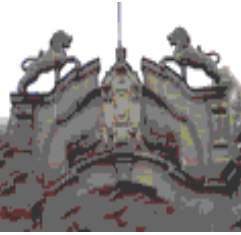


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COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS**

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**Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters of  
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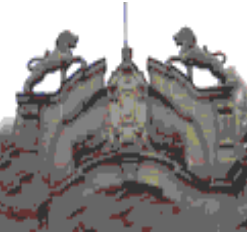
**Advisor: Dr. Asnake Kefale**

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**Approved by Board of Examiners**

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### **List of Acronyms:**

ACOTA/Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Program

AFRICOM/Africa Command

ALF/Afar Liberation Front

AMISOM/African Union Mission in Somalia

AOR/Area Of Responsibility

ATA/Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program

AU/Africa Union

BRI/Belt and Road Initiative

CENTO/Central Treaty Organization

CENTCOM/US Central Command

CJTF-HOA/Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa

CTF/Combined Task Force

DP/World Dubai Ports World

EACTI/East Africa Counter- Terrorism Initiative

ENDF-/Ethiopian national defense force

EPRDF/Ethiopian people's revolutionary democratic front

EU/European union

EUNAVFOR/EU Naval Force Atalanta (Operation Atalanta)

EU/European Union

FAD/Djiboutian armed force

FANSPS/Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy

FDI/Foreign Direct Investment

FDRE/Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

FFDJ/French Forces in Djibouti

FOCAC/Forum on China-Africa Cooperation

GCC/Gulf Cooperation Council  
GDP/Gorse Domestic Product  
GERD/Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam  
ICS/Integrated Country Strategy  
ICU/Islamic Court Union  
IGAD/Inter-Governmental Authority on Development  
ILEA/International Law Enforcement Academy  
IMCTC/Islamic Military Counterterrorism Coalition  
IOC/Initial operating capability  
IPSS/Institute of Peace and Security Studies  
JTFAS/Joint Task Force Aztec Silence  
JSDF/Japan Self-Defense Forces  
KSA/Kingdom of Saudi Arabia  
LAPSSET/Lamu Port and Southern Sudan- Ethiopia Transport Corridor  
LRA/Lord's Resistance Army  
NATO/North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
OBOR/One Belt One Road  
OEF/Operation Enduring Freedom  
OEF-HOA/Operation Enduring Freedom-Horn of Africa  
OLF/Oromo Liberation Front  
PLAN/People's Liberation Army Navy (China)/(PLA) People's Liberation Army  
SEZs/Special Economic Zone  
SGR/standard gauge railway  
SLOCs/Sea Lines of Communication  
SOFA/Status of Force Agreement  
SSC/South South Cooperation  
SEATO/Southeast Asia Treaty Organization  
SNA/Somali National Army

TPLF/Tigrai People's Liberation Front  
TSCTP/Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Partnership  
UAE/United Arab Emirate  
USA/United State of America  
US/United State  
USD/US\$/United States Dollar  
UN/United Nations  
UNMISS/United Nations Mission in South Sudan  
UK/United Kingdom  
UNOSOM I/UN Operation in Somalia the first  
UNOSOM II/UN Operation in Somalia the second  
VFA/Visiting Force Agreement  
WSLF/Western Somali Liberation Front  
USSR/Union of socialist Soviet Russia

### **Abstract:**

*Through this study, an effort is made to analyze the security implications of foreign military bases in the Horn region to Ethiopia's national security. The Horn of African region is among the very strategic areas in the world. The region became a playfield of rival foreign powers and one of the conflict prone areas of the world. Once again, the region is being contested by foreign powers. About 10 foreign military bases in Djibouti, Somalia, Eritrea, and Somaliland are established. This paper contends that the foreign military bases in the Horn region provide both opportunities and challenges to Ethiopia's national security. As a result, a responsive foreign policy is required to utilize the security opportunities and minimizing the costs. Methodologically, qualitative research methodology is used. Accordingly, both primary and secondary sources of data are employed. Secondary data is derived from books, journals, media reports, various research works, and policy documents. Primary source of data collection is also employed through in-depth interviews with key informants from various institutions. The finding of the study shows both security challenges and opportunities. In terms of security opportunities, maintenance of regional stability, keeping of the safety of trade routes, possibility of regional economic boost potential of regional integration, militarily cooperation and protection of the region from terrorism are scrutinized. On the other hand, the potential of destabilization, undermining of sovereignty, the potential of blockade of global trade corridor and challenge of access to sea port, the possibility of military confrontation, the potential of expansion of fundamentalism and the siege of mentality are among the security risks. Thus, to minimize the security risks and maximize opportunities first, Ethiopia should stabilize the domestic problems to fully focus on the external issues. Second, Ethiopia must strengthen its relationship with all of its neighbors and should think critically about its interactions with all the foreign forces that have military bases in the Horn region with good diplomatic efforts. Third, Ethiopia should develop new strategies to cope up with the increasing geopolitical significance of the Red Sea and the challenges that it is facing with respect to using its natural resources (e.g. GERD). In this case Ethiopia should pursue proactive policy is needed.*

## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Background of the study:**

There is no consensus among scholars about which countries constitute the Horn of Africa and the criterion to categorize countries as part of the Horn region varies from scholar to scholar (Gashaw and Zelalem, 2016, pp. 788-789). Based on the geography of the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, and Djibouti are considered as countries of the region (Demessie, 2014; 18). Other scholars like Healy (2011: viii) use the member countries of the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) as a reference point to be part of the Horn region. So the eight-member countries of IGAD, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda could be considered as countries of the Horn of Africa. Besides Kidane M., (2011: 6) notes that the non-recognized state of Somaliland will be another additional Horn country if it gets international recognition. Furthermore, in a broader definition, scholars like Khadiagala (2008: 1) extend the term to embrace all countries of eastern Africa including Uganda and Tanzania.

In another expression, other writers like Dahir A.H., (2019: 5) indicated that geographically; the Horn of Africa is part of at least three other regions, the Red Sea, East Asia, and the Mediterranean Sea. Besides, Horn of Africa region could be considered as a sub-region of the Indian Ocean home to close to three billion people.

The Horn region is one of the very strategic regions for three basic reasons. First, the region lies in the coastlines of the Gulf of Aden, Bab el- Mandeb, and the Red Sea, a route that is one of the most important passages for world naval trade. Second, the region is also considered as the most important entry point to the African market by the leading countries of Asia and the Middle East. Third, the sizable population of the region which comprises over 200 million people contributes for a potential power base in securing their interests in global politics (Telci, 2018: 4).

Due to its strategic importance and geographical location, the Horn of Africa is among the conflict-prone areas of the world, rendered particularly vulnerable and it has resulted in the international and regional competition for influence and control in history (Sun &Yahia, 2016). During the colonial era, the region was divided by colonial powers. Furthermore, the region became a playfield of superpower rivalry during the Cold War. Following the end of the Soviet

Union in the 1990s, superpower rivalry in the Horn of Africa disappeared and the strategic significance of the Horn of Africa had seemed to have declined. However, the region has recently once again regained its strategic significance. Today, there are currently about 10 foreign military bases in the region in which most of them are located in the small Red Sea nation of Djibouti (Dahir A.H., 2019: 5). The importance of the Red Sea contributes to draws foreign powers from various directions of the world in the region (Medhanye T., 2018). This resulted in an international base race which led to the securitization of the Horn's ports, with commercial port deals now almost acting as preconditions to the construction of foreign military bases (van den Berg and Meester, 2018: 14).

For Rossiter and J. Cannon (2019: 168) foreign military "bases" are usually understood as part of a country's setup for conducting war in a foreign country. For instance, the East and West camps constructed global networks of bases as part of a strategy that required confronting, surrounding, or threatening the other side throughout the cold war. "However, this logic becomes changed markedly since 1991, owing to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of non-traditional security threats and the widening of tasks that militaries across many parts of the world are asked to perform by their governments" (Rossiter and J. Cannon, 2019: 168).

Particularly since 9/11, the region also has become one of the theatres of the global war on terror, driven principally by factors related to the collapse of the Somali state and the emergence of al-Shabaab, and the growth of piracy off the Somali coast (Redie, 2013: 3). As a result, the US opened a military base in the small Red Sea country, Djibouti, using the 9/11 event as a pretext for the global war on terror mainly to fight against Al Qaeda in Yemen and Somali as well (van den Berg and Meester, 2018: 14).

Therefore, since 2001, the Horn of Africa region has experienced a considerable increase in the number and size of foreign military placements. A considerable number of security forces are stationed in the Horn of Africa with land-based facilities such as bases, ports, airstrips, training camps, semi-permanent facilities and logistics hubs, and naval forces on permanent or regular deployment. The most visible aspect of this presence is the proliferation of military facilities in coastal areas along the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa (Melvin, 2019a: 1). However, this recent increase of foreign military bases in the region will have huge impact on the region in general and Ethiopia's national security in particular. Therefore, this study will focus on analyzing the

threats and opportunities of the increasing establishment of foreign military bases in the Horn of Africa to Ethiopia's national security.

### **1.2 Statement of the problem:**

Since the 2000s, the Horn region hosts considerable forces from various corners of the world (Melvin, 2019b: 1). Today ten military bases are established four different countries of the Horn region. Six foreign bases mainly United States, France, Italy, Japan, China, and Saudi Arabia are centered in Djibouti while UAE and Russia are founded in Eritrea. Besides, Somalia also hosts Turkey while self-proclaimed autonomous Somaliland hosts UAE's second base.<sup>1</sup>

In history foreign military bases present security implications, on the negative side, scholars like Larsen, J. and Steputat F. (2019) contend that foreign military bases adversely affected the security of regions particularly when there is divergent interest among foreign countries. In this respect, Degang (2010) noted that the US Military bases in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) can be taken as a good example which had a lot of security risks. First, it weakens the Gulf security framework and became the source of further hesitation in the region. Second, the base exacerbates anti-Americanism and recently the Islamic fanatics like Al-Qaeda have already voiced their resentment and discontent over the bases and facilities in the region. Finally, the bases are bound to cause more fierce competition among big powers due to their distinctive geographic position. In addition to the US, on May 26, 2009, the French declared its decision to build its first permanent military base in Abu Dhabi. In 2010, the United Kingdom (UK) was negotiating on reopening a military base in Oman. Iran is planning to build a navy base at Djask. Furthermore, Degag also forecasts that the "big powers' everlasting rivalry and security competition would be fiercer in the region" (Degang, 2010: pp. 58-61).

Similarly, Medhanye Tadese (2018) notes the militarization of the Horn of Africa by the foreign powers would also pose a security risk due to the rivalry among the Arab, Western and the South emerging powers in the Horn of Africa would have a destabilizing effect. Particularly, China's permanent establishment of the permanent military base at Djibouti disturbs the US and its allies (Bateman, 2017). Furthermore, Zelalem (2018) argues the increasing influence from the Gulf has also brought Turkey to act against it by becoming an ally of Qatar and attempted to balance

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<sup>1</sup>Ani (2019), implications of foreign military bases on the horn of Africa's stability <https://tanaforum.org/2019/05/24/implications-of-foreign-bases-on-the-horn-of-africas-stability/>

Emirati influence. The growing economic and military power of Turkish and UAE in areas close to Assab port in Eritrea, Berbera port in Somaliland, and Djibouti has raised security concerns (Zelalem, 2018: pp. 27-28). Besides the global influences on the region, the money and influence discharged into the political marketplace could be a danger in relations among the states of the region (Humanitarian Development Program, 2017: 11).

On the other side, (Adam, 2017) military base is, helpful for ensuring national security, avoidance of regional conflict, economic competition, political influence, and securing market development packages (Adam, 2017: PP.183-191). Similarly, Larsen, J. and Stepputat F. (2019) argue that foreign military bases can have a security opportunity in which it might anticipate the regional economy, having the capacity to promote development, economic growth, and regional integration.

For example, San Juan, R.C., (1993: pp. 9-13) describes the security opportunities of foreign military bases by mentioning the United States (U.S.) bases in the Philippines as an instance which benefited to all. First, the U.S. military benefited from the Philippine base in offset Soviet military base in Asia defend the different directions of Asian Sea and air routes and support the U.S. allies. Second, the base is also attributed to the regional stability and economy by eradicating dangers from outside as well as offsetting to Sino-Soviet power in the region. Third, the U.S. base protected the Philippines from external pressures in the post-World War Second (WWII), the time in which the Philippines were unable to defend themselves from external danger due to the lack of capacity in that period. Concerning the foreign military bases in the Horn region, Israel (2018: 4) notes the foreign military bases in the Horn region could have a security opportunity mainly to Ethiopia due to the consideration of Ethiopia's former good interaction with the major powers like the USA and China.

In terms of previously done literature, there is scant literature concerning the presence of foreign military bases in the region vis-à-vis the national security of Ethiopia. There are very few journal articles and research works. Gashaw and Zelalem (2016) wrote an article entitled “the Advent of Competing Foreign Powers in the Geostrategic Horn of Africa: Analysis of Opportunity and Security Risk for Ethiopia.” In the article, the authors contend that the presence of foreign powers in the region is confined to Djibouti. The article failed to cover the different bases in various areas of the region. Similarly, Esraael (2018) studied the challenges and opportunities

that the expansion of military bases in the Horn region bring to Ethiopia's foreign policy by focusing on three bases that are located in Djibouti, Somaliland, and Eritrea.

However, this study assesses the implications of the foreign military bases by looking at all the military bases to Ethiopia through the multi-sectorial security concept. This makes the researcher study the issue. Therefore, this thesis attempts to investigate the implications of the foreign military bases in the Horn region to Ethiopia's national security and the way forward.

### **1.3. Core argument:**

The presence of foreign military bases in the Horn of Africa - whether for good or bad is an accepted reality. The militarization of the Horn of Africa will have security implications for the countries of the region in general and Ethiopia in particular. This paper argues that the increasing foreign military bases around the region have opportunities and undeniable costs on Ethiopia's national security. Therefore, Ethiopia is expected to have a responsive security approach to manage the situation, utilize the opportunities, and minimize possible costs.

### **1.4 Objectives of the study:**

The main objective of this study is to assess and analyze the implications of foreign military bases in the Horn of Africa to Ethiopia's national security. Besides, the study has the following specific objectives. These are:

- ❖ To assess the overseas military bases in the Horn region with their purposes;
- ❖ To analyze the security implications of the foreign military bases on Ethiopia; and
- ❖ To indicate possible approaches and policy options in light of the foreign military bases in the Horn region.

### **1.5 Research questions:**

- Which powers and what factors drive them to open military bases in the Horn region?
- What are the security implications of these bases to Ethiopia?
- What possible approaches and policy is best advisable to minimize the security costs and maximize benefits?

### **1.6 Significance of the study:**

The study assesses and evaluates the nature and current status of the foreign military bases of the foreign powers in the Horn of Africa. It also clarifies its security implications. So far, there is no

adequate study that examined the prospects and challenges of the military bases in the Horn of Africa. Hence, this study contributes additional values to the stock of knowledge on the issues. Besides, it could also serve as a stepping stone for other researchers who are interested in similar area studies.

## **1.7. Research methodology:**

### **1.7.1. Research design:**

This study is conducted based on the qualitative, explanatory, and descriptive research methodology for three reasons. First, this research methodology is employed to describe a set of non-statistical inquiry techniques and process used to gather data about social phenomena. Second because quantitative measures and statistical analyses simply do not fit the problem under the study. Third, a qualitative approach is selected as relevant to grasp a detailed understanding of the issue to explain the implications of the foreign military bases in the Horn region vis-à-vis the national security of Ethiopia.

### **1.7.2 Source of Data:**

With regard to the data-gathering method, the researcher employs both primary and secondary sources of data. Accordingly, books, scholarly articles, journals, media reports, various research works, and archival materials, policy documents, published reports of government, as well as international organizations and analyses displayed in the internet source, are used to assess the security implications of the foreign military bases in the Horn region.

The researcher also used a primary source of data by making use of the interview. Substantial primary data is collected through in-depth interviews with key informants including diplomats. For this purpose, seven key informants from various institutions – one from the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, two from the Ethiopia Ministry of National Defense Force, War College, one from the IGAD Security Sector Program, one from Ethiopian Based International Organization Center for Dialogue Research and Cooperation and two from Institute of Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) at Addis Ababa University were selected. The questions of the interview have been organized in a semi-structured manner. This is because semi-structured interviews allow flexibility of questions and make the respondents answer the question in an unconstrained way. Finally both the primary as well as secondary data will triangulate to examine the problem.

### **1.7.3 Procedure of Data Collection:**

The researcher gets prior permission from the interviewee. Interviewers were approached by saying the study is solely meant for educative and informative purposes. Ethical considerations are observed in the journey of the research.

### **1.7.4 Data Organization and Analysis:**

It is known that this study will focus largely on the qualitative data analysis method and most of the data analyzed about the principle of qualitative data analysis. Qualitative data analysis requires coding the responses, identifying categories or themes, and explaining their meaning. By the same mood, the data from the interviewees first transcribed on a sheet of paper, coded, categorized, and ordered into major and minor themes, and finally, explanations and interpretations will carry out in line with the general and specific objectives of the study. Finally, based on the major findings found conclusions are drawn and then recommendations are made.

