Socrates dictates that a country is only sovereign in its territory. No other country should be allowed to impose its jurisdiction on foreign lands. This principle clashes with the establishment of military bases by foreign nations in host countries and the laws regulating these situations should be understood. The laws governing these bases should also be revised to take into consideration different factors affecting the legal system of the foreign country hosting the overseas military and be able to adequately address political power distribution of power.

The paper seeks to address the creation of overseas military bases and to analyse the factors that make it possible to create them and their impact on international security and stability. Establishment of a military base is dependent on many factors such as strategic locations, political interest, security situations, regulations governing their creation and distribution of power.

Going to the research, only two variables have been chosen. The two main reasons why they are established in different countries is the need for tighter security and defence and the distribution of power regarding the project topic. Security is the overall goal of setting up military bases while the main determinant of setting up a base anywhere is the alignment of interests and distribution of power. The mix of these two variables will inform the research question and help in the achievement of the set objectives.

The study will adopt qualitative method while data will be collected through observation of what is said and done. When analysis and interpretation of this data are done, qualitative information brings in rich insight into lives of the respondents and target population. The research has looked at military bases in five countries namely: the US, the UK, France, Russia, and Turkey. The US biggest bases are in Japan, Germany, Korea and Italy. The UK is mainly in the Mediterranean and the South Atlantic countries. The French are in Africa and the South Pacific. Russia has set up bases in India, Former Soviet Union Nations, and Tajikistan. These stations are set up to compete with each country while ensuring world peace and supporting commercial operations in their host countries and seek different levels of control. The US looks to protect its borders and Turkey is looking for good political alignment. The UK helps its

colonies in trainings and as training sites for their forces while Russia is in it for the seaways and exercise of control. France seeks to assist in peacekeeping missions for countries in Africa.

It is indisputable fact that the interests of nations are immensely vital in international politics. In a globalized world, the alignment of interests of countries is an imperative for them to influence and guarantee their power in world politics. Besides, they seek to restrain the various oft-cited threats such as terrorism for the sake of the world secure. With this in mind, setting up military bases around the world is the primary concept for this. Thus, this work tries to answer whether establishment of overseas military bases help to improve international security and streamline distribution of power or not.

This paper aims to analyse how the military installations in foreign countries are governed and ensure equitable distribution of power to help international security. This research primarily aims at exploring whether the establishment of overseas military bases help to improve international security and streamline distribution of power. It will thus underscore the statutory requirements as well as the relevant laws and regulations that govern processes, events, and actions leading to the establishment of overseas military bases to strengthen international security in the modern society and facilitate distribution of power. Besides, the paper will look at military bases in five different countries; analyse the benefits of having military bases in other countries, and look at laws governing these installations. It will also look at realism and liberalism as predisposing factors to the formation of bases in various countries across the world.

Overseas and local military policies are elements of the general security policy of a nation. Previous studies majorly focused on "hard" issues such as security studies, military, and defense, among other things, regional cooperation, alliance formation, security dilemmas and nuclear proliferation. However, the concept has greatly expanded since the collapse of the USSR and currently it focuses on both military issues as well as environmental, socioeconomics, social stability, and migration. Nonetheless, Buzan (1991, p.59) argues that the task of identifying a nation as a referent security object is quite a problematic. He thus urges that the process through which a nation defines its national security

problems forms the major area of interest. The fact that any nation heavily depends on the physical base, military population, therefore, becomes a primary security concern (Lostumbo et al., 2013). This is especially true for strong states whose national security concerns are not entirely determined by domestic issues: strong states' national security concerns revolve around achieving political identity, protecting their independence, and a way of life from external influences. Buzan (1991, p.101) stresses that such states do not majorly focus on threats that arise from within their fabric.

The paper will cover five distinct chapters. The initial section is the introduction that will cover the background of the study, the problem statement and the objectives of the research. Research question will be developed in this section as well as the importance of the research. Review of relevant literature will also be done here. The second chapter will cover the theories surrounding the establishment of military bases across the world. There are two theories up for discussion namely realism and liberalism which will be discussed in detail. Chapter three will discuss examples of military bases for five countries across the world. These include the US, the UK, France, Turkey, and Russia (Rose, 1998, p.163). The fourth chapter will look at the benefits and impacts of military bases across the world. This will include the role of overseas military basing and an analysis of the laws and regulations that govern these establishments and their effects on international security. It will also look at the political, social, and economic impacts of these installations (Nye 2016). Furthermore, it will cover the impact of international relations and diplomacy and impacts on international security and distribution of power. The last chapter will be the conclusion page. An appendix and list of tables will be created from the data collected and outsourced material to justify any claims being made.

Overseas military basing is a historical instrument that strong states use to project their power to address a broad range of socioeconomic, military, and political interests. The Asia region including the Caspian-Caucasus started to forge broader international anti-terrorist front following the 9/11 attack (Lostumbo et al., 2013). The changes broke the old barriers by forging an alliance that allowed western countries to deploy their forces in particular parts of the region that were traditionally considered to be aligned to the Soviet

Union (Flemes and Wehner 2015). Moreover, the NATO, EU and the United States consider military bases as the backbone of their military apparatus. These bases have been used in various situations either directly to topple governments through military regime change or clench fist and mount pressure on other "rogue" nations to force them into a negotiation table for the sake of security, peace, and stability across the globe.

Barfield (2010) and Sarantakes (2000) both agree that the presence of military bases abroad is beneficial to the host country in different ways. Social, political and economic benefits are some that accrue from hosting these installations. The creation of foreign bases is directly connected to communication lines and economic and political alignments. Routes connect commercial and military units abroad, and these bases are located strategically (Zanotti 2012).

It is essential for a country to understand that the willingness of another country to host foreign military should not be taken for granted. Sustainability is important to align the good relations between the hosts and the military country for good co-existence. Several laws have been created to help the military avoid overstepping and the host nation to understand their role in the functioning of these bases (Calder 2007).

A base should not be hurriedly built at a great cost without analyzing its need and the host nation's stable support. Looking for different ways to reduce military effects on host countries to maintain their sovereignty is very important especially today. The UN General Assembly had a conference whose theme was "eliminating foreign military bases in Asia, Africa, and Latin America" (Nye 2016). The conference was to come up with solutions to military interference in host countries and look for a way of having them shut down. However, Bohdan (2013) argues that closing down military bases would not do a state any good from a political and economic perspective. However, he offers solutions to the reduction of these effects such as reevaluation of operations essential to accomplishing their missions in host countries to be able to preserve the sovereign integrity of a nation while protecting their viability as well.

Military bases were mostly established after the cold war with the aim of influencing the host nations and having access to their grounds for various

operations. For instance, the US set up some of its bases to control communism that was being spread by the Soviet Union across the world. (PettyJohn 2013).

Training and operations management should also be put in place to ensure that infrastructure from the host nation and cooperation is well maintained to contribute to the achievement of the base objectives and take the interests of the host nations into consideration (Durukan 2012). Apart from the laws governing these operations, careful consideration should be made to enhance co-operation based on the interests of both sides and security.

Bohdan (2013) and Haaret (2012) both agree that appreciation of different sensitivities and traditions of the host country should bind these relationships. In this dynamic world and competitive world, efforts are very crucial in maintaining and fostering relations as far as military bases are concerned.

The military should adhere to the rules of the host nation, and the host nation should respect the installations since they are treated and foreign grounds. Security initiatives need to be aligned and coordinated with the national power instruments of the host country (Hansen 2008). Social issues that arise such as raping of girls and grabbing land by the foreign military should be a thing of the past. There should be hours and hours of fostering relationships by overseas units.

According to Rosenfeld, the law is unclear on how to deal with some of the crimes committed by the military of visiting nations. SOFAs were created to redefine the responsibilities and legal rights of military forces abroad. They are international laws agreeable to nations which create obligations on jurisdiction over the civilian (Rosenfeld 2014, p.280).

Access to foreign nations means increased influence (Pettyjohn 2013) and (Calder 2007). According to research by the Global Research Institute, the US foreign military bases assisted to end the Vietnamese, Korean, and Gulf Wars. The US has critical Military installations in these regions that made it possible to support operations that restored order and security in these places (Bohdan 2013). Establishment of bases around the world should, however, not only be seen as though they are only for militia purposes (Durukan 2012). They promote political, economic, and social objectives. Setting food relations between

countries, construction of key trade passes and foreign direct investments are also some of the uses of these installations (Cotalengo 2014) and (Clark and Cate 2014).

Military bases can help bring world peace in two different ways. First, an army installation has to be created in a country where the host and the military nation have good relations. This will ensure peace between the two countries. The second way is helping in the defense capabilities of a country. Dufuor (2007) and Rosenfeld (2003) agree that a military base can help end a war by advancing at the host nation's enemies or getting support from the host nations to defeat its enemies. Host nations can provide the strategic location and infrastructure. As said before, most of the superpowers might not be strategically located close to their enemies or close to good navigations points. In case of an emergency, the troops from a military base can be able to come in and support the host nation in the fight or get support as well. They can make use of weaponry in the host country and facilities in such an event.

Military bases need to be effectively run and controlled to support strategies as integral components of the host country's defense capabilities. An assessment of the presence of these bases has helped in the execution of joint military strategies, offered advisory services to host nations, and helping in changing tactics according to the strategic environments (Cordesman 2012). Increasing capabilities comes in different ways including improving response to contingencies, defense from adversaries, and offering assurance to allies (Storrs 2006).

Naval capabilities are also a crucial part of military installations (Harkarvy 2005). They help maintain a global presence adequate to ensure the advancement of the home country interests and world peace. Fleets associated with different military bases have a set of components that are interconnected to ensure a forward presence in different countries. These components include having permanent military installations overseas to support forces and presence, attack forces on standby in their home countries that can easily be deployed to overseas missions, strategic mobility of forces and infrastructure for logistics that can connect home and naval forces in case of global attacks, a global command, intelligence, and control network, and good relations, alliances and

partnerships with the overseas nations (Krepinevich 2007). These alliances allow for construction and establishment of bases on foreign soil. The essential reason why these strategies are successful is the use of operational and strategic concepts to link the national security challenges for the hosts and the military capabilities to handle them. If the postures can handle the challenges, the military country can continue operations in an accessible strategic environment. The strategic cultures of these countries are also represented and synthesis created between civilian and military power instruments (Knorr 2015). The maritime agendas of various fleets across the world have also brought about favorable foreign policies.

The definition of maritime regarding foreign policy encompasses multiple activities across the waters of the world and their close relationships (Hook and Spanier 2015). These activities include international law and affairs, trade, politics, economics, migration, immigration, and communication. In war, the maritime strategies regard the fleet and the forces aboard as weapons that coordinate actions and mark the point beyond which either party will discover the full wrath of the other. The navy and the military bases on land are one front, and their objectives are always aligned in the face of war. Mostly the navy is considered as a provider of access and support for land bases, but they are also in their right floating weapons and vessels to create alliances and good relations with host countries (Knorr 2015).

Empirical studies indicate that overseas military basing benefit from adaptability and interoperability skills. Besides, they also have the advantage of cultural awareness with foreign partners from where they access their training. These skills are of utmost significance, especially through temporary and rotational deployments (Lostumbo et al., 2013). Overseas military basing benefits the participating personnel through enhancing their operational ability alongside foreign military personnel. The association assists the foreign forces to gain the capability to understand how to build coalitions to support security and stability and influence adversaries, which require an adequate understanding of the customs and values (Flemes and Wehner 2015). Operating in an international environment away from home ground enable forces stationed in foreign lands to be able to experience and learn cultural and national

differences in depth and be able to incorporate them as part of their skill set and thus can improve on their ability and understanding when dealing with international security issues.

Historical data indicates that foreign military presence originated when European powers constructed their mercantilist empires to be used in maintaining their extended empires. By the end of WWII, most imperial states mainly from Europe had fallen but introduced a bi-polar world political system, which led to the reintroduction of foreign military bases during the struggle between the United States and USSR. According to historians and political scientists, foreign military bases amounts to expanding a nation's sphere of influence to a new region (Lostumbo et al., 2013). However, the shifting geopolitical constellations witnessed when the USSR collapsed and rise in threat levels from across the globe from terrorist organizations reinforced the need to re-evaluate defense strategy against these external threats. Most renowned world military powers considered the changes as the end of the threat of border invasion and the inception of overseas threats which cannot be managed through the use of the strategies deployed during the Cold War era (Pettyjohn 2013). Consequently, there has been a move in focus among these military powers towards relatively small, mobile military bases with the capability to carry out expeditionary operations which have a tremendous positive impact on international security. Therefore, it is quite evident that foreign military base has been able to neutralize the threat of terrorism from all corners of the world since the foreign soldiers can acquire information in advance and use it to crack down terrorist hideouts and bases.

The emergence of Obama administration aimed at reducing the American military presence through defense cuts, which immensely influenced America's military presence in Europe and Eurasia. However, the administration realized too early that the cuts were sending wrong signals on the U.S commitment to addressing security issues in the transatlantic region. Experts warned that the move would embolden the adversaries of the United States across the world. They also stressed that cutting down American military sending to overseas military bases would reduce the flexibility and ability of the United States to respond to any unexpected security threats in the Middle East and Eurasia

(Lostumbo et al., 2013). Despite the critical beliefs opining that foreign basing of military amounts to Cold War anachronism, the practice is quite important in enhancing international security and realizing distribution of political power today as it was during the Cold War period.

