



**HORN** | INTERNATIONAL  
INSTITUTE FOR  
STRATEGIC  
STUDIES  
OBJECTIVE • INDEPENDENT • DEFINITIVE

# ANNUAL REPORT

## 2019

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## ABOUT THE HORN INSTITUTE

### Objective. Independent. Definitive

The HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies is a non-profit, applied research, and policy think-do tank based in Nairobi, Kenya.

### VISION

A progressive Horn of Africa served by informed, evidence-based and problem-solving policy research and analysis.

### MISSION

Contribute to informed, objective, definitive research, and analytical inquiry that positively informs policies of governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

### OBJECTIVES

- A. Conduct cutting-edge action research and analysis to help inform policy making and action in defence and security; terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization; diplomacy and foreign relations; governance, statecraft and conflict management; and transnational crimes and strategic threats.
- B. Engage in conflict resolution and peacemaking.
- C. Strategic communication for preventing and countering terrorism, responding to conflicts and emerging threats.
- D. Participate in routine advocacy on security, conflict resolution, and peacemaking.
- E. Design courses and deliver training on themes relating to the Institute's focus areas.

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## Message from the Chairman



The key to this progress has been its rigorous and problem-solving analyses ...



Since 2017, the HORN Institute has grown considerably – both in scope and impact – becoming one of the foremost think-do tanks in the Horn of Africa region. The key to this progress has been its rigorous and problem-solving analyses of conflict and security challenges, and policy recommendations to address them. Experts from the HORN Institute have consistently been on high demand by both local and international media to offer expert analyses and commentaries on a range of issues affecting Africa.

Operating in a region burdened by insecurity, intractable conflicts, terrorism and other challenges; we continued to offer an impartial space where different actors, key among them scholars, practitioners, diplomats, and technocrats engaged in constructive dialogue and debate, with a keen eye on resolving these challenges. A case in point is the Kenya-Somalia maritime border conflict in which the Institute hosted a series of fora, colloquia and an Experts Symposium to judiciously examine the issue. Our research fellows also made a marked impact on terrorism and violent extremism research, as well as targeted policy analysis.

As we mark three years of rigorous research and responding to conflicts affecting the region, we will continue to serve as an important catalyst for progressive policies and actions that will lead to sustainable solutions to the persistent problems in the Horn region. It is my firm belief that the HORN Institute will transform into a marketplace of ideas and a policy hub, led by Kenyan and international intellectuals, practitioners, and the academia.

A blue ink signature of Mustafa Y. Ali, written in a cursive style.

**Mustafa Y, Ali Ph.D.**

Chairman, HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies

## Message from the Director



... the HORN Institute has emerged as a go-to institution by local and international media



In only its third year, I am proud to mention that the HORN Institute has emerged as a go-to institution by local and international media and many a policy maker especially on matters of security, terrorism, and diplomacy, both in Kenya and the Horn of Africa region.

Among notable achievements in 2019 were: an international symposium on the Maritime challenges in the region with a special focus on the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute and a study examining the influence of external interests in the instability of the Horn of Africa region. As the region confronts the complex challenges of security, instability, terrorism and diplomacy, the Institute is prepared to play its part in initiating research, providing analysis, and suggesting policy actions that contribute to addressing these challenges.

By drawing on a dynamic reservoir of subject matter experts across the globe, the Institute aspires to become one of the preminent think tanks in the global south whose ideas will continue to shape opinion, inform policy, and guide practice particularly in areas of defence, security, terrorism and diplomacy.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Hassan Khannenje'.

**Hassan Khannenje Ph.D.**

Director, HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies



## Executive Summary

This Annual Report covers the HORN Institute's activities between January 2019 and December 2019. Specifically, it highlights the Institute's research outputs; workshops; roundtable discussions; consultative forums; trainings held; and thematic analysis of issues affecting the focus countries. Media, communication, and outreach; and prospects for 2020 are also highlighted in this report.

