HORN OF AFRICA BULLETIN

Maritime Insecurity Dilemmas amidst a new scramble for the Horn?

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About Life & Peace Institute

Since its formation, LPI has carried out programmes for conflict transformation in a variety of countries, conducted research, and produced numerous publications on nonviolent conflict transformation and the role of religion in conflict and peacebuilding. The main focus of our work has been on Africa, with the Horn of Africa Programme being established and well-known in the 1990s, not least our work in Somalia. Other initiatives have been carried out in Congo-Brazzaville, Croatia, Sri Lanka and East Timor. We have strengthened the capacity of our civil society partners to address the conflicts in their own context, in some of the most difficult and war-torn countries.

Currently, we run conflict transformation programmes in the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes regions in partnership with local civil society organisations and universities in Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya and the DRC. There is also a common programme including publications, policy work and methodology design based in Sweden.

The March-April 2018 issue of the Horn of Africa Bulletin touches on an overarching theme that was also addressed in the May-June 2015 and September-October 2017 issues of the HAB.[1] These preceding issues of the HAB sought to problematise and analyse the rising geopolitical significance of Djibouti and the expanding Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) 'footprint' in the Horn of Africa and the possible consequences for peace and security in the region.

The current HAB issue, however, is atypical and at the same time extremely topical in addressing an issue that has been traditionally on the margins of political-security discourse in the Horn of Africa. Maritime insecurity has tended to be side-lined in conventional thinking on peace and security in the Horn. 'Sea-blindness' as a factor in peace and security policy deliberations has the effect of downgrading the criticality of the maritime domain to the security of states and the human security of their citizens. Limited maritime domain awareness and sea-blindness as a factor in maritime policy in Africa in general and specifically the Horn of Africa can be understood as a function or consequence of history, socio-economic under-development and constraints/limitations in terms of maritime power projection. In the Horn, maritime insecurity only emerged as a key issue in policy and public discourse with the onset of piracy in the waters off the coast of Somalia in the years 2002-2012, and consequent international response.

Maritime security is a complex and cross-cutting policy issue. It subsumes traditional 'hard' security threats in the form of geopolitical naval competition, protection of the sovereignty of the maritime domain, piracy and robbery at sea and smuggling, but also emerging security issues in the form of pollution-degradation of the maritime domain and illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing. Maritime security also has profound socio-economic ramifications in terms of the maritime domain's potential and actual contributions to socio-economic development: often subsumed under the concept of the 'blue economy'. Maritime insecurity in the Horn of Africa is also rendered more complex by the existence of three landlocked states – Ethiopia, Uganda and South Sudan – who rely on their neighbours for access to the sea. The arguably inevitable conflict of interests and tensions between landlocked and coastal states is another major aspect of maritime insecurity in the Horn of Africa.

The growing awareness of the criticality of the maritime domain to the security and socio-economic development of Africa has led the African Union (AU) to formulate the 2050 Africa's Integrated Maritime Strategy (2050 AIM Strategy) which was adopted in January 2014, at the 22nd Summit of AU Heads of State and Government. The 2050 AIM Strategy follows from earlier policy frameworks and strategies such as the African Maritime Transport Charter and its Plan of Action endorsed by an AU ministerial conference held in Durban in October 2009. The strategy was later followed by the 'African Charter on Maritime Security, Safety and Development in Africa' also known as the Lomé Charter adopted by 30 AU member states at the extraordinary summit of the Heads of States and Governments held in Lomé, Togo on 15 October 2016.[2] The Lomé Charter is widely regarded as a significant achievement in that it elaborates the crucial linkages between the hard security aspects of maritime security on the one hand, and the potential socio-economic benefits to be reaped from exploiting Africa's rich maritime resources on the other hand.[3] It also represents a radical rupture as it creates binding legal obligations on signatories.[4]

The premier regional body in the Horn, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), formulated an Integrated Maritime Strategy in 2015. IGAD's Integrated Maritime Strategy draws from and is influenced by the 2050 AIM Strategy. It has eight overarching

objectives, focusing on governance, transport, security, law enforcement, fisheries, search and rescue, training, and economic development.

Notwithstanding the growing awareness of the security and socio-economic importance of the maritime domain to the continent as reflected in the growing focus on maritime issues at the level of the AU and IGAD, the reality is that limited maritime domain awareness and sea-blindness still affect the general state of knowledge and significance associated with maritime issues both at the level of governments and the general public. An even more pressing concern is the limited public participation in deliberations on maritime policy as reflected in the absence of perspectives and views drawn from coastal and fishing communities.

The articles in this issue of the HAB offer a rich and diverse set of views on maritime issues in relation to the IGAD region, which readers will find very interesting especially as the focus and perspectives of some of the authors are not often reflected in mainstream media and academic discourse on the subject.

The article by Dr. Egede discusses the 2050 AIM Strategy and draws attention to aspects which represent progress in terms of maritime policy especially in expanding the focus on Africa's blue economy. While emphasising the potential inherent in the strategy, the article identifies several gaps which could obstruct it. Dr. Egede makes several critical recommendations which would facilitate the implementation of the strategy such as ensuring effective coordination to realise its goals through establishing a specialised department or agency within the AU structure with the remit to coordinate the wide spectrum of activities under the strategy. The article offers an interesting analytical take on the potential challenges in terms of implementing the 2050 AIM Strategy; however, without problematising the long-term pattern of continental and regional organisations in Africa formulating ambitious policy frameworks which lack follow-through in terms of implementation and resource allocation.

The article by van den Berg and Meesters offers a panoramic overview of what they refer to as the 'securitisation of port politics' in the Horn of Africa. Their article emphasises the close and mutually reinforcing linkages between the commercial-economic drivers of the external/non-African interest in the ports in the Horn and the rush to establish a military-naval presence in the region. Van den Berg and Meesters also underline how the current scramble between non-African states to establish a military-naval presence in the Horn is also reflexively determined by a 'strategy of extraversion' being pursued by the governments of coastal states in the region. More importantly, they also draw attention to how the same process is bringing about political shifts at both the regional (inter-state relations) and national levels.

The following article by Ferras adopts a somewhat distinctive approach in emphasising the gaps or weaknesses of IGAD member states in the maritime force projection sphere. The author argues that the inability of IGAD member states to exert control over their maritime domain coupled with the emergence of sources of maritime insecurity which threaten both maritime trade routes critical to the global economy and the security of adjacent regions, has resulted in a race by external powers to establish a military-naval presence in the region. Apart from underlining the importance of strengthening the maritime force projection capabilities of IGAD coastal states, Ferras recommends the establishment of ad-hoc coalitions encompassing coastal states, landlocked states and external powers to tackle specific maritime threats. The author also envisages a coordinating and facilitating role for IGAD and the GCC in these ad-hoc coalitions. The article offers useful analytical insights but elides key issues arising from the expansion of external military-naval presence in the region on the sovereignty of coastal states, and the potentially destabilising consequences of the expanding external military-naval

presence in the region.

The somewhat alarmist article by Tesfay is a take on maritime security issues from the perspective of a landlocked state. Tesfay points out that Ethiopia with its rapidly expanding population and fast-growing economy relies on a single foreign port for the bulk of its imports and exports: a situation which has led sections within the political elite and public opinion in Ethiopia to perceive the situation as precarious and untenable in the long run. The article identifies the expanding external military-naval presence in the ports and coasts of the region as key areas of concern and elaborates on the inextricable linkages (from the Ethiopian perspective) between the securitisation of port politics in the region and potential tensions with Egypt and certain GCC states. The author argues in his conclusion that the government of Ethiopia should focus on efforts to diversify maritime outlets or alternatively work to secure a port on a permanent basis. Recent developments testify to the relevance of the concerns raised in Tesfay's article. As a case in point, in the aftermath of the Berbera agreement, the Ethiopian government has concluded similar agreements with the governments of Sudan (regarding Port Sudan) and Djibouti (Djibouti port). The article offers interesting insights, especially for non-Ethiopian readers. However, it does not elaborate in detail on the the potential for cooperation and interdependence between Ethiopia and its neighbours arising arising from Ethiopia\'s situation as a landlocked state.

The article by Amin follows in a similar vein from the earlier article but offers a perspective on maritime security issues from a Somali point of view. Amin discusses the implications of the recent Berbera port agreement between Ethiopia, Somaliland and the Dubai-based Dubai Ports World (DP World). The article analyses the implications of the agreement and formulates several scenarios following from the agreement. Amin argues that the agreement will have destabilising effects in Somalia and the larger region, in terms of weakening the Federal Government of Somalia and in effect constitutes a form of de-facto recognition of the breakaway entity. The article is critical of the agreement and the actions of Ethiopia and the United Arab Emirates (through DP World). The scenarios and implications of the agreement as outlined by the author are interesting and worrying at the same time, but discount the effect of other dynamics which arguably might mitigate the effects of the agreement on the relations between Ethiopia and Somalia.