### **1.7.5 Data Presentations, Interpretations, and Discussions:**

The key objective of this study is to identify the implications of the foreign military base in the Horn region to Ethiopia's national security as of the 2000s. To achieve this, the researcher employs unstructured interviews with key informants and uses secondary materials such as books, journal articles, media reports, journals, articles, various research works, and analyses displayed on the internet are used as data gathering tools. Accordingly, the data collected is described, interpreted, and discussed.

### **1.8 Scope of the study:**

This study as stated earlier is restricted to assess the implications of the foreign military bases in the Horn region to Ethiopia's national security from 2002-2019. It emphasizes the assessment and analysis of the foreign military bases in the Horn of Africa in line with its implication to Ethiopia's national security. Ethiopia revises its Foreign Policy and National Security Strategy in 2002. As a result Ethiopia's regional engagement became on the basis of its FANSPS, launched in 2002.<sup>2</sup> It is for this reason that 2002 is used as benchmark of the study.

### **1.9 Organization of the study:**

The study comprises five chapters. The first one is the introduction of the study. The second chapter under the title of "related literature" about concepts of the foreign military bases and

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<sup>2</sup> Ethiopian foreign policy and national security strategy

national security with their linkage is discussed. In the third, chapter, profiling of the Horn of African region is presented. In the fourth chapter the foreign military bases in the Horn of Africa which is the main discussion area of the thesis. The fifth chapter is about the security implications. Finally, the study has a conclusion and the way forward.

## **Chapter two: Review of Related Literature:**

### **2. Conceptual Framework: Foreign Military Bases and Regional/National security**

#### **2.1 The conceptual framework on Foreign Military Bases:**

##### **2.1.1 Meaning of Foreign Military Bases:**

Different scholars like Schmidt (2014), Glebov (2009), Lutz (2009), Sun (2010) and Harkavy (2007) defined the concept of foreign military bases in many ways. For Schmidt (2014) foreign military bases is called as sovereign basing which is defined as “the long-term, peace time presence of a foreign military on the other country’s soil without interference into the host’s domestic authority structures” (Schmidt, 2014: 17). Foreign military bases according to Glebov (2009) as cited in (Dos Santos Lersch, and Sarti, 2014: 88) defined as “an installation created to serve as support for Military operations and logistics.” (Sun, D., 2010: 45) also added that, the overseas military bases are by nature geographically and functionally an extension of one country’s domestic military bases abroad. For other scholars like Lutz (2009: 17) foreign military bases are;

*The edge of empire: they are the armed guard of the advancing civilizing mission, standing at the current limits of “the free world,” whether in policing, state-defensive, or expeditionary posture. They have been empire’s edge in the additional sense that they stand at the fuzzy border of the empire’s legitimacy or its control of shipping lanes and its ability to influence events. This situation is clearest in the case of newly established bases that bring U.S. hegemony into new, frontier-like areas.*

However, many students of international relations agreed that the definition given by Harkavy. For Harkavy (2007: pp. 2-7) foreign military bases is defined as “an area on land or on sea beyond the sovereign state’s jurisdiction, which has a certain number of armed forces, military activities, organized institutions and facilities”.

##### **2.1.2 Brief History of Foreign Military Bases:**

Historically, “the use of military bases and the quest for strategic access outside home territories dates far back into the history of warfare” (Harkavy, 1982: 14). In another expression, the use of military power to access the foreign land is not a modern practice but it dates back to Greek city states, 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and also can be traced in the work of Thucydides in fifth century BC.

Similarly in the 15<sup>th</sup> century maritime empires expansionist managed to set up different trading post and oversea bases to consolidate their might and influence, aiming to secure their vital interests (Dos Santos Lersch and Sarti, 2014: pp84-85).

From the 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards with the two great wars World War the First (WWI) and World War the Second (WWII) fought, led to the accession of superpowers, United State America (USA) and the former USSR, which made the establishment of foreign military bases more acceptable. In the course of the Cold War, the functions of military bases were to promote nuclear deterrence and to expand worldwide communications and intelligence. Besides, new directions have been taken by the major powers since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The deepening struggle against terrorism has become central, especially after the 9/11 attacks. The United States (US) military has launched US-Africa Command (AFRICOM) to oversee operations on the African continent (ibid: pp86- 87).

Regarding the historical development of foreign military bases since the end of world war, Harkavy divides into three periods. The first one is, from 1919-1945 (interwar period). In this period Colonial powers used their colonies as a military arrangement and project their power towards their rivals basing their military. The second period is the early Post Second World War period (1945-1989), which was characterized by bipolar international order and ideology based confrontations between the two superpowers. The presence of foreign military forces on another sovereign soil becomes the mode of the day. The third period, since the end of cold war which is the most recent one and in this period many technological inventions were invented and the necessity for establishing foreign military bases became massive (Harkavy, 1989: pp. 4-5).

### **2.1.3 Typologies of Foreign Military Bases:**

Based on different criteria, there are various categories of the foreign military bases. For instance, according to the time interval, they can be classified as permanent and temporary; based on their functions, they can be classified into army bases, air bases, naval bases, logistic bases, communication bases, arsenal bases, etc. (Sun and Zoubir, 2011: 83). On the basis of contract, military base entails negotiation of two states in the realm of international law through Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA), or Status of Forces Agreements (SOFAs). Although the framework of the agreement is customized to the context; however, the generic nature of SOFAs,

including content, and its approval process mirrors the draft military base agreement that was recently presented to the houses of the parliament (Adam., 2017: 191).

Again based on the strategic purposes, foreign military bases are classified from the range of nuclear deterrence and defense scale of conventional conflicts or low intensity war to showing the flag and peacekeeping. Another way of looking at foreign, military base is by administrative status. The categories here run from area in sovereign territories, such as ex-colonies, to host nation sites at which foreign powers are provided access. It should be also noted that basing access been acquired in by conquest or colonization, by providing security or protection for the host via formal alliances or less formal arrangements that still imply protection or by tangible pro arrangements like security assistance, arms transfers, subsidies, or what amount to "rents" (Peterson, 2009: pp. 188-190).

Peterson (2009: 187) also categorizes military bases based on different levels. Under this division foreign military bases includes the intervention and occupation, proximate expeditionary force and other permanent installations, non-permanent deployed units, pre-positioning and access agreement, deployed units, joint or multilateral exercise, prepositioning and access agreement offshores of naval presence, offshore ready deployment capacity, mutual or multilateral treaties like the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO,) Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), arms and equipment transfer, technical facilities such as intelligence, space, communities, aircraft over flights, to support for revolutionary or irredentist movement like Cuba in Africa (ibid: 187).

#### **2.1.4 Purposes of Foreign Military Bases:**

Military base is a mechanism created to support the military operations whose role may vary from navy to land or air bases. The establishment of military bases is also directed towards attainment of national security objectives. These objectives are: collection of intelligence, supply chain support for certain operation, and communication needs. "If communication, intelligence, and logistical operations are assumed to cut across the different types of military bases, then the Naval and Airfield bases are the most prominent foreign military presence." In line with foreign policy goals foreign military bases are used for both defensive and offensive purposes (Adam, 2017: pp. 183-186).

Others scholars like dos Santos Lersch, and Sarti, (2014: pp.90-96), foreign military bases are used to secure national interest, maintain stability of region, deterrence, influence regions, control natural resource, markets and strategic positions, and fight against war on terror as well as for communication and intelligence programs. The major and most traditional use for military bases is hosting states' personnel during an operation, being a platform for military operations, and serving as location of test-ranging for weaponry as well as transport posts.

For Sun and Zoubir (2011: 83) “foreign military bases are an important means for states to project power, interfere in regional affairs, spread culture, safeguard overseas interests and enhance political influence. Many countries established foreign military bases to protect their respective vital interest.”

### **2.1.5 Contending Views on Foreign Military Bases:**

“Establishment of military bases politically, the presence of foreign forward forces appeals the attention of domestic, regional, and international controversies since it is operated in a foreign soil” (Adam, 2017: 191). The main controversial issue concerning military bases is its establishment in foreign states' territory, associated with the case of sovereignty. The idea of sovereignty formally became a principle in the Westphalia context. It represents the highest authority exerted by a legal state within its territory. Thus, state sovereignty is directly linked with the notion of borders and territory (Dos Santos Lersch. and Sarti; 2014, 88-89).

Again Adam (2017: 184) added that another argument besides to the above controversies regarding to the foreign military bases.

*A protagonist argument to the foreign military base claims that the presence of sophisticated military will enhance the attainment of national security objectives, thus leading to a global peace and security. This argument relies on offensive (deterrence) and defensive concepts in the realist tradition of international relations. On the other hand, antagonistic interpretation to this subject does not rule out the national security factor; however, it posits that establishment of military bases lead to potential arms race, and security dilemma in the region, which are other international relations theories to explain the subject in discussion.*

## **2.2 The Meaning and contending views on National/Regional Security:**

### **2.2.1 Brief Concept of Security and its evolution as a field of study:**

Even though security can be defined in different ways, it is the need for safety which entails certainty, stability, support, care, and freedom over a confined geographical area (Serowaniec, M and Bien-Kacala, A., 2016: 16). It is the state of mind that is resulted from the actions of inter-players especially political players. If such inter-players threaten the overall being of a society or a nation, they create insecure state or environment on the people. This is the state that needs security. Such reason makes a nation keep the security of the people that imposes uncertainties on the lives of the mass (Buzan, 1991, pp.432-433).

The traditionalists define security as “a freedom from any objective military threat to the state survival in an anarchic international system” (Šulovic, 2010: 2). Beyond this, the revisionist looks security by diversifying it. Having in mind the horizontally the concept of security includes the political, economic, societal and environmental which goes beyond the military related. Vertically, it covers individuals, social groups, humanity as a whole alongside state related concept. Following the end of the Cold War, which could also be referred to as milestone for diverse school of thought with security studies, the central point of the debate was a question on whether and how to broaden and deepen the security concept (Šulovic 2010: 2).

Security can have two dimensions. One is about related to a nation’s independence and territorial integrity. It is a matter of keeping secured the country or the region from those who have an interest to alter the whole situation against it. This is taken as external security which is materialized with military forces. On the other hand, all insecurities arisen from all actors within the nation refer to internal security. The occurrence of natural disaster, price fluctuation of different goods, private and government industries imposing on the market, actions of political parties; for example, are under this from of security There are also different types of security based on many point of dimensions like Political, military, economic, ecological, social ideological. Besides, cyber, information, telecommunication, energy, material, geographic, energy, food, work, public, consumer, and the like are among the specific subdivisions of security (Serowaniec, M. and Bień-Kacała, A., 2016, pp.19-21).

with regard to the evolution of security as a field of study, up to the end of cold war (1989) security studies were the substitute of strategic studies with a distinctive focus on the military

sector (Šulovic, 2010: 1). Security studies were excessively narrow and military related terms. However, the Copenhagen school of security study plays a vanguard role in contributing to the modern security studies, “which offered a quite innovative, original perspective on a broad spectrum of security issues, perceiving clearly that security dynamics could no longer be reduced only to the military-political relations of the two super powers, however important they might be” (ibid, 2010: 3).

Due to the multidimensional problems and the effects of globalization improvements on the concepts of security have been made beyond the military character in the post-cold war. Global problems, such as organized crime, terrorism, deterioration of the environment, disputes over natural resources, uncontrolled refugee flows, illegal immigration, poverty and famine have become risks for humanity which seem as important as the traditional military defense (Iglesias, 2011: pp. 1-2).

In short, the development of the study of national security issues has significantly related with various global events. for example, the emergence of national security studies in the 1940s is, resulted directly from the experience of the WWII, both in terms of a realization of the complexities associated with military mobilization, and out of a desire to alleviate the security dilemmas which had ultimately culminated in that catastrophic conflict. The commencement of the nuclear age in the 1950s gave the study of national security issues greater focus and impetus just as the Vietnam War experience of the late 1960s and 1970s and the ending of the Cold War in the late 1980s and early 1990s undermined its credibility. Generally broadening in the face of adversity to take on a host of new international and, increasingly, transnational security challenges (Taylor, 2012: pp. 14-15).

### **2.2.2 Meaning of National Security:**

Various scholars like (kuzustel, 2017; Grizold, 1994; Joseph, 2019; and the New Zealander, 2016) defined the concept of national security differently. For example for kuzustal (2017: 18) national security is defined as “freedom from threats posing a risk to the survival of a state which includes providing such fundamental elements such as territorial integrity, sovereignty, freedom to choose a political system, sufficient conditions for well-being and development of society”. Similarly for Girizold (1994) National security is defined as a state of security of the nation-state which comprises maintaining of sovereignty, territory integrity, air-space, protection

of the lives with the property of its population, and exercise of the basic functions of its society like the economic, political, cultural, ecological, social, etc. aspects (Grizold, 1994: pp. 41-45).

Moreover the New Zealander sees national security in an extended manner, in which it is the protection against potential and imminent threats to the state and its citizens from illegal acts as well as foreign meddling. This includes criminal movements that may cause serious harm to the country's economic security and international relations at large. At the same time this includes that may cause serious risk to the safety of a population of another country as a result of the prohibited acts by a New Zealander which are ideologically, religiously, politically motivated.<sup>3</sup>

For Joseph (2019) National security is understood as the internal and external security of the state, which consists of the sovereignty of the state, integrity of its territory, institutions and critical infrastructure, the protection of the democratic order of the State the protection of its citizens and residents against serious threats to their lives, health and human rights, the conduct and promotion of its foreign relations and commitment to the peaceful Coexistence of nations are key elements (Joseph, 2019: 17).

In short, there is no commonly known definition is given on national security but there are two schools of thought to it these are the old which known as the traditional security approach and the new which is said to be the contemporary perspective (Afolabi, 2015: 7) and here under is the brief review of these two approaches.

### **2.2.3 Contending Views on National Security:**

#### **2.2.3.1 The Traditionalist Perspective on National Security:**

The old school is also termed as the realist school interpretations of national security from militarist viewpoint which emphasis on management of threats using military responses (Afolabi, 2015: 7) which is developed utmost in the time of the Cold War (Degaut, 2015: 5). Sun Tzu, Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hans Morgenthau, Henry Kissinger, Frankel, Joseph Nye, Barry

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<sup>3</sup>Defining national security, department of the prime minister and cabinets (DPMC), 2016, Neazer land intelligence and security bill, <https://dpmc.govt.nz/our-programmes/national-security-and-intelligence/intelligence-and-security-act-2017/defining-national-security>

Buzan, Laswell, Walter Lippman, Hobbes, Kenneth Waltz are among the examples of proponents of the realist school writers.

Hans Morgenthau the cult exponents of realism developed the central doctrines of the conventional realism mainly in his famous book *Politics Among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace* where he insisted on the rationality of statesmen and their actions in terms of national interest, defined as the pursuit of power. To Morgenthau, security is a derivative of power (Degaut, 2015: 4). Furthermore, Morgenthau (1985:11) as cited in Bouruk (2002) contend that states struggle for power in a competitive manner; to put it in another way, interstate relations are simply defined as a struggle for power. This idea of a struggle for power is predicated on a common understanding of the concept of power. Morgenthau contended that “power may comprise anything that establishes and maintains the control of man over man. He also asserted that each state’s policies reflect both the struggle for power and an awareness of its own power position in relation to other states. For Morgenthau and for the realists in general, irrespective of its internal political make-up, or for that matter the individual personalities of its leaders and citizens, a state ceaselessly/constantly seeks to maximize its own power to guarantee its security.

Degaut, (2015: pp. 4-5) also described that, States, seen as unitary actors, were considered rational entities. Their national interests and policies would be driven by the desire for absolute power. Security was then seen as insurance or protection against invasion and it was based on the existence of technical and military capabilities. States must rely only on their own capabilities to protect their national security, what might eventually lead to more insecurity, due to a competition for power. In this paradigm, states would assess each other in terms of their power, resources and capabilities, not in terms of any variation that exists within states, regarding ideology, political system, culture, etc... Security was an objective value.

Traditionalists, “define security as a freedom from any objective military threat to the state survival in an anarchic international system” (Šulovic, 2010: 2). Traditionally, security revolves around state capacity and responsibility to protect from threats and achieve its interests. Under the anarchic and competent world power is very important to survive. It is a state centric notion which is considered as responsible to protect its citizens with maximum effort. This way, the security of the citizens from a country is guaranteed when the State own security. The state depends on military power to maintain its security and interest (Buzan, 1991: 2).

Traditionally, national security is focused upon the physical protection of states from military attacks by another state which is reflected in the express recognition of the “inherent right of individual or collective self-defense” in Article 51 of the United Nation (UN) Charter<sup>4</sup>. However, national security concerns have also diversified, which reflects more contemporary.

In line with the major weaknesses and strengths of the classical school of security, many scholars like Sulovic (2010), Grizold (1994), H. Ullman (1983), agreed on the weaknesses of the old perspective security rather than its strengths. For example Šulovic (2010) notes that, the weakness of the traditional security school of thought is associated with its narrow and limited room, only relies on definite entities like state and military. The insufficiency to address a wide area of security with the growing complexity of the international relations` agenda, namely with the rise of economic and environmental challenges count, emergence of the new security challenges, risks and threats, emergence of the new international relations` actors. Without distinctive criteria which separate a security issue from non-security issue, the concept of security is trivial and leaves only confusion behind (Šulovic, 2010: pp. 1- 3).

