KAMPALA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Research Journal of Humanities, Legal Studies & International Development | **RJHLSID**
***p-ISSN**: 2536-6564 | **e-ISSN**: 2536-6572*
Volume 6, Number 1 June, 2024

Foreign Military Bases in Africa in the Twenty-First Century and the Prospect for Peace and Security

Ighodalo Joseph Ejemheare
Department of General Studies,
Federal Polytechnic Ekowe, Bayelsa State, Nigeria

Article DOI: 10.48028/iiprds/rjhlsid.v6.i1.26

Abstract

Foreign military bases in Africa have become a fundamental part of international politics in the twenty-first century. Foreign countries have embarked on an unprecedented military expansion beyond their border. The expansion of foreign military bases in Africa is evident across the region, from the Sahel to the Gulf of Guinea and the Horn of Africa to the Great Lakes. It is on this note that this paper examines foreign military bases in Africa and the prospect for peace and security in Africa in the Twenty-First century. The paper finds that the preponderance of foreign military in Africa has not engendered peace and security on the Continent but has worsened the area's insecurity. The paper also believes that establishing these bases is not in Africa's interest, but rather in protecting foreign nations' economic and strategic interests. Using a qualitative research method, the paper recommends strengthening the African Union military force to protect the African high seas, allow free trade, and provide efficient intervention in crises on the Continent.

Keywords: *Foreign military base, Africa, Peace, Insecurity, and Twenty-First century*

Corresponding Author: **Ighodalo Joseph Ejemheare**

Background to the Study

African states have grappled with foreign intervention since colonial powers established their rule on the Continent. When African states initially attempted to resist foreign rule, the European military was used to make Africans submit to foreign rule. In 1897, a punitive expedition of 1200 British forces captured Benin and, thereafter, subjected Benin to colonial rule.[1] In Rwanda and Burundi, German colonial troops crushed local resistance and imposed colonial government in 1905. Similarly, anti-colonial resistance in Congo was crushed by the Belgian colonial forces.[2] In 1902, the colonial conquest of Africa was almost complete. The conquest was a bitter experience for Africa due to the superiority and devastating power of the European machine guns over the African bow and arrow.

Following independence from colonial powers, African states have faced acts that threaten their territorial integrity. One of the acts is the establishment of foreign military bases on the Continent. The history of foreign military bases established on sovereign states can be traced back to ancient times. The Persians and the Romans placed high value on bases that controlled routes to strategic places because it was necessary for territorial acquisition. With the invention of the steamship, the imperial route expanded. The expansion of the imperial route also led to the expansion of foreign military operations, as there was a need to protect the route.[3] With the protection of routes, expansionist powers set up warehouses, trading posts, and foreign military bases to consolidate their power. At that time, commercial and military interests go pari passu.

The East-West rivalry, otherwise known as the Cold War, was exceptional in the establishment of foreign military bases in Africa. The period witnessed the superpowers' rivalry for global supremacy and control of satellite states. Kelechukwu and Gerald note that "the Cold War period, which was characterised by disputes between two poles, gave credence to the use of military bases abroad to deepen the importance of alliances and enhance the balance of power in a bipolar system."[4]

The September 11, 2001, attack on the World Trade Centre in New York made the deployment of foreign military bases imperative to counter terrorism. The United States and France called it the Global War on terrorism. The US believed that Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda "galvanised radical Islamic sects across the world and inspired them to oppose the US and its interests in any parts of the world."[5] President George W. Bush declared War on terrorists on September 20, 2001, saying, "Our War on Terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorism group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated."[6]

The War on terrorism introduced new actors in global politics and security. In combating international terrorism, one of the significant challenges is the problem of distance, and to address the challenge, it became imperative to establish foreign military bases in sovereign states for rapid response. The importance of Africa's natural resources is a significant factor for the establishment of foreign trade bases in Africa. In Western nations, the need to secure sea routes against piracy and other anti-social practices that hinder the flow of raw materials from

Africa and the importation of finished goods to Africa has made the establishment of foreign military bases in Africa a vital option for developed nations. This paper examines foreign military bases in Africa and how far the presence of these bases endangers peace and security on the Continent.