The intensification of external maritime rivalries coupled with tensions arising from inter-state manoeuvrings to benefit from the emerging non-African interest in acquiring a presence in the IGAD maritime domain, has added another layer of complexity to the patterns of inter-state relations in the Horn. The recent tensions between the United States (US) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) due to US allegations that PRC forces based in Djibouti had targeted US forces with non-lethal laser weapons suggest that the prospect of the military-naval scramble on the part of external powers exacerbating conflict in the IGAD region is not as far-fetched as some might expect.[5]

The articles in this issue of the HAB provide a space for insights and perspectives on maritime insecurity that are absent or only weakly represented in mainstream media and academic discourse on the subject. However, there are aspects to the maritime security sphere especially in relation to the IGAD region which have received scant attention. Most of the articles have addressed the implications of the expanding non-African (GCC, Turkey, NATO, France, Germany, Japan, US and PRC) military-naval footprint in the Horn. However, none of the articles have mentioned the PERSGA (Regional Organisation for the Conservation of the Environment of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden), a regional body with members drawn from the GCC and the Horn whose remit focuses on marine conservation in the Red Sea, and which

represents an example of the cooperation on ignored aspects of maritime security in the Horn. The articles have also elided the efforts that IGAD member states have made over the last two decades (with the assistance of external actors) in strengthening their maritime force projection and domain awareness capabilities. The member states of IGAD and its secretariat have also registered progress in developing the legal and institutional frameworks to facilitate cooperation in the maritime sphere in the form of the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia and the Djibouti Code of Conduct. IGAD member states such as Kenya have created greater policy coherence around maritime issues through passing a Coastguard Bill in 2017, establishing a Blue Economy Implementation Committee in early 2017, and in developing a national maritime security strategy (on-going).[6]

Demessie Fantaye, Editor

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[1] See, Horn of Africa Bulletin, May-June 2015 issue, Vol. 26, Issue 3. The Rise of Djibouti. http://life-peace.org/resource/horn-of-africa-bulletin-may-june-2015/; Horn of Africa Bulletin, May-June 2015 issue, Vol. 26, Issue 3, Sept-Oct 2017 issue. The Gulf Engulfing the Horn. http://life-peace.org/resource/the-gulf-engulfing-the-horn/.

[2] Egede, Edwin. ''Africa's Lomé Charter on maritime security: What are the next steps?'' Piracy-Studies.org. http://piracy-studies.org/africas-lome-charter-on-maritime-security-what-are-the-next-steps/.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] The Washington Post. ''China denies using lasers on US aircraft in Djibouti.'' Washington Post, May 4, 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/china-denies-using-laser--on-us-aircraft-in-djibouti/2018/05/04/beaa68a4-4f7d-1-e8-85c1-9326c4511033_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.a59c4c746b56 (accessed May 4, 2018).

[6] Bueger, Christian and Timothy Edmunds. ''Mastering Maritime Security: Reflexive Capacity Building and the Western Indian Ocean Experience.'' SAFESEAS Report. http://www.safeseas.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Mastering-Maritime-Security-final.pdf (accessed April 28, 2018).

Maritime Security: Horn of Africa and Implementation of the 2050 AIM Strategy

By Edwin E. Egede

Maritime security has become a key issue in international politics with a number of states and regions adopting and publicising their maritime security strategies.[1] Yet, maritime security is still a contested concept which may vary in emphasis depending on the state or region of the world. For instance, Klein points out that "[t]he term 'maritime security' has different meanings depending on who is using the term or in what context it is being used."[2] She argues that it may best be understood from two key viewpoints, namely, traditional security concerns and responses to perceived maritime security threats. The former, she asserts, primarily refers to border protection, preventing incursions into areas that are considered as the sovereign domain of a State, as well as power projections, involving a state exercising naval military power in its relationship with other states. While the latter reflects steps taken by states to reduce the risk of certain crimes or activities which they believe would prejudice or injure their interests and society.

This article aims to address two key points. First, how the 2050 Africa's Integrated Maritime Strategy (2050 AIM Strategy) has influenced the shift in the focus of maritime security in Africa i.e. from a bi-dimensional approach to a multidimensional one. Second, it identifies challenges with implementing the integrated strategy and offers some suggestions on how this could be addressed.

The 2050 AIM Strategy – Shift to a multidimensional approach
From the early 2000s, the Horn of Africa (HoA) has attracted international attention due to the piracy and armed robbery at sea situation, which led the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to adopt a number of resolutions authorising international action to combat piracy as a threat to international peace and security.[3] Apart from the international naval patrols deployed under the UNSC resolutions to protect ships transiting seas adjoining the HoA, [4] another notable initiative was the adoption of the 2009 Code of Conduct concerning the Repression of Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in the Western Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden (the Djibouti Code of Conduct), under the auspices of the International Maritime Organisation (IMO), by certain African and Arab states, which focused solely on the repression of piracy and armed robbery against ships.[5]

In January 2014, the African Union (AU) adopted the 2050 AIM Strategy, an Africa-wide integrated maritime strategy. The strategy engages with maritime security from a multidimensional perspective, in the sense of not limiting its engagement solely to piracy and armed robbery at sea, but also including other illicit activities at sea,[6] as well as putting sustainable development of the African Blue Economy and Maritime Safety at the core of dealing with maritime security.[7] In essence, it emphasises the need to adopt an integrated approach to tackling maritime security.[8] It must be noted that this approach has been influenced by the thinking that a maritime security agenda concentrating solely

on piracy and armed robbery at sea would be skewed in favour of the developed maritime states agenda of protecting their trading interests. Furthermore, such bi-dimensional approach would not address other maritime security threats and concerns that may adversely impact the blue economy developmental growth of African states.[9] The 2050 AIM Strategy's multidimensional approach has influenced subsequent maritime security instruments, for instance the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Integrated Maritime Strategy 2015. Even the Djibouti Code of Conduct has been developed and revised by the 2017 Jeddah Amendment to 'address wider maritime security issues, as a basis for sustainable development of the maritime sector' and to recognise the critical importance of the Blue Economy in the Code.[10] Furthermore, many aspects of the 2050 AIM Strategy have been incorporated in a legally binding treaty, the Lomé Charter, adopted by the African Union (AU) in 2016.

Implementing the 2050 AIM Strategy – Challenges

An integrated maritime strategy as the 2050 AIM Strategy is quite complex, and implementation would be rather challenging. It has been argued that '… while it is currently fashionable to argue that "policy silos" should be replaced by policy integration such efforts are fraught with risks; notably the very real possibility of creating ineffective instrument mixes or incomplete reform efforts with resulting poor outcomes at the macro, meso or micro-level.'[11] In essence, the challenge with the implementation of the 2050 AIM Strategy is how to achieve coherence as it engages with wide-ranging maritime security threats, whilst reconciling this with achieving maritime safety, as well as resource development to achieve blue economy developmental goals and at the same time ensuring that the marine environment is protected. Although, on paper the 2050 AIM Strategy is described as an 'overarching, concerted and coherent long-term multi-layered plans of actions',[12] the article argues that coherence would only be achieved if three core issues are addressed – effective coordination, information flow and the nexus approach.

Effective coordination

This author echoes a point raised in a previous write-up on the need to have a prominent department in the AU that would coordinate the 2050 AIM Strategy and the various aspects of the African Blue Economy, as well as mobilise the involvement of policy makers and other stakeholders to ensure coherence.[13] This is vital as policy coordination is essential in the 'pursuit of coherence, consistency, comprehensiveness and of harmonious outcomes.'[14] It should be noted that the department proposed here is not identical to the High Level College of Champions recommended by the 2050 AIM Strategy (this is yet to be established), which would be composed of selected high profile African leaders to engage in sustained lobbying both within and without Africa, to promote political buy-in and to marshal the required resources for the implementation of the strategy.[15] While the latter, as and when established, would engage in the high-level political coordination, [16] the proposed department would be responsible for the day to day administrative coordination of the 2050 AIM Strategy. It is important to note, that the strategy had also recommended the establishment of a Strategic Foresight Marine Task Force (which again is yet to be established) to be involved in assessing the broad spectrum of marine activities and to engage in a technical role of preparing for the

establishment of the proposed Combined Exclusive Maritime Zone of Africa (CEMZA).[17] However, such a task force would not suffice for the 2050 AIM Strategy, a long-term strategy, rather a standing department of the AU, similar to the UN Department of Ocean Affairs (DOALOS), is needed with a clear mandate, not only to assess the broad spectrum of activities under the strategy and be involved in a technical role, but also to effectively coordinate the implementation of the strategy.

Information flow

Information flow both within and without the AU on the steps taken towards implementing the strategy is key so all relevant policy-makers and stakeholders are aware of the progress made. This would help in avoiding the duplication of efforts. Such information flow should not be a purely top-down approach but also a bottom-up one that would encourage wide-spread input and monitoring of the implementation process by both policy-makers and other stakeholders.[18] Effective utilisation of social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn, and a dedicated section on the AU website, which should be regularly updated would be helpful in promoting such information flow. Furthermore, to promote such information flow and to keep the implementation of 2050 AIM Strategy high on the agenda of the AU Assembly there should be an annual report on progress made on the implementation of the strategy and the Lomé Charter, similar to that of the United Nations Secretary-General annual ocean report to the General Assembly, which should be presented to the Assembly by the AUC Chairperson and posted on the AU website.[19] In essence, different communication and advocacy tools would need to be utilised to ensure that there is appropriate information flow on the implementation of the 2050 AIM Strategy.