Similarly Ullman, R.H., (1983: 129) contends that defining of national security in a markedly delimited and armed way is bounded by major problems like disregarding further dangerous risks as well as inclusiveness of security issues. Again “it contributes to a pervasive militarization of international relations that in the long run can only increase global insecurity.” For Acharya (2011), as cited in Degaut (2015: 15) also criticizes that for its being confined, partial, selective and inefficient notion. Furthermore Acharya argued that “the security experience of the Third World has been greatly marginalized by mainstream scholars, who have adopted a Eurocentric view of conflict, despite the fact that it was in Third World countries that most world conflicts have occurred. The result has been that Security Studies pays insufficient attention to the intrastate conflict and to non-military sources of conflicts.”

### **2.1.3.2 The contemporary perspective on National Security:**

This perspective is emerged due to the narrow concept of the old paradigm (Deguat, 2015:8). Hence, different scholars of security argued that in an extended and diversified way and this tendency of modification was, as a matter of fact, initiated by a leading American

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<sup>4</sup> Adopted in 1945, San Francisco, USA.

Environmentalist named Lester Brown in a paper entitled “Redefining National Security” written in 1977 (Brown L.R., 1986).

Iglesias (2011) noted that this new view, claimed by the liberal political thinking, appeared in the concept of Collective Security. Iglesias also added that, under this model and during the 20th century, "alliances" were the main form of regional security and they originated Collective Defense with which a group of countries of similar ideology faced a common military threat. The failure of the League of Nations, the foundation of the United Nations is ready to overcome the notion of national security as it includes in its agenda non-military aspects (Iglesias, 2011: 1).

Nasu (2011) argued that, national security concerns have diversified, which reflects more contemporary, critical public concerns that pose greater threats to individuals and groups of people than restricting on the physical protection of a state's territory from military attacks by another state, which is old-fashioned (Nasu, 2011, 20). Others like Afolabi (2015) noted that, the new school has moved national security beyond military realm to include non-military factors. It maintains that old school conception of security cannot capture modern day security threats like hunger, unemployment, poverty, environmental humiliation and so on. National security can be seen as the totality of a nation's effort to protect and preserve the state, its institutions, lives and property and the well-being of its entire citizenry (Afolabi, 2015: 8).

Since the post-cold war, scholars of security like Buzan (1991) identifies five interconnected dimensions state of security termed as the multi-sectorial security concept. These are political, economic, military, social and environmental security (Buzan, 1991: 433). Political security is the other aspect of security which is defined as an “organizational stability of states, systems of government, and the ideologies that give them legitimacy (Buzan, 1991: 433.” For others like (Serowanec, M. and Bień-Kacała, A., 2016: 19) political security is defined as certainty and possibility of developing a political system in a country or group of countries with the stability of governments. For Møller (2000: 7) political security is all about the bond amid the country and ‘its’ people as well as the political matter of the global arena.

“Economic security concerns access to the resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power” Buzan (1991: 433). Economic security is linked to the protection of the economic development with effective resistance against internal and

external factors that hinder economic development (Serowaniec, M. and Bień-Kacała, A., 2016: 19). Economic security' may mean freedom from economic risks as well as threats and "Diversification and interdependence including integration" are among the methodologies to heighten economic security (Moller, 2000: 9).

For Buzan, "Military security concerns the two-level interplay of the armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states, and states' perceptions of each other's intentions (Buzan, 1991: 433)". For (Serowaniec, M. and Bień-Kacała, A., 2016: 19) military security is defined as the absence of military fears from outside and having military capacity in reacting military danger comes from outside.

"Societal security concerns the ability of societies to reproduce their traditional patterns of language, culture, association, and religious and national identity and custom within acceptable conditions for evolution" Buzan (1991: 433). Social security is linked to the preservation of the cultural values of a particular people living in a specified territory with the potentials of countering external pressures (Serowaniec, M. and Bień-Kacała, A., 2016: 20). Møller (2000: pp. 10-11) societal security is defined as '...the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats...' According to Buzan (1991:433) environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend. For Serowaniec, M. and Bień-Kacała, A., (2016: 20) environmental security is also known as ecological security which aims at preserving natural development in balance at preserving natural development in balance for current and future generations. The problem in the horn region is analyzed based on the multi-sectorial concept of security.

With regard to the major strengths and weaknesses of the new security paradigm, researchers like Šulovic (2010: 5) notes that the major strength of the modern school of thought is related with "multi-sectorial approach to the research on security." He also contends that the broader range of security which covers a wide area with many other referent security entities beyond the military and state makes the modern school as an advanced than the old. However writers like Grizold (1994: 38) argues that the modern security theory is flawed and problematic concept in which:

*It is a complex of ingredients, embracing various areas of social life (economy, politics, social welfare, health, education, culture, ecology, military affairs, etc.), and that modern (national and international) security can be effectively ensured only if the concept of security is considered in all its complexity. Furthermore he added that, the problem of security both in classic as well as in modern socio-political thought has been mainly dealt with either too partially or too generally. Consequently, the concept of security in its entirety has not yet been delineated.*

## **2.2.4 Meaning and contending views on of Regional Security:**

### **2.2.4.1 The Meaning of Regional Security:**

“Regionalism is a state-led process of integration in various policy arenas,” (HaanuSantini, R., 2017: 95). Historically, since the mid-1980s there has been an explosion of various forms of regionalist projects on a global scale. Today’s regionalism is closely linked with the shifting nature of global politics and the intensification of globalization. Regionalism is characterized by the involvement of almost all governments in the world, but the regional phenomenon also involves a rich variety of non-state actors, resulting in varieties of formal and informal regional governance and regional networks in most issue areas (Söderbaum, F. and Hettne, B., 2010: 2).

Regional security has a long tradition in international relations and is understood as effectively implemented protection of the system of mutual relations between countries in the region against the threats of instability, crises, armed conflicts and regional wars.” Most frequently, security at the regional level is built based upon a system or an alliance operating within the defined region, and “regional security institutions are often, but not always, established on the basis of geographical boundaries of the region, at the interface of functional cooperation” (kuzustel, 2017, 19).

These main threats to security in the regional context are identical to the catalogue based on the guidelines of many of contemporary security strategies. They attach particular importance to the elements of threats such as the possibility of the outbreak of a war, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and means of their delivery, international terrorism, organized crime, uncontrolled migration, social tensions, environment disasters, corruption, epidemics or demographic threats associated with low population growth and aging of populations in the states of a given region (ibid, 2017: 19).

#### **2.2.4.2 Perspectives on Regional Security:**

The plethora theories of international relations describe for regional security from their own perspectives. However the realism and liberalism are chosen for the sake of brief understanding of the concept of regional security. According to the proponents of realistic school like Hobbes, Machiavelli, Rousseau, Hans Morgenthau, E. H. Carr, Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer (Lin, L., 2011: 8). A nation-state is the main and basically the only actual subject of international relations. These relations are characteristically disordered: no greater authority exists in their sphere than sovereign states. Therefore, security here is very state-based: states are themselves responsible for ensuring their own security, and its main measure is the individual strength, determinants of which include geographical factors, the economic power, military competences since states have contrary interests and competition even within a given region. In this approach, the competition for maximum power results in states' persistent search towards ensuring security and maximum buildup of forces at the separate level (kuzustel, 2017: 22).

On the other hand for liberalists the concept of regional security carried out within the framework of different alliance configurations closely correspond to liberal theories, especially the theory of collective security. The idea of collective security, as a rule, obliges all participants of the system to oppose any attack on any member of the community. Another important element of liberalist is the theory of democratic peace presuming that democratic states do not conduct wars with each other but create social ties and economic interdependence. Democratic states are peacefully oriented, interested in collaboration instead of moving to wars. Democratic states prefer diplomatic approach during disaster time by relying more on discussions to maintain the status quo (ibid: 23).

For Lin (2011) neo-liberal institutionalism is considered by many scholars to present the most convincing challenge to realist and neorealist thinking. Neo-liberal institutionalism considers security as a goal that can be best achieved through interdependence/cooperation, institutions/regimes and democratic peace. Besides states, liberalists also focus on other important actors (Lin, L., 2011: 10).

The element of Liberalism focuses more on the pattern of amity depending on cooperation and the formations of institutions in order to maximize security, which is the common interest of the units within the region, or the external units interacting with the region. That security is a

common interest, according to the perspective of Liberalism, showed that there is “security interdependence” within the units (Pratama, C.P.,2013: 87).

### **2.3 The Link between Foreign Military Bases and Regional/National Security:**

According to Kuzustel (2017: 18) and Grizold (1994: pp. 41-45) national security is defined as “freedom from threats posing a risk to the survival of a state which comprises maintaining of sovereignty, territory integrity, air-space, protection of the lives with the property of its population, and exercise of the basic functions of its society like the economic, political, cultural, ecological, social, etc. aspects. Regional security is also defense of the system of shared interactions among states in the region against the insecurity, emergencies, armed conflicts and regional wars. On the other hand, Dos Santos Lersch and Sarti (2014: pp84-85) notes the use of military power to access the foreign land is mainly aimed at securing of vital interests (Dos Santos Lersch and Sarti, 2014: pp84-85).

The establishment of military bases is mainly directed towards attainment of national security objectives (Adam, 2017: pp. 183-186). Dos Santos Lersch and Sarti, (2014: pp.90-96), also argues foreign military bases are used to secure national interest, maintain stability of region, deterrence, influence regions, control natural resource, markets and strategic positions, and fight against anti-peace elements like terrorism and piracy as well as for communication and intelligence programs. For Sun and Zoubir (2011) many countries established foreign military bases to protect their respective vital interest (Sun and Zoubir, 2011: 83). Hence, foreign military bases are tools of achieving security interests.

Adam (2017) contends when an international or regional system faces security dilemma, they are operating in a condition in which efforts to improve national security have the effect of appearing to threaten other states, thereby provoking military countermoves, these countermoves can possibly lead into a net decrease in security for all states. Any military build-up or additional layer of security arrangements made by a state provokes the rest in the region. At the same time the host nations also allow forward of foreign powers for various reasons, including economic package, political support, and common security agreement are among others. Since national security is paramount to the survival of any state, the military base is, therefore, served as a bridge of this security space in such a way that satisfies security interests (Adam, 2017: PP.183-191).

### **Summary:**

Foreign military bases are defined as “an area on land or on sea beyond the sovereign state’s jurisdiction, which has a certain number of armed forces, military activities, organized institutions and facilities”. Historically the objective of military base varies from time to time. For instance it was instrument of power projection during ancient time, accession of power during the two world wars, for deterrence and containment purposes in the course of the cold war and to struggle against terrorism since recent time.

The establishment of military bases is also directed towards attainment of national security interest. Hence, military bases and security issues are related since military bases are mainly established for protecting and achieving security interests. Even though security can be defined in different way is the need for safety which entails certainty, stability, support, care, and freedom over a confined geographical area. Under the concept of security there are various referent objects but the state is the main referent object. The traditional and the modern perspectives are the two security schools of thoughts. The traditional school of thought looks for security narrowly which is mainly linked with military and state whereas since the post-cold war, the new security concept sees it through multi dimensions of security called multi-sectorial security concept encompasses political, economic, military, social as well as environmental.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Makeup of the Horn of Africa**

#### **3.1 Geostrategic relevance of the Horn of Africa region:**

##### **3.1.1 Constituency of the Horn region:**

The Horn of Africa is situated in the eastern part of the Africa continent which is one of the most dynamic and contested regions in the international landscape (Van de Giessen, E., 2011, 2011: 25; Humanitarian Development Program; 2017: 10). There is no agreement among scholars about which countries are included in the Horn of Africa region. However, different scholars delineate the Horn region by using their own parameters. Some defined it narrowly while others broadly. For instance, scholars like Mesfin (2004) as cited in (Gashaw and Zelalem: 2018: 789) used three different criteria to define the region. The first principle is to include those countries which surround Ethiopia in the region, as Ethiopia is the epicenter of the region. The Second condition even which is used by many other scholars including Demessie (2014: 18) is rely on the countries which adjoined the Horn region exactly. Based on this Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti are considered as Horn region countries. Third, countries which have border with the core Horn of Africa countries. Accordingly, Kenya, Sudan and south Sudan are incorporated as part and parcel of the Horn region (Gashaw and Zelalem, 2016: 788).

In addition to the above three views, scholars like Healy (2011: viii) use simply the member countries of the IGAD as reference point to define the Horn of Africa. Based on this, the Horn of Africa includes Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda. In a broader definition, others scholars like Khadiagala (2008: 1) called the Horn region as Eastern Africa signifies the geographical area comprising Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda and Tanzania. Furthermore on the basis of various written materials like (Humanitarian Development Program, 2017: 16) described the Horn region in a broader definition by including Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania to be called as Greater Horn of Africa.

However, for the purpose of the study members countries of IGAD are chosen as countries of the Horn of Africa region. Plus the self-declared state of Somaliland is also added in order to assess the region in detail with respect to the foreign military bases. The main reason why these countries are chosen is due to the presence of military bases and the various common traits in the region.

### **3.1.2 Features of the Horn Region:**

Based on the IGAD's report in 2016, demographically, the region has a population of over 230 million people characterized by high natural population growth rates. The average population density is about 30 persons per km square<sup>5</sup> with vast expanses of territory coverage provide a sizeable market, which has the potential to attract both domestic and foreign investors.<sup>6</sup>

Economically, agriculture and livestock remain the main component of the economies of the countries in terms of their contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP), employment and income. The agricultural sector has a significant contribution to make to the economic development of the region. The contribution of the environmental resources to the IGAD economy is massive. Beside to the agricultural sector the other environmental income contributions to the economy come from tourism based on IGAD's natural endowment of wildlife, mountains, rangelands, beaches, and coral reefs, as well as timber production from forests and fish catches from lakes, rivers, and the Indian Ocean (IGAD regional strategy, 2016 pp. 10-11).<sup>7</sup>

Countries in the Horn of Africa have weak economies which are mainly based on small holder farming and backward agriculture and suffer from food insecurity, recurrent drought and famine.<sup>8</sup> Depending on the availability and amount of rainfall, livelihoods of most people are based on farming or pastoralism (Van de Giessen, E., 2011: 34). The population that depends on subsistence economy with low employment opportunities put increasing pressure on the region (Assefa and Yemane, 2017: 164).

In short, “the economic mainstay of the region is agriculture, both livestock and crop production, which provides the basis for food supplies and export earnings, as well as employment for over 80 percent of the population. The contribution of industries to the respective national economies of the IGAD member States is about 15-20 percent, on

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<sup>5</sup><https://igad.int/documents/7-igad-state-of-the-region-v9/file>

<sup>6</sup><https://igad.int/about-us/the-igad-region,%20Saturday%20march,%202020>

<sup>7</sup><https://igad.int/documents/8-igad-rs-framework-final-v11/file>

<sup>8</sup><http://dehai.org/dehai/assets/dehai/2020/305574Ethiopia%20and%20the%20Horn.pdf>

average.’’<sup>9</sup>However, the land and environmental degradation are the most serious threats to the region as both affect its agricultural production and economic growth and at the time it becomes a fuel to the socio-economic and political tensions which in return cause conflicts.<sup>10</sup> Conflicts and wars also contributed for the Horn region to become a poor place in terms of economy (MealaT., 2011: 1).

The Horn region remains a geographical space known for many adversities including maritime piracy, forced migration and humanitarian crises which includes a large part of the problems of different forms of war - interstate, intra-state, by proxy in the continent (Ferras, P., 2013: pp. 49-50). It is also often associated with secessionist movements. Indeed, the region saw the emergence of two new states in recent decades. Eritrea became separated itself from Ethiopia and became independent in 1993. South Sudan seceded from Sudan and became independent in 2011 (Weber, 2017: 1).

### **3.1.3 The Geostrategic Relevance and Security Issues of the Horn Region:**

“Geographically, the term “the Horn of Africa” usually refers to the north eastern part of Africa surrounded by the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and which in the west extends to the western borders of the Sudan”(Demessie, 2014: 18). In another expression other writers like Dahir (2019) indicated that, geographically; the Horn of Africa is part of at least three other regions which are the main international trade sea lanes. These are the Indian Ocean, the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea. Besides he added that, the region is described as a bond to Middle East, Asia, Southern Africa, Europe & the rest of the World and a door to the oilfields of the Persian Gulf as well as many other minerals (Dahir A.H., 2019: pp. 5-6).

In another expression Solomon (2014: 4) also noted that, the Horn region is strategically significant mainly because of Red Sea, which connects the Western and the Eastern world, its proximity to the oil gifted Middle East and Blue Nile, the gate ways of Suez Canal and the strait of Bab el Mandeb. Scholars like Telci (2018: 4) also added that, three basic reasons in line with the strategic importance of the region. First, the region has been lying in coastlines of Gulf of Aden, Bab el- Mandeb, and the Red Sea, a route that is one of the most important passages for

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<sup>9</sup><https://igad.int/documents/7-igad-state-of-the-region-v9/file>

<sup>10</sup><https://igad.int/about-us/the-igad-region,%20Saturday%20march,%202020>

world naval trade. Second, the region is also considered as the most important entry point to African market by the leading countries of Asia and Middle East. Third, the substantial population of the region which consists of over 200 million people contributes for potential power base in securing their interests in global politics (Telci, 2018: 4). The region's geostrategic location also links Muslim and Christian Africa (Humanitarian Development Program; 2017: 2).

