

Forum:	Special Political & Decolonization committee (GA4)
Issue:	Setting standards for the use and possible discontinuation of foreign military bases
Student Officer:	Konstantinos Zafeirakis
Position:	Co-chair

PERSONAL INTRODUCTION

Dear Delegates,

My name is Konstantinos Zafeirakis, I am 16 years old, and I am currently in 11th grade at St. Lawrence College. In this year's PSMUN conference, I have the utmost honour and pleasure to serve as a Co-chair of the Special Political and Decolonisation Committee (GA4). This conference will, in fact, be my 12th conference and my second time chairing in the Special Political and Decolonisation Committee. Throughout my participation in MUN I have had the opportunity to become more globally aware and have been given a platform to express my own opinions on a myriad of topics. I hope that as a Co-chair I will give my delegates that same platform that I so covet and inspire them as I too was inspired.

Since the early stages of human civilization, the main goal of any sovereign body was establishing influence and gaining control. This very concept has managed to survive until the 21st century with nations such as the United States having based a vast amount of their foreign and military policy on this very concept. One way these spheres of influence have been created is via foreign military bases, the focus of this guide. Throughout this study guide I will be outlining the history of foreign military bases from ancient maritime times to the 21st century, elaborating on their role regarding foreign policy and illustrating key issues surrounding them, thus causing us to ponder the question of their necessity. The theme of this conference, "Pacifism and injustice", is directly linked with the topic, more so regarding injustice, as the key concerning issues regarding foreign military bases is the effect on the host nation. Military bases have significant implications for host nations as they may result in political turmoil, issues with foreign policy and substantial economic imbalances, as will be further elaborated in this guide.

I sincerely hope that this study guide provides you with avid information to deepen your understanding of the topic, allow you to conduct your own research on the matter and write your own clauses. If you require any clarification regarding the topic or have any questions, do not hesitate to contact me via email at czafeirakis@gmail.com. I am looking forward to meeting and working with you at this conference.

Kind regards,

Konstantinos

INTRODUCTION

The establishment of foreign military bases has become a vital aspect of national foreign policy over the past century or so, however, their necessity and scope is a highly debated issue. This guide poses the question of whether modern foreign military bases still serve as necessary aspects of international diplomacy and mutually agreed upon foreign responsibilities to safety and stability, or if basing leads to major power rivalry which undermines spheres of influence or intends to shift their boundaries.

The very first implementation of foreign military bases can be traced back to ancient Greece during maritime times. During that period, they played a pivotal role in securing the strength and stability of Greek kingdoms by allowing the establishment of spheres of power around the world.¹ After the 20th century, with the passing of World War I and II and the rise of the Cold War, the establishment of foreign military bases adopted the role that they are used for today. However, it could also be argued that the question of their necessity was brought up during that same time, since during the Cold War many argued that the USA's vast international political footprint instigated clear conflict between them and the Soviet Union, thus increasing international tension and creating an environment of duress.

Nowadays, foreign military bases are part of an immense mechanism spanning continents, which works to maintain the control of the great powers of the world. Foreign military bases have become vital for the survival and necessity of NATO and the European Union, as well as the current developments between Ukraine and Russia. Their importance is clearly at play now with the latter conflict which has been an indication of how military bases may, in fact, damage foreign relations and increase conflict, thus causing great doubt of whether they truly ensure safety. Recent action taken by the international community surrounding the topic includes the closure of Manta base in Ecuador in 2017 where 400 representatives from 40 different countries came together in order to mould the future of foreign military base networks.²

The conference and the massive anti-base campaign that followed had a massive impact on the actual political landscape of Ecuador. Moreover, since 2003, the Transnational Institute (TNI) has played a massive role in the creation of the International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases. Overall, in today's political climate the perception and use of foreign military bases has varied immensely

¹Santos Lersch, Bruna, and Josiane Simão Sarti. "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND THE INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER." *UFRGSMUN*, 2318–3195, 2014, www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2014/files/DIS1.pdf.

² "Foreign Military Bases and the Global Campaign to Close Them." *Transnational Institute*, 16 Feb. 2022, <https://www.tni.org/en/publication/foreign-military-bases-and-the-global-campaign-to-close-them>.

from maritime times. Overseas military bases are no longer primarily used for aggression. They are viewed by many as means of assuring peace and international stability. Recently, however, there has been an increase in anti-base movements due to issues regarding sustainability and the out-datedness of said foreign military bases.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Military base

A military base is an establishment specifically designed to serve as support and coordination for military operations and conflicts. These facilities undertake various roles, depending on whether they are navy, land or air bases. Primarily, they carry out test-ranges for new weaponry, posts of intelligence operations, platforms for military operations, weaponry stock or even as host for military corps.³

Sovereignty

Sovereignty is a political concept that refers to a dominant power or supreme authority. In a monarchy, supreme power resides in the "sovereign", or king. In modern democracies, sovereign power refers to the ability of a state to govern itself. It rests with the people and is exercised through representative bodies such as Congress or Parliament.⁴

Status of Forces Agreement (SOFAs)

Status of Forces Agreement (SOFAs) are multilateral or bilateral agreements that establish the framework under which U.S. military personnel operate in a foreign country and how domestic laws of the foreign jurisdiction apply toward U.S. personnel in that country. A SOFA provides the legal framework for day-to-day operations of U.S. personnel while serving in a foreign country.⁵

Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA)

A visiting forces agreement (VFA) is an agreement between a country and a foreign nation having military forces placed in that country. Visiting forces agreements are similar to status of forces agreements (SOFAs), which are outlined above. A VFA typically covers forces visiting temporarily, while a SOFA typically covers forces based in the host nation as well as visiting forces. VFAs are necessary in order to clarify the

³Santos Lersch, Bruna, and Josiane Simão Sarti. "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND THE INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER." *UFRGSMUN*, 2318–3195, 2014, www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2014/files/DIS1.pdf.