Conceptual Clarification

Foreign Military Bases

A military base is any installation created to house military personnel and equipment to support training and operations. Kelechukwu and Gerald note that foreign military bases carry out functions "such as intelligence operations and platforms for military operations, weapons storage, or even as hosts for military corps."[7] Rodriguez and Glebov see military bases as "an installation created to serve as support for military operations and logistics."[8] A Foreign military base is the establishment of a military installation in a sovereign state to support military operations and logistics.[9] According to Kester Onoh, a foreign military base is a broad range of utilization by foreign troops on contractual bases of the territory of a particular country for military purposes."[10] There is always an agreement between parties, specifically between the nations that release their territory to foreign forces and the country that deploys its troops to foreign territory. The arrival of foreign forces in a sovereign state interferes with the sovereignty of the state. However, the practice is ancient. Rome and Persia anchored on strategic bases that enabled them access to land and water routes, which allowed them to maintain imperial status over acquired territories."[11]

The colonial powers, such as Britain, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium, established posts and foreign military bases outside their countries in the 15th century to protect their interests. During the colonial period, colonial forces were present in colonies, which the imperial power used to suppress revolts against the colonial government. During the Cold War, the United States countered the Soviet Union's influence worldwide through the policy of containment. As a result, the policy of containment, the United States maintained large military bases all over the world to contain communism.[12]

After 9/11, the global War on terrorism widened the establishment of foreign military bases in a foreign land. Ade Abolarin notes that Osama Bin Laden galvanised radical Islamic groups over the globe and sensitized them against the United States. The United States maintained that the group will be dislodged wherever they are in the world.

Peace

Peace studies have become important since they apply to the conditions that define humanity. The social and economic conditions that threatened peace are worthy of study. There is the general assumption that peace is the opposite of War, and therefore peace is the absence of War and vice versa. Ike Ibeanu notes that the above assumption is inadequate in understanding peace. He argued that peace is independent of War. Peace can exist even where there is War, as in the case of peaceful interaction between two warring countries.[13] Apart from War, which is a direct form of violence, other forms of violence are not open and direct. It is a social condition such as poverty, police brutality, oppression of the poor, social and economic

deprivation, and fear. It would be inappropriate to categorize as peaceful any society experiencing those social and economic conditions mentioned earlier. Peace is undoubtedly a function of social structure. Therefore, for a state to function orderly, there is a need for peace. Otherwise, there would be an attack on the political system, and the result would be the breakdown of law and order.[14]

Therefore, peace is not only the absence of War. David Francis maintains that peace is "the absence of war, fear, conflict, anxiety, suffering, and violence, and about peaceful co-existence".[15] The primary concern of peace is the restoration of just order and resolving conflict through a non-violent approach. According to Francis, many peace researchers have itemised six meanings of peace: "peace is the absence of War (absence of direct violence), peace as justice and development (absence of structural violence), peace as respect and tolerance between people, peace as gain (balance in and with the ecosphere), and peace as wholeness and making whole."[16]

It is crucial to note that social, political, and economic justice are essential in creating peace. Johan Galtung, in broadening the concept of peace, outlines two types of peace: Negative peace, which is the absence of direct violence, War, conflict, and fear; and Positive peace, which is the absence of injustice.[17] The social, historical, and political context of a people determines what peace means to them. A community torn and factionalised by War will see peace as the absence of War. In the same vein, a society bedevilled by injustice, oppression, marginalisation, and social deprivation will see peace as the restoration of justice and freedom.

Security

Security has multiple origins. The word originated from the French word securité, meaning freedom from care, and the Latin word securietas, meaning freedom from anxiety. The desire for security is fundamental in the world of uncertainty and danger. The study of security is cardinal to all nations. Throughout human history, security has had various meanings for different people and at other times. Security is a popular word that is not easy to conceptualize. In a regular sense, security is the orderliness of things in existence. It is a state of protective condition. Aja Akpuru-Aja broadened the concept of security by looking at it from two perspectives – objective and subjective. He stated thus:

> *At the object level, security measures the absence of a threat to life, liberty, property, and core values. At the subjective level, security measures the absence of fear, anxiety, tension, or apprehension of being in danger of losing life, liberty, property, and core values. When taken together, security can be understood to mean or represent the absence of threat and fear in a social system.*[18]

A nation cannot be said to be secure when it's deprived of its "core values, life, property, and liberty. A nation can also be said to be secure when it has the potential to deter aggression or win a war. Security provides the enabling atmosphere for good social and political order in a system."[19]

Chris Orngu argues that "security indicates a freedom from danger or anxiety or any protective measure that guarantees the safety of lives and properties."[20] Security is any form of deprivation from potential, whether physical, emotional, or environmental. Security is the most essential concept in a state. It is also the most important in international relations. Uwa and Ode note that security is "not only in terms of internal security of the state, but also in terms of secure systems of food, health, money, and trade.[21] It is certain, therefore, that threat in whatever form is most important in understanding security. All forms of interference in a state's security, in the form of social, political, economic, military, territorial, and cultural threats, constitute a security threat to the country, region, or Continent.