In history due to the geostrategic importance, the Horn of Africa has always been given security attention (De well, Alex, 2017: 4). In terms of security, the Horn is a conflict-stricken region which poses enormous constraints (Tewodros M., and Halellujahlie L., 2014: 7). The region's conflicts occur at several levels, including direct inter-state wars and intra-state armed conflicts and civil wars as well as inter-communal conflicts (Kidane, M., 2011: 9). For instance, in the course of the cold war era, the Horn of Africa was constantly affected by conflicts, ideological confrontations, territorial disputes, cross-border destabilization and continued militarization which was mainly a battleground between the United States and the former Soviet Union (Sharamo and Berouk, 2011: xii). As a result, the countries of the Horn have fought many proxy wars against each other by engaging in support for each other's insurgency movements (Kidane, M., 2011: 13).

With respect to the intra-state wars since 1980s in particular, the Horn region is a major theater of civil war and instabilities. For instance the region was devastated by conflict of the clan warfare in Somalia for more than three decades (Potgieter, 2008: 4), the conflict between the government and rebel forces in Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia (Humanitarian Development Program; 2017: 10). The Horn of Africa has also experienced more inter-state wars than any other region on the continent (Kidane, M., 2011). Some of the major recent inter-state conflicts in the region include the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict, Eritrea-Djibouti tension, Sudan-South Sudan conflict, Ethiopia-Somalia, Somalia-Somaliland and Somalia-Kenya. Kidane also added that, the war between Ethiopia and Somalia were the main inter-wars from the above mentioned conflicts which clashed for three times. These were the war between 1961 and 1967 as low intensity conflict, over the Ogaden problem between 1977 and 1978 and between 2006 and 2009 and Somalia become looked to have re-proven the country under the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), after the 15 years (Kidane, M., 2011: 10).

Border issues, legacy of colonialism, competition for regional hegemony and foreign involvement are among the contributory factors for the inter-state wars in the region (De Waal, 2017: 11). Besides Solomon (2014: 5) added that, the political antagonism and historical rivalry among its member states is also a cause for the tension that hugely affected the geopolitics of the region.

Moreover, Medhanye Tadesse (2018) notes, over the past two decades the Horn of Africa regained its geostrategic significance due to a number of reasons including piracy off the coast of Somalia, trans-border terrorism and the shift in the regional power structures and dynamics. The region particularly gained importance in the so-called “Global War on Terrorism” that the US and its allies launched following 9/11 terror attacks on the United States. This led to the establishment of the only U.S. military base in Africa, at Camp Lemonier in Djibouti in 2002. (Williams, P.D., 2011: 9).

As a result of the various wars and other anti-peace elements like terrorism, the Horn of Africa host to more than 40 percent of the world’s United Nations peacekeepers; more than 50 percent of the African Union (De Waal, A., 2017: 4). The presence of more than four United Nations and African Union peace support operation with more than 50,000 troops in the region mainly in Darfur-Sudan, Abyei, Somalia, South Sudan, hundreds of Qatari military observers on the Djibouti-Eritrea Border and thousands of western military forces on the Djibouti, emphasizes the peace and security challenges afflicting the IGAD region. Terrorism has been source of grave threats to the IGAD region’s peace and development. Since 1993, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, South Sudan and Uganda have faced terrorist attacks by Harakat Al Shabaab Al Mujahidden (Al Shabaab) and the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) operating in Uganda and South Sudan.<sup>11</sup>

The Horn of Africa has recently once again becomes a contested region between international as well as regional actors. As a result, the region attract the attentions of the US, Europe, China, Russia, India, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Turkey, Israel, South Africa, and Egypt. These new relationships will potentially present new security challenges and opportunities to the region (Humanitarian Development Program; 2017: 2). There are currently about 10 foreign military bases in the region (Dahir A.H., 2019: 5). Therefore, the concern

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<sup>11</sup><https://igad.int/documents/8-igad-rs-framework-final-v11/file> accessed in

motivates the different actors to ensure sustainable peace and security in the region. The recent developments of establishing military bases of foreign powers in Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somaliland and Somalia are becoming issues of security concerns.

### **3.2. Security issues and the Geopolitical position of Ethiopia:**

Historically, the foundation of the state of Ethiopia is arguably traced back to the ancient Aksumite kingdom and it is among the earliest country in the world. Both with regard to size and location, Ethiopia is a very strategic country, being the largest in the Horn region and sharing borders with the other states of the Horn region (Møller, 2006: 47). The map of the Horn region shows that, Ethiopia is geographically situated at the center of the Horn of Africa which shares border with all the other countries in the region to east by Djibouti (349 km), in the south-east by Kenya (861 km), Eritrea (912 km), in the south-west by Somalia (1,600 km) both Sudan and South Sudan (1,606 km) (TewodrosM., and Halellujahlie L., 2014 pp. 8-9 and Berouk, 2012: 88).

Demographically, Ethiopia is a landlocked country with the total population estimated to be approximately 108 million, second only to Nigeria on the African continent (CIA, 2019). 87% of the total population lives in rural areas, 4% in peri-urban areas and 9% in urban areas (IOM, 2019, pp. 10-11).<sup>12</sup> Besides it contains with Christians and Muslims living in peace Africa's largest Muslim community (Berouk, 2012: 89). In his other paper work Berouk (2018) also noted that besides to the large geographic size, Ethiopia is strategically significant in the Horn region and it has always been allotted a relatively important position owing to its proximity to the Red Sea which is an important route to international trade and communications between Europe, the Middle East and the Far East. However, he also added that, this position has one significant disadvantage greater the number of states surrounding Ethiopia, the more deal with rainbow and often contradictory interests and claims neighboring states (Berouk, 2018: pp. 89-90).

#### **3.2.1 Security issues in Ethiopia:**

Ethiopia is an independent country and its history is known by intra- and inter-state conflicts. In its modern history, the country had to endure external aggression. Internally as well, it experienced acute political and economic contradictions. The constant nature of conflicts in Ethiopia could be explained by the chief characters of the Ethiopian state its practice of

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<sup>12</sup>[https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/dtm/east\\_and\\_horn\\_of\\_africa\\_dtm\\_201905.pdf](https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/dtm/east_and_horn_of_africa_dtm_201905.pdf)

exclusionary politics and the use of physical force to dominate the people of the country. Consequently, conflicts in Ethiopia have class, ethnic and regional dimensions.<sup>13</sup>

For the most part of its history of nation building process, Ethiopia has been characterized by centralized state power. However, the attempt of more centralized form of nation building strategy in Ethiopia led the country in to prolonged instability and war that brought about the current political system with the aim of accommodating the diversity of the country by organizing the country through ethno-linguistic federalism (Worku, 2006).

With respect to the intra-state war the country witnessed civil war among the Derg and other various insurgent groups (TewodrosM., and Halellujahlie L., 2014: 6). Among the most prominent were those against the Eritrea liberation movements, 1961–91; the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF), 1975–91; the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), 1974–78; the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), 1975– present; the Afar Liberation Front (ALF), 1975–97; and the Ogaden National Liberation Front, 1984–present (Kidane, M., 2011: 15). However, since 1991 Ethiopia shown comparative political stability, economic development and growth in Ethiopia (TewodrosM., and Halellujahlie L., 2014: 7).

The period 1991 is, a landmark in the Ethiopian history as it has ushered a multifaceted development and fundamental shift in policy orientation and development strategy. Since, the demise of the military rule, the nations and nationalities of Ethiopia have entered into a new phase of political economy accompanied by a new optimism for a multifaceted economic development, peace and democracy. This is also the guiding principle of its foreign policy objectives and direction. In recent decades, Ethiopia has become one of the world’s fastest-growing economies, and its GDP per capita has risen on an annual basis. The country, which was known among the outside world as the world’s most impoverished nation, where periodical drought and famine were claiming the lives of many citizens, has managed to attain faster economic growth (Assefa and Yemane, 2016; 167).

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<sup>13</sup><https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/13839/chapter%20one.pdf?sequence=1>

With respect to regional power, it is debatable who has a hegemonic position in the Horn of Africa. Some scholars like De Wel (2017: 17) argue that Ethiopia is potentially a hegemonic country due to the extremely ambitious state-led development strategy, which is closely integrated into its national security strategy. Kidist (2014: 3) also contends that, ‘‘Ethiopia is increasingly described as a regional power in the Horn of Africa, in consideration of its military and diplomatic power and demographic size. Ethiopia’s increasing engagement in regional peace and security issues further indicates that it has the will to lead and influence the region.’’ Berouk (2012: 88) also noted that Ethiopia is a country with hegemonic rank due to its vanguard role during crisis in the Horn region and geopolitical position irrespective of being it is a landlocked country.

Furthermore, (Assefa and Yemane, 2016: pp. 167-170) assert that, Ethiopia plays a role of regional power despite its economic constraints, though the Horn region lacks clear regional power for a long time in history but now Ethiopia is obviously the leading country in the Horn of Africa. Most countries of the Horn region are smaller and weaker except Sudan. The predominance of Ethiopia would be huge, both in terms of the territory (40% of the region’s area) and the population (85% of the total population in the region).

In sum, given Ethiopia’s relative stable politics at home, well established diplomatic ties, relative military strength and well recognized track record in its economic development, it could play a regional hegemonic position in the Horn of Africa.

### **3.2.2 Security policy and strategy of Ethiopia:**

Ethiopia’s 2002 ‘Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy’ identified poverty reduction as the center of its national security strategy. This has been described as an ‘economy first’ security strategy and also an ‘inside-out’ strategy, insofar as it builds upon an analysis of internal weaknesses before moving to external policies. Ethiopia’s policy of accelerated economic growth and achieving a ‘democratic developmental state’ is premised on the view that the country’s weakness is rooted in its poverty (De Wel, 2017: 13).

The foreign affairs and security policy of Ethiopia is formulated based on the Constitution of the country. As a result, according to Article 86 of the Constitution sub -article 1-3 deals about: (1) to promote policies of foreign relations based on the protection of national interests and respect

for the sovereignty of the country. (2) To promote mutual respect for national sovereignty and equality of states and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states. (3) To ensure that the foreign relation policies of the country are based on mutual interests and equality of states as well as that international agreement promote the interests of Ethiopia (Tewelde G., 2015: 88).

The fundamental national security objective of Ethiopia is all about building democracy and ensuring people-centered development. First and foremost, Ethiopian foreign affairs and security policy and strategy were developed to ensure national security, prosperity and sustainable peace. Second, the Ethiopian government acknowledges that reduction of the vulnerability which can be the main security threat like poverty and backwardness. Third, Ethiopia is known a home for many nations, nationalities and peoples and it has maintained a culture of religious tolerance and peaceful co-existence. Ethiopia's security policy and strategy towards the Horn countries is derived from the basic principles of Ethiopia's foreign relations. The Ethiopian government believes that any differences and dispute should be resolved through peaceful mechanisms and legal means (Goitom F., 2013: pp. 10-11).

Though the Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy (FANSPS) prioritizes domestic security over external threats and vulnerabilities; and domestic considerations over foreign policy (Mehari T., 2017), but it is also important to recognize that the lack of peace and stability in any of Ethiopia's neighbors adversely affects Ethiopia's security interests, and obstructs efforts to tackle the profound poverty. Ethiopia's security policy and strategy notes that, "As our political and economic vision becomes a reality, our neighbors will see that our vulnerability to external pressure will be reduced, and that, with greater resolution, we would be more capable in preventing conflict." (Goitom F., 2013: 12).

In short Ethiopia's regional engagement and foreign policy is based on its FANSPS, launched in 2002. Strengthening national efforts to overcome the dangers of conflict arising within and around the country's territories; building strong and peaceful relations within its neighbors based on interest of all parties.

With regard to the new revised foreign policy yet not public, a diplomat from the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs notes that, Ethiopia revises the old foreign policy and national security strategy. However, there is no major difference between the old and revised new foreign

policy of Ethiopia. It is revised to incorporate new events and phenomena like the increasing of the geopolitical significance of the Red Sea and the advent of globalization. Besides, the policy is revised to reflect general interest of the country simply reflecting Ethiopia's readiness for peace, development and cooperation instead of enumerating every detailed issue on the document.<sup>14</sup>

### **3.2.3 Role of Ethiopia to the peace and security of the Horn of Africa region:**

The government of Ethiopia strongly believes that ensuring national security and peace could be questionable unless supported in particular by the prevalence of regional peace and stability and by good relations and co-operations from the countries neighboring Ethiopia and other countries of the continent (Assefa and Yemane, 2016: 169). In this regard (Assefa and Yemane, 2016) states that Ethiopia values its partnership with western powers in the War on Terror. In particular, it cooperated with the western powers in combating the fundamentalist groups linked to Al-Qaeda. The significant contribution that Ethiopia has made in finding a lasting peaceful solution to the conflict between Sudan and South Sudan, the efforts launched to resolve peacefully the civil war in Darfur; its efforts towards consolidating its relations with regional and international organizations including the European Union (EU), the African Union (AU) and the IGAD were among the testimonies. The friendly relations and co-operations which Ethiopia has been building with various countries and international organizations around the world, based on mutual interest and benefit are getting expanded and strengthened from time to time in the last two decades. The country's diplomatic and political ties with many countries in the world are getting high places worldwide (ibid, 2016: 167).

Ethiopia plays a crucial role in the activity of supporting the efforts towards strengthening the capacity of IGAD to ensure peace and security, as well as political and economic cooperation. Ethiopia plays a key role in the security complex of the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia, which is located strategically and is the most populous country in the region, enjoys sufficient authority among the countries in this region. Addis Ababa is also an important international actor, especially with regard to combating international terrorism and extremism. It enjoys the backing of the EU and the U.S., with the latter considering it an ally and one of the four states crucial for the U.S. interests in Africa. Ethiopia aspires to play a leading role in major regional initiatives,

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<sup>14</sup> interview with diplomat in 2020 from Ethiopia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs

and undertakings aimed at stabilizing and integrating the region, and it takes an active part in peacekeeping and stabilizing missions (ibid).

## Chapter Four

### 4.1 The Foreign Military Bases in the Horn of Africa:

Ten foreign military base are already established in the Horn of Africa by various powers based on their hierarchical levels, though many of them are in Djibouti.<sup>15</sup> France secured military bases and large military training facilities in Djibouti (Sun and Zoubir, 2016: 113). German personnel are also based in the French facilities since 2001. Similarly Britain maintains a small number of military personnel at Camp Lemonnier, in order to communicate with the US forces in the Horn of Africa (Melvin, 2019: pp. 7-19). The Japan Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) established a military base in Djibouti in 2011. China also established its first overseas military base in the tiny Red Sea nation of Djibouti in 2017 (Dahir, 2019: 8). India has already concluded military logistics agreements with the USA and France for access to their military bases in the Indian Ocean (Melvin, 2019: 8). Russia fortified a military base in Eritrea in 2018 with preparation to set up a second base in Sudan.<sup>16</sup> Based on this it can be inferred that, except Russia most of the great powers are based in Djibouti. But the question is why in Djibouti?

Geographically, the Republic of Djibouti is found in the Horn of Africa, in a strategic area near the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea, which means access to the Indian Ocean (Lerch and sarti, 2014: 120), covers 23,000 km<sup>2</sup> and has a population estimated at 800,000 (Ferras; 2015). In terms of size Djibouti is a small country in the Horn of Africa. It has insignificant natural resources with inadequate arable soil and water spring scarcity. Djibouti is also mostly relying on foreign powers for financial support. Djibouti generates its revenue largely from its harbor, the different military bases, and Ethiopia (Borowicz, 2017: pp. 1-2).

Styan (2013: pp. 3-4) described four determinant factors as a fertile ground which pave the way for Djibouti's strategic opportunities since the past two decades. The first reason is associated with succession of Eritrea from Ethiopia in 1991 and the protracted war conducted between the

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<sup>15</sup>Ani (2019),Implications of foreign bases on the Horn of Africa's stability

<https://tanaforum.org/implications-of-foreign-bases-on-the-horn-of-africas-stability/>

<sup>16</sup> ibid

two countries in 1998–2000. This incidence made Ethiopia to stop any service via Eritrean ports and depend more on Djibouti's outlets. Secondly, Ethiopia's fast economic growth under EPRDF regime supported Djibouti to maintain its economy and autonomy in a meticulous manner in line with Ethiopia. The third facilitator that altered the country's strategic relevance is the wider disturbances and anarchism of the Horn of Africa region, particularly in the post 9/11 terrorist attacks. The last but not the least reason is the multifarious linkages between multilateral military operations and anti-piracy dealings in the Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean. As a result, Djibouti has become a workroom for military and naval teamwork between NATO and EU forces (Styan, 2013: pp. 3-4).