Nexus approach

The nexus approach 'denotes the observation that different issue areas are intrinsically interconnected and must thus be governed as such.'[20] Whilst, the inter-connectivity of issues is reflected in the 2050 AIM Strategy, which stresses that: '[t]here cannot be sustainable socio-development without peace and security, and without development and empowerment no sustainable peace will occur' and further points to the 'building on the security-socio-development nexus,'[21] it is vital that in the course of implementing the strategy that the interaction and interdependence (the nexus) of the different issues is constantly communicated and highlighted.

Conclusion

The 2050 AIM Strategy is an impressive document that emphasises the multidimensionality of maritime security. However, for it to move from 'paper to practice' it must be implemented in a coherent and consistent manner. Thus, it is crucial that there is effective administrative coordination by an established department, proper information flow to relevant officials and stakeholders and that the nexus between the different aspects of the strategy is highlighted and properly communicated.

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at the School of Law and Politics, Cardiff University. He is a member of the Ad Hoc Experts Group established by the African Union Commission for the development of annexes to the Lomé Charter and also expert consultant to the UNECA/AMDC on the African Blue Economy. Furthermore, he is a Barrister & Solicitor of the Supreme Court of Nigeria. He can be reached at EgedeE@cardiff.ac.uk

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[1] See for instance, US National Strategy for Maritime Security 2005; Somali Maritime Resource and Security Strategy (SMRSS) 2013; European Union Maritime Security Strategy 2014; African Union's Integrated Maritime Strategy 2014; ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy 2014; IGAD Integrated Maritime Strategy 2015 and Indian Maritime Security Strategy 2015.

[2] Natalie Klein. *Maritime Security and the Law of the Sea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press,2011.

[3] See UNSC resolutions 1816(2008); 1838(2008); 1846(2008); 1851(2008); 1897(2009); 1950(2010); 1976(2011); 2020(2011); 2036(2012); 2077(2012); 2125(2013) and 2383(2017)

[4] See for instance, EU NAVFOR, Combined Taskforce 151, Operation Atalanta, NATO's Operation Ocean Shield (which ended operation on 16 December 2016) and various naval forces deployed by several UN member states, such as China, India, Iran, Japan, Kenya, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, South Africa and Yemen. See Paras. 33-39, Report of the *Secretary*-General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 2020(2011), S/2012/783 of 22 October 2012 and Paras.37-41, Report of the Secretary-General on the situation with respect to piracy and armed robbery at sea off the coast of Somalia, S/2017/859 of 12 October 2017. Also see generally Edwin Egede, "Piracy and the East African Region," in The Law and Practice of Piracy at Sea: European and International Perspectives edited by Panos Koutrakos and Achilles Skordas, 249265. eds.. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2014.

[5] The Code was adopted by Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Maldives, Seychelles, Somalia, Tanzania and Yemen. Subsequently Comoros, Egypt, Eritrea, Jordan, Mauritius, Mozambique, Oman, Saud Arabia, South Africa, Sudan and United Arab Emirates. For the Code see http://www.imo.org/en/OurWork/Security/PIU/Documents/DCoC%20English.pdf

[6] This trend had been set in motion by the Code of Conduct Concerning the Repression of Piracy, Armed Robbery Against Ships, and Illicit Maritime Activity in West and Central Africa 2013

[7] See for instance Paras.6,7 and 16 of the 2050 AIM Strategy

[8] See for instance, *Report of the Secretary-General on the situation with respect to piracy and armed robbery at sea off the coast of Somalia*, S/2017/859 of 12 October 2017, Paras.16 -18 and 57-58 on the link between piracy and Illegal, Unreported and

Unregulated (IUU) Fishing. Also see Bueger, Christian and Timothy Edmunds, "Mastering Maritime Security: Reflexive Capacity Building and the Western Indian Ocean Experience – A Best Practice Toolkit." Safeseas.Cardiff/Bristol, 2018, 29 who stress that future capacity builders would need to better understand the interconnections between maritime security challenges and how they are linked to developments on land.

[9] See for instance, Bueger, Christian and Timothy Edmunds, "Beyond Seablindness: a new agenda for maritime security studies." *International Affairs* Vol. 93,6(2017): 1307-1309

[10] See http://www.imo.org/en/OurWork/Security/PIU/Pages/DCoC.aspx See also, Preambles 3 and 4, and Articles 1 and 3 of the Jeddah Amendment

[11] See Rayner, Jeremy & Michael Howlett, "Introduction: Understanding integrated policy strategies and their evolution." *Policy and Society* 28, No.2(2009): 99 at 100

[12] Ibid

[13] See Egede, Edwin ."Africa's Lomé Charter on maritime security: What are the next steps?." http://piracy-studies.org/africas-lome-charter-on-maritime-security-what-are-the-next-steps/ (July 2017).

[14] Linda Challis et al. *Joint Approaches to Social Policy: Rationality and Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

[15] Para.104 of the 2050 AIM Strategy

[16] See Igrid Boas et al. "Cross-sectoral strategies in global sustainability governance: towards a nexus approach." *International Environmental Agreements* Vol. 16 (2016): 456-458.

[17] Ibid

[18] Kua, Harn Wei. "Information Flow and Its Significance in Coherently Integrated Policymaking for Promoting Energy Efficiency." *Environmental Science & Technology* 41, No. 9(2007): p. 30-50.

[19] See "Oceans and the Law of the Sea in the General Assembly of the United Nations: Reports of the Secretary-General", http://www.un.org/depts/los/general_assembly/general_assembly_reports.htm

[20] Igrid Boas et al., "Cross-sectoral strategies in global sustainability governance: towards a nexus approach.", International Environmental Agreements Vol. 16(3) (2016): p.452.

[21] See Para.18 of the 2050 AIM Strategy

Ports & Power: the securitisation of port politics
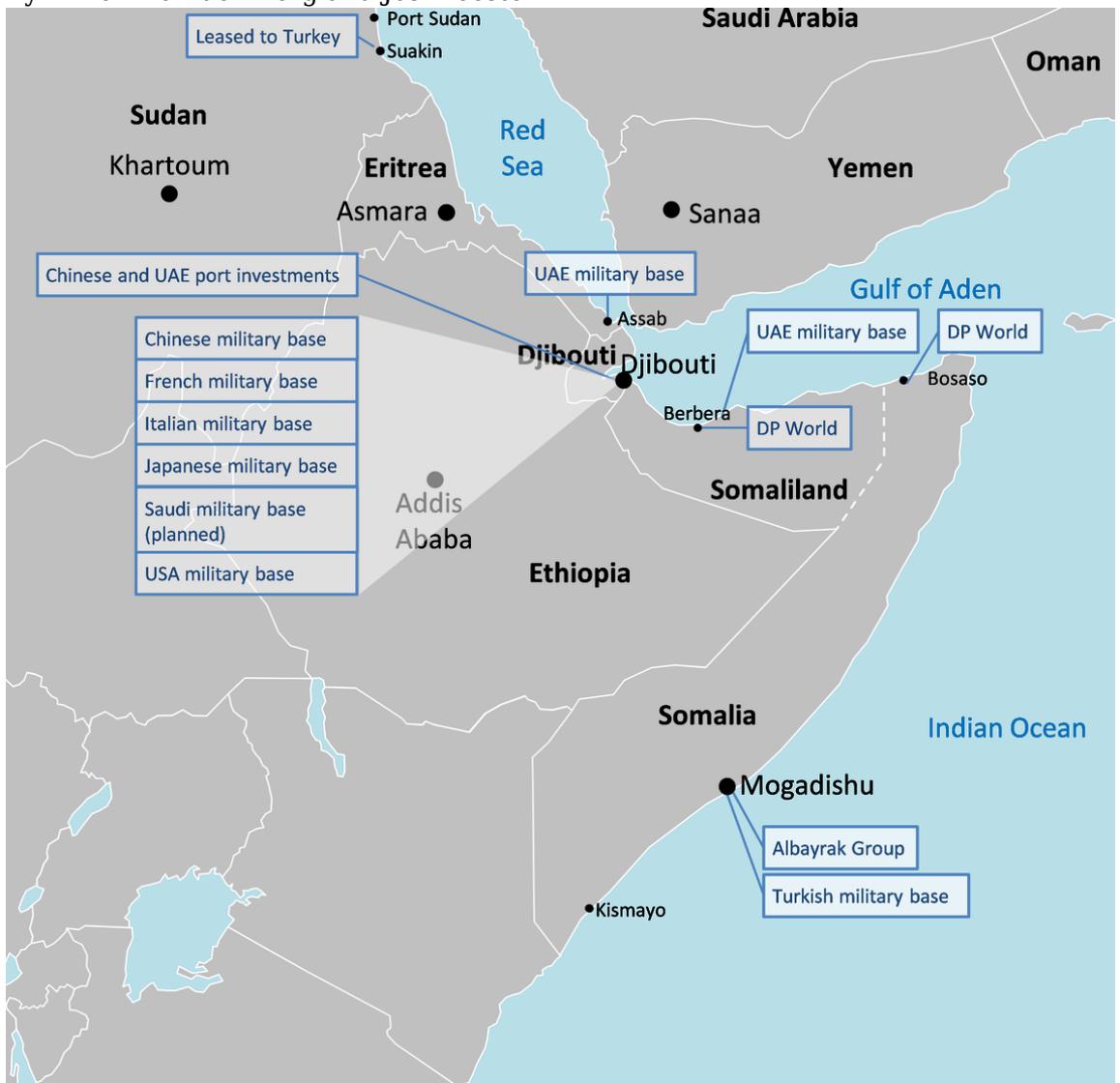
By Willem van den Berg and Jos Meester

Figure 1: Map of the Horn of Africa with foreign military bases and port operators[1]

During the past decade, foreign countries have invested heavily into various ports in the Horn of Africa, often following their commercial deals with the opening of military bases next to those ports (for example China in Djibouti, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in Berbera and Turkey in Mogadishu). This article looks at how the Horn's coastline has been transformed into an important strategic area – not only for maritime trade routes, but also due to its proximity to regional conflicts – and consequently has attracted a range of foreign powers. The influx of foreign actors, mixing commercial incentives with military deals, has led to the securitisation of the Horn's ports, the importing of foreign political cleavages, and has influenced intra-Horn politics.