From a nascent think tank in 2017 and 2018, to one of the most preferred go-to think-do tanks in the Horn of Africa region in 2019, the Institute made momentous progress in problem-solving policy research and analysis. In 2019, the Institute organized a series of forums comprising of maritime and security experts, government officials, scholars, and lawyers to offer strategic insights and expert analysis of the Kenya-Somalia maritime border conflict that had peaked earlier in the year, and threatened relations between the two neighboring countries. To better manage these mid- to high-level forums, a maritime working group – later on, HORN Maritime Study Group – was constituted, comprising of scholars and experts in maritime security, and conflict

domains. Under the leadership of this team, the Institute held a consultative forum, a roundtable discussion and a high-level symposium on Kenya-Somalia maritime conflict. Key outputs from these colloquia included policy briefs, reports, bulletin and website articles, and newspaper commentaries. All these were shared with relevant audiences, and some can be retrieved from the Institute's website.

2019 was also punctuated by a series of terrorist attacks in Kenya and Somalia from Somalia-based terrorist group al Shabab. As such, the HORN Institute continued to function as a nucleus, and knowledge hub in this key research and action area,



providing a conducive space and resources that could have a positive impact on prevention and counter violent extremism (P/CVE) efforts in the region. In this regard, the Institute held workshops and conducted trainings on P/CVE in collaboration with its partners, key among them: the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC); Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government; Ministry of Defence; Center for Sustainable Conflict Resolution (CSCR); Tony Blair Institute for Global Change (TBI); and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), among others. Notably, through its experts and fellows in the HORN Academy, the Institute scaled-up its counter terrorism trainings offered in four courses. These are; Preventing and Securing against Radicalization and Violent Extremism (PRESERVE) – Basic and Advanced; Course to Understanding Radicalization and Violent Extremism (CURVE); and Identification of Vulnerabilities Leading to Violent Extremism (INVOLVE). Two training manuals on P/CVE were also published.

Further, the Institute conducted two studies entitled: *Flirting with Hyenas: How External Interests are Fuelling Instability in the Horn of Africa* which focused on how external actors are directly or indirectly contributing to instability in the region; and *Africa-Middle East Relations: Interests, Strategies, Interventions, and Impact* that explored the relations between countries in Africa and those in the Middle East at social, political and economic levels.

## Prospects

In 2019, there was a significant increase in local and international media's requests to give expert analysis and commentaries on various issues affecting the Horn of Africa region. Due to its increasing presence on online and offline platforms, the Institute's fellows featured in the varied media outlets key among British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), China Global Television Network (CGTN), South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF), Aljazeera, NTV, The East African, Daily Nation, The Standard, CFI, Citizen TV, Horizon TV, among others. In 2020, therefore, the Institute will seek to expand this global reach

through more insightful publications and media outreach.

At the center of the Institute's success in the last three years is the congenial partnership, ranging from like-minded think tanks, individual researchers, civil society organizations, to relevant government agencies. The Institute believes that in creating a synergy with compatible entities, there will be an enhanced research-policy network that will help in mainstreaming its policies. In 2020, the Institute will continue to strengthen these partnerships, at the local, regional, and international levels.

“It is very important for Kenya to deploy Special Forces to support other security agencies in the Kenya-Somalia border. The Special Forces can reinforce the moderately equipped police to deal with the threat that al Shabab is posing.”

Dr. Mustafa Y. Ali

Chairman the HORN Institute on Countering Violent  
Extremism and Terrorism

In addition to partnerships, the Institute will continue participating in apposite global fora. In 2019, the Institute was invited to participate and moderate during the *GLOBSEC Forum 2019*. GLOBSEC is a global think-tank based in Bratislava focusing on Europe and the world and the 14<sup>th</sup> edition of GLOBSEC Bratislava Forum “aspired to look beyond the state of international affairs and the disruptive narratives engulfing societies.” The Institute’s fellows will attend 2020 edition and many more other high level events to keep abreast with key trends and debates in its focus areas.

In 2019, the Institute was appointed by Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) as the interim leader of a consortium that will bring together research institutions, civil society organizations and individual researchers in the field of P/CVE. In 2020, the Institute will midwife the realization of this body whose main objective is to leverage on synergy of collaboration for greater impact on war against terrorism and violent extremism in the Horn of Africa.