#### **4.1.1 Military Bases by Super Powers:**

In terms of power position, power of the world could be divided in to three ranks mainly, super powers, great powers and regional powers (Buzan and Waever, 2003: 34). Those countries which are categorized as super powers, according to Buzan and Waever possess, first class military political proficiencies as well as economic strengthens to back such capabilities. Besides both scholars added that, the super powers are actively engaged in the securitization and de-securitization courses in regional orders. In the post- WWII, two countries, the US and Soviet Russia remained super powers whereas the U.S becomes the only super power following the end of Cold War (Buzan and Waever, 2003: pp. 34-35).

**4.1.1.1 The United States of America:** -The US becomes a principal country in the Horn of African region after the disintegration of the former Soviet Union and end of the socialist block (Dahir, A.H., 2019: 11). Moreover, the United States' has established its military base in Djibouti in 2002 which is known as the United States' Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) later changed in to Africa Command (AFRICOM) in 2008, at Camp Lemonnier, former French military facility, and Djibouti's international airport, Ambouli (Styan, 2013: 9).

The US base in Djibouti can be described as a very comprehensive and extensive one which encompasses all military units with a highly equipped troops and advanced military technologies including F-15E and F-16 combat planes as well as air tankers are distributed to Camp Lemonnier for the purpose of checking problems in South Sudan and Yemen (Melvin, 2019: 21). Besides it is the biggest military foreign base with largest payment fee (Borowicz, 2017: 56)

which houses above 4000 U.S. staff workers and renewed for twenty-year contract in 2014 with \$63 million every year. For the purpose of more utilization on the Djibouti's harbor and airport services, after the lease agreement, the US stretches the base to 590 acres (Vertin, 2019: 14).

The geopolitical and security concerns of the Horn of African region are the main reasons for the US placement in Djibouti. This is for the purpose of keeping the very strategic global sea lanes like the Bab al-mandeb, providing of logistical assistances to the battle in Gulf, in fighting antiterrorism, combating sea robbers and any other anti-peace elements. To conduct people to people diplomacy, enabling collaboration with the existing plus the possible Western and African partners is among the other additional driven factors (Sun and Zoubir, 2016: 115).

Particularly the 1995 the failed assassination attempt on Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak in Ethiopia (Styan, 2013: 10), the terrorist bombardments of the of American embassies in various countries like in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1998, the assaults on the USS Cole in 2000, the September 11th attacks, the Darfur Conflict, Somali civil war, piracy in the Gulf of Aden, terrorism in Somalia and Yemen are among the specific contributory factors which makes the US to establish a sole ever-lasing military base in Djibouti (Dahir, 2019: 11). As a result, in the Horn of Africa region, Djibouti becomes increased its focal relevance by the United States military policy for the extension of its power (Sun, and Zoubir, 2016: 112) and Djibouti performs the heart for logistical center of the US and its partner's maneuvers in the Horn of African region and the Arabian Peninsula as well (Styan, 2013: 4), mainly after the incidence of the 9/11 (Dos Santos Lersch and Sarti, 2014: 120).

At the beginning the purpose of the US base in Djibouti was opened for anti-peace elements in the Horn region like terrorism (Vertin, 2019: 14) and management imminent security fears to the US diplomatic staffs out of the country mainly who work in various US embassies (Borowicz, 2017: 27). But since 2018, the objective of the base extends beyond the initial objective which is aimed at maintaining of the US hegemony through containment of the china and Russia, unveiled during the trump leadership as a new program of the US (Dahir, 2019: 11).

#### **4.1.2 Military Bases by Great Powers:**

Buzan and Waever (2003: pp. 35-37) describes “achieving great power status is less demanding in terms of both capability and behavior. Great powers need not necessarily have big capabilities in all sectors, and they need not be actively present in the securitization processes of all areas of the international system.” Again both writers added that Great powers are in between super and regional power mostly which are in the order of global power and with some degree of military capability task. During the Cold War it was held by China, Germany, and Japan, with Britain and France coming increasingly into doubt. After the Cold War it was held by Britain, France, Germany-EU, Japan, China, and Russia. India is knocking loudly on the door.

**4.1.2.1 France:** - The establishment of huge military base in Djibouti by France (Sun and Zoubir, 2016: 113) is associated with the colonial historical background of the two countries and France signed a military treaty to defend Djibouti, since the independence of Djibouti in 1977, from external attacks which was updated in 2011 (Styan, 2013: 11). Now in addition to the USD 10 million for local military spending and about USD 25 million for economic assistance, France pays about USD 34 million per year rent fee to Djibouti for its military activities (Borowicz, 2017: 26).

The military base of France in Djibouti can be described as Djibouti, Categories of Military Presence Permanent military bases, Troops Military Components 2900 troops, 2 regiments; 1 transport aircraft; 10 combat aircraft; 10 helicopters; 1 maritime patrol aircraft (Sun & Zoubir, 2011: 84) with the current personnel level of 1450 the minimum stipulated in the 2011 treaty (Melvin, 2019: 6). 10-year base lease and defense treaty renewed in 2011 for 30 million euros per year and the base remains one of the largest overseas French bases with the capacity of hosting other European troops partnering in anti-piracy efforts (Vertin, 2019: 14).

With regard to the objectives of the, Melvin (2019) noted that, the French naval base and the Forces Françaises à Djibouti (FFDJ) plays multipurpose. For instance providing logistical role in supporting French and allied navies in the Horn of Africa region in the case of a crisis, to involve in the EU’s anti-piracy mission, EU Naval Force Atalanta (EUNAVFOR, Operation Atalanta), supporting the work of EU and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), to send its nuclear attack submarines for the protection of maritime vessels like the Indian Ocean and the Middle East, to supports French participation in multilateral military missions (UN and EU) and bilateral

operations, a standby force responds offers protection to French nationals in its area of permanent responsibility to defend of Djibouti territory and airspace in accordance with the defense cooperation treaty (Melvin, 2019: 6).

France is also now engaged in greater cooperation with US and other forces, partly reflecting its full reintegration into NATO's command structure since 2009 and its participation in multilateral forces, including in Afghanistan. In July 2012 a five-year agreement was signed between France and the United States to enhance aerial logistical cooperation between their forces in Djibouti. Both forces regularly report publicly on joint missions in and beyond the country (Styan, 2013: 11).

**4.1.2.2 Germany, United Kingdom, Spain and Italy:** - In addition to France mainly since the 2001, for the purpose of counterterrorism and other criminal activities in the Horn region as part of Operation Enduring Freedom, very few personnel from various part of Europe like the German with a contingent of 30-80, the United Kingdom and Spain are based in the French's base (Melvin, 2019: pp. 7-19). Similarly Italy, member country of NATO with 300 personnel is also taken part militarily in the Horn region mainly basing at Djibouti (Vertin, 2019: 15).

**4.1.2.3 Japan:** - For the first time as of the post-World War the second, the Japan Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) opened a perpetual military base in Djibouti in 2011 for the contribution of global anti-piracy cases (Melvin, 2019: 10). Furthermore Vertin (2019) also notes, Japan concluded an agreement in 2015 to have large land lease that is from 30 to 37 acres in Djibouti to develop its scopes on security issues by closing to Djibouti's airport and Camp Lemonnier with 600 personnel which costs \$40.1 million for its building (Vertin, 2019: 15).

However, over time mainly as of 2018, the purpose of the base has grown beyond the counter-piracy objectives mainly with an effort to balance China by increasing military cooperation with the Horn countries and USA in the region as part of new National Defense of Japan. Besides in the same year, Japan was informed to convey a kind of dialogue for the purpose of signing contracts with India on military issues in the Indo-Pacific region which would in return possibly helps India's right to use on Japan's base in Djibouti (Melvin, 2019: pp. 11-12).

**4.1.2.4 China:** - Historically, the governance of Chinese redefined a close relations with countries in the Horn of Africa from the time of the mid- 1990s motivated by economic

involvement mainly for resource utilization in the region (Dahir, 2019: 8). with regard to the china's military base in the Horn region, the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) base is established in Djibouti, in August 2017 (Melvin, 2019: 3) for the first time mainly for the purpose of the One Belt One Road (OBOR) project (Dahir, 2019: 8). The base is very large with 90-acre a very close to the Doraleh Multi-Purpose Port, which is functioned and backed by the governmental corporations of china with \$590 million investment; for a contract of quarter century (Vertin, 2019: 13). "The PLAN also deployed ships from its South Sea Fleet to the Djibouti base, which in essence is a heavily-militarized extension of the Doraleh Multi- Purpose Port" (Dahir, 2019: 10).

Chaziza (2018) describes, the geo-strategic and geo-economic securities are the two general pushing factors that contribute for china's decision to have a military base in Djibouti (Chaziza, 2018: 17). Furthermore Melvin (2019) notes, the base is opened for multipurpose like providing of logistical facilities during various anti-peace operations like piracy and terrorism as part of china's international security obligations, to withdraw Chinese citizens in time of crisis, to back the Chinese military for long-range power projection. Beside to this, the base is understood by the Chinese Administration as a means for the backup of China's economic national security objectives in the Horn of African region mainly to protect the OBOR initiative and leading navigational diplomacy. Forty-seven African countries including the Horn states have concluded Memos of Understanding with China during the 2018 Beijing summit on China Africa Cooperation on the Belt and Road Initiative advances. This in return brings of great power rivalry (Melvin, 2019: 3).

**4.1.2.5. India:** - Following to the china's opening of military bases in Djibouti in 2017, India informed that dialogues with Japan in 2018 and it already concluded military logistics agreements with the USA and France for access to their military bases in the Indian Ocean for the purpose of military logistics augment in the Indo-Pacific region and to get the Japan's facilities in Djibouti (Melvin, 2019: pp. 7-8).

**4.1.2.6. Russia:** - In 2008 Russia conducted against piracy movements in the Horn of African region single-handedly by sending numerically insignificant military personnel and warships, by retaining a temporary regional naval presence in the harbor of Djibouti and other sea outlets in the region (Melvin, 2019: 12). But as of the 2015, Russia concludes more than twenty bilateral

military collaboration treaties with African countries (Hedenskog, 2018). Above all Ani (2019) notes “Russia secured a military base in Eritrea in 2018 and is also planning to set up a second base in Sudan. Amidst all the bases in the region, Somaliland has also expressed interest in hosting British and Russian naval bases as part of its quest for revenue and international recognition.”<sup>17</sup>

Dahir (2019) contend that, the rebirth of Russia’s interaction and involvement in Africa in general and Horn region in particular is associated with the combination of political, economic, and geopolitical security purposes mainly in the decisive area of Gulf of Aden basin and the Red Sea region. For example the transactions of army weapon and utilization of resources in the region are among the current vital economic related interests whereas looking for a multi-polar global order and challenging of the unrestrained domination of the US and China in Africa is the main political interest which is stipulated under its long-term policy objective of Russia. Due to these factors the attention of Russia becomes highly attracted particularly in the Horn region and it projects its soft and hard power to achieve its objectives.

Furthermore, Hedenskog (2018) notes, the general objectives of Russia’s foreign policy beside to the arms trade and projection of power in Africa is that to get acceptance as a big power of the world, challenging of the United States and the Euro-Atlantic international security order, build up its position in the United Nations, to get hands from African countries and for diplomatic purpose in order to achieve support for the particular Russian interests such as takeover the province of Crimea (Hedenskog, 2018).

#### **4.1.3 Military Bases by Regional Powers:**

For Buzan and Waeber (2003), “Regional powers are look like great with high competence in their regions, but do not register much in a wide-ranging way at the world stage. Higher-level powers respond to them as if their influence and capability were mainly relevant to the securitization processes of a particular region.” Besides both writers justified themselves at higher position but they disqualified from the higher-level designs of system polarity. Regional

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<sup>17</sup>Ani (2019), Implications of foreign bases on the Horn of Africa’s stability,

<https://tanaforum.org/implications-of-foreign-bases-on-the-horn-of-africas-stability/>.

powers may of course get caught up in global power rivalries, as happened during the Cold War to Vietnam, Egypt, Iraq, and others. In that context, they may get treated as if they mattered to the global balance of power as, for example, during the Cold War when there were fears that escalations from Middle Eastern conflicts would trigger superpower confrontations (Buzan and Waever, 2003: 37).

In line with this, the security engagement of Middle Eastern and Gulf States in the Horn of Africa has undergone a steady evolution over the past decade (Melvin, 2019: 9). The Horn Africa and the Middle East are two regions but highly interconnected. The central part of these two regions, the Red Sea, is the main connector of the sub-regions. Thus, the interconnection of these two regions is multidimensional including; geographical, historical, economic, social and cultural. Above all the political and security condition of these regions is highly volatile, vulnerable, and unstable (Kidane, 2018: 86). The Middle Eastern and Gulf states have pursued ‘economic statecraft’, using strategic economic investments to achieve their political, military and economic aims in the region (Melvin, 2019: 13).

**4.1.3.1. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia:** - Mainly due to the war in Yemen the Saudi Arabia has markedly augmented its military presence in the Horn region (Melvin, 2019: 13). As a result the Djibouti, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) watches over to have a military facility in the small red sea nation, Djibouti, though it was unsuccessful agreement. After the failure of such diplomatic approaches with the leadership of Djibouti, the KSA decides to have military partnership with the United Arab Emirate (UAE) on the Eritrean coastlines. Besides, Riyadh is the pioneer country with regard to the effort to organize a multilateral forum on the both sides of the Red Sea countries as of 2018, even though highly criticized globally on a number of frontages for the its unpredictable participation in the Horn of African region (Vertin, 2019: 11).

Similarly Melvin (2019) reinforces that, now a day the KSA is pursuing to play a vanguard role in the novel multilateral security arrangements encompassing the two rims of the Red Sea to advance a progressive naval security purposes though it excludes Ethiopia and Eritrea. Afterward the desire of Saudi is an attempt to find a bolstered security partnership to have cooperative and collective navigational trainings between the Middle Eastern and the Horn countries but in return this could results in impeding to have a strong African regional security structure order (Melvin, 2019: 15).

**4.1.3.2. The United Arab Emirates:** -The UAE is another Gulf county that has grown its relations with Horn countries and decides to establish military bases in the littoral of the Red Sea region for various reasons. The combinations of economic and military objectives are among its main purposes which are designed as its policy areas. More specifically to support its military operations in the Yemeni civil war and in the long run countering of Iran are instances of UAE's interests (Melvin, 2019: 16).

As a result, after a military collaboration between the KSA and UAE is signed in 2015, the UAE have already established military base in Eritrea at the port of Asseb for a number of reasons. At this moment the base hosts a significant amount of Emirati naval, air, and ground forces comprising of warships, drones, fighter jets, helicopters, and protected ground units as well as a large military transport aircrafts (Vertin, 2019: pp. 2-3). As it is affirmed by the UN Monitoring Group, the transfer of military tools and exchange of military support with Eritrea, which is to the contrary of the international arms embargo on Eritrea in 2016, providing of military training and equipment to many of Yemeni counterterrorism personnel are the instances of the UAE'S involvement using its base opened in Asseb (Melvin, 2019: 17).

Similarly, the UAE has begun construction of a military facility at the port of Berbera in Somaliland to be finished in June 2019 to offer further capability for the UAE in the war in Yemen while also providing security for Somaliland's coastal waters and coastline, as well as the Berbera commercial port run by DP World. The UAE is reportedly training the Somaliland coastguard, police and security services as part of the base agreement. In 2017, Houthi rebels in Yemen threatened to attack the Berbera base (Melvin, 2019: 12-18). "Divers Marine Contracting (UAE) reportedly began construction of an adjacent military base for \$90 million in 2017; the 16-square mile facility has a 25-year lease and improvements have been made to the site's existing runways. As of December 2018, Somaliland officials acknowledged, however, that work on the naval base had yet to begin" (Vertin, 2019: 3).

Somaliland is unrecognized and self-proclaimed state from the motherland of the republic of Somali, emerging after the fall of Siad Barre government in 1991 and with the most stable democracies in the Horn region (Forti, 2011: 15). Possibly the Berbera port project is an appropriate allegory for Gulf countries' push to become permanent players in the Horn of Africa. The result in neighboring Djibouti due to the domestic contest inside the ruling faction over

resources forced DP World to quickly find another option that would allow it to continue pursuing its goals in east Africa. This led to a broader engagement in Somaliland that has also been complicated by local politics, and the construction of a nearby UAE military base. The project has been unexpectedly strengthened by regional dynamics centered on Ethiopia (Khan, 2018: 13).

**4.1.3.3. Turkey:** - As of September of 2017, Turkey already established largest military base in the capital city of Somalia called, Mogadishu (Abigail & Timothy, 2018: 3; Melvin, 2019: 14; Rossiter and Cannon, 2019: 2). In terms of the geographical and socio-political aspects the modern republic of Somalia can be seen as a kind of uniform people but with five major clans and highly divided. Now a day irrespective of the uniformity of the Somali people, Punt land is somewhat self-governing and Somaliland retains complete sovereignty from the federal state of Somalia, though still it is not internationally recognized state (Forti, 2011: 7).