Capitalising on regional instability and foreign geopolitical ambitions

While there are also important economic developments in the Horn that have contributed to the influx of foreign actors, these are outside the scope of this short paper, which focusses on security dimensions. Although the Horn of Africa was an active theatre of competition between the US and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, after

the end of the Cold War and the costly Battle of Mogadishu in 1993, the international community has largely disengaged from the region. Recently, however, there has been a marked renewal of interests. Key security developments since the turn of the century have elevated the geo-strategic significance of the region from the perspective of foreign actors, and over time the high concentration of foreign actors has created its own momentum for what seems like a military base race. Governments within the Horn have been eager to capitalise on the renewed interest.

The French have historically maintained a military base in Djibouti, their former colony. Shortly after 9/11 the United States opened a military base as well using Djibouti as an operational base for the US in the 'War on Terror' specifically to target Al-Qaeda related targets in Yemen and Somalia.[2] Several years later, when piracy skyrocketed off the coast of Somalia in 2007 threatening maritime commerce in the busy trade lanes through the Bab-el-Mandeb Strait, Djibouti doubled as the perfect base for international anti-piracy operations.[3] Anti-piracy operations led to Italy and Japan[4] both opening military bases, while the French base now also hosts troops from Germany and Spain and numerous other navies frequently visit the strait.[5]

The Gulf States have long used their vast financial resources derived from oil exports as a foreign policy tool in the Horn. Through their investments, the Gulf states ostensibly pursue economic aims in the Horn such as food production, regional trade and economic diversification, but perhaps more importantly political aims such as denying Iran a strong presence in the ports along one of the Gulf's main supply lines.[6] As oil prices have risen, so have the Gulf states' disposable funds for foreign policy, leading to a large influx of Gulf money in the Horn after the oil price boom of 2008 (see figure 2 below). When the war in Yemen broke out in 2015, Saudi Arabia and the UAE began military operations out of Djibouti, but soon left the country after a physical altercation between the head of the Djiboutian Air Force and an Emirati diplomat. Relations were already strained because of a legal dispute between the government of Djibouti and Dubai Ports World, a company which until recently ran Djibouti's Doraleh container port and is frequently considered an instrument of UAE foreign policy. The UAE and Saudi Arabia first moved to Assab, in Eritrea, where the UAE was granted a 30-year lease of the military use of the port.[7] In 2016, the UAE announced it would also build a military base in Berbera, Somaliland. This was only shortly after Dubai Ports World won a concession to manage Berbera port.[8] The UAE company announced investments worth USD 442 million in the port, and recently followed it up with a subsequent deal worth USD 336 million in Bosaso port (Puntland, Somalia). Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, mended its relationship with Djibouti, and is currently finalising a deal to build a military base there.[9]
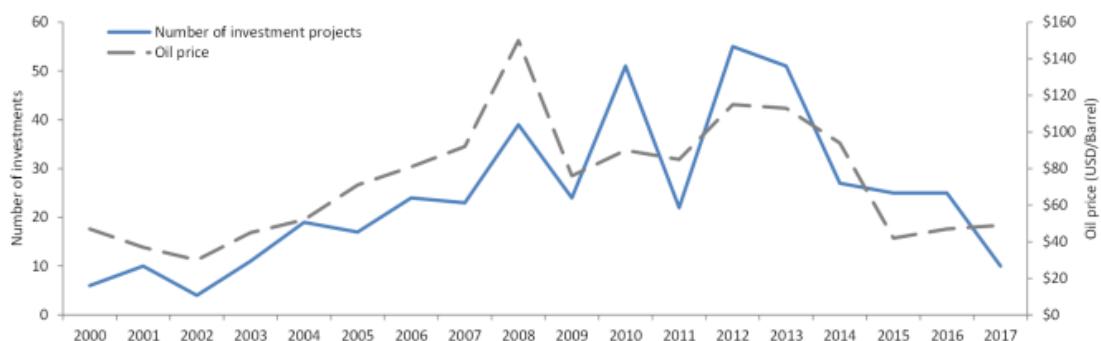
Figure 2: Investments by the Gulf states into the Horn and oil price.

The presence of several major powers in the Horn, each with their own military base, has brought foreign rivalries to the Horn and has created momentum for other countries to also compete in this region. China and Turkey, both rising powers, were not brought into the Horn purely by conflicts in the wider region; both are keen to translate their economic success into a larger role in international relations. China's key interest in international maritime trade made Djibouti – along the Bab-el-Mandeb Strait, the main artery for Chinese exports to Europe – an essential location to secure access given the abundant security presence by other actors. In Djibouti, China Eximbank has financed Chinese companies like the Chinese State Construction Engineering Corporation and China Harbour Engineering Corporation to develop Doraleh Multipurpose Port and Ghoubet Port. In late 2017, China opened its first overseas military base in Djibouti, adjacent to Doraleh Multipurpose Port. [11] Turkish investments are similarly drawn to the Horn in response to the rising foreign presence. The substantial Gulf influence in the region made it relevant for the wider intra-Middle East competition, which later erupted in the form of the Gulf Cooperation Council crisis, pitting Qatar and Turkey against the Saudi-led coalition. Much like the UAE and China, Turkish military bases carry a link with commercial port deals. In late 2014, the Turkish firm Albayrak Group took over management of Mogadishu's port; then in early 2016, Turkey announced it would open a military base in Mogadishu. [12] At the end of 2017, Turkey announced it had been given a lease to rebuild and operate Suakin, a former Ottoman port city in north-eastern Sudan. The agreement reportedly includes naval facilities and Sudanese-Turkish military cooperation. [13]

Horn leaders have not been passive recipients of foreign attention, but have been eager to capitalise on the renewed interest for the region. Many Horn budgets are small: Djibouti's government budget for 2018 is around USD 700 million, while Somalia's budget for 2018 is USD 274 million. Considering some military bases fetch up to USD 63 million a year in rent (not to mention the accompanying port investments and trade opportunities, which can boost the private sector and create new jobs), it is unsurprising that leaders in the Horn have seized this opportunity. Djibouti's Ismael Omar Guelleh, for example, has used the rivalry between foreign powers to negotiate increasingly lucrative land lease deals. [14] The military base rents are a lifeline for Djibouti and allow government services and infrastructure projects to continue without even higher levels

of debt. Along with the financial incentive, the security implications and status of hosting foreign military bases in small states should not be ignored. For example, Somaliland has received much wanted recognition and regional support through its hosting of the UAE military base, while President Guelleh can host high ranking generals from several countries and presents an image of warm relations with the two strongest militaries in the world.

The result: foreign cleavages and shifting balance of power

The increased involvement of foreign countries in the Horn's ports has significant impacts on the Horn itself, as the substantial flow of foreign funds from investments and rents from military bases gives foreign actors considerable influence over Horn politics. Examples can be found in Somaliland's support of the Saudi-UAE side in the Qatar diplomatic crisis; Djibouti's support for the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen and its downgrading of diplomatic relations with Qatar; and Mogadishu's refusal to side against Qatar, due in part to its close relationship to Qatar's ally Turkey. Foreign political cleavages are transported into the Horn of Africa by foreign states through their considerable financial capacity, unafraid to combine commercial deals with political pressure and (reportedly) the occasional bribe or threat of cutting off financial aid.[15]

Regional balances of power also shift as hundreds of millions of dollars are invested and military bases are established, altering the status quo by funding actors involved in inter-state rivalries. For example, Ethiopia's decision to take a 19 % stake of the Berbera port deal is understandable, as it is eager to diversify its reliance on Djibouti for import and export and may want to keep an eye on the activities of the UAE. But this has upset its Djiboutian and Somali neighbours, clearly concerned with respectively losing trade and seeing a breakaway state gain international support.