⁴"Sovereignty." Legal Information Institute, Legal Information Institute, <https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/sovereignty#:~:text=Sovereignty%20is%20a%20political%20concept,such%20as%20Congress%20or%20Parliament>.

⁵Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) - AF. <https://www.usafa.af.mil/Portals/21/documents/Leadership/JudgeAdvocate/SOFA.pdf?ver=2015-10-30-115236-060>.

terms under which foreign military is allowed to operate. Typically, a VFA is mainly concerned with the legal issues associated with military individuals and property.⁶

Jurisdiction

Jurisdiction refers to the power of a state to affect persons, property, and circumstances within its territory. It may be exercised through legislative, executive, or judicial actions. International law particularly addresses questions of criminal law and essentially leaves civil jurisdiction to national control.⁷

Intelligence Operations

Operations intelligence is a type of business analytics that allows organizations to generate a performance and feedback loop, providing decision-makers with real-time insights and visibility into business operations findings and information. These insights allow decision-makers to act on the findings and immediately observing the results of those actions. By monitoring business processes, operations intelligence assist companies in identifying inefficiencies or threats and make appropriate decisions in order to optimize business processes via the use of digital intelligence.⁸

Anti-Base movements

Anti-Base movements are campaigns advocating for the removal of foreign military bases primarily through nonviolent protests, although they may escalate into violent tactics such as armed attacks and destruction of infrastructure. Anti-Base movements can either be pro- or anti-military and generally view military personnel as victims of the corrupt foreign bases system.⁹

⁶“Visiting Forces Agreement.” TheFreeDictionary.com, encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Visiting+Forces+Agreement.

⁷Editor, Insights. “Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA).” INSIGHTSIAS, 4 June 2020, <https://www.insightsonindia.com/2020/06/04/visiting-forces-agreement-vfa/>.

⁸“Operations Intelligence.” Www.cognizant.com, <https://www.cognizant.com/us/en/glossary/operations-intelligence#:~:text=Operations%20intelligence%20is%20a%20type,visibility%20into%20business%20operations%20findings.>

⁹ Vine, David, and Search for more articles by this author. “No Bases? Assessing the Impact of Social Movements Challenging US Foreign Military Bases: Current Anthropology: Vol 60, No S19.” Current Anthropology, 1 Feb. 2019, <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/701042#i5>.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Historical Context

Military bases during 20th century

From the ancient civilizations of China, Egypt, and Rome to the Middle Ages, foreign military installations have been integral for the establishment of spheres of influence in foreign lands for the Empires of Britain, France, and Spain. The United States is no exception, with the first US foreign military installation dating back to 1898 with the seizure of Guantánamo Bay during the Spanish-American War.¹⁰ After 1898, the United States continued to establish military installations beyond its borders in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, Cuba, and Hawaii.¹¹ In the early twentieth century, the US military set up more installations due to the growing necessity of foreign intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as in Europe after the beginning of World War I. Nevertheless, after temporary occupation most of these bases were disbanded.

Another pivotal moment in the topic of foreign military bases was World War II, when the United States truly began to build their massive international military framework. A by-product of the war was that US bases were now spanning all 7 continents. By 1945, the United States had established more than 30,000 military installations at more than 2,000 foreign base locations.¹²

After the war, the military left about half these bases still in use in order to maintain foreign presence. Never before were so many US troops stationed permanently overseas. Due to their vast nature, they began to resemble miniature US towns on foreign soil. World War II had immense economic implications on European nations, thus, creating greater risk for the rise of communism in said nations. This great risk became prevalent in the USA, and they began to provide external assistance to counteract the growing strength of Communism.

Military bases during 21st century

During the Cold War, however, the number of US foreign military installations escalated even further. The base network expanded to an immense degree to facilitate US intervention in Korea and Vietnam and contracted after active combat ended. During the Cold War, foreign bases served as defence against the nuclear threat and improved global communications and intelligence operations. Regional

¹⁰ Vine, David. "No Bases? Assessing the Impact of Social Movements Challenging US Foreign Military Bases." *Current Anthropology*, vol. 60, no. S19, University of Chicago Press, Feb. 2019, pp. S158–72. <https://doi.org/10.1086/701042>.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Santos Lersch, Bruna, and Josiane Simão Sarti. "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND THE INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER." *UFRGSMUN*, 2318–3195, 2014, www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2014/files/DIS1.pdf.

base networks were also developed throughout Central America and the Middle East during the 1980s. Overall, the post-World War II US base regime was imperative as the nuclear-equipped USSR swiftly arose as a formidable opponent to the West and containment required a large US foreign military presence.



Figure 1- Map of current Russian foreign

The Soviet Union also had a collection of foreign installations, though significantly less, during the Cold War along with the United Kingdom and France, which tended to establish installations in their remaining or former colonies.¹³ Other than bases in Cuba and Syria, most Soviet installations were located in Eastern Europe. As the Soviet Union dissolved, Soviet troops left foreign bases in Eastern Europe and Asia, despite the newly formed Russian state attempting to retain as many bases as possible.

Furthermore, since 1988, the Defence Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC) procedure has regularly simplified basing, although primarily within the United States. America removed roughly 300,000 military troops from foreign installations in the early 1990s and shuttered or surrendered approximately 60% of its overseas military assets.¹⁴ All in all, the Cold War forward-base posture remained relatively unchanged until Bush administration, when it launched a Global Posture Review as part of a larger effort led by Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld to transform the United States' military forces.

¹³ Santos Lersch, Bruna, and Josiane Simão Sarti. "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND THE INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER." *UFRGSMUN*, 2318–3195, 2014, www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2014/files/DIS1.pdf.