The historical background with regard to the relationship between Turkey and Somalia was trace back towards the Ottoman Empire's presence in the Horn of African region. Again their relations become revived for large scale purpose since 2011 when Somalia is faced a lot from natural disasters like starvation and draught. After 2011, Turkey renew its tie with Somalia to help Somalia in the time of catastrophes which is an attempt mainly made by president Erdoğan under the name of 'The Tears of Somalia'. Mainly the visit of Somalia by Erdogan and his parents as well as very few higher governmental officials, at the time of Muslim holiday that is Ramadan makes such decision of Turkey exceptional (van den Berg &Meester, 2019: 5).

With regard to the issue of security, Turkey was take part in Somalia before the 2011, which is mainly related with the participation in the first UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I) and then in UNOSOM II in 1993. However, the current security objective of Turkey is very much broader than the earlier security engagements which include helping the main program of major global players like the US, UK and the UN that Somalia should return to its pre-civil war position and then making an attempt to recover the ruined Somali's public organizations during civil war as well as strengthen the Somali National Army (SNA) by providing assistance (Rossiter and Cannon, 2019: pp. 8-9).

In February 2009, Turkey approves to send naval troops to fight against piracy maneuvers in Somalia and merged to the Combined Joint Force (CTF) 151 for the first time. Subsequently in September 2017, Turkey established a military base in Somalia as part of its commitment and contribution for the global anti-piracy issues and to assist the SNA, though it is considered as a military training instead of an expected to be expanded above 4 km<sup>2</sup> with \$50 million expense for its building and provide lodgings for 1500 novices and over 200 Turkish military personnel are to be presented there (Melvin, 2019: 14).

Turkey's philanthropic and charitable deed on Somalia paves the way for ending the political deadlocks of the two countries. Subsequently, a military cooperation agreement was concluded, followed by trade and investment talks. But beyond the trade and military discussions, Turkey's arrival into the Africa mainly into Somalia must be further understood in the circumstances of the increasing of inter-imperialist competitions. Therefore, Turkey's entrance into Somalia is to compete with other imperialist rivals beside to its influence in Syria, Iraq, and Qatar. Again this gives an opportunity for Turkey to be either alliance of the American Western or to use Somalia as a buffer country to contain the Western imperialism. Furthermore this option, whatever it decides on, would lead Turkey to head towards Moscow and Beijing's ever expanding the One Belt One Road project (OBOR), using Somalia as an entry for rebirth of the Turkish imperialism in the perspective of mounting, global inter-imperialist contentions in the Horn of African region (Antonopoulos, and et al., 2017: 5).



**Picture one:** - the various foreign military bases in the Horn region

**Source:** <https://www.diis.dk/en/research/gulf-state-rivalries-in-the-horn-of-africa-time-a-red-sea-policy>

## **Chapter Five**

### **Security Implications of the Foreign Military Bases:**

#### **5.1 Introduction:**

Security is a very wide and contested issue as it is described under chapter two. This chapter considers from the five interconnected dimensions of security. These are political, economic, military, social and environmental security (Buzan, 1991: 433). So based on the definitions given in chapter two, the foreign military bases in the Horn African region could have political, economic, military, social and environmental implications.

#### **5.2 Political security implications:**

As it is described under chapter three, Sharamo and Berouk (2011) noted that, the political history of the Horn African region is highly disrupted as well as contested among the various competing external forces. For instance during the cold war there was a persistent militarization alongside with various conflicts, exacerbating ideological disputes, intensifying territorial confrontations, and trans-border insecurities (Sharamo and Berouk, 2011: xii). Once again the Horn African region has become a disputed region by international and regional players since recent times (Humanitarian Development Program, 2017: 2).

With regard to the foreign military bases in the Horn region various data reveals political security implications. To start from the political security opportunity, the data from the interviewee like the data from the interviewees show a potential of regional stability as a political security opportunity.

An expert from the IPSS contends that the foreign military bases in the region contributed a lot to the regional stability by curtailing the anti-peace elements like terrorism in the Red Sea area which is also helpful in reducing state failure. Second, the diversity of actors it somehow leads to the neutralization of each other's impact. This means whatever impacts of the military bases by the US poses the Horn region could be counterbalanced by China, Russia and vice versa.<sup>18</sup> Similarly another military official from the War College added that, security cooperation and

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<sup>18</sup>Interview with expert in 2020 at Addis Ababa University from IPSS

fighting Al-shabab as well as other criminal activities can be seen as political security opportunity.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, expert at Ethiopian based International Organization Center for dialogue Research and Cooperation contends the Horn of Africa from the beginning is a very troubled region and renowned for persistent conflict situations. Beside to the ongoing peace and security challenges in Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Djibouti as well as Kenya to some extent the external factors with regard to the foreign military bases create more problems to the security of the region<sup>20</sup>. Besides, a diplomat from the Ethiopia's ministry of foreign affair also argues that, having many more military bases in the Horn of Africa does not send a good political signal to the Horn region in general and Ethiopia in particular since it is an area of competition, tension and possible confrontation.<sup>21</sup>

Besides many writers like (Melvin, 2019; Dahir, 2019; Christian Ani, 2019; Abigail & Timothy, 2018; Khan, 2018; van den Berg and Meester, 2018; Medhanye, 2018; Gashaw and Zelalem, 2016; Kidane, 2018) and data from the interviewees shows that the augmentation of the oversea military bases mainly since recent time in the Horn of African region poses a big political security risk. The potential of destabilization and undermining of the sovereign rights and imposition of policy are among the political securities which are identified by this study.

First, the potential of destabilization is scrutinized through this paper works (Ani, 2019; Dahir, 2019; Abigel and Timothy, 208). Ani (2019) argues that, the establishment of foreign military bases by several competitor forces in the Horn of African region is the concern of the Horn countries that might head towards conflict.<sup>22</sup> Dahir (2019) adds the military presence of the global powers in the Horn region mainly the US would have the potential destabilization effect due to the rivalry among the giant world powers like the US, Russia and china to dominate the Horn of African region. Therefore in order to deter the Chinese and Russia and mainly the effort to check China's Silk Road project, the US administration authorizes \$60 billion credits to

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<sup>19</sup>Interview with military official in 2020 from ENDF at War colleague Office

<sup>20</sup> Interview with expert at Ethiopian based International Organization Center for dialogue Research and Cooperation in 2020 at Addis Ababa

<sup>21</sup>Interview with diplomat in 2020 from Ethiopia's Ministry of Foreign Affair

<sup>22</sup>Ani (2019), Implications of foreign military bases on the horn of Africa's stability,<https://tanaforum.org/implications-of-foreign-bases-on-the-horn-of-africas-stability/>

Middle East, Asia and Africa. This circumstance placed the region in to a battleground of the global forces which leads to the insecurity of the region (Dahir A.H., 2019: pp. 11-12).

For instance, Ani (2019) notes that, “the creation of military base in Djibouti, there were reported incidents that Chinese soldiers in their military base in the Gulf of Tadjoura were pointing lasers at U.S. aircraft landing at the US base in Camp Lemonnier.” He adds the appeal of Russia for having a base in Djibouti for the purpose of the war in Syria and being refused by the government of Djibouti, is another instance, though it lacks certainty whether Djibouti was influenced by the US and France or not.<sup>23</sup>

Besides Abigail & Timothy (2018) contend, the high involvement of the rising powers also adversely impacts the security system of the Horn of African region (Abigail & Timothy, 2018: 2). For instance the high competition and geopolitical battle between the indo- pacific countries in the Horn of African region contributes to the instabilities of the region. Particularly the introduction of the “One Belt One Road (OBOR)” initiative in 2013 made more difficult among relations between India–China beside to the US-China relations (Sen, 2016: 3).

Melvin (2019: pp. 12-14) and Khan (2018: 2) also agrees, the military presence and antipathy among the Middle Eastern countries mainly the growing GCC crisis and its extension to the Horn region with the spillover effects could transports security risk to the Horn region. In another expression the lining up between the two Arab comps, one ones side Qatar and Turkey and on the other side the Saudi Arabia, UAE and Egypt, contributed for the destruction and high militarization of the Horn region manly further intensified by variances on Iran and backed by the Yemeni war. This is manifested in Somalia, significantly impacted by the Qatari– Turkish and Saudi–UAE pressures which deteriorate the scheme of nation-building by exacerbating existing internal partitions. Besides the UAE’s building up of a military base in the de facto state of Somaliland, turn in to a major cause of strain among the officials of Somaliland and the administration of Mogadishu. An expert at Ethiopian based International Organization Center for dialogue Research and Cooperation, added that, whatever happens in Somalia it directly affects Ethiopia and Kenya, those who are directly neighboring states of Somalia. So, particularly the

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<sup>23</sup> ibid

coming of to Somalia mainly the competing Gulf state has direct impact on development in Ethiopia.<sup>24</sup>

Similarly, Abigail & Timothy (2018: 4) and Khan (2018: 13) added that, the spillover effect of the GCC problems to the Horn of Africa region particularly, the contract of the UAE and Somaliland on the port of Berbera invites Ethiopia to join the matter and further complicating the general political security situation of the region, since Berbera becomes an optional port. Besides Ani (2019) argues that, Eritrea's allowing of military base in Aseb to the Saudi's block for the purpose of the Yemeni war has its own implication mainly in weakening the overall upcoming interactions of the Horn African region countries. Because such kind of decision can be interpreted as Eritrea's involvement by siding the Saudi's coalition and opposing the camp of Iran and the Houthi insurgent groups. The same thing works to the other Horn African countries in identify themselves either groups.<sup>25</sup>

Abigail K. & Timothy M. (2018: 5) contend that, “the Gulf power politics in the Horn have revived an intense cross-border water conflict on the Nile River conflict would contribute for the Potential of conflict over GERD (Grand Ethiopia Renaissance Dam).” Egypt takes advantage on the Sudanese-Turkish-Qatari partnership to renew its interest to fight over the Nile River, mainly the GERD project and to fight against Sudan, since they have a borer problem. A key informant from the IGAD Security Sector program also added that, Egypt is trying to establish a military base in Somali land and this is mainly to destabilize Ethiopia, Egypt has been working strongly for centuries to destabilize Ethiopia to secure the flow of the Nile water. Particularly this moment is high time because Ethiopia is engaged on GERD. So Ethiopia is in a very serious problem with Egypt currently. Therefore, for this reason the various powers in the Horn region on one way or another fought to meet their national interest working and affecting the political situation of Ethiopia.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Interview with expert at Ethiopian based International Organization Center for dialogue Research and Cooperation in 2020 at Addis Ababa

<sup>25</sup>Ani (2019),Implications of foreign military bases on the horn of Africa's stability, <https://tanaforum.org/implications-of-foreign-bases-on-the-horn-of-africas-stability/>

<sup>26</sup> Interview with a key informant from the IGAD Security sector program, in 2020 at Bole

Furthermore an expert from the IPSS contends any threat coming from Egypt will be a significant to Ethiopia's future. Egypt already established the 5<sup>th</sup> fleet which is part of the Red Sea; though it does not have a military base. So it is an additional threat to Ethiopia. Besides to the threat comes from Egypt, the Gulf military base mainly the UAE in Eritrea is a very danger for Ethiopia, which may lead to the use of drones and air bombardments by dispatch from Asseb. So that Ethiopia's national security will be severely infringed. Mainly it will be sever if Ethiopia does not have some form of negotiation with these powers and naval presence.<sup>27</sup>

A key informant from IGAD Security Sector Program also argues the Horn of African region is highly affected by the competitive foreign powers mainly who have military bases in the Horn region. Countries in Horn of Africa are also in a competition to have patronage and friendship relations with those foreign powers. Therefore the competition one way or another way affects the Horn region in general to Ethiopia in particular. For instance, the free movement of states on the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden is highly surveyed under surveillance.<sup>28</sup> Similarly another expert from the IPSS shares, the proliferation of military bases in the region could provoke a politics of my enemy's enemy is my friend in the countries of the sub-region. Hence, this could undermine stability of the countries of the sub region.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, Kidane M., (2011: 13) argues "threats of proxy wars with in the Horn countries could be worst scenario"

Beside to the ideological conflicts among the foreign powers, the Humanitarian Development Program (2017) also indicates that, the discharges of a lot of money to the region by the foreign powers will make the region a political bazaar and divided one which could harmfully impacted the peaceful interaction of the states. Furthermore, the foreign forces can be busy in making the Horn region weapon marketing and in return such actions could contribute to the weapon trafficking, other illegal activities, aggravates the existed tribal and various conflicts within and outside (Humanitarian Development program, 2017: 3). Furthermore Kidane (2018: 109) suggests "unless these implications are managed, the Horn will enter into a vicious circle of instability."

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<sup>27</sup>Interview with expert in 2020 from IPSS at Addis Ababa university

<sup>28</sup>Interview with an authority from the IGAD Security sector program, in 2020 at Bole

<sup>29</sup>Interview with expert in 2020 from IPSS at Addis Ababa University

Moreover, a diplomat from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs argues that, the presence of the military presence with the possible confrontation whether they fought over trade or for dominance is difficult to calculate the damage. The possibility of devastating impacts affect to the national security of Ethiopia, the entire region and world as well. In this case Ethiopia alone can do nothing, but collective voices with the other countries of the Horn region could be the possible option to minimize the possible cost.<sup>30</sup>

Secondly, undermining of the sovereign rights and imposition of policies over the Horn countries is the other political security risk uncovered by this study (Medhanye, 2018; Melvin 2019; Gashaw and Zelalem, 2018). Medhanye Tadesse (2018) notes the foreign military bases in the Red Sea poses undermining of the sovereign rights of the Horn countries. Particularly the US and its companion's involvement in the Horn region is to contain China's military existence as well as to secure their national interests in the region. To achieve this, the US decides to antedate Eritrea to serve as defense area. The reconciliation between Eritrea and Ethiopia is since recent time, the transformation done in Sudan among its leaders, the lifting isolation status of Eritrea, the latest US diplomats' interference in the national issues of Ethiopia during the political violence in Ethiopia on Ethiopian Peoples Revolution Democratic Front (EPRDF) led, warnings to al-Bashir of Sudan not to try to ready for office in the next term vote, the US's stress on IGAD leaders not to host Riak Machar of South Sudan are among the examples that shows among the involvements of the US in the Horn region. For Medhanye T., (2018) this is called the "end of an independent and nationalist policy".

Similarly Melvin (2019: 7) also added that, in 2019, a variety of external actors sought to influence the political transition in Sudan following the removal of the regime of President Omar al-Bashir. The USA led coalition sought influence on the transitional military government through the possible removal of Sudan from the US list of state sponsors of terrorism and issued statements in backing of the transitional military council. Then key figures in the transitional council have close ties to GCC states and the council shows a quick accepting to issue a statement. The UAE led coalition also offered \$3 billion in aid to Sudan, mainly to contain Turkey. On the other side, Turkey and Russia were also interested to back the regime of al-Bashir was in order to struggle with Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the UAE and for the purposes of

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<sup>30</sup>Interview with an Ambassador at the Ethiopia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Office

sustaining dealings with Sudan for the purpose of securing navigational services in Sudanese port respectively. For this matter the Eritrea alleged Turkey, Qatar and Sudan for the ‘random piloting deeds of attempt to block the peace process.

An expert at Ethiopian based International Organization Center for dialogue Research and Cooperation contends many of the military bases established in the Red Sea are with divergent interests which could leads to dictate terms. This might be also create the possibility of challenge to Horn region in dealing with the divergent, asymmetrical, and different interesting groups. The same applies for Ethiopia unless Ethiopia is strived in dealing with these various powers diplomatically.<sup>31</sup> Similarly Gashaw and Zelalem (2016: 797) argue the foreign military bases pose security risks to the Horn region mainly due to the contradictory political ideologies which contributed to the playfield of various external forces. Particularly, this risk is likely to continue so far as the US and China would have incompatible interests. In this regard, the global powers would possibly challenge to the Horn of African counties in general and Ethiopia in particular in designing and implementing their own independent policies.

Moreover, Melvin (2019) and expert from IPSS shares, the foreign powers in the domestic affairs of the Horn countries weakness regional organizations, such as IGAD, as the regional and great powers tend to bilateral relationships region is an additional problem to the Horn African countries.<sup>32</sup> Melvin further elaborates the establishment of various military bases by different powers in the Horn region lacks regional discussion on its repercussions, reactive policy, maritime capabilities, and cohesiveness. However, the Saudi shaped a Red Sea forum as reaction to achieve the regional stability along the Red Sea (Melvin, 2019: 8). A military official from War College argues the Red Sea forum is basically formed by excluding Ethiopia and this would be more problematic for Ethiopia unless Ethiopia is appealing and joining as member of the forum.<sup>33</sup>

Similarly a military official from War College describes, the presence of the foreign powers are in the Horn region with their competing interests is very difficult to Ethiopia to manage the

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<sup>31</sup>expert at Ethiopian based International Organization Center for dialogue Research and Cooperation

<sup>32</sup>Interview with expert in 2020 at Addis Ababa University from Institute of peace and security studies (IPSS).