Additionally, the large amounts of foreign funding have brought changes to local political settlements, not least because the funds from abroad may empower certain politicians within individual Horn countries challenging the existing political settlement. For example, the DP World deal was accompanied by a Somaliland cabinet reshuffle: the former Minister of Foreign Affairs who opposed the deal resigned and was replaced by someone who had been in favour of DP World. The deal for Berbera port management and the UAE military base were followed by allegations that Somalia parliamentarians as well as the Somaliland and former Somalia presidents had accepted bribes in return for their approval.[16] Regardless of whether these allegations are true, the size of the investments ensure that their impact will have profound consequences on Horn politics.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Developments in the wider Red Sea region have turned the Horn's coastline into a strategic location for foreign actors and have resulted in an international base race. This has led to the securitisation of the Horn's ports, with commercial port deals now almost acting as antecedents to the construction of foreign military bases. The activities of these foreign powers have significant impact on the Horn: foreign cleavages are being 'imported' into the Horn and fusing with the Horn's own cleavages, while domestic and regional balances of power are shifting. But there are also economic opportunities from

foreign rivalries playing out in the Horn, and Horn governments are already seizing them.

Policy makers should take into account the increasing strategic relevance of the region to a variety of foreign actors and include the role of foreign influences, particularly of Gulf states, China and Turkey, into their thinking on the economics, politics, and security of the Horn's ports and the region. Events as far away as in Abu Dhabi, Ankara and Beijing now affect the travel schedules of Horn diplomats as well as the container handling cranes and soldiers stationed in Berbera, Mogadishu and Djibouti. With foreign engagement in the Horn gaining its own momentum as long-standing external cleavages are projected on the region – translated in 30-year port operation concessions and decades-long land leases for military bases – it appears that the securitisation of the Horn's ports by foreign powers is here to stay.

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Corne de l'Afrique : un manque d'intérêt pour la mer

By Patrick Ferras

La Corne de l'Afrique est une région stratégique. Depuis l'ouverture du canal de Suez en 1869, elle n'a cessé d'évoluer et son rôle est majeur dans le transport maritime au niveau mondial. Si les marines étrangères se sont investies très tôt dans la protection de leurs colonies, des bases de soutien, aucun État de la Corne de l'Afrique n'a développé au fil du temps les moyens de s'approprier la souveraineté des mers ou océans proches dont ils sont pourtant dépendants.

La piraterie, les trafics[1], le terrorisme sont des plaies développées à partir des espaces terrestres et qui se développent dans les zones fragiles ou peu surveillées. La Corne de l'Afrique, négligeant le domaine maritime, s'est toujours contentée des puissances extérieures pour mettre fin à ces trafics ou les contrôler dès lors qu'ils utilisaient la mer.

Nous étudierons dans un premier temps, quelles sont les forces navales étrangères que nous retrouvons dans l'espace maritime associée à la Corne de l'Afrique, c'est-à-dire l'océan Indien, le Golfe d'Aden et la mer Rouge. Puis, l'analyse des moyens militaires navals des États de la Corne de l'Afrique nous permettra de mieux saisir le manque d'investissements dans ce domaine et le peu de chances de voir éradiquer les fléaux cités si ce n'est par l'actuelle « colonisation » étrangère des mers. Dans un dernier temps, nous nous intéresserons aux moyens, pour les acteurs africains, de s'approprier l'environnement maritime de la Corne de l'Afrique.

Sous protection étrangère

Si nous nous référons aux deux dernières décennies et principalement à l'issue de l'attentat du onze septembre 2001, l'espace maritime constitué par l'océan Indien, le Golfe d'Aden et la mer Rouge s'est grandement militarisé pour lutter contre le terrorisme (attentats contre l'USS Cole et le pétrolier Limburg par Al Qaïda dans la Péninsule arabique), les migrations (environ 100 000 personnes par an dans le sens Corne de l'Afrique vers la Péninsule arabique) et les trafics.[2]

Les marines étrangères présentes depuis très longtemps se limitaient aux forces navales américaines et françaises. Les premières par la présence régulière de porte-avions et de leurs bâtiments d'accompagnement et les secondes par leur implantation à Djibouti officialisée par le Protocole de 1977.[3] Mais les attentats du onze septembre ont bouleversé la donne. L'implantation croissante américaine avec le *Combined Joint Task Force* de Djibouti qui compte plus de 4 000 personnels aujourd'hui, des forces spéciales, des moyens navals et des drones a métamorphosé la petite république. Sur le même territoire, dans le cadre de la lutte en mer, les Japonais ont implanté quelques avions, les Italiens et les Allemands sont présents. La Chine qui avait déployé deux navires hors opérations internationales (depuis décembre 2008) a ouvert sa première base militaire à l'étranger à Djibouti. [4] Sur mer, nous retrouvons une force internationale (*Combined Task Force 150 et 151*), une force européenne (opération Atalante) et des navires sous pavillon national.[5]

Parallèlement de très nombreuses infrastructures portuaires ont vu le jour ou se modernisent : Djibouti, Berbera[6] (Somaliland), Massawa, Assab, les installations liées au projet *Lamu Port, South Sudan, Ethiopia Transport Corridor* (LAPSSET), le port de Suakin au Soudan (financement par le Qatar). Mais la protection de l'espace maritime demeure complètement sous tutelle étrangère. Ces déploiements internationaux restent liés à la volonté d'assurer la liberté des mers et donc de ne permettre aucune entrave au commerce maritime dont toutes les Nations sont dépendantes. Si l'engagement international peut se comprendre, il est aussi justifié par un manque total de moyens navals des États de la Corne de l'Afrique et un investissement peu visible.

Des forces armées sans armée de mer

La protection de la souveraineté nationale dans la majeure partie des États africains s'est focalisée sur la défense des frontières terrestres et la lutte contre l'ennemi intérieur. La priorité a été donnée aux moyens terrestres (armée de terre, gendarmerie et police, milices) et aériens.[7] L'aspect maritime du pays[8] n'a pas été foncièrement pris en compte ce qui explique aujourd'hui le déficit capacitaire dans le domaine naval. Viennent s'ajouter à cet état des lieux, la difficulté d'entretenir une flotte navale basée sur des dons (Japon, Inde, États-Unis, Chine) et des achats réalisés sans stratégie ou doctrine d'emploi. Nous retrouvons ici, les éléments mis en valeur par de nombreux analystes sur le manque de standardisation des équipements militaires africains (trop grande diversité) qui entraine forcément des soucis de maintenance et de modernisation.

Le tableau infra rassemble quelques données sur les moyens pouvant être engagés dans la Corne de l'Afrique.

Table 1. Les marines nationales de la Corne de l'Afrique comparé aux Seychelles et Comores' [9]

État	Avion de patrouille maritime	Patrouilleurs
Somalie	–	3
Kenya	–	13
Érythrée	–	12
Soudan	–	14
Djibouti	–	12
Seychelles	4	11
Comores	–	4

Les capacités navales sont insuffisantes. Sans moyens de détection (radars et avions de patrouille maritime) et en tenant compte des longueurs de côtes et de l'espace maritime, aucun des États de la Corne de l'Afrique n'est capable d'assurer, ne serait-ce que la protection de ses eaux territoriales. Les effectifs consacrés aux marines ou garde-côtes sont faibles et reflètent le manque d'ambition maritime malgré des programmes de coopération bilatérale ou de l'Union européenne (*EUCAP Somalia*). Quant aux moyens

(patrouilleurs, vedettes), leur capacité opérationnelle est très limitée et leur disponibilité est faible. Le Kenya et le Soudan sont les exemples du manque d'ambition maritime : un nombre de moyens d'intervention faible alors que la longueur des côtes est importante et les budgets de la défense considérables (respectivement 1.1 et 2.8 milliards de dollars![10]) Quant à la Somalie, l'effort a été porté par les organisations internationales sur la montée en puissance de la nouvelle armée somalienne et sa composante navale n'a pas été une priorité.

Pourtant, Djibouti, le Soudan, la Somalie, l'Érythrée, le Kenya construisent et ont besoin d'infrastructures portuaires sécurisées pour être pleinement ancrés à la mondialisation. L'Ouganda, l'Éthiopie,[11] le Soudan du Sud, pays enclavés, ont tout intérêt à se raccorder au réseau et donc à participer à son financement.

L'appropriation africaine nécessite des actions immédiates
Pays enclavés et pays côtiers sont liés par les mêmes intérêts. L'instabilité de la Corne de l'Afrique ne permet pas d'envisager une organisation navale gérée par l'Autorité intergouvernementale pour le Développement (IGAD) d'autant que les problématiques de paix et de sécurité sont principalement envisagées par *l'Eastern Africa Standby Force* (EASF).[12] De surcroît, comme l'ont montré les dernières opérations menées sur le continent africain, le recours aux Forces africaines en attente demeure peu réaliste. Seules les coalitions *ad hoc* montrent de la réactivité et de la capacité à dépasser les problèmes politiques d'une région. Nous pouvons envisager trois idées maitresses pour le développement d'une force maritime régionale dans la Corne de l'Afrique :

- Une architecture simple et pouvant évoluer en fonction de l'amélioration sécuritaire est-africaine (un centre de coordination, des bases navales) ;
- La création d'une force d'intervention maritime regroupant la totalité des moyens navals nationaux et ceux financés par l'organisation régionale ;
- Une école nationale à vocation régionale (centre de formation).