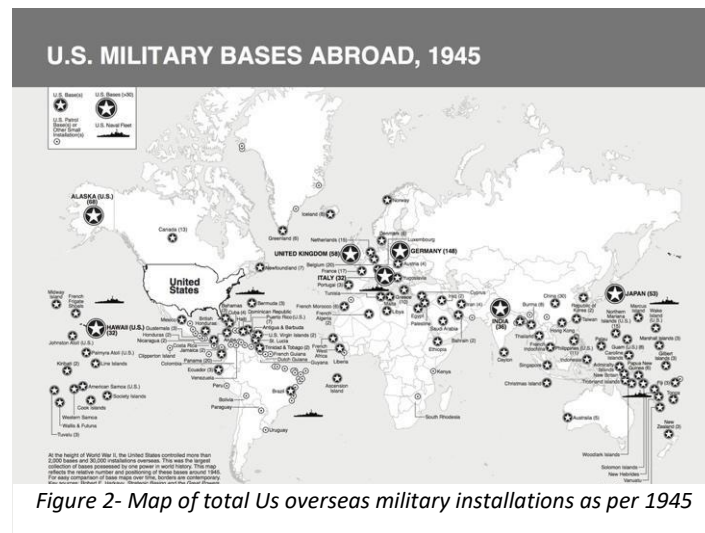
¹⁴ Vine, David. "No Bases? Assessing the Impact of Social Movements Challenging US Foreign Military Bases." *Current Anthropology*, vol. 60, no. S19, University of Chicago Press, Feb. 2019, pp. S158–72. <https://doi.org/10.1086/701042>.

However, following the Cold War’s end, the US military vacated around 60% of its overseas installations, setting the precedent for the question of their necessity.¹⁵ Despite the significant reductions, the same military framework remained in place and soon began to expand again with the growing threat of terrorism. Throughout the 21st century, the great powers of the world portray foreign military bases as not an act of personal foreign interest, rather a global service for all nations. This notion became even more prevalent after 9/11. This war on terrorism shifted US attention from Europe to East Asia and the Middle East. After the start of the US intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq, the military once again began to expand its foreign presence in the Middle East. On the other hand, it also dissolved substantial numbers of bases in Europe. More recently, a plethora of relatively small, secretive “lily pad” bases have sprouted across parts of Africa and central and eastern Europe.

Today, a relatively small number of sovereigns have overseas military installations, including the United States, Russia, Britain, France, and Turkey. China, Japan, and a few other nations each have one foreign military base, in contrast to the United States which currently maintains around 800 overseas military installations meaning that the United States possesses approximately 90%–95% of the world’s foreign bases.¹⁶ In total, the US military now possesses military installations in around 80 states and territories.

Role of foreign military bases

Foreign military installations and attempts by governments to gain access to other key sites beyond their frontiers have become fundamental aspects of their strategic



¹⁵ Santos Lersch, Bruna, and Josiane Simão Sarti. "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND THE INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER." *UFRGSMUN*, 2318–3195, 2014, www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2014/files/DIS1.pdf.

¹⁶ Vine, David. "No Bases? Assessing the Impact of Social Movements Challenging US Foreign Military Bases." *Current Anthropology*, vol. 60, no. S19, University of Chicago Press, Feb. 2019, pp. S158–72. <https://doi.org/10.1086/701042>.

interests. Foreign military installations are progressively being utilized as staging grounds for both non-combat and combat operations in today's modern world. A military base is a structure built or administered by the army or one of its various branches to host military equipment and troops while also facilitating training and operations to achieve a country's national security goals. Military air bases are the hub from which distant destinations for military missions are reached. As such, they are vital for the reliable support and operability of armed forces. This makes them a target for symmetrical and asymmetrical attacks.

Nations' use of foreign military bases is primarily supported by strategic objectives. In the past, major powers built overseas military outposts for further territorial gains, control over distant resources for the economic advantage of the state, invasion plans, and competition with rival states. Nowadays, such conquests are frowned upon, owing in part to the rise of post war stability and safety ideals.

Today, armed services installations overseas are controlled by legally binding agreements reached between the host and base nations. The use of violence is highly constrained under current international law. As a result, overseas military installations are increasingly utilized for non-military functions. Constructing overseas military outposts in other nations helps a state to project global spheres of influence, such as expeditionary warfare. Depending on their size and infrastructure, they can be used as staging grounds or for administrative, communications, and intelligence support.

Foreign military outposts serve as the main framework of current military activities. Military installations typically facilitate projections of international power and provide the logistical framework necessary for swift response to any important military operation. Such installations additionally host various active military personnel and weaponry, including nuclear deterrents. Furthermore, some overseas installations function as information gathering infrastructure and recon activities. Another role of overseas military installations is to discourage possible threats. Army installations function as physical indicators of national capability to combat possible threats by international aggressors. The goal of such installations is to combat international aggressors while also reassuring and increasing the safety and stability of allies. Moreover, foreign military installations act as a means of safeguarding national interests. The construction of military outposts is often driven by the necessity to protect one's own interests and function as a force of peace and stability.

Despite the apparent positive role that nation bases take on, they seem to increase tension. This occurs primarily when a nation builds up foreign military bases around a rival state, thus increasing the chance of potential direct conflict.

Impacts on host nations

Under normal circumstances a sovereign state would allow another states' foreign presence in its territory under the condition that they are, in fact, allies and share good diplomatic relations or a common enemy. However, the long-term presence of a state in a host state may have immense political, environmental, and social implications. Although the establishment of foreign military bases may bring stability to the host-nation, it may also bring instability. For instance, if SOFA negotiations are reached with unstable or illegitimate local governments, foreign military bases may be perceived as a smear on a country's sovereignty, as control over territory is given up. This acceptance of loss of territory may result in tension within local government as it legitimizes a status of inferiority, which could result in political unrest on a national level.