The Institute will, in 2020, hold a conference on Africa-Middle East Relations themed *International Conference on Africa-Middle East Relations: Interests, Strategies, Interventions, and Impact*. This Conference will provide an opportunity for experts and scholars on Africa-Middle East Relations to closely examine the

relations between the two blocs at the political, economic, and security levels. The Conference will be preceded by a study on the same.

In addition to increasing the number of its experts, the Institute established existing relations, and forged new ones in 2019. Most notably, the Institute co-implemented a pilot project, ‘Supporting Women Leaders,’ funded by one of its existing partners, the UK-based Tony Blair Institute for Global Change. It also furthered its engagements with ACT! (a non-governmental organization focussed on conflict transformation), different relevant government ministries, and other policy and research institutes, including the Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPR), and Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS). Beyond Kenya, the Institute engaged with GLOBSEC (a Slovakia-based non-partisan, non-governmental organization focused on international politics and security), and Fin Church Aid (a non-governmental organization whose primary focus areas are development, and humanitarian aid).

The Institute will train its lenses more on governance, statecraft, and conflict transformation in 2020, in keeping with upcoming elections in, among other countries, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Burundi. It will also conduct at least one more comprehensive study in the coming year, to increase its understanding,



and that of its stakeholders, of the Institute's focus countries, and the key dynamics therein. Further, the HORN Institute will continue to engage with its existing partners, and seek new ones.

Finally, it is through joint and collaborative partnership with governmental and non-governmental institutions and organizations that the Institute was able to successfully carry out research, projects, and other activities. Specifically, the Institute wishes to acknowledge partnership with National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) – Kenya; Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade – Kenya; Ministry

of Defence – Kenya; Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government; Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); USAID – NIWETU; Tony Blair Institute for Global Change; African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT); Ministry of Defence (Kenya); Act Change Transform (Act!); Zimbabwe National Defence University (ZNDU); Arigatou International; Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative; and Center for Sustainable Conflict Resolution (CSCR) whose flagship program is Building Resilience Against Violent Extremism (BRAVE), among others.



*(From left) Prof. Macharia Munene, Professor of History, USIU-Africa, Lt. Gen. (Rtd) Humprey Njoroge, H.E. H.E. Erastus Mwencha, E.G.H., M.B.S. Chairman, The African Capacity Building Foundation, and Member, HORN Council of Advisors, Dr. Hassan Khannenje, Director, the HORN Institute, Col. (Rtd) Cyrus Oguna, Government of Kenya Spokesperson*



## Research

In 2019, the Institute used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies to interrogate critical issues and problems that emerged in 2019 in the greater Horn of Africa region, which is also the Institute's area of primary focus. Key among these were matters related to maritime territories, including the establishment of naval bases in Djibouti and Eritrea, and the unresolved Kenya-Somalia maritime boundary dispute; statecraft - especially in Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC); and terrorism (with significant attacks reported in Kenya, DRC, and Somalia).

The yet-to-be-resolved Kenya-Somalia maritime boundary dispute emerged as a cross-cutting issue that created a flurry of diplomatic activity, and made news for several months in Kenya, the greater Horn of Africa region, the Arab world, the Netherlands, and Scandinavian Europe. It was also highlighted on the sidelines of the 74<sup>th</sup> United Nations General Assembly, in the US. The matter – that began as a territorial issue – developed into a functional one (around February 2019) as the potential of unexplored

hydrocarbons in the disputed area became apparent. This lack of agreement over the location of the shared boundary spotlighted the 'colonization' of the waters of the Horn of Africa by American, European, and Asian companies, especially in Djibouti, and Eritrea, which some consider as a potential conflict catalyst. The challenge of disputed maritime boundaries was the focus of a study, a report, special edition, bulletin articles, and several website articles, and policy briefs (see Figure 1).