A secure and safe planet is in the social, political and economic interest of all countries including America and European countries. In fact, economists opine that regional security and stability as a result of foreign military bases is important in supporting economic growth and development in the region. For instance, since the United States and the Western European nations stationed their militaries across the spheres of influence of their eastern associates, the economies of these countries combined; the United States, Western and Eastern European nations' economies account for nearly half of the world economy. Foreign military bases and military alliances and partnerships with organizations such as NATO have also played a critical role in the process of power distribution and regional security among allies. It has been determined that joint training with foreign militaries stationed in overseas bases has played a critical role in preparing host nations' troops always to remain prepared for missions. According to some of the emerging reports, the Georgian infantry battalion fought alongside the United States' Marines in Afghanistan, Helmand Province, which is considered as the most dangerous regions in the country (Lostumbo et al., 2013). Therefore, this shows that when a state establishes a foreign base abroad and train the militaries of the host nations in undertaking critical and challenging missions, their level of commitment and willingness to share the burden increases thus hastening the realization of international security and power distribution through weeding out adversaries.

2 THEORETICAL APPROACH

2.1 Liberalism

Liberalism ideally refers to the freedom of a nation. Its core ideals are universality, human rights, duty to be treated well and freedom from social actions. It also represents the right to live in home countries without any interference. Several representatives of the government have studied harmony between nations with the consent of free people who should exist in a political order. This principle coined after the Second World War has however been reshaped to neo-liberalism. This has brought about cooperation that takes into account the interdependence that entails mutual interest and increases the levels of peace between countries. The principle of sovereignty might be abused in light of establishing military bases in foreign countries.

The Oslo guidelines dictate that countries humanitarian assistance should be provided in line with neutrality and humanity with total respect for the host's sovereignty. The guidelines are very broad, but they ensure that the military does not spread abuse. They also help the military get international support from other international links. The other global actions are the No-Bases Network whose main aim is to resist the formation of military bases from the year 2000. Civil rights Non-Governmental- Groups (NGOs) have the major aim of uniting all countries to resist the spread of military bases across the world. The movement also helps in rehabilitating the abandoned military sites like in Western Europe (Dufour 2007).

The first conference on the No-Bases Network was held in Manta Ecuador; panels sat to discuss the impacts of foreign military bases on human rights, gender, democracy, the environment, sovereignty, and peace. 40 countries were represented by over 300 delegated. They analyzed the need effects of the military on local peoples strain exhibited during this time. It was during this time that the president of Ecuador, Rafael Correa, refused to renew the Agreement of the Manta base with the US in 2009 (Colangelo 2014).

Liberalism is an approach also being taken up by neo-realism which is the modern realism has separated from the political laws and its characteristics and sees the structures that states exist in are anarchic because of lack of sovereign authority. Neo-realists explain that nation's should serve their interests overseas by following strict codes of self-help because of lack of jurisdiction above them. They should also try and acquire the power to secure themselves when faced with compromising situations. Liberalists have tried to show that hosting troops from foreign nations bring not only lack of sovereignty but also other problems.

The adherence of fundamental freedoms and human rights are features of the establishment of military bases that have been taken into account in several laws and constitutions across the world (Flemes and Wehner 2015). However, they still lack on many fronts. For example, the interventions by the US forces in Panama caused massive destruction of property and hundreds of deaths that were justified by the claim of an expected threat on the lives of US military troops and nationals that were present in Panama. Individual human rights should be protected on all fronts and most especially on a sovereign nation's soil. Violations of human rights have also been seen in Haiti and Kuwait- Iran conflicts with the excuses offered not being enough to warrant the nature of the crimes in question (Gilpin 2015).

Liberalists also argue that the effects of military bases go beyond political effects. They argue that these installations should be eliminated on the count of economic, environmental, and social effects. These problems include environmental degradation, social erosion, political risks and dangers of civil strife, and economic sabotage. The specific effects are noise, water, and land pollution, violence with the locals, social misgivings and impeding on the sovereignty of these nations. From a social point, their operations can be deemed dangerous example the testing of weaponry since it can cause harm or contamination. For example, uranium residues can pollute oil and water affecting a whole population (Zeijden 2009). From a social point too, the foreign military has been known to be hostile to communities around their bases. They have been known to rape women, grab local land, and even get involved in violent crimes (Zeijden 2009).

Military structure, according to liberalists, poses significant threats to the foreign nation which it is situated. For example cases children collecting bombs and ammunition from military training sites in Africa. Environmental impacts of military bases include residue from testing new weaponry which can cause accidents and contamination. Uranium based weapons pollute the water and soil which can affect the entire population. Playing host can also bring political problems. Being the host means that a country loses some of its sovereignty to the other state in the particular area they are located. The military structure can pose a threat to the hosts undermining their security and making it susceptible to foreign attacks (Zeijden 2009). SOFAs can be viewed as an authoritarian policy by the host state (Peterson 2012). If a military does not respect the host country's laws, this can lead to a civil war. If the host country finds a military authoritarian, it can choose to turn against them, and this can bring political instability (Peterson 2012).

In regard to military bases, all fronts should strive to protect their interests while ensuring regard is maintained for values of the host nations and respect for the military present. The application of military power on state threats is different from the application of power against threats considered non-state. Liberalists argue that controlling this escalation is becoming very difficult and thus military bases should be done away with altogether. Campaigns have been mounted against this, and it is imperative that nations maintain their militaries.

2.2   Realism

The political realism tradition dates back to the periods of Thucydides, the 15th century great Greek historian. Despite the fact that the attitudes dominating the realists' perspective vary, their arguments and orientations remain central to the western theory and practice of international relations. Realists majorly focus on the acquisition, exercise and maintenance of power by a nation, which in most occasions can be referred to as hard power involving overseas military posturing of personnel, missiles, war planes and tanks among other military regalia. The primary focus of realists is on the political constraints that result due to lack of international government and human nature, thus considering the international relations to be a realm of power and interests. The realists consider nature at its

core as egoistic, implying that it is inalterably inclined towards immorality. The realists' perspective also addresses the political necessities, implying that lack of an international prefect automatically ushers in the law of the jungle.

Therefore, power politics dominate the realists' illustration of international relations, which in effect fails to provide the difference between foreign policy from other diverse policy areas. The realists often converge with Harold Lasswell's assertion that politics majorly deals with the struggle about who gets what, how and when, and the power struggle pointed out here is an endemic and critical characteristic of human life (Lasswell, 1950, p.86). Nonetheless, according to the realists, power politics conditions differ across international and internal politics due to lack of legitimate monopoly violence. Joseph Grieco notes that countries understand that anarchy implies the absence of a central authority to prevent other nations from using violence or threats, destroy or dominate others (Grieco, 1990, p.38).

Lack of a central power that would protect nations against the threat of violence from other nations makes each nation to focus primarily on their survival and security. They particularly want to focus majorly on the most appropriate means of protecting themselves from the potential threat of violence from other "rogue" states (Rose, 1998). In a situation where countries become dependent on their individual abilities to provide security to themselves, they start to worry about their power relative to other nations (Grieco, 1990, p.41). The lack of a central power to safeguard and protect the interests of states considered as less strong from exploitation by their powerful counterparts, and the fact that no nation can be certain about the intention of other states in the future makes them prefer to establish their foreign policy not on ideational factors but on thorough power calculations to minimise their risk of survival.

Therefore, realism is an inverted pyramid that assists in understanding foreign policy. For instance, this case scenario requires an understanding of international conditions for foreign military basing. Mouritzen and Wivel (2012, p.25) opine that power balance is a critical starting point for foreign policy analysis. It, therefore, indicates that realists' view on foreign policy contrasts the conventional foreign policy understanding which primarily focuses on human and state-level decision making. Historian and diplomat George F.

Kennan, who is considered as among the most influential post-WWII realists, inspired the Cold War containment policy as well as the Truman doctrine through the "Long Telegram" from his office in Moscow. The alignment of nation's agenda must be taken into consideration by every government first. In the world today where the security risks involved are too high, it is essential that nations align themselves strategically. Realism aligns political interest and the services offered by military bases in their countries.

With the massive creation of political alignments, bilateral and multilateral agreements among nations of the world, the importance of good political and military alignments are of utmost importance. Setting up of bases and naval ports in different countries regarding military installations ensures economic growth, social exposure, and security against terror and war (Peterson 2012). Countries, where these bases are located, have benefited immensely from the training of their troops as well. As a result, most of these nations have become security sufficient from their own military alone.

From a realist point of view, all the concerns brought about by the liberalists have been taken care of in the set of rules that govern these installations (Clark et al. 2014). Proper regulations have been enforced and more regulations added to ensure the continuity of bases and regard for the host countries. The pending negatives that affect these bases have been addressed within the current laws which include the issues of environmental protection and human health.

2.3 Realist approach as predisposing factors

Realism illustrates foreign policy elements that have been consistent for a considerable period. Realists believe that a government's decision to go to a war results from an involuntary participation in a continuous quest for security and power within the global political environment when the government fears potential hostility from other jurisdictions. In general sense, countries often calculate the cost against benefits of going into war concerning security and state power (Calder, 2007, p.28). Therefore, the international behavior of a country reflects the constraints their relative power position imposes on their actions. Thus, the shift from bipolar power distribution during Cold War to a unipolar state dominated by the United States military shifted the U.S military

strategy from pursuing deterrence policies to preventive warfare against rogue states (Hook and Spanier 2015). The rise of unipolar dominance when the USSR collapsed provided the United States with incentives for deemphasizing collective responsibility on international security, making it rely heavily on the American military.

The stress of realists on unavoidability and steadiness of war and military rivalry between sovereign states becomes more acceptable to because the United States did not reduce its military spending despite the collapse of its primary challenger during the Cold War (Rose 1998). It is also evident that since this period, the United States of America has continued and even opened several networks of military bases across the globe.

The U.S policymakers especially those within the national security and foreign policy establishments often legitimise a realist perspective through speech and action. These policymakers usually project a realist perspective for addressing security issues. This aspect dictates international politics through the lenses of power politics. Rose (1998) state that the absence of central authority or anarchy in international politics creates room for mistrust among nations. Therefore, this compels state policymakers to develop and uphold a particular level of capabilities that will assist in ensuring national security. Thus, rational behaviour in the context of the absence of central authority will inevitably reproduce a condition of insecurity and distrust, which ultimately threatens the existence of all countries (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014, p.76). This, therefore, reinforces the idea that no nation will cease from carrying out politics of control and manipulation. The search for security, the need for power and supremacy of national interests constitute constant motivating factors that drive ambitions of nations in the international geopolitics to maintain (Calder, 2007, p.39). Realism, as a form of problem-solving theory, pursues a fact-finding mission using the existing power and social institutions and relationships that form the primary framework for action.

In comparison with Liberalism, Realism is optimistic about international relations. A realist will assume that everything a country uses its power for is to promote the interests of the state and even in foreign policy. Presence of

military installations in different countries is essential to align political and other interests.

The primary objective of collective security between the host nations and the militaries located in those countries is the preservation of values that are adhered to and pushing of self-interests for both parties (Hook and Spanier 2015). There are scenarios where these values are aligned with common interests and those that are not.

In line with this development, collective security always put the values first to ensure good relations and alliances (Odell 2014). The legal framework governing these bases is created in a way that protects the interests of the states from each other (Krepinevich 2007). The essential requirements of these bases are:

- Allocation of decision making and threat response to effective and impartial bodies
- Ensuring maximum representation and support for all the participants in decision-making processes on all levels
- Introducing checks between the two parties and providing a balance in the security mechanisms to prevent abuse of power by some quarters at the expense of others.

These requirements provide preconditions for good collective security and efficient mechanism for their management (Acharya, 2014, p.78). The UN charter has come up with these conditions as part of the many that manage the security situations across the world. The United Nations Security Council has the key role in ensuring that international peace. Article 24 of the UN Charter emphasizes the reasons for allocation of responsibilities as "the need to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations" (S. Roach et al. 2014). The Security Council formulates binding laws that cover militaries across foreign states and help in security missions and human rights protection under the United Nations Human Rights Council (OHCHR).

Before re-evaluation, most countries in history felt that the foreign military was more entitled (Hook and Spanier 2015). The agreements were considered colonial and oppressive. Host countries began to push for more regulations,

restrictions and residual rights. But with the current room for renegotiation has changed the face of foreign military interventions.

When regulations are being created, there should be a balance of benefits, advantages, liabilities, and disadvantages for both the host and the foreign nation. Separating security from political aspects is almost impossible, and as a result, these laws are created from assumptions (Knorr 2015). It is made from a mixture of factors. They include the premises on the host country's system influenced by the global network and the perception and definition of the threat the country is facing. The analysis of these two factors might bring conflicting laws that might not be acceptable to both parties. Military interventions to take care of the threat, material and human resources necessary to address the problem, and socio-economic considerations might not be aligned, and as a result, there is lack of political support and poor public opinion which impedes the working of the military (Pettyjohn and Stacie 2013).

Emerging rivalries, national stability, and excellent commerce are the factors that direct the location for setting up military bases by different countries (Nye 2016). The placements, however, are not a function of foreign military interests. They depend on the willingness and acceptance of the rule of law for different nations' sovereignty and the political and security implications they will bring on board. Their effectiveness in times of crisis needs a good functional relationship at different levels. This is made possible by the assurance that issues on different dimensions have been well handled (Nye 2016).

Globalization has increased competition for access and influence in emerging nations (Panda 2013). This has left countries trying to outwit each other and leaving others grappling with little support for their overseas bases. For example, for a long time now, most countries wanted to be associated with the US, but now most powers have also created their niches in the military, and the US has been left with very little support. This has made countries to become more accommodating to host nation's demands to be able to maintain influence and their bases in strategic positions throughout the world (Rose, 1998). These demands mostly are not in line with security policies which poses a great challenge to military installations abroad and makes it difficult to manage military bases in the future (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014).