L'embryon de départ d'une telle organisation devrait être l'ensemble « Djibouti – Somaliland – Kenya – Soudan ». Ces États[13] sont en effet relativement stables et formeraient une coalition *ad hoc* pour lutter contre les problèmes liés à l'espace maritime de la région. L'Éthiopie, l'Ouganda et le Soudan du Sud seraient associés *financièrement* au sein de cette structure. L'Érythrée et la Somalie rejoindraient cette organisation suivant l'évolution de leur situation intérieure. La première phase consisterait à établir une architecture simple, des moyens de commandement, une prise en compte du renseignement dans la zone. Une coopération dynamique avec les forces internationales déployées serait initiée. La deuxième phase consisterait à prendre la place des forces internationales déployées ou travailler avec elles. La force régionale pourrait intervenir en tous lieux en fonction des disponibilités et de prises d'alerte de ses moyens et de l'acquisition de nouveaux bâtiments, radars, avions de patrouille maritime (achat, location). La dernière phase pourrait s'appuyer sur une coopération avec l'architecture sécuritaire de la Péninsule arabique (Conseil de coopération du Golfe). La mise sur pied d'une école nationale à vocation régionale[14] permettrait l'investissement à long terme dans la formation des personnels et l'acquisition de capacité de travail en ambiance multinationale.

Il est nécessaire de penser l'architecture maritime de la Corne de l'Afrique non pas en termes de « région » (IGAD, EASF) mais de coalition « *ad hoc* ».

Conclusion
La *2050 African Integrated Maritime Strategy* (2012) n'apporte pas d'éléments *précis* quant à l'appropriation africaine de l'espace maritime. Elle se contente de dresser quelques objectifs très généraux et reste relativement théorique. Afin de renforcer les capacités nationales et régionales, vingt États ont signé le Code de conduite de Djibouti[15] qui « est déterminant pour la répression des actes de piraterie et des vols à main armée à l'encontre des navires dans l'océan Indien occidental et le golfe d'Aden. Son champ d'application a été considérablement élargi afin de couvrir d'autres activités maritimes illicites comme la traite des personnes ou la pêche illicite, non déclarée et non réglementée ».

Malgré ces deux textes importants, les actions propres aux États africains demeurent limitées. Elles restent par souci d'économies mais aussi par manque de volonté commune financées et orchestrées par la Communauté internationale et sont volontairement sans ambition. Les discours n'ont pour l'instant pas été traduits en actions visibles et opérationnelles. Pourtant, la tâche ne semble pas insurmontable. Djibouti bénéficie de toutes les infrastructures nécessaires pour être le futur centre d'opérations maritimes de la Corne de l'Afrique. Hébergeant le siège de l'IGAD et la plus grande garnison internationale, elle pourrait « bénéficier » d'une partie des financements prévus par l'accord signé en mars 2018 pour le financement des programmes de paix et de sécurité de l'Afrique de l'Est.[16]

Si les textes de stratégie à long terme sont importants, les actions menées par les acteurs africains sont fondamentales pour démontrer une réelle volonté de s'approprier sa défense quitte à ce qu'elle s'inscrive dans un processus à long terme. Si la Force africaine en attente risque de rester très longtemps « en attente », le volet maritime de la défense est-africaine n'est pour l'instant qu'une mainmise étrangère par pure volonté africaine.

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[1] Trafics d'armes, d'êtres humains, de stupéfiants…

[2] Le 25 mars 2018, une frégate française a saisi une demi-tonne d'héroïne à proximité du Golfe d'Aden.

[3] Ce Protocole a été remplacé par le Traité de coopération en matière de défense entre

la République française et la République de Djibouti du 21 novembre 2011.

[4] Djibouti est un des points importants de la « nouvelle route la soie » (projet One Belt One Road).

[5] Jusqu'en 2016, une force de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord (OTAN) patrouillait dans les mêmes eaux (opération *Ocean Shield*).

[6] Il est aussi question d'une base militaire émirienne. Les EAU investissent sur la façade est-africaine (Erythrée, Somaliland).

[7] Revue *Africa Defense Forum* (2017), « *Maritime threats require unified Navies* », p. 42.

[8] Pour les États non enclavés.

[9] Les données sur les Seychelles et les Comores sont données à titre indicatif pour souligner l'orientation de ces petits États insulaires, appartenant à l'Afrique de l'Est, dans la protection de leur espace maritime. Les données sont issues de « *Forces armées africaines* » de Laurent Touchard (2017).

[10] *Ibid.* (Touchard, 2017, p. 427 et p. 489).

[11] 90 % des importations et exportations éthiopiennes passent par le port de Djibouti. Au vu de la croissance démographique éthiopienne (180 millions d'habitants en 2050), cette dépendance au secteur maritime et aux ports djiboutien, somalilandais et soudanais ne cessera pas.

[12] L'EASF a été établie en tant qu'un des cinq mécanismes régionaux chargés de la mise en place de la Force africaine en attente. Elle est composée de dix États membres (Burundi, Comores, Djibouti, Éthiopie, Kenya, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalie, Soudan et Ouganda) et d'un État au statut observateur (le Soudan du Sud). Une « cellule maritime » a été réactivée en 2016 conformément au Plan stratégique 2015-2020 (Cf. *Annual Report* 2016).

[13] Le Somaliland est un quasi-État, non reconnu par la Communauté internationale.

[14] Il existe une école navale à Bata en Guinée équatoriale.

[15] Ce code a été révisé en 2017 lors de la conférence de Jeddah. Les États signataires sont : Djibouti, Éthiopie, Kenya, Madagascar, Maldives, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Seychelles, Somalie, Yémen, Afrique du Sud, Arabie saoudite, Comores, Égypte, Émirats arabes unis, Érythrée, Jordanie, Maurice, Mozambique, Oman et Soudan.

[16] L'IGAD, l'Union européenne et l'Agence autrichienne pour le développement ont signé un accord de 42 millions d'euros sur quatre ans (pour le financement de programmes pour la paix et la sécurité).

Maritime Insecurity in the Horn: The Perspective from Ethiopia

By Zelalem Tesfay Gebreegzabhere

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) region has nine major sea ports namely Assab, Massawa, Djibouti port, Berbera, Bossaso, Mogadishu, Kismayu, Port Sudan, and Mombasa. In a region where three countries are landlocked; stable access to a maritime gateway is pivotal for trade, security and economic interdependence.[1] Ethiopia was a coastal state in the past, but has become a landlocked state since 1991 following the independence of Eritrea.[2] Stable and dependable access to ports in the region is a very sensitive issue particularly for landlocked Ethiopia with its rapidly growing population and fast growing economy. Ethiopia's access to and usage of maritime outlets in the region has been affected by the tempestuous geopolitical dynamics in the region. Currently, Ethiopia depends on Djibouti for the overwhelming bulk of its exports and imports. Therefore, Ethiopia's landlocked-ness coupled with negligible port diversification efforts, and geopolitical dynamics around the Red Sea and Indian Ocean maritime domains can be taken as the key manifestations of maritime insecurity from the Ethiopian perspective. [3]

Djibouti has emerged as key site for geo-political contestation between maritime powers due to its strategic location that abuts the Red Sea particularly the narrow Bab-e--Mandeb passage which according to some estimates accounts for almost 4% of the world's maritime traffic in petroleum and petroleum derived products.[4] The rising strategic significance of Djibouti is also linked to its proximity to the Gulf. Maritime piracy in the Gulf of Aden and the waters off the Somali coast, the war against Al-Shabaab in Somalia and the civil war in Yemen, have elevated the geo-strategic value of Djibouti and led many countries to establish military bases based on bilateral agreements with its government. Djibouti is also benefiting from rising United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Chinese investment in transport and port infrastructure.

The above mentioned developments have given rise to debate and discussion in Ethiopian public discourse which has tended to emphasize the potentially destabilizing effects of the expanded external (i.e. non-African) military and naval presence in Djibouti and more specifically scenarios that specifically affect Ethiopia and its utilization of port Djibouti.

The Expanding Foreign (non-African) Military Presence in Djibouti

The United States (largest military base in Africa), China (first military base in Africa), NATO, France, Japan, Germany, and Saudi Arabia have all established a military presence in Djibouti. Turkey has also established its first overseas and to date largest military base in Mogadishu.[5] This expanded non-African military and naval presence has been accompanied by bilateral agreements with provisions regarding financial transfers for the utilization of these establishments. The establishment of a military and naval presence in Djibouti by these countries has raised concerns from the Ethiopian perspective.

From the Ethiopian perspective, these financial arrangements may translate into reduced Ethiopian influence and leverage over Djibouti and furthermore shift the prevailing pattern of relations between the two interdependent states. The potential for tensions and in the worst case scenario, conflict, between the states with military-naval bases in Djibouti raises concerns regarding the ability of Djibouti to limit the potential of conflict between these actors and more specifically the effects on Ethiopia's access to and utilization of Djibouti port.[6] For instance, the government of Djibouti has welcomed the establishment of a military base by China and rising Chinese investment in transport and port infrastructure including the establishment of a special economic zone utilizing Chinese capital.[7] In response to perceptions that the Chinese presence in Djibouti may threaten US interests; the government of Djibouti has reiterated its position that there are no clashes of interest involved in the US and China both establishing a military-naval presence on Djiboutian soil.