Environmentally, military bases may result in substantial consequences at local levels. The testing of new weaponry, which may include chemical and nuclear techniques, could represent a possibility of contamination and of accidents. Moreover, uranium-based substances can infect the soil and the water, having drastic consequences for the host nations population. In general, the maintenance and advancement of weapon stations releases harmful substances that directly affect host-nations although they never receive any compensation.

Bases can also cause social upheaval. Communities surrounding the military outposts often experience increased levels of rapes committed by foreign soldiers, together with violent crimes, loss of land, and health hazards caused by the testing of weaponry. This issue is exacerbated by inadequacies in the agreements which permit the creation of the outposts, as in most cases they require that foreign soldiers who perpetrate crimes cannot be held accountable and are granted immunity automatically.

Sustainability of foreign military bases

Every presidential administration since the Cold War has attempted to close American military outposts abroad, notably in Europe. Many of the most dramatic decreases were undertaken by President Bill Clinton. President George W. Bush maintained the pattern, closing hundreds of outposts and bringing home tens of thousands of troops. President Barack Obama recalled two Army brigades from Germany in 2012, only to reverse his decision after the Russian seizure of Crimea.¹⁷ In recent times, President Donald Trump launched a proposal this year to withdraw some 12,000 US soldiers from the nation, but Congress vetoed the move.¹⁸ Whether it was to reorient American policy, save capital while avoiding job losses in legislative districts, or avoid conflict

¹⁷ "Chapter One: Overseas Bases and US Strategic Posture." *IISS*, <https://www.iiss.org/blogs/analysis/2022/09/overseas-bases-and-us-strategic-posture>.

¹⁸ *Ibid*.

after an apparent foreign policy blunder, modern presidents have typically aimed at decreasing US foreign footprint, thus posing the question of the sustainability of foreign military bases.

Foreign military bases typically rack up immense maintenance costs for nations as substantial investments in military infrastructure require increased taxation for funding. Due to issues derived from the establishment of foreign military bases, host nations tend to demand fees from nations looking to create bases on their soil. Negotiations allowing for the temporary stationing of foreign soldiers may replace local overseas infrastructure.

Many overseas military installations suffer similar environmental issues found at domestic bases, including toxics in drinking water, explosives on firing ranges, and noise pollution. At domestic bases, the Department of Defence (DOD)¹⁹ has undertaken vigorous clean-up operations. The Department of Defence is responsible for providing the military forces necessary to deter war and protect the security of the country. The major elements of these forces are the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force, which are made up of about 1.3 million men and women on active duty. Most foreign military base agreements were signed prior to modern era environmental awareness and, therefore, contain environmental provisions that are open to interpretation. Prior to the 1980s, the army kept very few documents of exact amounts or places where toxics and explosives were being utilized. Therefore, even at domestic bases, extensive study is required to unearth potential hazards. The United States armed forces have left behind substantial environmental issues, giving rise to multiple complaints by host governments and local institutions. For example, in the Philippines, only after the U.S. army evacuated Subic Naval Station and Clark Air Base in 1992 did the Filipino government discover tons of toxic chemicals which had contaminated the land and water supply of the base or were buried in vast landfills.²⁰ Moreover, in Panama 21 people died from explosives left on firing ranges, causing people to fear issues that may occur after the United States army decides to leave.²¹ In Germany, where nearly half of all overseas United States troops are still actively stationed, industrial grade chemicals, firefighting foams, and waste have destroyed local ecosystems near a couple of military installations. Currently, the Army estimates that amelioration of all United States caused foreign environmental issues could cost more than \$3 billion.²²

¹⁹ "The Federal Register." Federal Register :: Request Access, <https://www.federalregister.gov/agencies/defense-department#:~:text=The%20Department%20of%20Defense%20is,and%20women%20on%20active%20Oduy>.

²⁰ Ipsadmin. "Overseas Military Bases and Environment." *Institute for Policy Studies*, 7 May 2014, https://ips-dc.org/overseas_military_bases_and_environment/.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

Due to these social, economic, and environmental implications, it becomes clear that foreign military bases do not constitute a sustainable and efficient method of contemporary diplomacy.

History of Anti-Base Movements

It is relatively accurate to assume that nearly everywhere throughout history where overseas military installations have existed, they have generated a degree of anger, conflict, and protest. Sources of anti-base opposition include: the forceful displacement of locals from their own lands, crimes committed by army personnel, building accidents causing death, injury, and property damage, the direct support bases provide for dictators and authoritarian regimes and the substantial environmental damage caused by day-to-day military operations

Contemporary anti base movements emerged following World War II. Though the formation of the United Nations (UN) ensured the existence of a process of decolonization and rights to sovereignty, many allied nations welcomed US troop intervention to bases on their sovereign soil during the war. However, some, such as Iceland, began requesting the return of installations and the removal of US troops soon after the conclusion of the war. As part of the proclamation of Austrian neutrality, which included a constitutional prohibition on foreign bases, American and Soviet soldiers were ordered to evacuate from bases in Austria in 1955.²³ As the decolonization effort garnered greater traction in the 1950s and 1960s, newly independent states ousted the US from a myriad of former British and French colonies, including Trinidad, Morocco, and, subsequently, Libya.²⁴ France, Britain, and other collapsing former European empires were also compelled to abandon most of their foreign outposts due to anti colonial warfare, nonviolent resistance, and an overall lack of funds to support facilities and troops distant from home.

Regardless of the US' image and reputation as a liberator in World War II and a protector throughout the Cold War, resistance to the US military presence erupted. Despite economic prospects for local residents in the shape of on-base employment, contractual possibilities, and clients for regional businesses, opposition grew over time as the fundamental difference of US bases abroad became unavoidable. Even truly democratically governed host nations where the existing population may be fully engaged citizens, are also disenfranchised by the US involvement. They have almost no influence in what the US conducts on their land, US personnel are appointed and not elected, and they are seldom consulted.