Nonetheless, foreign military basing offer a critical opportunity for putting the forces in a position where they can conveniently respond to contingencies, strengthen the relations with the host nation, assure allies and deter potential foes, which in effect creates international peace. However, there can be risk involved in posturing military bases abroad. Realists state that overseas military basing is characterized by political risks that arise due to uncertainties underpinning level of access and duration of presence. Nonetheless, the realist scholars state that overseas military posturing especially those placed directly in places considered as hotspot areas with greatest levels of threats can significantly contribute to deterrence and thus in the process lead to prevention of an adversary's quick victory. According to experts, in situations of great threat, overseas forward forces can be important in providing capabilities that will enhance international security. For instance, the overseas Common Ground Station (CGSs), light Army units, expeditionary strike groups and other sensor and combat aircraft can be quite critical in neutralizing threats from international adversaries thus preventing threat and enhancing security in the international arena. Besides, maritime or land-based missile defenses can prevent an adversary from coercively using long-range missiles to cause insecurity. According to (Lostumbo et al. (2013), it is often necessary to be forward in the right place to be able to counter the potential instability from adversaries. As a result, the realists stress the need to deploy and establish overseas bases in the affected nations to deter and prevent the likelihood of the spread. In most occasions, the presence of a foreign military base in another country will emphasize not only the military capability of a nation but also their political will to assist in situations of security misfortune to protect them as well as other countries across the planet.

Realists are of the belief that foreign military basing is critical in the process of creating power balance in the international politics. They hold that overseas military posturing is quite important in enhancing the emergence, endurance and proper functioning of an international system that appear as worthy (Navarez, 2016).

2.4 Security Studies

Security studies gained traction after the Cold War that takes into account classical politics, criminology, and military sciences. This field provides a think tank for various security measures taken by a country in the achievement of several goals within and out of a nation. Military bases are established from bilateral and multilateral cooperation between nations. The main problem is lack of a good framework to govern the working of these arrangements (Acharya, 2014, p.64). It is possible to create regulations at the regional as well as the global levels, for instance, the VFAs and SOFAs at the regional. The global way to deal with such disagreements is the court process. Military science is the field that takes into account the issues that arise from military installations in different countries.

The Global Research Center report shows that at the current period, the United States control nearly 800 foreign military bases across the globe. Empirical evidence indicates that the more than 300 previous military interventions conducted by the United States such as Vietnam War, Korean and Gulf Wars were only possible due to strategic military facilities that were capable of launching and supporting these operations (Lostumbo et al., 2013). However, despite the previous military operations that resulted due to the existence of foreign military bases, security studies show that these facilities do not merely imply a direct military end but significantly assist in promoting political and economic objectives (Zanotti, 2014, p.51). For instance, the United States military intervention in the Middle East has substantially boosted the ability of its government and corporations to control oil and natural gas pipelines across the region.

However, most countries currently establish foreign military bases as a means of formulating communication lines. Security studies confirm that establishing communication lines has remained a critical issue throughout the world history. They act as a means for connecting military and commercial units with their supply base as well as providing logistics infrastructure for military and industrial goods.

Security studies gained unprecedented prominence during the Cold War era as a sub-discipline within international relations. The factors that led to this development included transformations within international security that marked the era. However, since its inception, security studies have assisted tremendously in enhancing international security. Nonetheless, the events witnessed within the previous events such as the 7/7 London, 9/11 and the Iraq 2003 bombings have shown that the structures and processes within security studies are not yet free of error. Hughes (2011, p.44) states that people began to question the need and importance of security when Cold War ended, leading to the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union. The field was quite critical during the Cold War period since it assisted in gathering intelligence that in turn enabled the participating nations to be able to identify the impending threats. Therefore, critics argued that lack of a significant international threat would automatically usher in the need to abandon security studies. Besides, the critics argued that security studies failed to enable personnel to be able to foresee the threats such as the 9/11 despite the heavy financial expenditure on the sector.

However, since all people agree that knowledge is power, it is therefore critical to recognize that security studies is quite a powerful art and science. It has the capability to support the process of exercising other forms of power; both coercive and material. Security studies present the basis for decisions of policies for states, organizations and even people to act rationally after thorough consideration of alternative courses of actions, their costs and benefits (Gill & Phythian, 2006, p. 33). Besides, security studies do not only inform state policies, it also plays a critical role of exercising and informing actions that might not be quite popular but have significant contribution to international peace. It is an undisputable fact that intelligence officers who have undergone thorough security training do not only undertake passive activities such as information gathering, they also take part in covert actions that influence security issues (Herman, 2004, p. 180). Moreover, security studies have unveiled techniques that have been applied to disrupt international criminal activities thus ensuring security on the global scale. The increasing threats of terrorism since 9/11 have led to the rising in significance of security studies.

In fact, security studies has been converging all the security apparatus such as the military and police intelligence both internally and in the international arena with the primary aim of enhancing security and diffusion of threats to international security (Fry & Hochstein, 1994, p. 20). Security studies have also prompted the discovery and application of sophisticated information technology for security surveillance, thus implying that security studies is at the core of enhancing international security. The intelligence acquired through intelligence gathered through security studies has been able to assist in informing establishment of foreign military bases. The location, significance and role of overseas military basing significantly rely on the intelligence gathered through military studies (Russel, 2007, p. 213). The policies and actions towards overseas military activities are also majorly informed by the security studies. Therefore, in view of these factors, it is evident that security studies play a significant role in enhancing international security by informing the appropriate location for a foreign military base, apparatus and identification of potential threats to international security.

3 EXAMPLES OF MILITARY BASES

3.1 United States of America

The US has the highest number of military bases across the world. It has over 1000 installations in the world in about 130 countries. Thus, the Global Research Institute findings show that the United States has the largest network of international bases. Some of them include eight bases in Britain, twenty-six in Germany, and eight in Japan (Lostumbo et al., 2013). Although the US reduced its military presence across the globe the Cold War ended, it became imperative to scale it up again after 9/11. The US adopts cooperation to reaffirm its purpose abroad.

The number of US military bases across the world grew after WWII and after the end of Cold War (Lachowski 2007). Bagram is the one of their most notable bases in Parvan Province, Afghanistan. The US entered Afghanistan once the 9/11 by claiming that Osama bin Laden who had executed the heinous act was in the country hidden by the Taliban. War was declared on Afghanistan with the US bombing several cities (Rosenfeld 2003). When the country was finally rid of the Taliban and intervention by the UN, the US set up military bases in the country with the support of their new president Hamid Karzai. However, these numbers have reduced with the focus shifting to Middle East countries.

The US bases are classified according to their geo-strategic purposes. It refers to its major facilities as Main Operating Sites, and thus have permanent troops stationed within such facilities. On the other hand, smaller ones are called the Forward Operating Bases which are used for bilateral co-operation. The other classification is the Cooperative Security Locations which are used for security co-operation activities (Peterson J.E 2012).

The first class is the Main Operating Bases which are the largest military facilities which are stationed with permanent U.S. troop, extensive control and command facilities, and reinforced defenses. They have state of the art

infrastructure and supplementary social facilities to support the families of these troops. They serve as the main hubs of the US military power and show political commitment to key allies (Lostumbo et al., 2013). They include the Ramstein base in Germany, Camp Humphrey's in South Korea and Kadena in Japan.

Forward Operating Sites are the second class of military bases, and these are smaller facilities. They do not have permanent troops but are attached to the main operating stations which means they can be readily supported during times of critical operations. They are also part of the reinforcement of bilateral alliances between the US and the host nations. Examples include the Soto Cano Air Base located in Honduras and Sembawang dockyards in Singapore.

The Cooperative Security Locations falls within the third class. They have little to no permanent troops stationed and are used as staging fronts for peace and support. They are points of security operations activities between the host nations and the US. These are located in nations with smaller allies like Africa.

The Incirlik air base is an example of US military base in Turkey. Since its establishment in 1955, this base has been a critical security point for the United States and the entire globe. It assisted the US to deter Soviet expansion and has significantly contributed to the on-going anti-IS launch pad. During Cold War, this facility was the most critical NATO's southeast wing air base (Rose 1998). Besides, serving as a deterrent for the Soviet expansion, Incilik air base has also been an essential apparatus for handling Middle East crises.

Apart from land bases, the US has the most extensive maritime system in the world (Nye 2016). It has been said severally that former president Bush's legacy is the creation of an elite military presence in the US across the world (Hook and Spanier 2015). A large number of bases is to reflect the country's understanding of the importance of good geography on the entire defense outfit for the country. For the American strategy discourse, setting up these bases is to allow for military, economic, and political projections (Flemes and Wehner 2015). This is why the US has an enormous lead compared to other countries coming up with their geographical alignments right now.

The United States established Naval Forces Europe (NAVEUR) in Europe to provide the overall command, control operations and coordinate maritime

assets. The Naples based U.S Sixth Fleet currently provides this critical command that brings the capability of the United States Maritime capability into this region. Besides, the U.S Marine also has a considerable number of submarines in the region that helps in gathering intelligence, reconnaissance as well as providing surveillance capacity (Lachowski 2007). According to experts, the capabilities enhanced by the U.S Submarines are quite critical to the security and power distribution in the region considering the scope, pace and sophistication of the Russian submarine.

The United States began to have a significant military presence in Europe since Cold War era to deter Soviet aggression. Most NATO members regard the presence of US military within and around their borders as a component of the alliance activities (Lachowski 2007). The European countries significantly reduced their military expenditure during Cold War period and sacrificed their capability to protect themselves against the Soviet communism in exchange for military protection from the United States. When Cold War ended, governments of Eastern European nations still feel that U.S military presence within their borders will be beneficial in preventing possible Russian aggression. Although it may not appear as if the threat of war is real between Russia and European countries, a look into four previous decades reveals a clear picture of the real conflicted within the continent (Flemes and Wehner 2015). Besides, it is only in 2008 when Russia expressed its aggression towards a country considered as the friend of the United States, Georgia, which was angling to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a member.

Although NATO, by its definition does not extend to other parts of the world, the United States has been undertaking similar arrangements elsewhere across the world. For instance, Japan has been a major beneficiary through partnering with the U.S government. Relinquishing military to the U.S overseas' military enabled Japan to focus most of its resources to building its economy with little concern for geopolitics (Lostumbo et al., 2013). Although the arrangement was subjected to huge political scrutiny and criticisms, it subjected the government of Japan into a progress path to pursue economy growth in the global economy (Anyadike 2017). Thus, these instances clearly indicate how the presence of U.S military overseas has been critical to peaceful coexistence among nations as

well as enhancing economic progress of countries such as Japan and Western Germany.

3.2   United Kingdom

The ultimate aim of setting global military installations for the UK is the achievement of advantages in line with strategic and fast reaction times, good positioning of forces, and adequate speedy support in operations. This creates a favourable balance that is strategic for maintenance of security and stability for both parties.

According to the European Security Strategy and the Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy, the UK military presence should be tailored towards these objectives (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014). Their objectives include fighting terrorism, combating organized crime, stopping piracy all the while ensuring relationships are being fostered with the host nations.

The UK is known for its great naval powers and assets and strong economic relations. These have helped it set up military installations around the world. The United Kingdom of Great Britain has several military facilities in the world associated with naval capabilities and strong relations with foreign nations.

Europe also has a global presence in the maritime sector that began from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries. The UK created military bases in their vast colonies to link them to their homelands. It operated a successful base in Australia, Singapore, New Zealand, and India.

Keukeleire (2014) notes that the Europeans overseas bases are categorized according to four categories namely:

*Homeland Installations***:** these contain joint headquarters permanently located to and major naval dockyards, air stations, and barracks.

Military Stations: also called spokes, these installations are where the military is sent when they are moving further out to combat a certain problem.

Forward Presence Bases: these are permanent bases that are used as centers of operation, and upholding host country sovereignty by upholding the military

values in these countries. The second purpose of these is to influence power in the host countries and maintain a presence. They contain heavy infrastructure and logistical capacity. They are less permanent compared to military stations, but they are more territorial. These bases can easily be moved as conditions dictate for a good reason.

Strategic Projection Vessels: These include projection vessels, aircraft carriers, supports ships, and missile firing submarines. They can be deployed anywhere since they are movable. They can be used for full-blown war, humanitarian assistance and search operations.

As a component of the British Overseas Territory, it has facilities in Gibraltar and Falklands Islands. It is also present in Sierra Leone and Kenya to jointly train the armed forces of these countries to help them stabilize their regimes (GOV UK 2014). Britain and the US enjoy a cordial relationship that has allowed both countries set up based on each other's soil.

The United Kingdom has been maintaining a foreign military base in Germany since WWII as well as in the United Arab Emirates in the Middle East region. Most of the UK's overseas military bases are situated in its former colonial empire such as Belize, Canada and Cyprus. It also maintains foreign bases in Kenya, and Sierra Leone in Africa as well as Brunei, and Singapore in the Southeast Asian region (Anyadike 2017). Besides, the UK established a military base in Afghanistan to assist the war led by NATO against Taliban (Anyadike 2017). The government of Britain also has a foreign military base in Nepal, which although was not its colony, has remained under the strategic influence of Britain since 19th century.

In 2014, the British foreign secretary stated that the government of Britain was planning to establish a permanent military base in Bahrain, Middle East. According to the report from the secretary, the new facility was expected to be a base for larger ships such as aircraft carriers and destroyers. Philip Hammond, the United Kingdom's foreign secretary stated that the deal Bahrain government would grant the Royal Navy the authority to operate within the country through into the future. It is a continuation of Britain's numerous years of patrols across the Gulf region and represents an example of the United Kingdom's growing

partnerships with the governments across the Gulf region with the key aim of tackling escalating security and stability threats.