The Motivation of Foreign Military Bases in Africa

In a world of sovereign states, foreign military bases are a departure from the principle of sovereignty. "Foreign military bases are expensive, require robust communication, transport, and supply networks, and impose substantial burdens on service members and their families."[22] Despite the exorbitant nature of carrying out the gesture, why then do great powers set up foreign military bases in Africa? Wellington Brown has recognised power projection as one of the driving forces. He argued that states build military bases in foreign lands when they have foreign interests, as deploying troops from home might endanger what they hope to achieve. At short notice, it is not an easy task to move troops and military equipment. Consequently, countries with foreign strategic interests find it necessary to establish bases near areas of interest.[23] What is perceived as a foreign or external interest might be a threat, which can shape state attitudes, which in turn determines the strategic and tactical thinking of the state. Aja Akpuru-Aja notes:

> *A security-conscious nation is quickly responsive and not reactionary to external threats before they overwhelm the state's capacity. External threats also have ways of arousing in the affected nation the need for military build-up, and the maintenance of a qualitative and combat-ready military force. It also holds the promise of the explicit management of foreign intelligence missions for adequate and timely information, which is the hallmark of modern military strategy.*[24]

The need to protect trade is another motivation. M.L. Jhingan sees trade historically "as a mechanism of international inequality to the disadvantage of backward countries."[25] Africa's natural resources have garnered global attention. Ighodalo sums up the natural endowment of Africa thus:

> *Mineral resources abound in Africa. Africa has 20% of the world's gold reserves, 28% of vanadium, more than 50% of global cobalt reserves, 23% of titanium, and more than 60% of international gem diamond reserves. The Continent also holds 80% of global phosphate, 95% of platinum, and 90% chromite. According to Kwame Nkrumah, Katanga, a province in the Southern part of the Congo, has significant mineral deposits. The Katanga copper deposit is about 115 million tons. The area is the world's largest producer of cobalt and uranium, and also produces zinc, manganese, coal, tin, silver, lead, and cadmium, all of which are*

> *abundant in Katanga. The National Bureau of Statistics revealed in 2020 that Nigeria has over 40 minerals, including coal, iron ore, marble, silica, gold, lead, tin ore, zinc, granite, manganese, laterite, and limestone. Bitumen in Nigeria is also about 42 billion tons, almost twice the amount of crude oil. The Nigerian embassy in the Netherlands reveals that Nigeria is among the Nations in Africa with the largest deposits of natural resources. According to the Embassy, there needs to be a higher level of exploitation of the natural resources.*[26]

The desire for Africa's natural resources is crucial for Western nations to achieve their development goals. The Western powers are industrial nations, and their level of industrialization enables them to access Africa's raw materials and process them into finished goods, which are in high demand in Africa. Thus, the African market also serves as a pull factor in Africa's relationship with great powers. L.L. Nwoke maintains that "the ultimate goals of the Asians and great powers are the same: to secure the sources of critical raw materials at cheap cost and lucrative market for their goods and services."[27] It is on these notes that the great powers establish foreign military bases in Africa to protect their trade routes. Nester Onor reiterates that:

> *The Horn of Africa, comprising Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Somalia, is one of the most economically, geographically, and strategically significant regions in the world. Its economic significance is hinged on its coastal opening on the Red Sea, which positions it along an essential maritime trade artery that links Asia and Europe. Furthermore, it offers low labour costs to emerging markets and boasts substantial natural resource deposits.*[28]