²³ Vine, David. "No Bases? Assessing the Impact of Social Movements Challenging US Foreign Military Bases." *Current Anthropology*, vol. 60, no. S19, University of Chicago Press, Feb. 2019, pp. S158–72.

<https://doi.org/10.1086/701042>.

²⁴Ibid.

The deployment of US nuclear-equipped missiles in Europe throughout the 1980s gave rise to a number of the Cold War's largest and greatest anti-nuclear campaigns. Many of the campaigns demanded the elimination of nuclear weaponry and the dismantling of bases at the same time. The most visible campaign in Europe and across the world was almost certainly the ongoing "Women's Peace Camp" at the US facility on Greenham Common, England.²⁵ Women began frequently blocking the base's entrances, slowing military activities, and cutting past the perimeter fence to impede military drills beginning in 1981. In December 1982, over 30,000 women gathered at Greenham Common to join hands around the perimeter of the outpost.²⁶ The next spring, 70,000 people formed a 14-mile human chain connecting the facility to the British nuclear weapons laboratories at Burghfield and Aldermaston.²⁷

As the Cold War ended, additional bases came under stress. For example, campaigns in Madrid, Rota, and Zaragoza pushed Spain's government to broker the evacuation of US soldiers from Madrid's Torrejón neighbourhood and Zaragoza. The withdrawal of USSR installations and forces from Afghanistan, Mongolia, the former East Germany, and Eastern Europe energized activists allowing them to push for the closure of US bases in their nations.

Moreover, Okinawa has been home to the most contentious US military activity since 1995, as well as the anti-base movement that has regularly garnered the greatest global attention.²⁸ Despite the strength of the protest, the demonstrations in Okinawa have had mixed results: the most contentious installation, Futenma, which the vast majority of Okinawans want dismantled, currently remains functioning. The fact the Japanese government is committed to establish a successor base has sparked its own anti-base campaign. The US government's plan to relocate around 9,000 marines from Okinawa to Guam and other Pacific locations by 2014 has been delayed by at nearly a decade.²⁹ There have been reports of at least 23 further rapes and sexual assaults committed by US servicemen between the 1995 and 2011.

²⁵ Santos Lersch, Bruna, and Josiane Simão Sarti. "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND THE INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER." *UFRGSMUN*, 2318–3195, 2014, www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2014/files/DIS1.pdf.

²⁶ Vine, David. "No Bases? Assessing the Impact of Social Movements Challenging US Foreign Military Bases." *Current Anthropology*, vol. 60, no. S19, University of Chicago Press, Feb. 2019, pp. S158–72. <https://doi.org/10.1086/701042>.

²⁷ Santos Lersch, Bruna, and Josiane Simão Sarti. "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND THE INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER." *UFRGSMUN*, 2318–3195, 2014, www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2014/files/DIS1.pdf.

²⁸ Vine, David. "No Bases? Assessing the Impact of Social Movements Challenging US Foreign Military Bases." *Current Anthropology*, vol. 60, no. S19, University of Chicago Press, Feb. 2019, pp. S158–72. <https://doi.org/10.1086/701042>.

²⁹ Santos Lersch, Bruna, and Josiane Simão Sarti. "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND THE INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER." *UFRGSMUN*, 2318–3195, 2014, www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2014/files/DIS1.pdf.

Following the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, anti-base protests surged in scale and power. Following the September 11 attacks, international support for the U. S. had swiftly deteriorated as millions protested internationally in 2002 and 2003 to put an end the war.³⁰ Thousands worldwide joined prominent international human rights groups, like Amnesty International, in calling for the closure of the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base.

The Italian "No Dal Molin" campaign drew global attention, attracting 50,000-120,000 people to the largest of its rallies in a city of Vicenza of only 115,000 inhabitants.³¹ Despite the expectation, the base did not open until 2013. Nonetheless, the shift conserved around half of the acreage initially designated for the base. It was designated as a peace park by the mayor. The irony of the name irritated many campaigners. They disagree on whether this could be deemed a partial win.

Members of a similar sort of movement in South Korea obstructed traffic, placed their bodies in front of construction vehicles, faced severe police treatment, and established a year-long continuous encampment to prevent the development of a Korean navy facility on the island known as Jeju. Local residents, other Korean activists, and global supporters were concerned that the base would devastate a fragile and unique volcanic seashore, harm farms and the local people, and contribute to escalating military tensions with China. Before the end of the decade, thousands of local inhabitants, Korean and foreign supporters attempted and failed to prevent the South Korean administration from acquiring 2,851 acres of farmers' land as part of the US\$11 billion development of Camp Humphreys.³² The South Korean government made use of riot police and soldiers to enforce the evictions.

Hundreds of people met in Quito, Ecuador, in 2007 for the first-ever worldwide anti-base summit, as part of the No bases movement. The International Network Against Foreign Military Bases proclaimed the need for the absolute eradication of all overseas military installations. The No Bases movement is largely responsible for at least two other victories: the first, when practically every government in the African continent refused to host the headquarters for the newly formed US Africa Command

³⁰ Vine, David. "No Bases? Assessing the Impact of Social Movements Challenging US Foreign Military Bases." *Current Anthropology*, vol. 60, no. S19, University of Chicago Press, Feb. 2019, pp. S158–72. <https://doi.org/10.1086/701042>.

³¹ Santos Lersch, Bruna, and Josiane Simão Sarti. "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND THE INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER." *UFRGSMUN*, 2318–3195, 2014, www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2014/files/DIS1.pdf.