The establishment of a permanent foreign military base in Bahrain would imply that Britain is committed to enhancing its operations to uphold security and stability in the Gulf to the foreseeable future. The on-going instability in the region, the threats of Iranian aggression and the rising popularity of the Islamic State in the area, are some of the factors that informed the decision of Britain to establish a permanent naval base in the country (Hook and Spanier 2015). Experts opine that the deal is quite symbolic and strategically critical to peace and stability in the Middle Eastern region. They state that besides the previously usual temporary deployment of military and naval personnel to the region by the government of Britain to carry out operational activities, the establishment of a permanent military base symbolizes Britain's enduring interest in the security and stability within the Middle East. In a statement, the government of Bahrain through foreign affairs minister stated that the negotiation and agreement for the establishment of the Royal Navy in its waters signify the country's commitment to partnering with other countries to similar interest to address the growing threats and tensions that might hamper regional security (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014). This, therefore, shows the critical role played by the United Kingdom's foreign military bases including naval, air and land forces in enhancing international and regional peace across the globe.

3.3   France

French military bases are within French territories and departments. They include sovereign forces which are in the Antilles, New Caledonia, French Guiana, the Southern part of the Indian Ocean, and French Polynesia (Hansen and Andrew 2008). Their primary purposes and missions include promoting French interests against aggression, protecting territories, humanitarian assistance for their hosts, fighting drugs, strategic positioning, and assisting in the fight against illegal immigration. The other department is the present forces which are in Gabon, Djibouti, Senegal, and the Indian Ocean with Djibouti being the host of the most prominent contingent of troops (Hansen and Andrew 2008).

The Council on Foreign Relations report of (2008) notes Africa as where France has a significant number of its military bases present. They are present in countries that were colonized by France. It also has smaller facilities in Germany that had been established before and during WWII. The French colonial policy that lasted till recent centuries ensured continuity of bases in Chad, Gabon, and Djibouti. These stations are tasked with peacekeeping roles and security maintenance since these countries have had spurts of conflicts overtime (Council on Foreign Relations 2008). In 2009, the French government established yet another overseas military facility in the UAE to contain the Iranian nuclear threat and to strengthen relations with the Gulf country (The Guardian 2009).

An article published by the New York Times in 2007 showed that French military undertook nineteen operations in Africa between 1962 and 1995 (Hansen 2007). These operations were primarily geared towards protecting the national interest of France as well as subduing uprisings against legitimate governments. The France' overseas military bases, especially those located in the horn of Africa have been active in tackling civil unrests and extremism across the region (Hansen 2007). Besides taking an active role in combating so-called jihadist, France undertook an active role in quelling the Libyan uprising against Muammar Gaddafi.

3.4   Russia

The geographic location of Russia hinders access to water. Moreover, the extremely low temperatures in the region do not allow the country to use its primary ports (Rose 1998). This has made it essential to set up bases in foreign nations. When the cold war began, the Soviet Union saw the need to increase their installations to strengthen the Soviet bloc. When the Soviet Union broke up, the country saw the need to take up critical bases owned by the Soviet Union. However, Russia had closed its own bases due to high maintenance costs, but it needed to stay relevant by projecting its agendas using military installations (Haarets 2012).

The Soviet Union began to establish foreign military bases after World War II. However, following the disintegration of the union, Russia acquired many of its

installations in Central Asia and Eastern Europe. After the cold war, it had to close several bases due to the high costs of maintenance. To ensure continued partnership with these countries, Russia pushed for the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) together with the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). CSTO prevents member countries from joining other military alliances which ensures that Russia's influence in Eurasia does not fade away. This treaty ensures member countries have standardized weapons, joint military operations, and conventional air defense systems to back their operations (Lachowski 2007). Russia has 25 military bases in former Soviet nations adjoining the NATO area distributed between naval, ground, and air bases.

Currently, Russia has foreign military bases in 9 different countries, most of which were members of the Soviet Union. However, two of its overseas military stations are established within the former member states of the USSR without the local government'' permission. These include five Russian military bases in Abkhazia, four in South Ossetia and one in Transnistria. Besides, Russia also has two overseas military bases in Syria and one in Vietnam.

In 2015, Russia began its anti-Daesh air campaign (campaign against Islamist State) following the request from Bashar Assad, Syrian president. The operations carried out by the Russian Aerospace Forces in Syria were a critical evidence of Russia's commitment to the fight against terrorism and its threats to world peace and stability. The Russian military aimed their attacks on curtailing the spread of terrorism within Middle East, and in other nations (Lachowski 2007). The government of Russia has been pursuing the establishment of foreign military bases across the globe with the objective of ensuring that it stations its naval presence and military contingent in all regions across the globe.

Russia, similar to the Soviet Union before it continually considers its foreign military bases as instruments of power that provide security and stability, not only its borders but also that of its allies. Russia regards its overseas military bases as a complementary asset as well as deterrent to enemies in the geopolitical arena. The military presence of Russia has always provided security and stability to the territory of the host nations (Haarets 2012). For instance, the

Russian overseas bases in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, which are members of the Collective Security Treaty Organization. Moscow's presence in these countries has assisted these nations through military training and complete military re-equipment.

Since 2016, reports have been emerging that Russia is considering searching for new bases in the pacific region as well as reopening overseas bases of the USSR period. According to the confidential report, there is need for Russia to establish a foreign military base in pacific region to enable it become a true blue water force (Rose 1998). The report added that such a base will assist the country to spread its influence across the region and beyond. Available evidence shows that military presence of U.S forces the Asian region has resulted into a critical naval build up in the region considered as Russia's backyard. The government of the United States, under the policy enacted by the Department of Defence, aims to deploy nearly 60% of its Naval fleet to the Pacific region by 2020 (Haarets 2012). At the moment, it is estimated that the U.S Department of Defence has deployed nearly 368,000 military personnel across its bases in the region.

Unlike the Chinese accusations of what they term as American encirclement, Russia is nonchalant about this activity. They are pursuing a naval expansion aimed at deterring the perceived American threat although they are not showing any sense of panic at the US activities. Experts suggest that Russia's apparent calm results from the fact that Asia is in its backyard, meaning that while the United States must forward deploy its navy in overseas bases where they can rest and replenish, Russia can easily access Pacific using home bases. Nonetheless, Russia recognizes that foreign bases are critical in a number of ways; first, providing a ringside of the action seat and also reflecting the growing ambition of Moscow by reasserting itself on the global stage. Having overseas military bases in strategic locations across the globe will enhance Russia's efforts at expanding its influence across the globe (Aljazeera 2017). Therefore, owing to this need, Russia is focusing on restoring foreign military presence in South East Asia, Latin America and Africa to safeguard its national interest and security of the host nations.

3.5 Turkey

Turkey has been one of the countries in the forefront, cultivating international relations with other major nations. It has bases in Somalia, Qatar, and Cyprus. The base in Cyprus was established due to dispute that once occurred between Turks and Greeks (Zanotti 2014). Turkey has two US military installations and NATO warning missile radar due to its volatility as a country that faces multiple terror threats (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2014). To promote peace and international stability as well, Turkey is well aligned with superpowers to protect its interests. The country has helped in the Afghan war leading the International Security Assistance Force with NATO.

Turkey has been constructing foreign military bases with the recent major one being in Mogadishu, Somalia (Tokyay 2017). The NATO and the United States have commended the moves as essential contributing factors to global stability. The duplicitous contribution of Turkey has been critical in taming global terrorism, Arab uprising, and Al-Qaeda in Iraq and Syria.

On September 2017, Turkey launched one of its largest global foreign military base in Somalia, a failed state in the horns of East Africa. The primary intention of building the facility was to enhance the development and establishment of a strong and capable army that would readily defend the country from the incessant Al-Shabab attacks (Aljazeera 2017). Somalia has been experiencing sporadic attacks from the Al-Shabab terrorist organization, an affiliate of Al-Qaeda since the early 1990s. Therefore, Turkey's foreign military base in southern Mogadishu will be critical in enhancing the capability and capacity of the government of Somalia to gain stability.

However, Turkey's military base is not the only facility in Somalia. There are allegations that the United States has some military bases in the country although they have not openly acknowledged; the largest of which is the Balidogle airfield, which exists around 110 kilometers northwest of Mogadishu. Moreover, the United Arab Emirates also has its foreign military base in the country (Aljazeera 2017). The UAE's facility is located in the capital, Mogadishu and has committed itself to restore stability in a country that has been, for a considerable period, a hotbed of terror.

Somalia's strategic location and the ongoing impasse within the country have increased its attractiveness to the foreign entities with geopolitical interests in East Africa. Turkey has remained a consistent Somalia ally, and has been conducting numerous activities within the country that aim to restore stability and put the nation in its development path (Erickson 1994 p.48). Nonetheless, it is also seeking for lucrative mutual benefits within the state.

The Republic of Turkey has remained a frontier state since its establishment in the 1920 by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Since its inception, territorial integrity and national security issues have dominated the Ankara's foreign policy. The country started to gain geostrategic significance following the United States' led war on terrorism against Iraq. Turkey's central location between Northern Mesopotamia and Southern Caucasus coupled with the fact that it is the United States' ally and a longstanding NATO member since 1953 makes it a critical player in various overlapping regions (Aljazeera 2017). It has a strategic location in the Balkans, western Europe, the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, the Caucasus-Caspian complex, Middle East region, the Black Sea and Central Asia (Tokyay 2017). Moreover, Turkey also has a strategic proximity to the primary gas and oil deposits in Northern Iraq and the Caspian Sea and participates actively in the pipeline "Great Game" politics within the region.

Reports also show that the military presence of Turkey in the Qatar is quite essential to the security of the Gulf. Despite the critical issues that arose as a result of the presence of Turkey's military base in Qatar in the mid-2017, which led the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia to sever ties with Doha on the allegations of the country providing support to terrorist organizations. The Turkish parliament facilitated the agreement on establishing a foreign military bases outside Doha just a few days after the announcement of a series of diplomatic, economic and humanitarian sanctions against the government of Qatar (Aljazeera 2017). Although some critics regarded the ratification of this bilateral agreement as a symptom of the frustration of Turkey with the on-going crisis in Doha, this was never the truth of the matter.

Several years before crisis hit Doha, the two governments had already initiated talks that were merely awaiting the approval of the Turkish parliament. In fact, before the parliament approved the establishment of the foreign base in Doha,

Ankara had already sent more than 80 troops into Doha to lay the foundation of the much awaited foreign military base. The government deployed 23 more troops into Doha following the approval of parliament (Aljazeera 2017). Therefore, it is a clear indication that this overseas military base had not only been agreed on several years before the crisis began, it was an already under progress.

However, following the parliamentary approval to establish a base in Doha, several Middle Eastern countries presented Qatar with a particular demands such as shutting down Al Jazeera, downgrading the country's relations with the republic of Iran, shutting down the Turkey's military base within the country and severing its support to the Muslim Brotherhood as well as severing its military and foreign relations with Ankara. This implies that Turkish military presence in the Gulf region left quite a number of people and nations unsettled, meaning that the presence of Turkish military is a source of concern to some Middle Eastern nations; thus creating the need to understand why Turkey sent his troops Qatar in the first place.

At the current period, Turkish military troops have been undertaking critical operations in places such as Afghanistan and Kosovo alongside other international peacekeeping forces. It has been widely affirmed that the contributions of the Turkish military troops to the stability and peace within host countries has been immense. Besides, Turkey also has a military base in northern Iraq, Bashiqa. This has been essential in providing military training to the anti-Daesh soldiers as per the request of the KRG (Kurdistan Regional Government). The government of Turkey has strategically used this base to neutralize the Daesh terrorists' security threats before reaching its borders.

Turkish foreign military base in Somalia has also been critical in the provision of military training, which forms part of the broader strategy of empowering the government of Somalia socially, economically and politically with the major vision of assisting the government of Somalia to be able to address peace and stability threats, hunger and terrorism. It is estimated that the assistance the government of Somalia has acquired from Turkey far outweighs those from other nations (Aljazeera 2017). The fact that Somalia government direly

requires heavy and well-equipped military to enhance its stability makes the Turkish's military presence in the country to be of strategic benefit.

Turkish final military base is located in Qatar, whose efforts began in 2014, aiming to enhance stability and security of the region. The major motivations behind the establishment during the time were the critical situation in Syria and Iranian expansionism (Tokyay 2017). These examples clearly indicate the decision of Turkey to establish its foreign military in Doha was to promote security and stability among friendly nations besides taking pre-emptive measures to address potential threats against the security of its borders.

Therefore, the presence of Turkish military in the Middle East does not pose any threat to the nations within the region. Turkey and Gulf Cooperation Council agree on most pertinent issues within the region despite the minor differences of opinion. For instance, the GCC member states agree with Turkish government on the need to topple Bashar Assad's regime. Besides, Turkish military proved helpful to most GCC nations during the Yemen crisis besides sharing similar concerns on Iranian expansionism (Aljazeera 2017). Therefore, all these activities point out to the fact that Turkish foreign military in Doha will strengthen other nation's military instead of threatening their crucial interests. It is thus critical to encourage and stress the need for other countries within Middle Eastern region to understand that the presence of Turkish military in the region does not pose any threat to the GCC member countries.