There were notable developments concerning governance challenges and the strategic choices that confronted countries in the Horn of Africa region. Most notable of these include the ousted of Sudan's former President, Omar al-Bashir, after a wave of civilian protests. This ushered a new dawn in the country that is now negotiating its transition from military to civilian rule. Political elites in South Sudan still cannot find a way to move the country into a more stable, more peaceful dispensation. The efforts of the 2019 Nobel Laureate, and Ethiopian Prime Minister, Abiy Ahmed, to reform Ethiopia, and govern his complex 'patch work' state effectively were tested when he was confronted with a coup attempt, and secessionist calls. The greater Horn of Africa region also experienced deterioration of relations between the Presidents of Uganda and Rwanda, which resulted in, among other things, the temporary closure of their shared borders. The DRC welcomed a new 'opposition' President, Felix Tshisekedi, against the background of alleged electoral malpractices, while Kenya, struggling under the weight of its increasing debts, orchestrated four bank-breaking, nationwide programs: digital registration of persons, national census, demonetization, and a political peace-fostering effort, the Building Bridges Initiative.



*(From left) Dr. Hassan Khannenje, Prof. Stig Hansen, Professor of Religion and Politics, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Prof. Macharia Munene, Nancy Karigithu, C.B.S., Principal Secretary, Shipping and Maritime Affairs (Kenya), Titus Ibui, E.G.H., Chairman, LAPSSET, and Dr. Mustafa Y. Ali, Chairman, the HORN Institute pose for a photo during the Symposium*

There was focus on terrorism as informed by two important events involving Somalia-based terrorist group, al Shabab, and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Kenya experienced another significant terrorist attack in its capital when DusitD2, a business complex in the Westlands suburb of the Nairobi city, was targeted by al Shabab, in January 2019. The impact of the apparent changes in al Shabab tact - including radicalization trends - remains unclear. Months later, previously presumed-dead

ISIS leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi al-Qurayshi, 'emerged' in a video and spoke about the future of ISIS and its existence outside Iraq and Syria. Al-Baghdadi was assassinated in October 2019. It is not yet clear what the immediate impact of his message in the video, and subsequent demise will be in counter-terrorism, but parts of the greater Horn of Africa, including DRC, and Somalia, have already experienced ISIS-related terrorist activity.

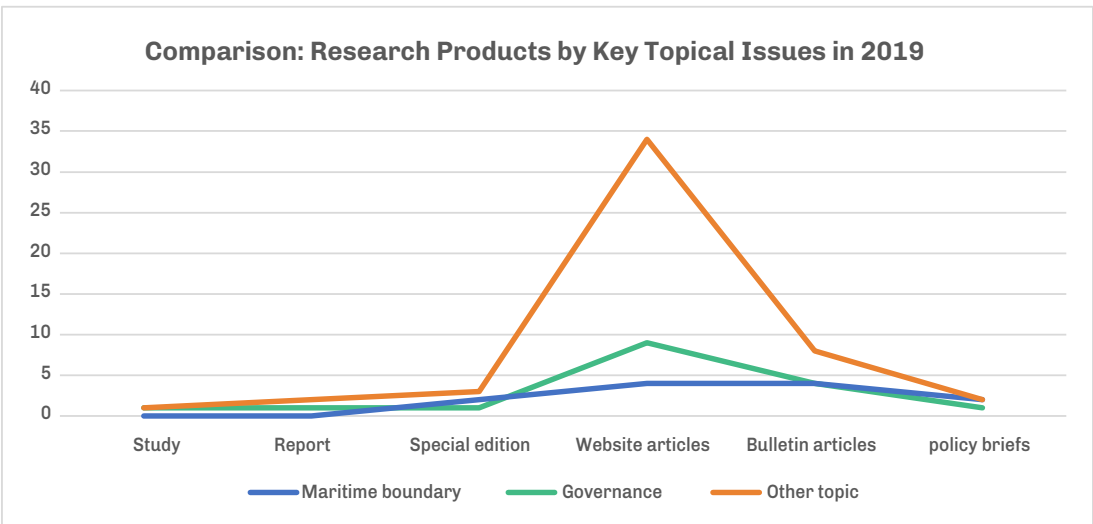


Figure 1: Research products on maritime boundary issues

The interrogation of these key emerging issues (among others) shaped the discourse in the Institute’s areas of focus, as well as the type

and number of research products in 2019, as illustrated in Figure 2.