<sup>33</sup> Interview with military official in 2020 at Ethiopian National Defense Force of War colleague Office

relationship with these competing powers and to negotiate with these major powers to secure its interests. He further expounds most of the security challenges mainly for Ethiopia cannot be direct because Ethiopia does not have any major problems with the major powers in the region. But in order to pursuing their national interest most of the major countries are influenced by their political ideology. From the ideological difference the foreign powers in the Horn region have an indirectly influence. For example they may manipulate and change the minds of the Horn countries politically when Ethiopia moves to Somalia, Djibouti, Sudan and other countries of the region.<sup>34</sup>

### **5.3 Economic security implication:**

As it is described in chapter three, the Horn African sub-region is with fragile economy (Abdulqadir and et al., 2018). The vast majority peoples of the region depend on subsistent agriculture and nomadic pastoralism and their livelihoods are precarious (Assefa and Yemane, 2017: 164). Recurrent droughts and violent conflicts further undermine the precarious livelihood of the peoples of the region (MealaT. 2011: 1).

In line with the establishment of the various oversea military bases in the Horn of Africa sub-region, different literatures revealed that having an economic security implication. On one side writers like (Melvin, 2019; Esrael, 2018; Gashaw and Zelalem, 2016) argues the foreign military bases in the Horn of Africa sub-region have an economic security advantages. Again an expert from the IPSS contends the potential of maintaining trade route and regional economic boost,<sup>35</sup> regional economic integration are among the economic security opportunities identified through this thesis work due to the foreign military bases in the Horn region mainly in Djibouti (Gashaw and Zelalem, 2016: 794).

First, the economic benefits that foreign military bases bring to the sub-region include the potential of maintaining trade route and regional economic boost.<sup>36</sup> Further the expert from the IPSS describes, the foreign military base can maintain a safe trade route through the Red Sea as all the regional and great powers in the region want a safe trade route which contribute to the regional economic boost. Gradually, it can also lead into some kind of agreement between the

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<sup>34</sup> Interview with military official in 2020 at Ethiopian National Defense Force of War colleague Office

<sup>35</sup> Interview with expert in 2020 at Addis Ababa University from Institute of peace and security studies (IPSS).

<sup>36</sup> *ibid*

stakeholders in the sub-region. He adds the flow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is one of the opportunities if the competition among the big powers does not provoke instability in the countries of the sub-region.<sup>37</sup> Besides another expert from IPSS contends, the various bases in the Horn region will create some market and demand which could bolster the regional economy.

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Similarly, a key informant from the War College, the foreign powers who established military bases in the Horn region invest a lot of money in the region which is highly helpful to the region's economy.<sup>39</sup>For instance, Cobiskey (2018) argues that, the US provides one billion dollar for better economic growth, trade and investment in Horn of African region following the concluded agreement with Djibouti on camp lemonier to stretch to 2034. In order to perform this task in Djibouti the US has joined carefully with CJTF-HOA under the task principle of the Integrated Country Strategy (ICS) to reinforce the security of the US, Djibouti, and Horn African region (Cobiskey O., 2018).

In addition, Melvin (2019: 14) contends the augmented presence of the Middle Eastern and the Gulf countries in the Horn region has also brought some economic security benefits due to the emergence of new commercial opportunities connected to the Horn region. As a result, access to port facilities in the Horn, particularly in close proximity to the entrance to the Red Sea, has become a source of increasing international competition. Given the strategic position of the Horn, this competition has led to a securitization of the race for ports. Melvin also added that, Saudi Arabia has the most agricultural investment, close 70 %, in Sub-Sahara Africa among Arab states, primarily in Ethiopia and Sudan and it has reportedly invested in Ethiopia's agriculture more than any other country (Melvin, 2019: pp. 14-15). Reinforcing this idea, a key informant from the IGAD Security Sector Program notes the investment mainly from UAE and Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) is an opportunity to the economic growth.<sup>40</sup>

Key informants from War College argues, the investment in manufacturing sector and the build of various infrastructural facilities by foreign governments which opened military base is another

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<sup>37</sup> Interview with expert in 2020 at Addis Ababa University from Institute of peace and security studies (IPSS).

<sup>38</sup> Ibid

<sup>39</sup> Interview with military official in 2020 from Ethiopian National Defense Force of at War colleague Office

<sup>40</sup> Interview with an authority from the IGAD Security sector program, in 2020 at Bole

additional advantage which contributes to the regional economy's boost<sup>41</sup>. For example Dossou, T.A., (2018: pp. 3-4) argues the project "New Silk Roads" which provides for the construction of roads, ports, railway lines and industrial parks in 65 countries for more than 1,000 billion dollars mainly aimed at connecting the Western Europe, Central Asia and Russia, and Africa. Particularly from East Africa three countries, Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti are at the forefront. On the spot, ports, railways and roads are largely financed by China: 4 billion dollars to connect Ethiopia to Djibouti, 13 billion to irrigate Kenya.

The China's declaration to open military base in Djibouti in 2015 with the allocation of US\$340 million is for purpose of investment by Chinese companies, in the name of 'win-win' cooperation under the sponsorship of 'South-South Cooperation'. From the entire African continent, the Horn of Africa mainly Ethiopia is the principal beneficial. As China moves up the global supply chain, it is shifting some of its labor-intensive industries, such as textiles, to countries such as Ethiopia. To facilitate this, China is building the logistical infrastructure necessary for Ethiopia to succeed as a manufacturing hub. To date, Ethiopia receives the highest level of Chinese investment in manufacturing of all countries in the Horn and currently, Addis Ababa is undertaking the industrialization process by following the Chinese technique of using Special Economic Zone (SEZs). Besides the Hawassa Industrial Park, which was constructed in 2016 at a cost of US\$250 million can be taken as an instance China's investment in manufacturing in Ethiopia in which the Ethiopian government hopes that industrial parks will create 200,000 jobs for Ethiopians. As of 2017, Chinese firms were constructing five more industrial parks in Ethiopia.<sup>42</sup>

Other writers like Jeffrey (2016); Tao (2016) and Igbinoba (2016) as cited in Gashaw and Zelalem (2016: 794) also added that, the recent commencement of China military base in Djibouti has economic worth for Ethiopia mainly by building economically important infrastructure: international airport, a water supply project, railway line linking Addis Ababa to

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<sup>41</sup> Interview with military official in 2020 from Ethiopian National Defense Force of at War colleague Office

<sup>42</sup>CRU Policy Brief (2018), China and the EU in the Horn of Africa: competition and cooperation?  
<https://www.google.com/search?q=CRU+Policy+Brief%2C+2018+China+and+the+EU+in+the+Horn+of+Africa%3A+competition+and+cooperation%3F&oq=CRU+Policy+Brief%2C+2018+China+and+the+EU+in+the+Horn+of+Africa%3A+competition+and+cooperation%3F&aqs=chrome..69i57.4762j0j4&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>

Djibouti's new port, and a gas project terminal which allowed Ethiopia to export gas to China via a pipeline from Ethiopia to Djibouti.

In pursuit of economic interests, China's Exim Bank provides concessional loans supported by market capital. It helps recipient countries undertake projects aimed at generating economic and social benefits. For example in the past, concessional loans were used to build the Addis Ababa-Adama Toll Motorway, the Gashena-Sekota Road and the Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railway Project. Likewise, Djibouti has benefitted from these loans in the construction of the Ghubaith port and a terminal to facilitate export of salt from Lake Assal.<sup>43</sup>

Melvin (2019: 14) also contend that, the augmented presence of the Middle Eastern and the Gulf countries in the Horn region has also brought some economic security benefits due to the emergence of new commercial opportunities connected to the Horn region by developing ports and infrastructure that will connect the Horn to Asian markets via hubs in Dubai, Abu Dhabi and elsewhere in the Gulf (Melvin, 2019: 14).

Beside to the investment on infrastructure and manufacturing and the market opportunity, Commander Abebe Muluneh and Colonel Tilahun Demssie (interview, 2020) concord that, the benefit reaped mainly from the land rents by the competitive powers also contribute to the regional economic boost. Borowicz (2017) for instance contend that, Djibouti collects 63 million USD from the United States, 20 million USD from china, and 34 USD million from France annual rents and this bigger financial gain supported the Gulleh's administration in solving the economic crisis faced Djibouti in 1999 (Borowicz, 2017: 26). Furthermore, Colonel Tilahun argues, the other littoral countries such as Somaliland and Eritrea could also follow the path of Djibouti and gain economic advantages by renting their lands and ports to foreign military bases.<sup>44</sup> In case of Ethiopia, a diplomat from the Ethiopia's Ministry of Foreign Affair notes that, the foreign military bases mainly in Djibouti generates income from the annual visit by the foreign soldiers with their families from Djibouti to Axum, Lalibela, Driedawa, and Gondar for

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<sup>43</sup>ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with military official in 2020 from Ethiopian National Defense Force of at War colleague Office

entertainment purposes during the hostile and harsh climatic condition in country. This contributes to the economic growth of Ethiopia.<sup>45</sup>

Second, the potential of regional economic integration is an opportunity due to the foreign military bases in the Horn region mainly in Djibouti (Gashaw and Zelalem, 2016: 794). Bangwaanden (2017) as cited in Esrael (2018: 95) contends that, East Africa seems to be the primary region of competition for China, India and Japan. Ethiopia, as a leading economic powerhouse of the region with a policy of enhancing regional integration, would benefit from rivals economic and development initiatives in the Horn region.

Grieger and et al, (2019: 3) notes in 2000 China commenced the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in order to involve in to the African continent with four general objectives comprising of economic, ideological, political and security goals mainly supported by the OBOR project. Sen (2016: 4) contends the purpose OBOR initiative, promulgated in 2013 during the time of Xi Jinping's official visit to the central Asian, was to impact the international diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as part of China's foreign policy effort. Besides Dossou, T.A., 2018 (2018: 1) describes the OBOR initiative is projected to bolster the economy of the world. More specifically, Melvin (2019) argues the OBOR project takes the possibility for the developing economies of the Horn if African countries radically which is amplified by the significance of the international market of the East–West business passage that passes the Red Sea (Melvin, 2019: 13).

Esrael (2018: pp. 95-99) contends China's military base in Djibouti is among its instrument to achieve the OBOR program which contribute to the integration of the region by building infrastructures alongside the international trade. Similarly Breuer, J., (2017) argues the stress of the OBOR is on economic networking by constructing infrastructures. More he adds, for instance the Ethiopia-Djibouti railway will be linked with the Kenyan Standard Gauge Railway (SGR). Thus, a connection to South Sudan will be created. In May 2017 the SGR cargo train between Mombasa port and Nairobi (470 km), which was largely financed by China Exim Bank, started operating. Mombasa port will be extensively connected to Africa's inland, going far beyond

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<sup>45</sup>Interview with diplomat in 2020 from Ethiopia's Ministry of Foreign Affair

Kenya. There will be railway lines via Nairobi linking it with South Sudan, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. Chinese built railways are gradually forming a network (Breuer J., 2017: 4).

On the other side, though having all the above economic security opportunities, the presences of various foreign military bases in the Horn region mainly in Djibouti poses an economic security risks, like potential of blockade of global trade corridor<sup>46</sup> and challenge of access to sea port (Zelalem T., 2018, 26). A diplomat from the Ethiopia's Ministry of Foreign Affair contends, the foreign military bases in the Horn of African region mainly in Djibouti, would create a lot of economic problems to the whole continent, Horn region, and Ethiopia due to the possible contention among the foreign powers. Because military bases are established to defend something and to move up to confrontation. Therefore, the possible confrontation would block the Suez Canal, Bab al Mandeb, oil and other commodities movement, so that it would create a lot of problems which bring enormous economic cost to every country's economic security.<sup>47</sup>

Zelalem (2018: 26-27) argues that an economic security risk to Ethiopia mainly with regard to access to sea port impacted by the stormy geopolitical changes in the Horn African region. At this time, for the majority of Ethiopia's trade it relies on Djibouti. But due to the geopolitical shifts and the competition among the global naval forces, Djibouti has emerged as contested. From the Ethiopian point of view, mainly this can be worsen by the monetary provision provided by the foreign powers that have bases in the Horn region supplemented through the various bilateral contracts mainly it into reduced Ethiopia's bargaining power over Djibouti and furthermore shift the main pattern of interactions between the two interdependent states. The potential for strains and confrontation, 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. For instance, the Chinese presence in Djibouti may threaten US interests (Zelalem, 2018: 27).

Similarly Gashaw and Zelalem (2016: 796) contend the foreign military bases in the Horn region mainly the increasing militarization of Djibouti poses a national economic security hazard of Ethiopia and Djibouti. Because Djibouti has become a military supermarket as well as under the pressure of foreign powers and in the near future Djibouti alone may not determine its own fate.

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<sup>46</sup> Interview with diplomat in 2020 from Ethiopia's Ministry of Foreign Affair

<sup>47</sup> *ibid*

This would be greatest threat of the very existence of both Ethiopia and Djibouti. Besides, both writers recommend that, both countries should work together to counter the planned neo-colonization. As far as Djibouti is the only port of Ethiopia's import and export trade, Ethiopia should use all the available means to protect its economic interest and at the same time search alternative out way.

Another expert from IPSS also contends the presence of foreign military bases in the Horn region poses threat mainly related with access to the sea port since Ethiopia is a landlocked country. Ethiopia has rights of access to sea under international law but having all that Ethiopia faces challenges that could have a major impact on Ethiopia's economy. He added as a second reason, the economic impact will be severe considering that most of the goods Ethiopia imports are heavy goods in terms of bulky compared to their value and our export is also cloth, textile whatever this consumer goods which are not meant which can only be exported by ships or containers not by air. So by considering that the economic impact could be severe, the trade war between the US and China worsens the next decades/two decades and its ramifications to the Horn of Africa.<sup>48</sup>

Furthermore the expert contends, the various foreign military bases established along the Red Sea, are concerning developments for Ethiopia in terms of economic security because Ethiopia is a landlocked country. Since Ethiopia's inability to access the sea and with no strong military presence along that Red Sea line should be problematic to Ethiopia's national economic security. So it would be difficult for Ethiopia to import and export anything. He further contends considering Ethiopia's military power, large population and potential of economic growth in the next decades, it will be a big challenge for Ethiopia to push the different countries in the Horn region like Djibouti to get whatever. This may result in blockage of Ethiopia's ambition to be a regional hegemony.<sup>49</sup>

*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*

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<sup>48</sup> Interview with expert in 2020 at Addis Ababa University from Institute of peace and security studies (IPSS).

<sup>49</sup>ibid

*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 neighbors, clearly concerned with respectively losing trade and seeing a breakaway state gain international support (van den Berg and Meester, 2018: 16).*

#### **5.4 Military security implication:**

On one side, the interview data and some literatures show that a military cooperation and fighting against anti-peace elements is uncovered as a military security opportunity. For instance, a military operation in fighting terrorism in the region concords with the objectives of foreign military bases in the area and results in stabilizing the region and the rest of Africa by creating. A diplomat from the Ethiopia's ministry of foreign affair adds, the bases are worked collaboratively with the joint force of the regions and gives military training for Ethiopia in the techniques of combating any turmoil breaks out, conflict arises or terrorism happens.<sup>50</sup>

Another interviewee reports that the force in this area works in controlling the pirates and the terrorists' attacks in and around the region. The destabilizing deeds of these parties penetrate into the security issue of Ethiopia and other neighboring countries. To abort such mission and overcome the problem, Ethiopia gets additional advantage of for effective way of conducting anti-peace element operation. So it can be concluded that they are giving training support and a kind of capacity building beside to the participation of the countries physically on this kind of operation like counterterrorism and counter piracy.<sup>51</sup>

Since, America declared war on terrorists and terrorism as 'War on terror'. It carried out different operations led by programs in the region. The first was Trans Sahara and Horn of Africa Operation Enduring Freedom. The next was East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI) which was organized in Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA), component of AFRICOM proven in October 2008 (Møller, 2009: pp. 4-6). The major objectives of these programs were [1] military training for border and coastal surveillance; [2] programs designed to strengthen the control of the movement of people and goods; [3] aviation security

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<sup>50</sup> Interview with diplomat in 2020 from Ethiopia's Ministry of Foreign Affair

<sup>51</sup> Interview with expert in 2020 at Addis Ababa University from Institute of peace and security studies (IPSS).

capacity-building; [4] assistance for regional efforts to counter terrorism financing; and [5] police training (Rabasa, 2009: 73).” As a result, the U.S. military (CJTF-HOA) has played a great variety of roles in shooting down, catching, and assassinating terrorists and terrorist suspects, the military has worked with host countries to improve their capacity to monitor and contain terrorist activity, and engaged in development projects in the region. Help the nations of the region identify and capture terrorists, and to help host nations control their ungoverned spaces, especially borders and coastlines (West, D.L., 2005: 6).

United States, with establishing forces like The East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI) (2003), Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Program (ACOTA) (2002), Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program (ATA) (since September 11, 2001), the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) and the Joint Task Force Aztec Silence (JTFAS), provided military training and education to countries in the region; for example, EACTI has provided training to Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Djibouti, Eritrea, and Ethiopia and the Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Partnership (TSCTP) equipped police, internal security, and military forces in a number of other African countries, including Ethiopia (FY 2006) (Volman, 2009: pp. 15-18). According to Rabasa (2009: 72), Ethiopia, Uganda, Djibouti military training; and Kenya and Djibouti naïve gets training from British and CJTF-HOA personnel.