Turkish decision to establish a foreign military base in Qatar was informed by both ideological and strategic considerations. First of all, Turkey and Qatar are the only two nations that have been able to support the moderate Muslim Brotherhood forces. Besides, they extended their support and assistance to Egyptian government under the leadership of Mohammed Morsi and also publicly condemned the July 2013's uprising that led to the removal of a democratically elected president from power. The closer association of these two nations with the Muslim Brotherhood made them to even come closer during the Arab Spring where they collaborated to support Islamist groups in Libya, Syria, Iraq and Egypt (Tokyay 2017). Moreover, the strategic ambitions of Turkey within Middle East have seen it recalibrate its foreign policy since 2002 when the Justice and Development Party emerged to power. Since then,

Turkey has been propelled to become keen on the Arab affairs' interest. The party is also responsible for tasking the government of Turkey to take up intervention measures after the eruption of violence in Iraq and Syria between 2011 and 2012. Therefore, the decision by the Turkish parliament to fast-track its decision to deploy its military following Qatar crisis forms part of its strategic ambition to become a major player within the Middle Easter region (Tokyay 2017). The decision makes Ankara a major stakeholder in the Middle Eastern regional issues as well as providing it with a forward military position that gives it the authority to project power in the region.

Turkish foreign military in Qatar alongside their joint military exercise is a critical source of strategic influence in the Gulf region. However, critics have been talking down the exercise. According to them, establishing a military base in Doha implies the return of the Turks within Arabian Peninsula. Nevertheless, the government maintains that the step aims towards bolstering stability and security within the Gulf. It is however critical to recognise that most of these critical references are hurled by Turkish Islamists whose objective is to ensure that Middle East remains a natural sphere of influence. However, Turkish assertive military postures in region have been largely informed by the nostalgia among a particular section of the ruling class within the country to recreate the Ottoman past through the establishment of geopolitical and economic integration within the Gulf (Tokyay 2017). Therefore, it is AKP's plan to acquire strategic depth in the region through its foreign military establishment in Doha.

4   IMPACTS AND BENEFITS OF OVERSEAS MILITARY BASES

4.1   Role of Overseas Military Bases

According to the reports presented to the United States Congress by the Department of the Defence, 2010 QDR, and the 2012 Defence Strategic Guidance, overseas military posture is wrought with significant strategic advantages such as improved cooperation to enhance international security among countries. According to the US Department of Defence, security cooperation refers to the Department of Defence's activities that aim at enabling and encouraging other nations to partner with the United States to combat security threats and enhance international security and stability (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014). The US Department of Defence notes that overseas military basing posit various advantages to enhancing international security by assisting to improve various areas as discussed below. Moreover, despite being members of NATO, the US, UK, France, and Turkey have foreign military bases, first, because of the limited operational jurisdiction of the NATO and because foreign bases utilize multiple ways to enhance international security.

Most of the NATO military bases were established in regions that were considered as the points where the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) could potentially although this kind of foreign military basing pattern ended with the culmination of the Cold War, concepts changed but not practice. The United States and of members of the NATO security alliance continued to establish foreign military bases to contain and diffuse the threats that characterized the changing situations. The establishment of foreign military bases on other parts of the world by the NATO members constitutes the global war on terrorism initiative that was introduced when the 9/11 terror attack on the United States territory occur. After the culmination of the Soviet Union, the world started to experience a new form of threat; religious extremism alongside other asymmetric threats such as proliferations of technologies and weapons of mass destruction, crime and unconventional warfare (Hook and Spanier 2015).

Therefore, members of the NATO alliance such as the United States began to focus on launching a war on terrorism through seeking to identify sources of insecurity and instability in regions considered as prone to crisis such as Middle East and Asia and to launching of efforts to solve the problems that were related to access to energy resources.

Nevertheless, it is critical to understand that each nation establishes a foreign military base that differs from those of other members of the NATO alliance. The United States and the West often establish foreign military bases with defense installations and effective strategic frameworks that majorly aim to contain a formidable enemy and a common menace; Russian aggression. Since the Cold War period, the United States and its Western allies adopted a policy that focused on containing the Soviet Union and their clients and allies through comprehensive collaboration, bilateral agreements alongside other critical arrangements. Nonetheless, when circumstances changed, it led to changes in the international security policies of NATO members, which began to stress for cooperation and confidence building across former divisions.

Overseas military bases are often established where a nation has particular imperial interests; where they want to build an empire either directly or otherwise over foreign policy, laws and political economy of another nation. Besides, foreign military bases are usually associated with strategic, rational purposes (Knorr 2016). Therefore, maintaining overseas military bases outside NATO enables these countries to be able to defend themselves from escalating threats of attacks, supply security to other nations and enhance capture resources and trade. These countries have also pursued the ambition of building overseas military bases with the key aim of protecting the agenda of non-economic factors such as aid workers, political operatives, and missionaries. For instance, the Portuguese, in the sixteenth century, seized lucrative ports along Indian route and applied naval patrols, fortification, and demonstrations bombardment to establish their monopoly in the spice trade (Colangelo 2014). The locals attempting to pass through the fortified ports were coerced to pay self-passage and duties. On the most recent accounts, overseas military bases have been used critically to control economic and political life within the host countries (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014). For example, the United States

overseas military bases in Korea have served commendably in exercising control over Korean foreign policy and their forces during wartime thus enabling the U.S forces to acquire crucial military and political support while undertaking some of its military operations such as in Syria and Vietnam.

Politically, foreign military bases provide the sign and encouragement that other nations endorse a state's foreign policy and military. Besides, these bases not only serve strategic and political objectives but also other non-state actors who continually benefit from the existence of these bases without regard for their strategic or political value such as the foreign multinational companies that benefit through doing business in a peaceful environment created by the presence of a foreign military (Lostumbo et al., 2013). Moreover, apart from the strategic, military and political dimensions, the United States, United Kingdom, Germany and Turkey often establish foreign military bases for psychological and symbolic dimensions. Having external bases outside the NATO region is a sign that these nations have power and status across the globe. These elite nations build overseas military bases to act as the sign of their standing; similar to the manner in which they have been able to construct cities, monuments, and battleships (Knorr 2016). It gives the politicians and the general public alike the impression of their country's hyper-status and hyper-power. However, realists perceive this phenomenon as a symptom of irrational fears that is anchored on the objective of taming the world that these nations perceive as being out of control. According to realists, the world is full of threats, and most elite nations that consider themselves as a super power are at a greater risk of violent hostility from other nations and other non-state actors such as terrorist organizations.

These elite nations also prefer maintaining military bases overseas to reinforce the status quo. These foreign bases are designed to ensure that these countries can access and control strategic resources in the area they occupy. For instance, the United States maintains its military presence in Japan and Europe to maintain the privilege and power hierarchy created during the World War II (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014). In most occasions, the European powers and other nations such as Spain and Turkey establish foreign military bases as a

means of competing with each other in securing territory that will, in turn, assist by suppressing local dissents and enhancing commercial interests.

On the other hand, the United Kingdom maintains that owing to the rapid changes in the global stage characterised by prolonged changes in the balance of socioeconomic, political and military power, emergence of stronger and more powerful non-state actors and intensified competition among states, there is an increased threat to the country (Lostumbo et al., 2013). These threats encompass the UK's overseas territories and interests, which at the same time have increased in complexity, scale, and diversity. There have emerged a large and diverse number of Islamist terrorist groups across the planet; including in the horn of Africa, the Middle East and South East Asia, which can easily reach Europe and notably the United Kingdom. For instance, ISIS with their brand of violent extremism poses a significant threat to the UK and its national interests both locally and internationally (Knorr 2016). Therefore, it is imperative that remaining a member of NATO is not a guarantee for the safety of the British nationals and their strategic and economic interests overseas. This creates the urgency and needs for overseas bases outside NATO-dominated region to protect the national interest of the United Kingdom and its citizens.

Powerful nations historically established overseas military bases essentially to advance their imperial objectives. These included acquiring more territories, colonizing new regions, enhancing their ability for future conquest, controlling distant resources for the commercial benefit of the nation and show power to peers. The rivalrous Sparta and Athens in ancient Greece competed for access to foreign military bases. The Chinese, during the second Ming Empire, build a system of bases around the Indian Ocean while Rome network of garrisons is extending across the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean from Britannica (The World Tribune 2017). The European powers, on the other hand, had bases across Africa, Asia, and America which satisfied their mercantilist needs of monopolizing commerce by strengthening colonization and local economy at the expense of the host nations. The invention of coal-driven sea vessels saw the military bases serving the logistical needs such as military missions and refueling along the trade routes. However, the situation is no longer the same in the current period.

The current strategic rationale for keeping foreign military bases has experienced significant changes over periods. The globalization of commerce has turned dubious the need for military bases to secure trade routes as well as enhancing access to trade goods. There is a significant decline in great powers' conquest (The World Tribune 2017). This is partly attributable to the norms of post-WWII of self-determination and territorial integrity. Moreover, the previous modes of aggressive military expansionism exhibited by the old order have been overtaken by the destructive power of the modern military pieces of equipment such as nuclear weapons (Knorr 2016). Foreign military bases outside NATO have exclusively been pursued by European powers, the United States and Turkey for three critical reasons; to enhance rapid deployment of the military should any operational contingency arise, for reassuring allies and friends and for deterring potential aggressors.

Moreover, besides being members of NATO, political and economic interests often prevail when it comes to concerns for establishing military bases abroad. The NATO provides its members with security against numerous perils that currently plague the planet such as money laundering, drug and human trafficking, and the threat of terrorism that emanate from across the globe. This, therefore, gives these countries the opportunity to pursue political, economic and strategic interests. For instance, Turkey's strategic position provides it with the advantage to effectively exploit oil axis between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. The military and political perspective suggest that NATO members have the capability and back up to influence stability across the globe.

Therefore, despite being members of the NATO, the foreign military bases assist these countries by providing them with credibility about their commitment and diplomatic initiatives through developing the perception that they are ready, close and can swiftly respond to any security situation in the area should a crisis occurs. Besides, some governments often ask these countries to establish their military bases not because it will be of significant benefit to the nation setting up the foreign military base but for the host nation in ensuring stability, suppressing terrorism and dealing with massacres such as in Somalia (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014). Therefore, despite being members of the NATO, the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Turkey also

have bases across the globe due to various reasons that result from limited geographical coverage, expression of political power, geopolitical interests and economic among other advantages associated with establishing military bases abroad.

There exist adequate data suggesting that overseas military base can carry out an operation at a relatively low marginal cost, especially large-scale operations. The overseas military activities may range from advisory missions, multinational exercises, conferences, and classroom education. In the same way, costs can vary between hundreds to a few million dollars (Zeijden 2009). It is thus possible for military planners to leverage overseas forces to minimise cooperation costs through the utilization of the available personnel, U.S training requirements, and assets. For example, Air Force pilots who are often required to fly for numerous hours during their training sessions are likely to accomplish this through concerts with security cooperation mission (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014). Various studies have indicated that military cooperation as a result of the establishment of overseas bases reduces costs and thus leaving adequate budget for conducting military missions to restore security and stability. It has also been determined that the United States foreign military bases in Europe have enabled the country to reduce costs of transportation when marshalling troops to Africa. It is thus critical to understand that the cost savings that result from establishing overseas military bases constitute a significant achievement in meeting other expenses that assist in security maintenance.

Although a country will, first of all, consider their political interest as espoused by realism theory when faced with the decision to deploy their forces for security operations, there is a higher likelihood for overseas military bases to influence a nation's decision to deploy their forces alongside their partner's forces (Acharya 2015). This is driven by some reasons. First, it serves to strengthen military and political relationships between the partners which in effect may lead to the alignment of political goals and values among the partners. Second, a country is likely to feel secure to deploy their military alongside their partner's based overseas in coalition operations instead of focusing exclusively on their military prowess (Lachowski 2007). Moreover,

such arrangements can always strengthen partner's ability and enhance their willingness to undertake military operations alongside foreign militaries. All these factors combined enables maintenance of world security and stability.

It has been established that overseas military basing assists in strengthening capability of the partner nations to ensure security especially for interoperability and more advanced military. For instance, overseas basing proved critical during security operations in South Korea as well as other countries within Europe. Thus, it is evident that military cooperation through overseas basing improves partner's ability to deal with security issues such as taming threat and restoring stability. Empirical evidence shows that overseas basing is one of the political considerations that a country would make when considering posture decisions (Hook and Spanier 2015). The major rationale for overseas basing takes place when a country is seeking to establish an advanced level of interoperability with other countries, which necessitates such forces to require access to critical facilities for training.

Countries are constantly concerned with measures that will enhance the capability of their militaries. One of the most critical means of enhancing their capability in this technological age is equipment u-gradation. Therefore, in this line, the foreign military bases can be of vital assistance to a sovereign state in various ways. One of the ways through which foreign militaries stationed overseas can assist the host nation's military in building capability is through assisting them in sourcing and develop military equipment (Rose, 1998, p.145). It is common knowledge that a country's military can only be able to ensure viable deterrence and enhance their nation's security through having in place a well-equipped military. In this sense, a foreign military base can cooperate with the host nation's military and assist them in drawing specifications, technology transfers, research and development and, production and acquisition of the essential military pieces of equipment that will enhance their capability.

Besides, where the host nation exposes its military to the systems of the sending nation's and allow itself to be assisted by the foreign nation through the overseas base established within its boundary in areas such as concepts, equipment, human resource development, material resources and other areas that can be of significant influence in enhancing the capability of a military

(Rose, 1998, p.145). These activities will enhance security and peace within the country across its surrounding region since the host nation's military capability shall have been enhanced in a manner that will enable it to face a common enemy and deal with any threat that might have otherwise been able to compromise peace and security situation not only within their borders but also in its surrounding region.