The confrontation pitting Qatar against the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) is a case in point. In the aftermath of the split between Qatar and the majority of the GCC bloc; several states in the Horn decided to align with the Saudi led GCC coalition. More immediately, the rupturing of relations between Djibouti and Qatar also led to the withdrawal of Qatari peacekeepers stationed on a disputed stretch of the Djiboutian-Eritrean border and raised the spectre of a renewed conflict between Eritrea and Djibouti. There are also worries that the expanded GCC (specifically Saudi Arabian and UAE) military presence in Djibouti may adversely affect Ethiopian interests specifically in the event that tensions between Ethiopia and Egypt over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) escalate due to the widely held perception that the GCC coalition would align with Egypt.[8] The prospect of the GCC states pressuring the Djiboutian government to adopt policies to apply pressure indirectly on Ethiopia is a related concern.

The perception of threat and impending crisis alluded to earlier focuses on what could transpire and in a sense reflects a fixation on worst case scenarios. The pivotal question in this context centres on the degree of autonomy in terms of policy formulation that Djibouti exercises in connection to its relations with Ethiopia? A related query revolves around the probable degree of influence and leverage that states such as the United States, France, Japan, China, Saudi Arabia and the UAE exercise over the foreign policy formulation and implementation of the Djiboutian government?[9] At present, Djibouti enjoys close and friendly relations with all the member states of the IGAD. Apart from the economic and commercial ties that link Ethiopia and Djibouti; the two countries have also concluded several agreements on joint infrastructure, power sharing and economic cooperation agreements which are a testament to the shared interests and degree of interdependence between the two countries. However some observers believe that the management of relations between the two countries is a critical issue for Ethiopia and that Ethiopian foreign policy should adopt a strategic approach that takes into account the new variables that are impacting Ethio-Djiboutian relations.[10]

The Impact of the expanded GCC and Turkish Presence on the Horn of Africa
The rivalry between the Gulf States pitting Saudi Arabia and UAE on one side and Qatar

on the other side is destabilising the Horn.[11] The Saudi-led war in Yemen, the tensions between the GCC bloc and Iran, and the global drop in oil prices are some of the manifestations of the instability in the Gulf region.

The growing Turkish and UAE presence and influence in the Horn also raises the prospect of external actors being able to constrain Ethiopia's ability to use ports in the Horn for its export and import needs. The growing economic and military clout of Turkish and UAE in areas in close proximity to Assab port in Eritrea, Berbera port in Somaliland and Djibouti has raised prospects of potentially destabilizing effects on Ethiopia.[12] Positioning itself as an ally of Qatar; Turkey has established its largest military base in Somalia.

According to some observers with the inception of the Yemeni war and the resultant GCC crisis; the power balance on the other shore of Red Sea has been shaken with some postulating that the Gulf and Turkish presence in the Horn is leading to a diminution of Ethiopia's prior position as regional hegemon. The Gulf crisis has had visible economic and political repercussions on the Horn of Africa. The Gulf crisis and the confrontation between the Saudi-led coalition with Iran and Qatar has witnessed Saudi led efforts to pressure states in the region to induce them to join the Saudi led coalition. As a result, several states in the Horn region have severed diplomatic ties with Iran and Qatar. More worryingly (from the Ethiopian perspective) several states in the region have dispatched troop contingents to fight in the Yemen war as part of the Saudi led coalition's war against the allegedly Iranian allied Ansar-al-Islam movement (more commonly referred to as the Houthi).

The expanding Gulf and Turkish military and naval presence in the IGAD region is occurring in tandem with financial transfers (in the form of rent payments for leasing military and naval bases in the region) not to mention growing investment in the agricultural and infrastructure sectors.[13] This testifies to the inter-linkages between GCC and Turkish security and economic interests in the Horn.

The influence of Saudi Arabia and its GCC allies in the Horn is expanding and some observers in Ethiopia fear that the influence of these actors could be deployed in a manner inimical to Ethiopian interests. Some analysts also view with trepidation the future long-term consequences of Saudi and GCC influence in the Horn especially in relation to the propagation of extremist Wahabi-Salafi values in the Horn.

The consequences of the GCC crisis on the maritime domain of the IGAD region are clearly exemplified by the recent development centring on the Eritrean Port of Assab which is around 50 km from the Ethiopian border and approximately 60 km off the coast of Yemen. Prior to the Ethio-Eritrean war, Assab port (and to a much lesser extent Massawa port) was the main outlet for the bulk of Ethiopia's exports and imports. However, with the inception of the war and in its aftermath, Ethiopia shifted to using Port Djibouti. According to media reports, following the Ethio-Eritrean war Assab port was supposedly used by Iran in the mid-2000s and is currently rented to the UAE as a naval base for "Operation Re-storing Hope in Yemen." However, as a consequence of

being utilized as a naval base in the war in Yemen; Assab port was targeted by the Ansar-al-Islam, who also fired on a US war ship in the Red Sea in 2016.

Ethiopian Response: Diversification of Maritime Outlets

Ethiopia's dependence on Djibouti port has been deepened by the extensive investment in infrastructure connectivity being undertaken by both governments. Djibouti also hosts the Ethiopian Shipping Lines (ESL) which is viewed by some Ethiopian analysts as another worrying manifestation of Ethiopia's overwhelming dependence on Djibouti Port.[14] However, for many Ethiopian analysts of maritime security issues in the Horn, the heavy dependence on Djibouti port does not serve Ethiopia's long term socio-economic and security interests not only due to the volatility of inter-state relations in the Horn region, but also due to the perception that it renders Ethiopia vulnerable to pressure from Djibouti.[15]

As a reaction to the earlier trends and dynamics the Ethiopian government has intensified its efforts to diversify its maritime outlets to reduce its overwhelming dependence on Port Djibouti. The recent agreement between Ethiopia, Dubai Port World and Somaliland Port Authority concluded in Dubai, regarding the usage and operations of Berbera port reflect the Ethiopian government's efforts to diversify maritime outlets. According to the provisions of the agreement, Ethiopia, DP World and the Somaliland Port Authority would acquire 19, 51 and 30 percent stakes respectively in the Port of Berbera. Furthermore, Ethiopia has also agreed to invest in infrastructure and develop a road and railway corridor to Berbera Port as an alternative maritime gateway.[16]

Nonetheless, a few days after the three-party joint agreement to develop Berbera port; Ethiopia and Somalia became embroiled in a diplomatic controversy and the government of Somalia denounced the port deal. The government of Somalia requested the involvement of the Arab League and asked it to condemn the agreement and pressure the UAE to discard the deal, arguing that the agreement contravenes the sovereignty of Somalia.[17] Consequently, a senior Somaliland official stated that the dispute over the plan to develop Port Berbera "risks destabilizing the Horn of Africa region."[18] It has also risked Ethiopia's attempt to reduce its dependence on Djibouti port as its main trade corridor through the Red Sea and indirectly contributes to consolidating UAE presence and influence in the Horn.[19] Interestingly, the imbroglio over the Berbera port agreement has led some Ethiopian analysts to conclude that the present situation calls for normalization of relations with Eritrea.[20]

Conclusion

For Ethiopia as a former coastal state which became landlocked after 1991, the issue of maritime insecurity is inflected through its existential need to secure a stable outlet for its export and import needs. Currently Ethiopia is heavily dependent on Djibouti port to the extent that the expression "when Djibouti sneezes, Ethiopia gets a cold" has become commonplace. As mentioned in the introduction, landlocked-ness coupled with negligible port diversification efforts by the current government, and geopolitical dynamics around the Red Sea and Indian Ocean have emerged as key sources of maritime insecurity from the Ethiopian perspective.

The article has discussed the ramifications of the expanding US, European, Japanese, Chinese and above all GCC and Turkish military-naval presence in the coastal countries of the Horn of Africa. The expanding military-naval presence has also been complimented by rising investment in agricultural sectors and infrastructure development.

The discussion in the article has provided a summary overview of the expanding foreign military presence in the coastal states of the region and the potential and actual impact not only on Ethiopia but also the broader region. Ethiopian perceptions and perspectives have by and large interpreted these developments in a negative and threatening light. However, exaggerated these perceptions may seem to some, the negative effects are already clearly visible and are affecting Ethiopian interests. The Gulf crisis and the war in Yemen have clearly affected the maritime domain of the IGAD region. The risks of maritime competition and conflict between external actors embroiling the IGAD region are not necessarily far-fetched as some recent events suggest. Thus, it is the recommendation of the author that Ethiopia should closely watch the evolving geopolitical shifts in the region. Ethiopian policy makers and political elites should also formulate responses and operate strategically with a view to devise a long term solution to the maritime dilemmas facing Ethiopia. They must work on thoughtful political and economic diplomacy with the goal of either securing a port for Ethiopia on a permanent basis and/or effectively achieving port diversification.

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The Berbera Port Agreement and its Potential Repercussions

By Mohamed Amin

Introduction

Dubai's state-owned DP World agreement with Somaliland and Ethiopia to manage the Berbera port for the next 30 years or more is worrying and has led to the emergence of a new source of intra and inter-state tensions. [1] This is not the first time countries in the region have concluded port and maritime related agreements. Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia and most importantly Djibouti have all signed maritime related agreements of one kind or another with several countries vying for a foothold in the potentially lucrative maritime resources of the region as well as its strategic chokehold location in the Gulf of Aden-Bab el Mandeb straits.[2] The agreement between Somaliland, DP World's agreement and Ethiopia to manage the Berbera port has potential ripple effects that may escalate inter-state and intra-state tensions in the Horn. Yet the development received little attention from the Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the region's main body, and the African Union (AU). The deafening silence from IGAD and the AU is best described by a Somali proverb that states: *"you can't wake up a man pretending to be asleep"*.