³² Vine, David. "No Bases? Assessing the Impact of Social Movements Challenging US Foreign Military Bases." *Current Anthropology*, vol. 60, no. S19, University of Chicago Press, Feb. 2019, pp. S158–72. <https://doi.org/10.1086/701042>.

in 2007, and the second, the Iraqi Parliament's 2011 decision to dismiss a Pentagon request to keep up to 58 bases in Iraq after US occupation ended.³³

Key Conclusions Regarding Anti-Base Movements

Anti-base movements currently face a complex and heavily imbalanced struggle for power involving an array of local, national, and international bodies. Key issues arise due to local and regional governments, transnational, national, and local corporations benefiting from the support of a foreign military footprint. Decisions regarding bases are rarely made strictly on the premise of military strategy or security considerations alone as economic and political interests play pivotal roles. The fact that support from national elites typically decides the result of basing disputes begs the issue of why such security consensuses exist, how they are formed, and what economic and political interests drive them. Due to anti-base movements requiring the support of national governments to accomplish their objectives, the focus of anti-base activism is generally a national government rather than the US military. When the US military expresses discontent with logistical limits imposed by a campaign, it can be useful in limiting usage, increasing operational expenses, and placing indirect pressure on a national government. Finally, the key problem for campaigns seeking to dismantle bases is typically persuading national politicians and decision-makers that the cost of operating the base outweighs any political advantages gained, or that the economic benefits of closing or blocking a base vastly exceed any expenses presumably imposed by the US government.

MAJOR COUNTRIES AND ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED

The People's Republic of China

Modern China is an already recognized emerging superpower, whose ever-increasing global role is becoming more relevant on the international scene. China became one of the world's most powerful and influential investors after executing a "going out" strategy in the global economy since 2000. In actuality, China is increasing its military footprint outside of its borders. The mechanism for establishing military cooperation for China goes as follows: China request for logistics services and accessibility, a treaty on the installation of military facilities is drafted, where China typically makes substantial financial commitments financing civilian infrastructure, and notably shipping ports. Recently, China has undertaken a program of military modernization, stating that this modernization is only to protect the nation in a peaceful manner.

³³ "Foreign Military Bases and the Global Campaign to Close Them." *Transnational Institute*, 16 Feb. 2022, <https://www.tni.org/en/publication/foreign-military-bases-and-the-global-campaign-to-close-them>.

However, despite this clear stance, China already has military bases in Cambodia, Djibouti, Tajikistan, and Saudi Arabia. China potentially may commence the establishment of new military installations in nations with whom it shares geopolitical interests and good ties, and where there is precedence for large-scale Chinese investment.

The Russian Federation

The Russian Federation initially used bases in World War II due to extreme weather not allowing for ports. With the beginning of the Cold War, the Soviet Union began to grow its network of foreign military bases established in USSR-affiliated states as a means of establishing spheres of influence and power in Eastern Europe. Despite the Russian Federation having various foreign military installations since the end of Cold War, it has shut multiple of them down due to the accumulation of high maintenance costs and the maintenance foreign relations with other states. Since 9/11, Russia began using its military bases to exercise its direct interest in US foreign intervention. Today, Russia claims 25 foreign military bases in former Soviet states.³⁴ The distribution of Russia's military base is reflective of Russia's foreign interests, which include the preservation of current political regime and the minimization of Western interference in Russia's domestic affairs as well as the reaffirmation of its position in the current political hierarchy of the world.

The United Kingdom

Britain's military has a permanent presence in 145 base sites in 42 countries around the world.³⁵ The size of this global military presence is far larger than previously believed and consists of the second largest military network in the world, after the United States. Due to former expansionism practices, UK foreign military installations tend to be housed in former colonies. The British foreign policy regarding military bases is characterized by its relationship with the United States. Their partnership allows the US to have military facilities in UK's territory, as well as in UK's strategic sites, such as those located in the Indian Ocean and Afghanistan.

The United States of America

Ever since Second World War, foreign military installations have served as the backbone of the United States' capacity to project military force, exercise political influence, and dissuade prospective rivals. However, public and policymakers are favouring lowering the United States' worldwide military actions and abroad presence due to fatigue with ongoing wars as well as more nuanced financial and geopolitical

³⁴ *The Russian Federations Military Bases Abroad* - INE.ORG.PL. <https://ine.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/The-Russian-Federations-military-bases-abroad.pdf>.

³⁵ Santos Lersch, Bruna, and Josiane Simão Sarti. "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND THE INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER." *UFRGSMUN*, 2318–3195, 2014, www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2014/files/DIS1.pdf.

considerations. The number of US foreign military outpost is in constant flux, however, over the past couple of presidential administrations it has been witnessing consistent downsizing. The United States of America has over the past couple of years had the most assertive role regarding the international framework of foreign military installations. It is estimated that the US has about 1,000 military bases in over 130 countries, being the nation with most numerous foreign outposts in the world.³⁶ The quantity of its installations expanded throughout WWII and reached an all-time high during the Cold War, when the struggle for spheres of influence between the Western and Eastern blocs made military capabilities overseas crucial. With the conclusion of the Cold War, the United States steadily began reducing its military presence abroad, but the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon provided a significant incentive to broaden the extent of US facilities.

However, since 2001, the United States has shifted its attention away from its traditional European allies and toward Middle Eastern countries. Traditional Asian partners such as Japan and the Philippines were critical during Cold War conflicts, and now, considering China's prospective military modernization, the US is refocusing its emphasis on Pacific strategic partnerships which include South Korea, Australia, India, and Indonesia. The United States categorizes its military installations in host nations based on their geostrategic importance. As a result, its largest and most crucial sites are known as Main Operating Bases, and they are home to constant US forces. Forward Operating Sites are sites with modest facilities designed for bilateral military cooperation. The final category is Cooperative Security Locations, which operate as a hub for intelligence sharing operations. The expenditures of maintaining military capabilities in other nations are substantial, and the worldwide fallout from US engagement in host nations contributes to the delegitimization of US foreign policy. Nonetheless, the government of America uses a narrative of mutual co-operation and protection of democratic norms to reinforce its position in the world.