One of the equipment that is considered vital for operations is advanced communication infrastructure. For instance, Third Army was able to establish technical network controlled facilities, satellite terminals, microwave towers and fibre optic networks across the Republic of Iraq. This network served nearly 300,000 persons during the peak of the operations by acting as a backbone that linked the participating military personnel and other enablers involved in the process. Thus, the role of communication technology infrastructure cannot be overstated. It is the hub that integrates and connects the different joint capabilities that are essential in the execution of a large-scale military operation that will yield peace and security not only within a country but also across the region.

Moreover, foreign military bases assist a host nation to be able to develop deep-water ports to enhance its logistics and transportation capabilities. However, this will largely depend on the levels of relations between the sending and the host nation and may take a considerable period. It is also recognized that the success and effectiveness of foreign military in assisting the hosting nations' military in developing their capability largely relies on strategic mobility (Navarez, 2016). There is always need for a robust intra and interoperations such as sealift and air operations to supplement land operations.

Further, it is vital to understand that technological advancements usually influence science of defense as well as the art of warfare. Therefore, it is necessary for any country to be able to keep pace with developments in these areas. They can achieve these overtly through exchanging contacts with militaries of the countries with such capabilities by allowing such states to establish their overseas military bases in their territories. In this way, the host nation will be able to benefit from military and defense human resource development by acquiring basic as well as advanced skills in military and

warfare, skills for fighting a war at both tactical and strategic levels. Constant interaction will also enable the host nation's military personnel to acquire doctrinal and conceptual abilities as well as gain specializations in training, techniques resources, and training that will lead to development and advancement of their capabilities. Foreign military personnel based overseas will also assist their host nations' militaries to be able to put in place approaches, systems and procedures that are advanced and capable of incorporating best practices and critical refinements.

Foreign military bases provide the immediate capability required in countering critical aggressions to the nations or actors that pose a significant military threat to the country with foreign military presence and the host nation's interests. As a result, foreign military personnel is organized in a manner that allows them to provide the initial response that is critical in preventing quick defeat before the arrival of reinforcements through ground, maritime, aerial and sealifts. In most occasions, the ground forces provide the initial response. However, in many situations, such ground response may experience short-lived victory if they lack a dedicated and collocated lift, which is quite common when dealing with a huge number of personnel that cannot be deployed through the air. Heavy forces are only able to provide rapid reinforcement when the necessary equipment is properly prepositioned (Lostumbo et al., 2013). The presence of the maritime military in an area considered to be threatening the security through potential disruption of national and international interests is quite essential in enhancing additional flexibility required for rapid deployment. Further, the maritime military plays the vital role of complementing ground-based troops in case of tensions.

Besides, stationing overseas military bases is critical in catalysing the process of strengthening the bond and ties, and winning allies to make them become responsive to security situations as they arise. Empirical studies show six interconnected areas of the effectiveness of foreign military bases in enhancing responsiveness in military operations during interventions and combat (Aznárez, 2016). These aspects include appropriateness, timeliness, absorptive capacity, coordination, efficiency, and costs. Each of these factors has a significant role to play in enhancing military deployment effectiveness and responsiveness. For

instance, timeliness is a crucial aspect of the foreign military ability to plan and execute operations such as a military mission of humanitarian aid and relief service (Lostumbo et al., 2013). The technology builds and upgraded by the foreign military in an overseas country enables the military personnel to collaborate and respond swiftly to combat operations.

Moreover, as the world transitioned from a period dominated by regional conflicts to that characterised by familiar and new challenges across the globe, foreign military bases have become decisive in harmonising versatile range of capabilities which give the participants to knowledge and understanding together with the ability to communicate, manoeuvre and survive while undertaking various operations in different environments (Lostumbo et al., 2013). The foreign military bases provide the infrastructure for moving supplies and operational equipment across the planet. In effect, the sustainment competencies, transportation, and logistics so enhanced allow the participant militaries to be responsive in undertaking combat operations (Aznárez, 2016). While focusing on attaining and maintaining high levels of flexibility and agility, the foreign army within the overseas bases will be able to assist host nations' military to build adequate capacity and capability. This is in line with the realists' perspective which states that to attain global versatility; militaries need to balance their worldwide presence, and equipment propositioning and strategic mobility to ensure that they remain prepared for any potential aggression and conflicts (Lostumbo et al., 2013). Therefore, foreign military basing rests on the strategy of enhancing the ability of a nation's military to prepare quickly, be able to deploy and redeploy their equipment and personnel to contain any conflict or aggression.

4.2   Analysis of Relevant Laws and Regulations

The Status of Forces Agreement provides the basis for regulating the scope of exempting foreign militaries from local jurisdictions. Thus, SOFA refers to a negotiation between the host and sending state to allow the sending nation to be able to send their troops to carry out military activities within the host nation. On the other hand, the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) refers to an agreement between the sending and the host nation on the legal framework regarding the

manner in which the foreign military personnel will be treated while overseas as approved by the host nation. The essence of VFA is to improve the bilateral relations between the sending and the host nations' combined planning, the readiness of the combat for deployment and interoperability while at the same time improving security and stability between the two nations and the surrounding regions as well as protecting the host nation from external aggression (Aljazeera 2017). Further, since the VFA is a legal framework, it offers critical guidelines that define interaction standards between the visiting and host militaries. Besides, defining the legal status of foreign military personnel in a host country, SOFAs outline the rights and responsibilities between the sending and host nations.

The standard practice under the international law requires any individual within a specific nation to adhere and become subject to the laws of the said nation except in a situation where the country has provided the individual with various limitations over its legal jurisdiction. However, Status of Forces Agreement sets agreeable exceptions on this rule whereby the authorities in the hosting country waives in favor of the foreign troops' particular rights and jurisdictional obligations that would otherwise be applicable.

SOFA protections are quite significant to the foreign militaries within their host nations. They serve some purposes that are usually of particular benefit to the sending countries. For instance, depending on the terms and conditions of the agreement, SOFA protects the foreign soldiers against being subjected to the justice system of the host state. This is particularly important to the sending state in upholding the rights of their personnel while operating in overseas military bases as well as indicating the sending nation of its interest to exercise disciplinary authority over their military personnel overseas and enhancing their willingness and commitment to deploy military personnel overseas. Reports also show that the exemptions created under SOFA negotiations usually boost the confidence of the public in the deployment and establishment of overseas military bases to deal with security and issues related to political power distribution (Erickson 1994). It is not a doubtable fact that the public is likely to compromise the process of overseas deployment if they feel that their military personnel are exposed to the risk of trial under systems they consider as unfair.

Besides, SOFA gives the sending militaries the authority while operating in the overseas country as well as providing the predictability in their relations with the host nation. Moreover, the agreement saves the sending nation money through the avoidance of tax liability as well as other charges. It also assists in simplifying administrative procedures.

It can thus be understood that SOFA negotiations shed light sovereignty in the light of military bases since World War II across the world (Mason 2009; Erickson 1994). SOFAs describe the legal status of foreign military in the host country. Military bases have to be party to all the bilateral and all the multilateral agreements which designate the rights and the privileges of military personnel in host foreign countries in which they are located (Mason 2009:1). These regulations and agreements address how and when the local laws of the hosts are applied to the military located in them. SOFAs also provide frameworks for legal rights and protection foreign armed forces stationed abroad.

However, SOFAs do not immunize military personnel in the host country from legal sanctions (Erickson 1994: 40). They enable sharing of the autonomous prerogative of the hosts thus enabling them to strike a balance among both parties regarding the rights and the obligations of both countries (Erickson 1994: 40).

VFA and SOFA are both laws governing the presence of the military in a foreign country. VFA covers military that is in a country temporarily. SOFA, on the other hand, covers military bases in a host nation (Manson 2012). According to Colangelo (2014), both agreements formalize the authority of civil law on the international jurisdiction (extraterritorial jurisdiction on civil law), which refers to exercising power legally beyond a nation's territorial borders (Lostumbo et al., 2013). This means that states which have military installations abroad can undertake particular operations within such jurisdictions.

Therefore, it is important to understand that SOFA and VFA are among the military agreements that comprise international security arrangement. However, it is also critical to note that SOFA does not form part of the comprehensive security arrangements but is an agreement that establishes the privileges and

rights of foreign military personnel while operating in overseas bases to support the larger security arrangement (Colangelo 2014). The international law thus provides the difference between military occupation and status of forces agreement.

Despite the fact that the United States accounts for a huge number of SOFAs owing to a substantially large presence of foreign military bases, other nations such as the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Russia, Turkey and Spain among other countries negotiate SOFAs for their military forces that are stationed abroad. Over the previous periods (during Cold War period), the USSR had negotiated some SOFAs with most of its satellite states. On the other hand, although SOFAs negotiated by the United States are usually public, there are also those that remain classified.

The major purpose of SOFAs is to clarify terms of operations of a foreign military within a host nation. However, it is worth noting that on most occasions, pure military operational concerns such as access to facilities and foreign military base locations are covered under the Visiting Force Agreement. Therefore, SOFA mainly deals with legal considerations concerning military properties and personnel. In most situations, these often involve tax liabilities in the foreign country, entry, and exit into the host nation, terms of employment for the nationals of the hosting nation and postal services. Nonetheless, criminal and civil jurisdictions remain the most critical and contentious when dealing with overseas military bases and personnel. Under civil considerations, Status of Forces Agreement offers the process for determining the damages caused by foreign military personnel within the host nation and how to compensate for such damages. On the other hand, criminal issues vary (Colangelo 2014). Nonetheless, the United States Status of Forces Agreement provides U.S courts with the jurisdiction for trying their service members for the crimes they commit against fellow service members or for the crimes they may commit while undertaking their military duties while other crimes remain under the host nations' jurisdictions.

SOFAs negotiated by host nations with an exceedingly huge presence of foreign militaries such as Japan and South Korea may become subject to political concerns especially when addressing issues such as crimes allegedly committed

by the foreign troops stationed within the host nations. This can even be more contentious when the alleged criminal activities involve sex crimes, robbery, manslaughter or murder, particularly when the sending nation and the host nation define the charges for such crimes differently (Manson 2012). Nevertheless, considering the previous records, foreign military service members often commit crimes off duty, which according to SOFA, fall under the host country's legal jurisdiction.

4.3   Social, Political and Economic Impacts

A country can only allow another state into its borders when they are either allies, or they share a common threat. Nonetheless, having bases abroad can be of great help to host nations in some ways. From economic, social, and political benefits, a country can only get better. With the right kind of regulations and framework, the presence of these key installations is a plus for foreign nations. Military facilities assist in interventions, provision of new infrastructure, offering training for local troops, offering surrogate forces, and environmental monitoring. According to Pettyjohn (2013), foreign military bases can help in suppressing political strife in the host country (Lostumbo et al., 2013). Military installations in different countries have helped nations deal with terrorism, act as mediators, and offer training to local troops (Manson 2012). From reinforcing weapons and sending out their troops to fight these wars, these bases are of utmost importance in maintaining peace across the world.

The military can use its global connection to incorporate the host countries in major security networks and concerns especially for the colonies of these superpowers. France has maintained bases in its colonies in Africa and with the UK also having bases in it colonies such as Kenya in East Africa. A good example is an Amisom network that was a combination of several military forces including African bases from Kenya and Uganda that were sent to Somalia to contain the- civil war that has been on-going since 1990 when the country last had a stable government (Erickson 1994 p.42). The major objective of the African Amisom is to ensure security and stability in Somalia. Although the bulk of the support for the military alliance comes from the African Union, the United Nations also provides critical assistance to help the operating

militaries weed out terrorist organizations and restore peace in the country. Since the collapse of the Somalia government in the early 1990s, the government of Somalia has never been stable. There have been sporadic attacks by the Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda who aim to overtake the government and make Somalia a failed state. AMISOM also aims to train Somali troops to enable them to be able to implement security plans and support the transitional government to establish a stable government and enhance peace and security for the citizens and other people residing in the country especially those concerned with delivering humanitarian assistance (Knorr 2016). The main reason why the smaller militaries from other countries decided to be part of the missions was the overwhelming support that was given by the superpowers and the effects of the extremist's operations in their own countries.

Military installations bring new cultures to the locals. Setting up businesses and towns growing next to these bases can help the locals invest in stores and shops to sell stuff. These people also get to interact with people from different places. Military installations also put these places on the world map. Culture is spread across borders, and some of these troops settle and invest in these countries. Economically, military bases have provided the convenient connections for trade and easy access. Accepting to host a military is a sign of friendship and alignment of interests (Lostumbo et al., 2013). Hansen (2008) notes that Africa is an excellent source of raw materials for France and also serves as a market for its exports. British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT) acts as a strategic point for trade and access. The expansion of military bases has assisted in setting up trading posts, warehouses, and stations to secure crucial interests (Haaretz 2012). Commercial goals were aligned with military installation through diverting the scope of military bases from war only to protection of new lands that had been explored. For example, the British base in India, which was used to access Asian countries since India was a strategic route. It boosted India's influence as a colony while India provided support for military needs and commerce (Clark et al. 2014).

Besides, the development of technology is a critical factor in the establishment of foreign naval bases. Host counties get training in superior engineering,

science and information technology systems to improve the military well-being in the countries these stations are located.

Military benefits include setting up a security umbrella for the hosts (Nye 2016). They can be over the-horizon or overt operations. For example, in the Gulf region, the joint exercises such as the Bright Star have shown the commitment of the military country to the local state. These partnerships provide legitimization of the host government and the preservation of sovereignty for the locals (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014). The rents also paid for these bases grow the local economies of the areas in which they are located. Promotion of coercive diplomacy is also a product of good military alliances. This refers to the extension of the colonial influence and control as in the case of France and the UK (Knorr 2016).