Context

Somalia and Somaliland

Somaliland declared independence from the rest of Somalia in May 1991 after the overthrow of former leader of Somalia, Siad Bare. His overthrow was followed by a long brutal civil war, particularly in central and southern regions. In the chaos Somaliland declared independence from the rest of Somalia.[3] Since then Somaliland has enjoyed relative peace and stability compared to the South and has held several elections.[4] The elections held last year in Somaliland were widely reported to have been reasonably transparent and were followed by peaceful transfer of power.[5] In addition to the dominant Isaq clan, Somaliland has several other clans some of whom either side with the semi-autonomous state of Puntland to the south in part because of clan affiliation.[6] Moreover, some observers note that the state-owned DP World agreement with Somaliland has proved controversial among Somaliland's neighbours.[7]

Puntland, another semi-autonomous region of Somalia which borders Somaliland has opted to remain part of Somalia. There have been minor skirmishes between the two semi-autonomous regions over jurisdiction of some border areas.[8] The internationally recognized Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) vehemently opposes Somaliland's claim to independence. Somaliland, however, knows well that the FGS in Mogadishu can do little to stop the agreement.

The fact, however, remains that both United Arab Emirates through DP World and Ethiopia have given de facto recognition to Somaliland by bypassing Mogadishu and dealing directly with Somaliland on such an important matter concerning the unity and

territorial integrity of Somalia. Understandably, this has angered the FGS.[9] So far the FGS has been restrained and limited its response to submitting complaints through regional and multinational organizations such as IGAD, the AU, the Arab League and the United Nations Security Council. Although the Arab League is heavily influenced by Saudi Arabia, UAE and Egypt (where it is headquartered), surprisingly it issued a statement favourable to Somalia by reaffirming the unity and territorial integrity of Somalia, while avoiding castigating the UAE directly: *The control of the borders of the land, its airspace and the sea are the responsibility of the federal government of Somalia, and the Arab League warns against interfering with Somalia in any kind,*"[10] said the statement. This is a strong statement given the dispute is between heavy weight UAE and failed state Somalia.

Ethiopia

Ethiopia's de facto recognition of Somaliland is a violation of the agreement establishing the IGAD, which in Article 6A, Sub-article (B) enjoins member states to adhere to the principle of, *'Non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States.'*"[11] Clearly Ethiopia benefits from having a 19% stake in Berbera port l as it is landlocked and currently relies on Djibouti port for most of its imports and exports. However, this does beg the questions as to whether Ethiopia is pursuing the right strategy, or doing so at the right time.

There are certain risks for Ethiopia in alienating the FGS and more importantly a large section of the Somali population. First, although Ethiopia is by far the region's most powerful nation, all is not well with its internal politics. The country is divided along ethnic and religious lines and is the second most populous country in Africa with a population of over 105 million [12] and 86 languages.[13] The two largest ethnic groups – the Oromo and the Amhara (Amharic is the official government language) makeup over 61% of the population (34.4% and 27% respectively).[14]

Anti-government protests have occurred in both Oromia and Amhara regional states which led to the arrest of thousands and the declaration of a state of emergency.[15] In February 2018 Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn resigned and in early April 2018 Dr. Abiy Ahmed was sworn in as the new Prime Minister of Ethiopia. Ahmed, an Oromo by ethnicity, is expected to calm recent unrest in the country. His first visit outside capital Addis Ababa was to the capital of the Somali region Jigjiga.[16] This was not a coincidence.[17] Oromia and Somali regional states in Ethiopia have experienced clashes along their regional boundaries large stretches of which are disputed between the two regional states.[18] Therefore, the Achilles heels of Ethiopia is not an invasion from neighbouring countries but keeping its unity in diversity which may be exploited by foreign powers to destabilize the country.

Furthermore, Ethiopia's decision to take a 19% stake of the Berbera port has a high potential of destabilizing Somalia and perhaps the whole region. Two scenarios can be envisaged:

Scenario A: The premature collapse of the current FGS: Somalia's current President

Mohamed Abdulahi Farmajo studied and worked in the US and is a dual US-Somali citizen. He is regarded by many as a moderate and pragmatic figure and his popularity remains high.[19] Unlike the current president, the two preceding presidents had connection to Islamist groups (Sheikh Sharif was head of ICU and Hasan Sheikh is rumoured to belong to Damul Jadid.[20] During the election, President Mohamed was widely perceived as a Somali nationalist, and actually his chances of winning increased after Somalia's arch-rival, Ethiopia, was seen to be backing the defeated president.[21]However Somali nationalists may withdraw their support from the current president if he does not show resolve in the Berbera port dispute. A possible outcome of such scenario is the fragmentation of existing domestic alliances and worsening of Somalia's nascent state-federal relations, perhaps leading to a total collapse of FGS. Such a scenario will not bode well either for Ethiopia or the larger international community because what happens in Somalia may have wider regional and global consequences as demonstrated by past events.

Scenario B: The reinvigoration of the Al-Shabaab and Somali pirates: Al-Shabaab emerged in the aftermath of 2006 Ethiopian invasion of Somalia. It broke off from the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) which was headed by Sheik Sharif who later became the interim president of Somalia.[22] Because of the long history of hostility between Somalia and Ethiopia, Al-Shabaab were able to convince a substantial number of Somalis to join them by portraying themselves as the only viable resistance to "the crusading Christian Ethiopia".[23] In hindsight, it is clear the US supported Ethiopian incursion into Somalia to topple the ICU has resulted in blowback in the form of the creation of Al-Shabaab. It is very possible that Al-Shabaab will use the Ethiopian involvement in the Berbera port deal as a rallying cry to recruit and fundraise.

Although it is very unlikely that Al-Shabaab will be able to mount a conventional military challenge against Ethiopia, it retains the capacity to launch terrorist acts inside Ethiopia. In the worst case scenario, certain political actors in Somalia may encourage or lend support to Al-Shabaab to carry terrorist acts in Ethiopia, in a manner reminiscent of the alleged Eritrean support to Al-Shabaab.[24] There are documented instances of Al-Shabaab being utilized by, or forming tactical alliances with other actors to achieve immediate goals.[25] Finally, although the problem of piracy in the waters off the Somali coast has abated not least due to the deployment of the international naval forces of the coast of Somalia, to assume the problem has been taken care of once and for all, may be an unwarranted conclusion.[26] In the event, the FGS is weakened or collapses, piracy in the Gulf of Aden and the waters off the Somali coast may experience a second lease of life.

UAE, Djibouti and Egypt

Clearly the UAE aims at killing two or more birds with one stone with the Berbera port agreement. First, by including Ethiopia in the agreement, the UAE will acquire a degree of cover and legitimacy from potential challenges from IGAD or the AU, for infringing on the sovereignty of a member state. Second, if for whatever reason Somalia miraculously pulls together just enough resources to confront Somaliland militarily, Ethiopia will punish any such act since it is a beneficiary from the agreement and a shareholder in the

Berbera port. Third, the UAE seems intent on punishing both Djibouti and the FGS: the former for ending the Doraleh Container Terminal contract[27] and the latter for for staying neutral in the Gulf crisis.[28]

Djibouti has benefited from its relative stability and its growing strategic significance due to its geographical location and the emergence of threats such as piracy, Al-Shabaab, Al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and the war in Yemen. [29] Based on recent history and as the Berbera port agreement may potentially reduce Djibouti's revenues if Ethiopian imports and exports are shipped through Berbera port, Djibouti will most likely side with Somalia thus further complicating the matter.[30]

Egypt has good relations with UAE and Saudi Arabia and is one of the four Arab countries blockading Qatar. On the one hand, Ethio-Egyptian relations have been strained due to the dispute over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) and Ethiopian allegations that Egypt and Eritrea have been lending support to insurgent movements operating against the Ethiopian government.[31] On the other hand, Egypt has enjoyed historically friendly relations with Somalia.[32] Professor Shinn points out that:

> *"...Egypt has been a supporter of Somali unity and a strong Somali state that can serve as a counterweight to Ethiopia...A unified Somalia that might one day reassert its claims to Somali-inhabited areas of Ethiopia and that has close links to Egypt would add to this leverage".*[33]

The contestation over the agreement on Berbera port opens the door for a closer alliance between Egypt and Somalia and risks escalating the level of inter-state tensions in the Horn of Africa.

Conclusion

The UAE's disregard for the sovereignty of Somalia in the form of the Berbera port agreement is dangerous and may plunge the Horn of Africa region into chaos. IGAD, the AU, the Arab League and the UN should pay close attention to the issue as it unfolds and act pre-emptively to contain and de-escalate the dispute. Somalia and the Horn of Africa cannot afford another source of inter-state tensions.

Current leaders of the region should abandon the zero sum game mentality and awaken to the reality that the people in the region will rise or fall together. Until they come to such realization, others who are driven by greed and conceit will divide and exploit them.

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