India

Seeing as India's economy and global influence are on the rise, there is a growing social demand for India to take on more substantial global duties for the sake of international safety. The premise behind India's search for international military installations is comparable to that of other countries. Security problems are no longer restricted to its boundaries, and a proactive military presence in the Indo-Pacific is required to secure its diversified concerns. In recent times, India has tried to expand its military access to the Indo-Pacific and Central Asia in order to protect its national and economic interests. Key overseas military outposts of India include those in Tajikistan, which are operated by the Indian Air force and the Tajik Air force. Because of its location over

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Afghanistan, this airfield has a unique strategic posture. It serves as a crucial power projection point for India in Asia. In Madagascar and Seychelles, India also operates two radar stations. The geographical position of these two bases is significant. Many of the marine channels surrounding these nations are utilized by Indian cargo ships and other worldwide corporate entities, which aids in tracking shipping operations and listening in on maritime conversations in the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, these operational locations assist India in countering China's String of Pearls policy. India is currently building a military base on North Agaléga Island. This island has been ceded to the Indian military to build key assets as part of the India-Mauritius Military Partnership. This station is strategically placed in the middle of the Indian Ocean and will act as an intelligence outpost for New Delhi, monitoring and responding to emerging risks in the Indo-Pacific area.

NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a military alliance established by the North Atlantic Treaty of April 4, 1949, which sought out to create a counter-measure to Soviet armies stationed in central and eastern Europe post World War II.³⁷ Currently it is one of the world's largest and most powerful defensive alliances. NATO's fundamental goal is to safeguard the Allies' freedom and security by political and military means, an objective which they have attempted to achieve via the installation of various military bases around the world. Foreign military bases are the backbone of NATO's framework. NATO has increased its foreign military presence in Eastern Europe as a direct result of Russia's growing influence, amongst its neighbors and the greater European community. Russia is currently and has been for a long time the greatest threat to Allies' global safety and stability. After Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, NATO decided to reinforce the existing overseas military installations. NATO has strengthened its military posture on the Alliance's eastern flank as a direct consequence of Russia's hostile behavior toward its neighbors and the broader international community.

The Transnational Institute (TNI)

The Transnational Institute (TNI) is an international research and advocacy organization dedicated to the creation of a more fair, democratic, and prosperous world³⁸. The Transnational Institute (TNI) was founded in 1974 as the international programme of the Washington DC-based Institute for Policy Studies. For nearly 50 years, TNI's history has been closely connected with the history of global

³⁷ Nato. "NATO's Military Presence in the East of the Alliance." NATO, 18 Oct. 2022,

https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_136388.htm.

³⁸ "Foreign Military Bases and the Global Campaign to Close Them." *Transnational Institute*, 16 Feb. 2022, <https://www.tni.org/en/publication/foreign-military-bases-and-the-global-campaign-to-close-them>.

social movements and their struggle for economic, social and environmental justice³⁹. TNI has been a distinct hub among social movements, engaged intellectuals, and politicians for almost 50 years. TNI has served as a driving force in the formation of the International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases, or No-Bases Network, since 2003 and has also housed the network's worldwide secretariat since 2008.

The European Union (EU)

European Union (EU), multinational organization managing shared economic, social, and security policies among 27 European countries. Initially limited to Western Europe, the EU began a rapid expansion into Central and Eastern Europe in the early twenty-first century. Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden are all members of the European Union. As a direct consequence of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, EU Member States have already declared a raise in their defense expenditures of about €200 billion over the next few years. While these improvements are necessary, they occur after years of significant cutbacks and underfunding. Between 1999 and 2021, the EU's total military spending climbed by 20%, compared to 66% for the US, 292% for Russia, and 592% for China, leaving it behind compared to other nations. There is also a reliance on vital defense equipment which the European defense industry and technology base does not provide indigenous answers. Three pressing tasks have been identified as capability gaps: restoring stocks, updating Soviet-era residual equipment, and strengthening missile and air defense mechanisms. Aside from these clear gaps in overseas defense capabilities the EU, now continues to attempt to expand its foreign military footprint in an attempt to level itself once more with the great powers, despite the issues of foreign military expansion highlighted by the conflict in Ukraine.

TIMELINE OF EVENTS

DATE	DESCRIPTION OF EVENT
18 July 1914- 11 November 1918	Beginning and end of World War I
1 September 1939-2 September 1945	Beginning and end of World War II
5 October 1945	Founding of Transnational Institute

³⁹ "The Transnational Institute's History." Transnational Institute, <https://www.tni.org/en/history>.

4 April 1949	Founding of NATO
5 September 1981	Establishment of Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp
5 November 1990	George W. Bush signed Public Law 101-510 Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990.
2 April 1991	Creation of 1991 Base Closure Commission in USA
1 July 1993	Creation of the 1993 Base Closure Commission in USA
May 1994	The "Oslo Guidelines" were released.
20 January 1993-20 January 2001	US President Bill Clinton begins reducing US overseas military footprint.
7 February 1995	Creation of 1995 Base Closure Commission in USA
1 November 1993	European Union is officially founded.
15 May 1995	American and Soviet soldiers were ordered to evacuate from bases in Austria.
11 September 2001	9/11 attacks on the Twin Towers in the United States reignites need for foreign military installations.
20 March 2003-1 May 2003	Beginning and end of US Iraq War
4 September 2007	In Quito, Ecuador the first-ever worldwide anti-base summit took place, as part of the No-Bases Movement.
2 July 2013	Opening of foreign military base in the city of Vicenza
16 March 2014	President Barack Obama recalled two Army brigades from Germany in 2012, only to reverse his decision after the Russian seizure of Crimea.
20 January 2017-20 January 2021	President Donald Trump launched a proposal this year to withdraw some 12,000 US soldiers from the nation, but Congress vetoed the move.
24 February 2022	Russia invaded Ukraine.

PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE ISSUE

[A/RES/2165\(XXI\)](#)

Resolution 2165 of the General Assembly's 21st Session, titled "Elimination of Foreign Military Bases in the Countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America," from 5 December 1966, was the very first resolution created to confront the United Nations' desire to seek conclusions regarding overseas military presence in certain areas around the globe. Countries recognized that this matter is of great significance and demands serious debate because of its implications for world peace and security. This resolution further addressed the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament

(ENCD), which demanded for further considerations and studies. The General Assembly summoned the ENCD to investigate this matter in 1967, but the ENCD failed to obtain agreement or clear guidance due to its non-binding nature and the Committee's demise in 1969.⁴⁰ The question of military outposts overseas has yet to be discussed in the General Assembly since the 22nd session.

The Oslo Guidelines

The "Oslo Guidelines" were initially developed over a two-year period commencing in 1992. They were the outcome of a joint effort that concluded in a January 1994 global forum in Oslo, Norway, and were published in May 1994. The purpose of the current Guidelines on the Use of Military and Civil Defense Assets in Disaster Relief (subsequently known as the "Oslo Guidelines") is to develop the conceptual foundation for standardizing and strengthening the effectiveness of international military and civil defense assets in global disaster response. The standards specify that all humanitarian aid must be offered in conformity with the essential values of humanism and neutrality, with complete respect for national sovereignty. They are connected to military installation concerns and the promotion of global ties to provide resources in the event of natural catastrophes and other necessities.

No-Bases Network

The No-Bases Network is another significant worldwide activity to address. This civic worldwide collaboration of non-governmental groups and engaged researchers has been seen since the early 2000s. The Network shares two main goals. On the one hand, to support local and regional organizations that are part of the network by providing crucial information, developing joint plans, and helping new campaigns get started. On the other hand, to generate space for international forums such as the UN to discuss both the legality and necessity of foreign bases as a method of foreign military domination and their codes of conduct.

Civic initiatives throughout the world have begun focusing on opposing the growth of military installations, primarily where military involvement has bred political opposition from progressive groups and anti-war activists. The No-Bases Network, also known as "The International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases," outlines that all nations should coordinate local and national movements opposing military involvement. It also seeks to restore decommissioned military locations. Its inaugural worldwide conference took place in Quito and Manta, Ecuador, in 2007, with over 300 activists representing 40 nations attending to investigate the effects of foreign

⁴⁰ Santos Lersch, Bruna, and Josiane Simão Sarti. "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND THE INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER." *UFRGSMUN*, 2318–3195, 2014, www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2014/files/DIS1.pdf.

military installations and regional people's battles against their presence.⁴¹ During the summit, there were press conferences on the influence of military bases on ecology, women, human rights, peace, democracy, and sovereignty. The summit was brought to the notice of Rafael Correa, Ecuador's president, who affirmed his plan not to extend the arrangement with the US for the use of the Manta Base, which was due in 2009 and in September the final 15 American personnel left the nation.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Establishing a standardized framework to assess military bases

It has become necessary to establish a standardized framework to assess the danger of military bases under the control of a monitoring agent administered by the UN. With the cooperation of the host country, the UN could oversee the military bases and therefore recommend potential changes to enhance their peaceful and efficient function. Unfortunately, the Oslo Guidelines have proven to be exceptionally vague and clauses regarding the environment have proven to be far too flexible. This framework should focus on environmental issues for the host nation, economic issues for both the host and base nation and political and social impacts on the host nation, as they are primary stakeholders in this question. This should report to the UN General Assembly annually to keep up with the constant changes in foreign relations. The initial aim of the framework should be to assess sustainability and viability and then focus on encouraging potential downsizing. Specific focus should also exist on third world host nations as they tend to be more susceptible to the threats of military bases due to unstable regimes seeking international affirmation.

Revising Current Legislation

Another possible solution could be to revise, update or assess current legislation to ensure a focus on the protection of the host nation, rather than the nation building new bases. For example, a document which requires revision is the Oslo Guidelines as they first legitimized the current state of foreign military bases. This solution may also focus on the effective construction of future military bases. This new legislation may have a positive effect on host nations in the sense that it may discourage unstable and unpopular regimes from garnering greater support due to distress with the military bases and monitor the rise of authoritarian regimes, thus resolving political turmoil. This legislation could additionally protect the local environment.

⁴¹ "Foreign Military Bases and the Global Campaign to Close Them." *Transnational Institute*, 16 Feb. 2022, <https://www.tni.org/en/publication/foreign-military-bases-and-the-global-campaign-to-close-them>.

The Safe Removal of Military Bases

Focus should also be shifted on the discontinuation of military bases. It is vital to form a UN affiliated body to oversee the safe removal military bases, if necessary, from the host nation. As seen in the anti-base section of this guide, typically the sprouting of bases results in popular anti-movements because of to their catastrophic impacts. Due to the immense financial and political interest the nation which establishes these bases has, they are unlikely to consider said campaigns on their own, therefore, stressing the necessity of an external organization. This process should be gradual to ensure the safety of the host populations since many nations over-depend on foreign military bases for stability. Examples of gradual removal include removing personnel in waves, removing bases at a time and then ensuring the potential passing over of the base to the host nation, without retaining most equipment.

Capping Foreign military bases

Another potential solution to decrease political tension amongst the great powers could be to provide a cap to the number of possible bases each nation can have nation based on its size, population etc. This still allows certain nations to retain partial military frameworks, but still causes a decrease in tension due to restricted number which cannot cause substantial military issues. This would once again ensure that nations do not have too much influence over others and reduce the number of military bases around the world, thus affirming the concept of peace. This cap should also come with a specific radius in which military bases may be built in order to reduce tension and maintain stability. This radius should be based on foreign relations rather than geographical distance. The radius would be decided by the UN and enforced via legislation and a revised framework of use. This may not be to the likes of all nations however it ensures stability whilst still retaining a military footprint.

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