It must be emphasized that with the end of the Cold War, various antagonizing groups arose in the world, including in Africa. In Africa, the rebellious youths are provoked to anger by the failed state situation on the Continent. Religious fundamentalists are increasingly exerting more influence on an organised political force. The Sociologist, Georg Simmel, long ago argued that human societies were cemented together by the need to cope with outside threats."[29] The threat that Islamic fundamentalists pose to trade in Africa cannot be overemphasised. Walter Laqueur traces the origin of Islamic fundamentalism to the "general dissatisfaction with the prevailing state of affairs, the imperfection of politics and society, and fear of resistance against Western ideological and material influence."[30]

The strategic location of the Horn of Africa, at the intersection of the flow of finished goods from developed nations to Africa and the shipping of Africa's natural resources to developed countries, explains why the area has become the epicentre of foreign military bases. The Horn of Africa consists of Djibouti, Eritrea, Somalia, and Ethiopia, and is one of the most economically and strategically important regions in the world. Its coastal opening on the Red Sea, which locates it on an essential main gate linking Asia and Europe, the area is also known for its high deposits of natural resources. Sam Momah described the strategic importance of Africa thus:

> *Africa, by its location between the East and West, remains a strategic landmass. Equally strategic in the Eastern flank is the Red Sea and, in particular, the Strait of Bab el Manded, the Gulf of Suez, and the 160km Suez Canal. The Mediterranean Sea in the North represents the African crown. At the same time, the Cape of Good Hope, since its discovery by Vasco da Gama in 1497, has remained a strategic gateway to Western Europe and beyond.*[31]

The region is prone to conflict and civil War, as seen in the Wars in Darfur, South Sudan, and Somalia. The threat of the Al-Shabaab group and the menace of piracy on the Somali coast and ethnic conflict in Ethiopia made it imperative for the government and other political movements to intervene in the internal affairs of the region.[32]The September 11 attack on the World Trade Centre led to spontaneous global solidarity against terrorism. The attack set the stage for the global War on terrorism or made the political climate set for anti-terrorism. The military became the leading agency most prepared to take on the parts in the worldwide War on terrorism. The efforts to counter terrorism have led to military confrontation. In 1998, the United States launched an attack against a plant in Sudan believed to be supplying Al-Qaeda weapons. The US assisted states with weapons and training in their fight against terrorism.[33] Elizabeth Schmidt notes that terrorism replaced communism as the rallying cry for American overseas involvement following the terrorist attack on the United States in September, 2021. The United States remodelled its Cold War Africa strategy during the first decade of the global War on Terror by increasing support for repressive regimes in African states in exchange for cooperation on counterterrorism.[34]

The global War on Terror made the United States introduce a new understanding of when to use force against a sovereign state. The new principle is pre-emptive self-defence, which contravenes Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. The new principle made the act of planning an attack an attack. It is the principle that the US used to justify the Iraq invasion in 2003, and it serves as a precedent that Russia used to justify its action in Ukraine in 2022. Pre-emptive self-defence is an action against future danger, which has no place in international law.[35] In the global War against terror, France and Britain partnered with the United States. The threat of terrorists in Africa against the United States has been demonstrated by the attack on US embassies in Kenya, Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, Mombasa, and recently in Algeria, Morocco, and Somalia. The United States and its allies' partner with the state government where a terrorist threat exists in Africa by establishing a foreign military base in the area to counter the threat.[36]

Another motivation for a foreign military base is to serve as a deterrence and coercion of an opponent. The importance of advertising military capabilities before the enemy is a key strategy for defeating them. Schelling notes that foreign military bases extend deterrence by raising the cost of inaction, and conversely, enable coercive diplomacy by lowering the cost of action.[37] The establishment of a military base in a foreign land not only deters the adversary or enemies but also enables stronger relationships between the host state and the sending nations. Big powers like the US, France, Britain, China, and Japan have become influential in Africa as a result of the establishment of foreign military bases on the Continent.

Another reason for foreign military bases is their protection of unpopular regimes in Africa. The regime that hosts a foreign military base cannot be easily overthrown. For example, the French army base in Cameroon has been instrumental in the protection of Paul Biya. The presence of foreign forces allows the sending state to be involved in the domestic politics of host nations, which prevents the regime of the host nations from aligning with other countries. Brown notes that the "pressure could range from rhetorical support to funding of a pro-base candidate to the outright overthrow of a non-compliant government."[38] Since independence, France has perpetuated and safeguarded the durability of specific regimes in West Africa and the Sahel. Ensuring security from the government in power and protecting French interests in the host state are the major driving forces of the act. On the part of African states, the gesture is driven mainly by economic gains and to get foreign assistance to address persistent security challenges.