From the region, due to its geography, Kenya has been suffered more from transnational terrorism than any other country in the region. Therefore, U.S. gave much more significant resources to improving its counterterrorism capacity. For instance, Kenya used the support to effectively patrol boarder lines and to control and supervise immigration at main airports and sea-ports. In addition, CJTF-HOA has worked with the Kenyan military to improve its capacity to interdict/order/ban those who come into the country illegally, and to improve coastal patrol capabilities. The relationship between the US and Kenya is mainly built on strong military-to-military ties and increasingly strong intelligence relationships. The British military has a long tradition of training in and cooperating with Kenya (West, D.L., 2005: pp. 17-18).

Uganda is another country received logistic support from CJTF-HOA when the troops deployed to Mogadishu for peacekeeping force of AU after the overthrow of the ICU regime (Rabasa, 2009: 71). CJTF-HOA has also provided intelligence to Ethiopia during operation in Somalia in January 2007. It installed military facilities like radars and missile strikes in Djibouti, Ethiopia,

and Kenya in January and June of 2007. Then in May of 2008 it alleged al-Qaeda members involved in the Council of Islamic Courts in Somalia (Volman, 2009: Pp. 18-19).

Berriang (2007) as cited in Gashaw and Zelalm (2016: 793) members of the Ethiopian armed forces have been on fishing trips with the US military. CJTF-HOA also gives training to intelligence and communications personnel to the Ethiopian National Defence Force (ENDF) and Djiboutian Armed Forces (FAD) and they also visited the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa with the aim of working with US intelligence and communication specialists. However, Gashaw and Zelalm (2016: 793) contends “the question is whether the military cooperation of US with Ethiopia possibly gives a fish to eat for a day or teach them how to fish and they will eat forever”.

The other emerging power that contributes to the fight against terrorism in the Horn of Africa is China (Esrael, 2018, pp 97-100). China hosted its first China-Africa Defense and Security Forum in 2018, a sign of its interest in expanding security relationships on the continent. At its 2018 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), China announced a China-Africa Peace and Security Fund and pledged to support programs on law and order, peacekeeping, antipiracy, and counterterrorism.<sup>52</sup> China will likely continue to develop partnerships that allow it access to its expanding interests mainly under the Belt and Road Initiative, which some Chinese officials view as a framework for greater military cooperation (Dreyfuss and Karlin A., 2019: 1)..

As a sign of the growing relevance China attaches to security cooperation with Africa, Beijing hosted the first FOCAC China-Africa Defence and Security Forum in June 2018. The new platform brought together high-ranking military officials from China, officials from 50 African countries and AU to discuss counter-piracy and counter-terrorism. Furthermore, the 2018 FOCAC Action Plan proposed creating two more China-Africa forums – on peace and security (the first such forum was held in July 2019) and on law enforcement and security – and intensifying intelligence-sharing, among others. In practical terms, this is likely to expand

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<sup>52</sup>Congressional research service (2019). china’s engagement in Djibouti  
<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF11304.pdf>

Chinese exports of new surveillance technologies to African countries including of Ethiopia (Grieger et al, 2019: 5).

The 2018 FOCAC Action Plan announced the creation of a dedicated China-Africa Peace and Security Fund to boost cooperation on peace, security, peacekeeping, law and order, and 50 security assistance programs. For example, US\$25 million was provided for military equipment for the AU's logistics base in Yaoundé, Cameroon. Parts of the funding pledged in 2018 will be allocated to ongoing AU peace support operations. These include the Multi-National Joint Task Force against Boko Haram and support for the police deployment component of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) (Grieger et al, 2019, pp. 5-6).

Since China's participation in the UN-led anti-piracy operation off the Horn of Africa, apart from boosting high-level military-to-military exchanges, China provides regularly and at an increasing scale various categories of military training of varying length, both in China and in Africa, as capability-building for African armed forces. China's military training offensive in Africa follows the Chinese 'peace through development' logic, but faces limits in countries where local grievances have perpetuated as a result of weak governance and economic growth that does not translate into a reduction of conflict and insecurity. China has sponsored the training of African security forces specifically for its economic assets. In Kenya, for instance, China's security services set up and trained an elite Kenyan police division to protect the Mombasa-Nairobi railway. In 2018, Uganda, for instance, deployed its military to protect Chinese interests in response to attacks on Chinese nationals and robberies by locals (Grieger et al 2019: 8-9).

Beside to the US and China, Todman (2018) notes that the Gulf states also contributed a lot in fighting against terrorism and terrorism related issues as part of backing up of the global security agenda along the Red Sea coast like in Somalia and the war in Yemen too. It is for this purpose that the Gulf States establish their military bases in the Horn region. For instance, the Saudi Arabia putted \$1 billion in Sudan's central bank soon after Sudan provided a lot of soldiers in Yemeni war in 2015. Similarly, the UAE also armed many soldiers of Somali from 2014 to 2018 to fight against the Islamist insurgency, as portion of the Africa union military task programs. Besides, the Saudi Arabia offers military assistance to the Somali forces as part of the Islamic Military Counter Terrorism (IMCTC) mission in 2016. The IMCTC contributed to the boost of

the military teamwork in working together and exchange of information among the GCC and mainly the Horn African countries (Todman, 2018: 3).

On the other side, data from interviewee shows that militarily, the foreign military bases in the Horn of Africa pose a security threat. The Horn countries can be the possibility of being instrumental of the foreign powers if something is happened wrong among the foreign powers with military base in the Horn. For example the military presence of the in Berbera by UAE may create the possibility of inviting to Egypt, which is the close friend of the UAE and historical enemy of Ethiopia. Particularly, if incompatibility of interests is happened between the Ethiopia and the UAE it will be danger for Ethiopia, though still now there is a good relation between Ethiopia and the UAE. Above all the advent and the collection of various foreign military bases with strong militarily capabilities in the Horn region could create a big concern. For example the presence of the US and Japan does not give any comfort to China and vice versa.<sup>53</sup>

Other data from the interviewee shows, Ethiopia military will be relatively weak due to the presence of military bases in the Horn region. For instance, if UAE and Saudi are on Eritrea soil and if Ethiopia and Eritrea for some reason go into war, it will be believed that UAE and Saudi will be sided with Eritrea. Even if they are not fighting by joining the war, they will do some diplomatic pressure. That will reduce Ethiopia's military capabilities and put Ethiopia into additional burdens.<sup>54</sup> Another data reveals that military bases in this region do not want to support Ethiopian during any military operation. For example, the operation in Somalia was not supported by some countries; even they considered it as invading Somalia. Their intent interest is not to see Ethiopia being a strong country in terms of military capabilities in the Horn of Africa, but they want Ethiopia to live in the region as doing well for their national interest.<sup>55</sup>

A diplomat from the Ethiopian ministry of foreign affair argues that Military presence by itself is not a problem and up to now there is no problem and a business goes normally. But if a conflict arises between big powers, the military implications will very enormous and devastating. The nuclear weapons and other sophisticated weapons and military facilities they armed can bring

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<sup>53</sup> Interview with military expert in 2020 at the National Defense Force of Ethiopia, War College

<sup>54</sup> Interview with expert in 2020 at Addis Ababa University from Institute of peace and security studies (IPSS).

<sup>55</sup> Interview with military official in 2020 at Ethiopian National Defense Force of War colleague Office

forth a devastated effect on the region, especially on the Red Sea, Mediterranean Sea, Bab al Mandeb and the Suez Canal. So the potential of confrontation will be very dangerous in terms of military aspect.<sup>56</sup>

### **5.5. Social security implications:**

Since all security dimensions are interconnected, potential of regional stability, economic development, military cooperation and fighting against any anti-peace elements can be considered as among the social security opportunities. Besides an expert from IPSS contend that, social security is not the major impact. Because these military bases will be enclaves which would have a very little contacts with the surrounding communities.<sup>57</sup>

However, on the other side the data from interviewee argues the foreign military bases in the Horn region poses a social security threats. A key informant from the IGAD Security Sector Program argues, first, the potential of social crises to the Horn region due to the possibility of cultural diffusion and erosion. For instance, prostitution becomes very high because most of the time when soldiers are in comps, they tried to have biological.<sup>58</sup> Besides a diplomat from the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affair contends, the social implication is an indirect mainly related with the political and economic situation. A negative political and economic implication would affect the social aspect. Therefore, social security implication is an indirect.<sup>59</sup>

Second, Esrael (2018) argue that, the oversea military bases in the Horn region would pose the potential of the augmentation of fundamentalism. This is mainly due to the religious lining up among the Middle Eastern countries. On one side the Saudi Arabia led groups and on the other hand Iran and Qatar camp by containing the expansion of one another. Particularly, the availability of Saudi Arabia in the Horn region could create a fertile ground to expand its religious conviction by providing a military equipment and weapon including training for fundamentalist groups who have the desire to spread Wahhabism in the region (Esrael, 2018: pp. 75-78).

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<sup>56</sup>Interview with diplomat in 2020 from Ethiopia's Ministry of Foreign Affair

<sup>57</sup> Interview with expert in 2020 at Addis Ababa University from Institute of peace and security studies (IPSS)

<sup>58</sup>Interview with an authority from the IGAD Security sector program, in 2020 at Bole

<sup>59</sup>Interview with diplomat in 2020 from Ethiopia's Ministry of Foreign Affair

Similarly West (2005) contends there is increasing influence of Wahhabist Islam in the Horn region. L. West further notes Wahhabism is both a religious and political movement which is mainly built-in Saudi Arabia. It is the most fanatical, rigid and expansionist form of Islamic religion with fundamentalist elements of thought whose supporters are more tend to terror and jihad measures. Further he notes such kind of cultural influence comes from the Middle East mainly from Saudi Arabia to the Horn region should be checked, since the culture of Saudi Arabia is to the contrary of the culture of the Horn region (West, D.I., 2005: 10).

Third, Kidane (2018), Esrael (2018), Gashaw and Zelalem (2016) also contends, encirclement by the different powers mainly by neighbors Middle Eastern countries. For Esrael (2018: 71) the majority states in the Horn of Africa are predominantly Muslim nations. Ethiopia, despite the fact that it has more Muslim population than most countries in the Horn of Africa, it has been considered as a Christian country among the Arabs. The physical presence of Arab military force in every corner of Ethiopia could create a real threat of encirclement. With the existence of Gulf powers longstanding interest in the Horn of Africa coupled with their historical uneasy relation with Ethiopia would create a huge challenge for Ethiopia (Esrael, 2018: 75).

Similarly Kidane (2018) explained that the negative historical attitude of the Middle East and Ethiopia towards each other is still has significant implications for their relationships. Egypt because of its special interest, is attempting to encircle Ethiopia starting from South Sudan to Somalia through the whole Red Sea. Despite the fact that South Sudan has not any ground to be a member of Arab League, Egypt has taken an initiative to facilitate its work against Ethiopia and Sudan. South Sudan on the one hand, due to its internal crisis and weak tie with Ethiopia, it will be an instrument of Egypt which is a high-security risk for Ethiopia (Kidane G., 2018: 109).

## **Conclusion and Recommendation**

### **Conclusion:**

An attempt has been made to assess the security implications of the foreign military bases in four different countries of the Horn region mainly Djibouti, Eritrea, Somalia and Somaliland to Ethiopia. The Horn of Africa is strategically important due to its proximity to the Red Sea, and strait Bab el Mandeb. It is vital significance for maritime security, prevention of piracy and terrorism. Besides, economically the region is important for natural resource like oil, gas and trans border waters like the Blue Nile. As a result, the region became the play-field for various foreign powers in history. For instance, during the cold war it becomes a hotspot between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Similarly today it became the strategic center of attention for various rival Middle Eastern, Western and the Asia rising countries. Since the beginning of the second millennium, the Horn region is the most militarized. Establishments of military bases are mainly meant to attain of national security objectives, for regional security, containment, impact regions, control natural resource, markets and strategic positions, and fight against anti-peace elements such as terrorist organizations, piracy and insurgency. In short foreign military bases are tools for achieving interests.

France, U.S., Japan, China, Turkey, UAE, Russia, and Italy have established military bases in the Horn of Africa. Others like Italy, Germany, India, the United Kingdom and Spain are also involved militarily in the Horn region. The establishment a military base by France was associated with the colonial historical background with Djibouti. Other countries also opened military bases in Djibouti in recent years include the USA (2002), Japan (2011) and China (2017). Turkey opened a base in Somalia in 2017, while Russia (2018) and UAE opened bases in Eritrea. UAE has also begun a construction of a military facility at the port of Berbera in Somaliland. The base is planned to be completed in June 2019. The combination of political, economic, military, security, cultural and diplomatic reasons are among the general pulling factors that attract the foreign countries to the Horn of Africa. The anti-peace elements like terrorism, piracy and insurgent groups, the war in Yemen, the rift among the GCC, the competition to have upper hand in the region contributed to the rebirth of the strategic significance of Red Sea in recent years.

The US, for example, decided to open a military base in the region for political, economic and security reasons. Its main concern, however, appears to be the maintenance of the strategic global sea lanes that run in the Gulf of Aden. It seeks to maintain US hegemony by containing China and Russia. To France, the interest includes both economy and security. . It is interested to prevent the strategic seas free from piracy activities and also it is engaged in counterterrorism efforts. But, the increase in the number of military bases in the region threatens France's dominant position. To Japan and India, their military bases are used to fight against piracy. The military presence could also be seen as an attempt to counter balance China. To China, the main interest lies in the geo-strategic and geo-economic importance of the region. China seeks to keep the sea lanes safe.. The importance of the region to Russia is mainly geopolitical. Russia promotes a multi-polar global order in which it plays a major role. By having a presence in the region, it seeks to challenge and restrain the domination of the US and China in Africa.

To the Middle Eastern and Gulf countries, their interest lies in political, economic and military and cultural interests. Saudi Arabia is more specifically interested to have a presence in the region to support its military operations in Yemeni, The UAE seeks, to protect the commercial port run by DP World. For Turkey, before 2011 it was interested to support the rebuilding of Somalia. But beyond this, it is interested to compete with other powers in the region.

At the beginning many of the foreign military bases were established mainly for security purposes in order to safeguard the region since the region is very strategic but over time particularly since recent times it goes beyond initial objective. Even many of the foreign powers came to the region with their rival interests such as the competition between the US and China, U.S. and Russia, China with Japan and India, the Middle Eastern countries can be as good instances. Mainly the rift of the GCC with its spillover effect to the Horn region could present a security implication to the Horn region in general and Ethiopia in particular mainly due to the asymmetrical interest and rivalry between the Arab and the non-Arab countries over the area. The militarization of the Horn is both an opportunity as well as a risk for Ethiopia, a landlocked country of Horn of Africa.

As a result, potential and actual security opportunities and challenges are scrutinized. In terms of political security opportunity, maintenance of regional stability, economically keeping of the safety of trade routes, regional economic boost and the potential of regional integration are

uncovered. Militarily, cooperation and protection of the region from any anti-peace element and socially, the potential of economic development, military cooperation and fighting against any anti-peace elements can be taken as among the social security opportunities since all the security dimensions are interplayed. On the other hand mainly since recent times, politically, the potential of destabilization, undermining of sovereignty and possibility of policy prescriptions, economically, the potential of blockade of global trade corridor and challenge of access to sea port, militarily, the possibility of actual confrontation and socially, the potential of expansion of fundamentalism and the siege of mentality are among the social security threats are identified through this study as national and regional security threats.

**Recommendation:**

Based on the conclusions, the following recommendations are made what Ethiopia can do - to manage the situation so as to maximize the security benefits and to minimize possible costs as a result of the foreign military bases in the Horn region. In case of Ethiopia, first, Ethiopia should stabilize and address the domestic recent problems in order to fully focus on the external issues coming to the region. Second, Ethiopia must strength its relations with all of its neighbors mainly with Djibouti, Eritrea, Somalia and Somaliland. Since recent time Ethiopia have good relations with all neighboring countries including Eritrea than before, but the relation with Eritrea is not going anywhere, because it is confined between the two leaders. Therefore, the normalization between the two countries should be institutionalized and address the root causes of the deadlock. Besides, Ethiopia should think critically about its interaction with all the foreign forces that have military bases in the Horn of Africa. Third, Ethiopia develops new strategies to cope with the increasing geopolitical significance of the Red Sea and the challenges that it is facing with respect to using its natural resources (e.g. GERD). In this case, Ethiopia must use a proactive policy.

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## **Appendices**

### **Appendix One: Interview questions**

Interview questions conducted with Various Scholars, Experts and officials

Which foreign powers have established military bases in the Horn region and what are the pushing factors?

Do you think that there are security implications as a result of the foreign military bases in the Horn region? If there are what are the implications on the regional security in general Ethiopia's national security in particular?

What are the challenges and problems of those foreign military bases to regional security and Ethiopia's national security (Political Security, economic security, military security, social security and environmental security)?

What are the opportunities to the regional security in general and Ethiopia's national security in particular (Political Security, economic security, military security, social security and environmental security)?

What method has to follow the Horn countries to exploit the security opportunities and minimize the security risks?

Does Ethiopia have a type of policy tool which is responsive to these recent developments?

### **Declaration**

I, undersigned graduate student, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Tesfay Gebremariam

January, 2021 G.C.