Despite the constantly cited problems of foreign military bases, these sites often signify critical economic prosperity within regions where they are located. The construction of these bases often causes millions of dollars. As a result, several people mainly locals usually find full-time employment opportunities with adequate wages and salaries. Similarly, foreign military personnel enlisted in these bases usually spend a substantial amount of dollars in the local business, stores, and restaurants. This usually creates an immense financial impact on the local community hosting the foreign facility (Clark et al. 2014). Since foreign military bases are always constructed in regions whose economic powerhouse have suffered immense damage due to war or threats of external invasion, the establishment and maintenance of a foreign military base usually enhance economic revival in such nations thereby boosting the economy and economic activities undertaken within such countries.

Besides, foreign military bases also pose significant social influence both on the host country as well as foreign military personnel. Since the establishment of a foreign military base is usually a critical source of an unforeseen amount of wealth, host governments can always use these to improve social services to the public (Rose 1998). For instance, the wealth created following the construction and maintenance of foreign military bases can fasten a nation's capability provide critical education, sufficient healthcare facilities, transport and communication among other essential social amenities (Knorr 2016). Besides,

the presence of foreign military personnel in an area can serve to alter the stereotypes that had previously been entrenched in society. Such social alterations are quite essential in informing the constitutional future of a nation concerning culture and norms.

Besides the economic and social implications of foreign military basing, these stations also pose a critical political impact on the host nation. It also provides the means for the country that sends its military troops overseas to establish their geopolitical influence by integrating their economic interests in the area (Hansen, 2008). Once a country sets up its military base in a foreign state, they build a mutual relationship and goodwill which enables the international military force to be able to protect the host country through deterring hostility of external aggressors as well as potential local conflicts, thus assisting in ensuring world security.

For instance, the government of Somalia accepted the United Arab Emirates' interest and requested to establish a military base in the country. The move was also lauded by Somalia's neighbouring country and long-time partner, Ethiopia as a means that will enhance regional security as well as assist in putting in check the terrorist militia organization that has consistently post significant security threat in the Eastern African region. In a press statement, the chairman charged with spearheading to investment in East Africa's deep waters of the Indian ocean stated that establishing a military base in Somalia will among other things enhance and secure multibillion-dollar investments in the country as well as provide security in the region thus spurring other development projects that will address youth unemployment and the security situation that has been for a significant period deteriorated. He stated that the base would contribute to economic growth of Somalia as well as its bordering nations such as Ethiopia and Kenya. It will also build the necessary and adequate infrastructure connecting Somalia with its neighbours.

Moreover, while addressing the Somalia parliament, the president stated that "the U.A.E's foreign military base within the Somalia territory would play a significant role by assisting the government to spur economic growth as well as create jobs for the youthful population within the country." Similar sentiments were shared by the United Nations Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres who

stressed the need for nations to address escalating youth unemployment issue since it would assist in preventing social conflicts, political instability, and violent extremism. Therefore, the move by the United Arab Emirates to establish a foreign military base in Somaliland was a significant way of creating jobs for the local individuals. Thus, there is no doubt that the stability and investment protection by the establishment of a foreign military base in Somalia will enhance security and stability of Somalia and other countries in the region that has suffered the plight of the terrorist organizations that have for the considerable period used the country as a conduit to enter hinterland. Besides, the base will strengthen the ability of Somalia's military to be able to combat piracy, terrorism, and instability that for a significant period been evident in the country.

On the geopolitical front, the Argentine government gave the United States of America permission to establish two military bases within its territory. The United States decision to establish military bases within Argentina was driven by the need for strategic purpose as well as that of creating National Security Bases. Moreover, it aimed to utilize these bases to provide security resources through undertaking joint military exercises and undertake military training for Argentina and its neighbours within the Latin American region. Despite the constant reassurance from the United States military as well as other senior officials within Obama's administration that the major aim of the U.S government in establishing these bases was to carry out anti-drug operations that have bedevilled the region for a long period, there still emerged critics (Whitney, 2016). Nonetheless, the U.S has been cooperating with numerous countries within the area such as Colombia in addressing bilateral security issues, and thus this provided it with the advantage in fostering negotiations to establish the bases.

It is believed that the Misiones province in Argentina was of significant geopolitical strategic interest to the United States to seek to establish a foreign military base that will enhance its presence in the area because of its location in the triple border with Paraguay and Brazil. The major interest of the United States in establishing overseas military bases in this region is to contain the threat of terrorism and drug-trafficking. The U.S officials confirmed that

establishing a base in this region will be important to the country due to its foreign policy that aims at expanding its military presence to for economic and security objectives.

It is quite clear that foreign military bases contribute significant social impact to the sending as well as the countries. For the host nations, the created employment, social amenities such as schools, hospitals, and other facilities enhance the social welfare of the local people. The interaction between the foreign military personnel stationed in overseas military bases also enhance good relations not only between the people but also between nations as well as enhance the perspectives of the nationals of the host countries about the sending nation. The economic group, peace, security and stability enhanced by military officers stationed overseas also contribute immensely to social impact within a country. On the other hand, the sending country gets the opportunity to promote their social influence through their militaries abroad (Whitney, 2016). Foreign military basing enables a nation to spread its national culture to overseas nations and change their perspectives as well as win their trust and confidence to become allies. Therefore, given these factors, it is quite clear how foreign military basing contribute to political, social and economic impact across the globe. It is in this way that a country can safeguard, acquire or spread their influence and cultural orientation with other nations and people from the diverse environment within the highly interconnected global environment. This is quite significant in upholding security and stability within a country as well as its surrounding region.

4.4 Impact on International Relations and Diplomacy

Defence diplomacy emerged when communism collapsed in Eastern Europe in the 1990s. The western powers viewed Eastern Europe with a critical suspicion at the end of Cold War. For instance, the Western European nations thought that the previously large Warsaw Pact armies would form a formidable obstacle to the spread of democracy in the region. According to the western governments, an unreformed Warsaw Pact militaries would impede democratization as well as potentially having the ability to reignite historical grievances that Soviet domination had suppressed. Therefore, since western governments feared that

Eastern European countries were likely to sink into chaos, they began to utilize their military capabilities including building foreign military bases and reconstructing their armed forces. The western European nations collectively and individually mobilized their militaries to establish functional and efficient military establishments in Eastern Europe. Some of the programs undertaken by the western governments to reform militaries of Eastern European countries included NATO's partnership for peace, which primarily aimed at instilling democratic ideals of civil-military relations besides integrating the countries within Eastern Europe to the already existing collective security organs such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union.

These were diplomatic undertakings which saw the evolution of military as a statecraft tool beyond its capability for violence and war. The success achieved by the western governments indicated not their capacity to impose their will on the states of Eastern European countries but their ability to constructively engage these brethren through diplomacy to enhance a mutually beneficial outcome.

Similarly, when states are viewed as interfering with the host nation's people and policies, diplomatic friendships can be fuelled. The case of the US is unique since the country has solid diplomatic skills. In the case of a problem with a military and a host nation, the base should be able to protect itself in case their government cannot be able to hold diplomatic talks with their host countries (Hansen 2008).

Good diplomacy can also spill to other sectors of the economy for example trade agreements and social impaction. In case of strife and misunderstanding, the good military standing and reception of the military can play a crucial role in mending these problems (Nye 2016). Further, military diplomacy assists in enhancing good relations that can extend to non-military issues. It can also extend to the foreign country, for example, the interests of the hosts in the foreign country can also be pushed from this relationship (Haaretz 2012). The world has seen political prisoners being released from other countries on the grounds of maintaining good relations between the two nations (Colangelo 2014).

Diplomacy has played a crucial role in assisting nations to be able to advance their agenda and national interests overseas. In a case where it fails, the military power came in handy to enable the country to achieve its mission and interests. Although the military was often considered as a hard power while diplomacy regarded as soft power in the previous periods, the distinction has become quite thin in the current periods. Foreign military basing has been enabling the countries with the overseas bases to pursue their national interests with minimal conflict of confrontation. Although some quarters regard the foreign military bases as being akin to military intelligence, the practice nonetheless has been able to prove its worth in the consistently complex global security environment.

It might not be clear to many how the military enhances and boosts diplomatic ties between countries. Most people and even governments are likely to wonder how the military can be "ruthless" and rough to be tactful and handle and uphold diplomatic relations between nations. However, empirical studies suggest that military personnel across the globe share a professional approach to issues as well as a common culture of precision, directness and similar experiences. They understand the repercussions of the war and thus are often keen on ensuring that they pursue each step that will enhance security and foster peace to avoid conflict by any means possible. Moreover, foreign military bases play quite a significant role in supporting diplomatic mission in the overseas countries and regions where they are based. They initiate and advance diplomacy through direct participation such as delivering defense cooperation programs, meetings, and negotiations. The foreign military bases also assist host nations with invaluable advice and through the development of the host nations' military capabilities through training and exchange programs. Similarly, foreign militaries may assist host nations during a period of disaster through carrying out humanitarian assistance operations as well as delivering relief missions. During such times, the foreign militaries also often carry out intervention and evacuation operations which enhance and strengthen diplomatic ties between the sending and the host countries.

Most experts and empirical studies also argue that militaries influence the relationship between governments across the globe. It is often clear that military personnel usually have varying value systems, ethos and thought process as

compared to the civilians. Military officers usually identify and bond with their comrades irrespective of their countries of origin, whether they are serving or former officers, and consider them as they own. As a result, this increases the significance and relevance of foreign military bases in boosting diplomacy between countries through influencing decision and policy making. However, it is quite surprising that despite this self-evident fact, most critics are still oblivious of the role of foreign military establishment in enhancing diplomatic relations with other countries. Nonetheless, the United Kingdom and the United States are the major proponents of military diplomacy with significant knowledge of the role of a military in improving diplomatic ties with other nations. As a result, they have the most significant number of overseas military bases as well as a well-thought-out program for training foreign military officers from other countries across the world. Pettyjohn (2013) defines diplomacy as the process of furthering international relations through engendering goodwill and negotiations and mutual trust instead of recourse to law, propaganda or use of force. Diplomacy aims at assisting a nation to achieve its mission and purpose as influenced by history, economics, and geography. However, governments usually consider safeguarding their independence, integrity, and security as the most critical and essential in pursuing their diplomatic interests. Beyond this point, diplomacy aims at ensuring maximum national advantage without causing resentment that is likely to occur when a foreign military establishment in a host country uses force. Therefore, Pettyjohn (2013) believes that since diplomacy is the most probable means of improving international relations between a country and their peers, then establishing a military base in an overseas country can be the last resort.

On the other hand, military diplomacy relates to international relations activities that originated in the periods following the end of Cold War when European countries controlled by the UK and the US coined it as a principle to help them generate terms that would be acceptable in the prevailing security circumstances of the new international environment. Foreign military bases, therefore, became critical instruments for furthering international diplomacy. In fact, according to the United Kingdom, one of the major roles of military forces stationed abroad was to further diplomacy not only with the host country but also its surrounding

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regions. As a result, the process of developing a program for establishing military bases overseas was carried out and implementations undertook in coordination with foreign ministries of the host nations. This assists in ensuring coherence and upholding focus between the sending and the host government. The activities such as international military personnel training and exchanges, advanced level engagements between senior defense officials across jurisdictions, staff talks and bilateral meetings, regional defense forums security and confidence building measures, outreach programs and activities aimed at non-proliferations can be enhanced through an established foreign military base between a sending and the host nation.

Historically, governments established militaries to assist them to achieve their national strategic interests, especially in international relations. Moreover, it is essential to understand that the role of the defense ministry in the previous periods was to assist governments to achieve their objectives and aims within the realms of the international relations through the use of force. However, as the periods changed through and after the Cold War times, there emerged the idea that militaries can also assist nations to achieve their objectives without necessarily using force, which in effect led to the emergence of the term military diplomacy. Therefore, the establishment of foreign military bases in overseas countries may not be as a result of the need to project war with other countries or to subdue their independence and internal self-control but to enhance and promote enduring peace and security between nations and regions. Empirical evidence shows that establishment of foreign military bases overseas has been able to promote diplomacy between the nations involved in enhancing the development democratic state and accountable armed forces.

Military bases also can promote diplomatic relations through brokering multi-tiered dialogues on security, political and strategic issues that may otherwise affect the relationship between countries. In this way, the established foreign military base and the personnel will be of significant influence in enabling the countries involved to be able to understand their concerns and as a result be able to address areas of common interest with mutual trust in the best interest of each nation. The multi-tiered dialogues can take place either at national leadership or political level between top leaders and foreign military personnel.

Besides, foreign military bases may assist in forging MOUs, Defence Agreements and Treaties between countries and thus enhance diplomatic relations. The Memorandum of Understandings, Treaties as well as Defence Agreements is critical activities that are usually carried out between military with other nations to strengthen peace and security. They often range from cooperation to mutual assistance. In brokering these events, the participants usually focus on identifying and record their various positions and individual roles to be able to prevent misunderstanding and promote trust at a later period.

Establishing military bases abroad can also play a significant diplomatic role in helping the host country to maintain a legitimate regime in power. In this way, the foreign military bases often provide the government of the host country with the necessary assistance that will enable them to maintain and forge a legitimate government through the use of the military. For example, the United States was of great assistance to the Iraq and Afghanistan in putting in place lawful governments. African nations have also played a critical role in assisting in establishing a legitimate government in Somalia through the use of military force to subdue Al Shabab, an infidel force affiliated to the Al Qaeda. India's military also played a crucial role in 1988 of assisting the government of Maldives Island in dealing with the attempted coup through military intelligence, training, and equipment.