Foreign Military Bases and Peace & Security in Africa

African countries host foreign military bases from the United States, France, Britain, China, Turkey, and Russia. Despite the high presence of foreign military bases in Africa, the Continent is devoid of peace and security. There is significant instability in Africa due to armed conflicts, terrorism, anti-government turbulence, but also to a considerable extent, to the presence of foreign military bases.[39] The presence of foreign military bases in Africa strengthened authoritarianism. Authoritarianism is marked by strong central power devoid of political freedom. There is a greater shift towards dictatorship than democracy in Africa. After independence, France entered into a military accord with African states, which granted France enormous power, permitting the former colonial power to retain military bases and enlarge forces in Africa.[40] The military bases and troops were utilized to safeguard regimes that served French interests, and they were also used to remove regimes that failed to protect French interests. According to Schmidt:

> *During the first three decades of African independence, France was involved in some dozens of military interventions in sixteen African countries, including Benin, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Comoros, Congo Brazzaville, Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Gabon, Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Togo, and Zaire. In most cases, France acted to protect regimes from international threats.*[41]

For example, the Chadian tyrannical regimes in the 60s and 80s were protected by French troops. France put Operation Expervier in place in 1986 to protect the government of Hissene Habre against the advance of Libyan forces. In 2016, Habre was charged and convicted of crimes against humanity. In 2019, a French airstrike destroyed 50 trucks carrying rebels opposed to Idriss Deby's regime in Chad. France has been accused of intervening in domestic political affairs in Africa. The French protection for Sahel political leaders against jihadist groups will strengthen and prolong the leaders whose actions have contributed to the crisis that France aims to resolve.[42]

French military power is responsible for the protection and prolongation of the regimes of Paul Biya, notorious for his tyrannical government. Although people detested his regime,

France used its military base to instill fear into the people. The United States and France backed the regime of terror of Biya. In the name of fighting the Boko Haram terrorist group, the Cameroonian forces have abused and tortured civilians. Thousands of civilians accused of collaboration with Boko Haram are being abused and tortured in inhuman conditions.

China is known for maintaining close ties with African dictators while positioning itself as an agent of peace in the international environment. These despotic African presidents get the support of China despite human rights abuses, so long as they protect China's interests. Sudan under Omar al-Bashir is a case in point. China opposed the United Nations Security Council's (UNSC) pressure to sanction Sudan despite Bashir's human rights record; China remained a major supplier of weapons to the government of Sudan. Similarly, when Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe was confronted with multiple sanctions from Western nations, he also looked to China for support. In response to numerous sanctions from Western countries, General Sani Abacha's government adopted Operation Look East. Despotic African leaders have been supported by China as long as they are willing to safeguard China's economic interests, providing fertile ground for them to source oil and other natural resources that are abundant in Africa. China's action in Africa has led to the proliferation of arms, and this has either elongated existing conflicts or produced new ones.[43] Kester Ono notes:

> *Some Chinese companies have been accused of supplying illegal arms such as machine guns, rockets, rocket-propelled grenade launchers (RPG), and Chinese-made AK-47s into the Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, where rebel groups, militants, and mercenaries were trained and involved in civil War. Hence, China and others can be accused of wilfully sponsoring violence on the Continent, inadvertently leading to the destruction of human and livestock lives and properties.*[44]

The existence of foreign military bases created avenues through which rebels and those forced to act desperately due to the intolerable actions of despotic leaders could secure weapons. Walter Laqueur argues that "terrorism was a response to injustices and threats, and terrorists were those driven to desperate action by intolerable conditions, be it poverty, hopelessness, or political or social oppression."[45]

In the same vein, the United States has created a political crisis by empowering African despotic leaders. For example, to reduce the influence of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, the US paved the way for the ascension of the Chadian dictator Hissene Habre to power in the 1980s. Despite his human rights violations, the US provided military aid to his government. The military intervention in Libya was unlawful as it negated the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a state. Even when the humanitarian case was evident, regime change was cardinal in the NATO mission in Libya. Countries like the US, France, Britain, Turkey, Russia, and China use the fight against terrorism and humanitarian intervention as a pretext for military intervention on the Continent.[46] Booker and Hartung argue that the effort of the US to counter terrorism by establishing military bases in Africa could increase the flow of weapons and weaken democracies in Africa.[47] Turse affirms thus:

> *US military operations in Africa have increased, militancy has spread, insurgent groups have proliferated, allies have faltered or committed abuses, terrorism has increased, the number of failed states has risen, and the Continent has become more unsettled. Besides, a report made by the Institute for Security Studies revealed that the foreign military presence in Africa is dangerous for the Continent in terms of security and stability.*[48]

It can be argued that terrorism and political crises in Africa are orchestrated by people who decide to engage in acts of violence against leaders with unrestricted power protected by foreign powers. The people had tried constitutional means, such as court and propaganda, to change the government; however, they opted for an act of violence when their actions did not produce the desired result.[49] For example, the people of Cameroon have tried all constitutional means to change the repressive government of Paul Biya to no avail. Teresa Pinto notes that the over-centralization of power by Biya's government is a factor in the cause of the violence between government forces and the Anglophone separatists in Southwest Cameroon.[50] France gives maximum protection to the regime of Biya despite a record of human rights abuses.

Revolutionary threat from those despotic African leaders who are oppressing is a factor in foreign military base negotiations in Africa. The leaders mortgage the sovereignty of African States in the agreement since the bases are meant to protect their regimes. According to Brown, crime, especially violence against women, is committed by foreign troops with impunity. The immunity of foreign military personnel compounds the problem. Foreign troops accused of crimes are usually not tried under the host country's law. US soldiers accused of committing a crime are sent back to the US for trial. There is also an environmental challenge because foreign military bases in Africa are not in absolute control of the host nation. Africans are denied entry to the base, and for that, they cannot measure and monitor the environmental impacts of military operations.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom investigated foreign military bases and sexual violence in Djibouti and found that "Foreign soldiers, including those of the United States and France, have been found engaged in illegal sexual activities with women and girls."[51] The militarization of Djibouti has resulted in human rights violations in the Horn of Africa. "The launching of drone strikes and other military operations from Djibouti has increased neighbouring violence and contributed to massive refugee and migrant flows."[52]

There is also the challenge of the impact that competition among the global powers may have on the Continent. Rivalry between China and the US is not only playing out, but also the tension among the Eastern nations like India, Japan, and China. Andrews Atta-Asamoah notes that there is growing fear in India and Japan following China's expansion in Djibouti.[53] This has invariably exported the strained relationship among the global powers to the Continent. The gesture will turn Africa into a global and regional competition, and Africa will be the receiving end of the destruction.

Conclusion and Recommendation

This paper examined the peace and security implications of foreign military bases in Africa. The driving force behind the establishment of foreign military bases in Africa is the need to secure the area of interest, protect sources of natural resources, and market for finished goods and services. The global War against terrorism in the wake of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Centre in the United States expanded the establishment of foreign military bases in Africa. Another motivating force is that the base serves as deterrence and coercion for the opponent. Foreign powers utilized military bases to protect and prolong regimes that safeguard the interests of foreign powers.

Foreign military bases in Africa are one of the agents that strengthen the dictatorship on the Continent. Foreign powers protect repressive African leaders, provided the interests of the foreign power are safeguarded. The activities of France in Cameroon are a case in point. These African leaders made peaceful change of government impossible, and the result is an avalanche of political crises on the Continent, which are a result of a lack of political freedom. It is generally believed that terrorism in Africa is a response to injustice, and terrorists are people driven to action by conditions they cannot tolerate. The people resort to acts of violence since the regimes made constitutional means of seeking redress impossible.

The establishment of foreign military bases in Africa increases the inflow of weapons into the Continent in no small measure, and the inflow of weapons goes a long way to weaken democracy in Africa, as repressive regimes use the weapons to kill opponents and those who call for constitutional regime change. This is a high rate of crime, especially violence against women by foreign soldiers with impunity. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the host countries do not have complete control over the activities in the base.

African states should ensure the protection of life and the security of their citizens when agreeing with major powers for the establishment of foreign military bases. There is a need for the African Union to have a joint multination force to protect the African high seas and provide intervention in crises on the Continent. This will go a long way to prevent foreign exploitation of the Continent as a multinational force will put mechanisms in place to fight terrorism in Africa. At the regional level, a multinational joint force can also be established. The Sahel countries, countries in the Horn of Africa, the South African states, and the Lake Chad Basin can put multinational forces in place to address their security challenges at the regional level.

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