Besides, foreign military establishments can assist respective governments to be able to establish diplomatic relations through military exchanges. It is an undeniable fact that different forms of exchanges take place between foreign militaries established in overseas territories and the host nations' defense personnel on a regular basis. Therefore, it is possible to utilize both formal and informal measures to share ideas and exchange views that will in effect assist to put in place commonalities, address areas that might bring discord and enhance mutual benefit. The information acquired by the military forces stationed in an overseas nation can be of significant benefit to the sending country's policy and decision makers in attaining the essential inputs that inform the decision making process.

Experts also encourage stationing of military personnel abroad as a way of enhancing diplomacy through participation in United Nations Peace Keeping

missions. They state that foreign military bases can be of significant assistance when it comes to the United Nations intervention in areas considered as war-prone and thus forge diplomatic relations when peace and security are established. Besides, foreign military bases enhance mutual participation of the sending and the host nation's military forces in peacekeeping missions, humanitarian assistance activities, and relief aid. These events are counted in international relations as activities that provide the means for pursuing military diplomacy. For instance, the United States military bases stationed overseas often provide the critical assistance such as training, monetary aid and capability to other nations' military either directly or through the United Nations and thus influences the host nations willingness, ability and commitment to avail military personnel for deployment by the United Nations to carry out military and humanitarian operations.

4.5   Impacts on International Security and Distribution of Power

Understanding the current significance of overseas military bases requires one to consider the history of establishment of foreign military stations, which dates back to ancient Greek city states. Over several years, most people, including governments and scholars, have considered the presence of a foreign military troop in independent nations as uncomfortable and unusual reality. Thucydides provided the first written source about foreign military posturing. His work underscored the Peloponnesian War that occurred in the 5th century BC. The writings illustrate the establishment of the Delian League by the Athenian Empire; a military alliance that enhanced the strength of Athenian military and Navy, thus its importance and power across territorial issues. Besides, Sparta that maintained unparalleled military process across Greece had numerous military alliances (Pettyjohn 2013). Moreover, the Romans and Persians prized bases that were considered as gateways to strategic locations as a means of enhancing and furthering their imperial powers in the territories they conquered. Historical records show that the Persian Empire, during the reign of King Darius, constructed 2,500 km-long imperial roads. Every 29km of these roads had a stone warehouses with lodging and food. The road created a revolution in logistics, being of critical benefit to transportation of people and cargo thus

enhancing trade and communication – where a message that previously took considerable time transfer could take a reduced period to move across the massive empire (Zeijden 2009). The routes were of critical significance to military capabilities and capacities of the empire since they made it possible for the military to carry out multiple simultaneous attacks on numerous fronts.

Similarly, the expansions undertaken by the maritime empires in the modern periods, particularly during the 15th century enhanced the establishment of trading centres and overseas military bases to secure their might and influence through safeguarding their national interests. During this period, overseas military posturing and commercial significance gained unprecedented prominence; the bases particularly were used to defend the new lands that had been identified for explorations (Dufour 2007). Besides, the foreign military presence that characterised the colonial period had an intrinsic relationship with the current period foreign military bases.

Overseas bases create networks that help control regional security problems (Peterson 2012). These installations act as military infrastructure for host nations supporting local missions even abroad. This is the reason why for organizations such as NATO and the EU, foreign military bases are their most important machinery in a country (Zeijden 2009). It is therefore critical to understand that foreign military bases either serve a particular security goal or enhance overall general regional stability and power balance. Most of the overseas bases were established during and after conflicts especially those found in Germany, Japan and Italy while the United States acquired some of its foreign bases to show support and solidarity with its allies; some of which include those in South Korea and England. The policymakers consider overseas military base, with its huge political costs as having the ability to fill the power vacuums as well as balancing superior power created through competition and consensus building among different nations with divergent ideologies as well as challenges and goals and the means for achieving such purposes. Several years ago, Nicholas Spykman noted that "attaining political equilibrium does not come from the gods neither is it an inherently stable condition; it emanates from an active human intervention through political operations. It is futile for a nation to wait passively for stability when miraculous power balance leads to

peace and security. However, for a nation to survive, it must be cognizant and ready to undertake confrontation with other nations to enable it to preserve power balance against a growing hegemony of its time."

Therefore, it is evident that overseas military posturing provides security and stability as well as acting as a projection of political might, influence, and power. Foreign nations often select military base locations from free flow of commerce, regional stability and emergence of rivals and international adversaries such as terrorist organizations that threaten the modern day international peace, security, and stability. For instance, foreign military bases have assisted in improving security and stability international, especially in areas where they are situated. Piracy off the East African coast is almost non-existent due to the intervention of foreign maritime military off that coast. Many pirates were captured and their networks destroyed by these installations in partnership with the local troops. Terror attacks have also greatly reduced across the world. The war in Syria has greatly reduced compared to how it was before the intervention of foreign military (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014). Most of these nations that have been supported by foreign military continue to do very well even after the foreign installations have been closed. Some of them even go-ahead to open their bases in foreign nations. Kenyan is an example of a country that has greatly benefited from training, and the foreign military is Kenya, with troops stationed in Somalia akin to a military installation with its core mission being peacekeeping and training of Somali troops (Odell 2014). The country has also been on peacekeeping missions in Southern Sudan. The nation went on to become an independent nation and even adopted the Kenyan flag as its own by using the same colors and pattern and only making a small modification to set it apart.

The reasons why states are established in these areas include the control of markets, the war on terror, and control of natural resources. Being strategically located for control of waterways is also a crucial factor that influences the establishment of these bases especially today (Dufour 2007). A good example is the building of an oil and gas pipeline to the Arabic Sea through Afghanistan from the Caspian Sea. With the US base there, it is viewed that it will be faster to accomplish that. The growth of economies by opening up their ports and

seaways due to increased direct investment and maintenance of security along these areas is vital in improving relations between nations.

Overseas military bases are also significant sources of gathering intelligence that will be of help in combating international security threats. Echelon is one of the best signal intelligence systems that use a nation's foreign military installations as signals receivers (Haaret, 2012). The principal use of these bases is hosting a nation's personnel during operations, weapon testing and transport locations (Zeijden 2009). For peace-keeping missions, infrastructure from these countries can be used to help the host nations.

Host countries are also looped in on significant security concerns in the world giving them first views of security scenarios in the world. As a result, they can be part of the global security features and can grow to become forces to reckon with in the security and the global wars against terror (Acharya 2015). Foreign military basing has played a critical role in political power distribution across different regions which in effect have been able to uphold international security and stability. One of the ways that can be applied to attain this process is through peacekeeping missions undertaken through joint partnerships with superpowers across the globe. Experts opine that aligning security regulations with international jurisdictions will ultimately enhance political power distribution throughout the world since the host countries are often likely to experience unprecedented political, economic, and social growth (Lostumbo et al., 2013). The African troops in Somalia, Amisom comprise military personnel from different countries across the African continent (Knorr 2016). These military officers from various African nations often receive joint training sessions with Somali military officers with the aim of strengthening and enhancing their capability and capacity to fight alongside the adversaries. The Amisom comprises nine battalions with nearly 850 military officers within each unit. Some of the notable African nations that have established their bases in Somalia include Kenya, Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Uganda. The inclusion of these countries is part of the advantages that can be seen from the training of these forces by the foreign military.

5   CONCLUSION

Military bases are crucial in ensuring peacekeeping throughout the world and in promoting good foreign relations. The laws governing them should be able to control the levels of authority exercised by these bases. These bases are crucial in maintaining world peace and maintaining good relationships between nations. These stations have so many positive impacts on the hosts as well. They include environmental protection plans, cultural growth and exposure, political support, prevention of civil strife, and economic growth. With the regulations that are set for the operation of these bases, good relations and alliances keep growing serving the interests of both the host nations and the military providing country. More regulations should keep coming up with the existing ones being thoroughly enforced to ensure their continuity and regard for the host countries.

For good relations and continued growth of these bases, more laws should come into place to protect this co-operation between nations. With the large competition for bases in strategic points around the world, the current military situated at different points should strive to maintain these relationships with their hosts lest they lose these posts to other 'friendlier' nations.

With the laws governing these establishments, it is apparent that these installations will not only seek to further their interests alone at the expense of their hosts. These laws can also guarantee the respect for the sovereignty of the host countries without compromising on their security situations nor leave them alone to fight wars.

With the liberalists being against the whole idea of setting up bases due to what they call biased policies and laws, they should understand that these regulations created can be renegotiated to include the issues not addressed in the current laws. Every law and regulation has shortcomings, and with globalization and insistence on sovereignty, agreements can easily be altered to meet the requirements of each country to ensure good relations and implementation of sound security policies. As a result, nations should embrace the need to create

useful alliances especially in this era of emerging terror attacks and security threats across the world. The terror issue is a global problem. Not even superpowers are being spared with the highest incidences occurring in their countries. Terror networks are growing, and every possibility of an alliance to help curb this menace should be highly welcomed. A strong front against the formation of these networks is required to ensure that they do not succeed and what better way to do this than give the people who can destroy these systems once and for all the access they need to stop the menace. Piracy issues also need serious addressing with, and thus the useful alliances with the right military should be able to rid waters of these criminals as seen in earlier situations off the coast of Somalia.

Therefore, most countries across the globe converge on the importance of establishment of foreign military bases in enhancing security and power distribution. Foreign military establishments not only assist in diffusing the threats of aggressions but also acts as a defensive measure that ensures security and peace across the globe. According to experts, foreign military bases first of all serve the interest of the sending state by ensuring it safety and spreading its political, socioeconomic influence to other areas. Other ways that have been recognised as the potential means through which establishment of foreign military bases provide international security is through stimulation of economic growth in the local economies and communities where they are situated. However, Lostumbo et al. (2013) states that despite the fact that sending nations may primarily consider foreign military basing on the grounds of security and power distribution, they provide a military backup that can be deployed swiftly to support local militaries in neutralising threats as well as assisting to mitigate the effects of humanitarian crises and as a result enhance military capability (forward-based).

Moreover, the research has determined that foreign military bases serve the critical role of enhancing international geopolitical stability. In this way, these establishments create geopolitical frameworks that are capable of absorbing the strains and inevitable shocks that characterise socio-political changes. Moreover, they can achieve geopolitical stability through introducing shared responsibility in the geopolitical arena for peaceful and stable management of

global affairs. Therefore, with the rising need to safeguard the principles of neutrality, humanity and impartiality while at the same time being cognizant of exploiting the available natural resources during these extraordinary circumstances, it would be prudent to maintain and even increase the number of foreign military bases (Lostumbo et al., 2013).

Most experts agree on the fact that foreign military bases play a significant influence in assisting to maintain public order not only to the host nations but also to the sovereignty of the sending nations. Although some governments and people still consider these foreign military bases as a potential source of conflict and threat to the independence and national sovereignty of the hosting nations, there is a substantial amount of evidence supporting that these bases help in sustaining world peace and security as it was under debate. Thus, it shows that foreign military bases serve the role of establishing stability and undertaking peacekeeping function.

Although the realists recognise the foreign military basing as a major issue that has raised numerous concerns, it still stress that these stations have contributed immensely to international safety and stability and in distribution of political power across regions. In recognizing this, the realists state that foreign military basing enhances the ability of the sending country's allies and enable them to be able to support each other in combating international terrorism as well as enabling the sending nation to be able to spread their influence to other nations and regions across the globe to deter any potential aggression by other powers. Therefore, realists recognise foreign military basing as a defensive measure that is vital when it comes to maintenance of security and order across the world.

ioned above, the interviews were sent to eight different organizations.

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APPENDICES

App A: Sample of maps military bases:
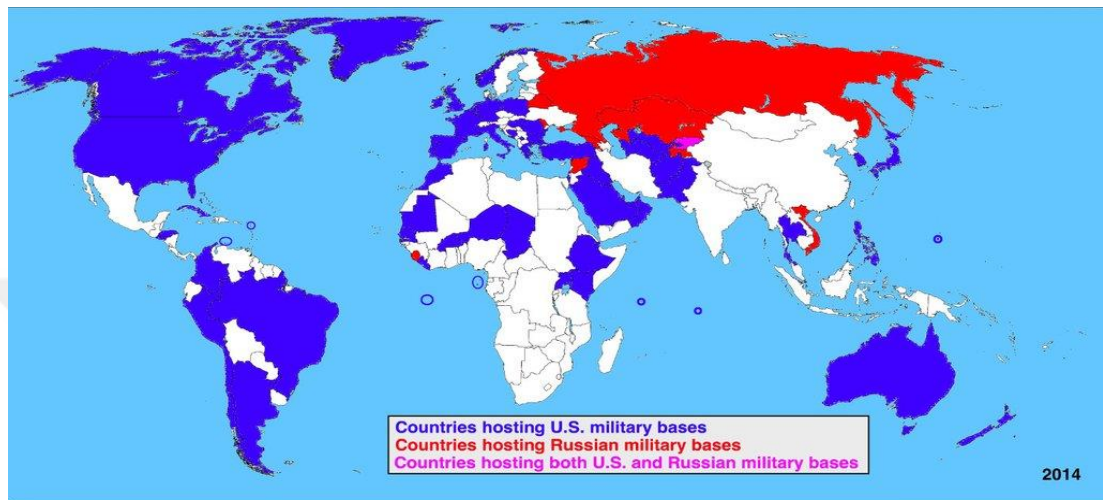

Figure A1: US and Russia military bases

Figure A2: U.S. and NATO military presence in Turkey

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