Many countries in Africa have not agreed on how challenges of border delimitations can be resolved. However, conflicts can be stopped in Africa if strong democracies are established.

Lt-Gen (Rtd) Humphrey Njoroge  
 Former Commandant, National Defence College (Kenya)  
 Maritime Border Challenges and Implications on Security: An Experts' Symposium

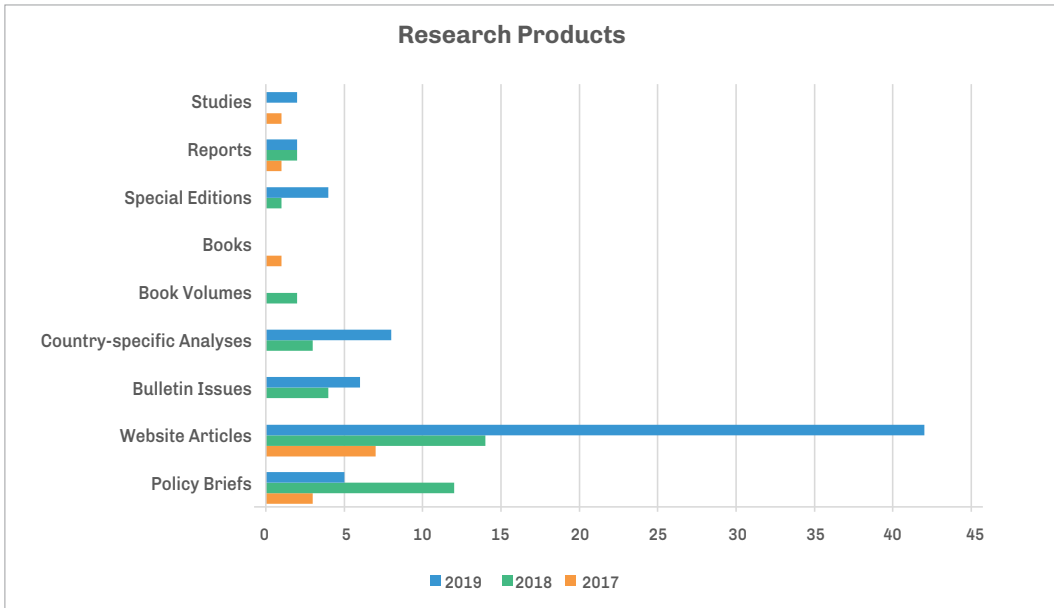


Figure 2: A comparison of the type and number of research products in the period 2017-2019

The interrogation informed the Institute's stakeholder engagements, in Kenya and abroad, and key research events, including the Institution's Maritime Study Group sessions (see also p. 16), a series of roundtable discussions on the maritime boundary dispute (see also p. 18), and a symposium on maritime border challenges (see also p. 20), in addition to a roundtable discussion on Africa-Middle East relations.


These outputs helped cement the Institute's profile as one of the key go-to think tanks in Nairobi in cross-cutting matters relating to peace and security in the Horn of Africa region, evidenced by media appearances in 2019 (see also p 36), and the Institute's existing and new partners.

“...multi-agency approach, borne of institutional coherence and enhanced coordination between the relevant organs charged with dealing with terrorism, is key to enhancing the chances of success against terrorism”

Singo Mwachofi  
Peace and Security Expert, the HORN Institute and,  
Lecturer, University of Nairobi



Policy briefs




### SECURING THE NATION: Responding to the Changing Terror Tactics after DushD2 Attack

**Background**  
On January 10, 2015, the terrorist Islamic State group in Somalia attacked DushD2, a security compound in Mogadishu that also houses a UN Security Council mission. The DushD2 attack is considered an escalation of international terrorism in Somalia. This report examines the implications of the DushD2 attack for the security of Somalia and the region. It also discusses the role of the international community in responding to the attack and the need for a comprehensive approach to counterterrorism in Somalia.

**Notable New Dynamics in DushD2 Attack**  
Earlier attacks by al-Shabaab in Mogadishu were mostly confined to residential areas, markets, and public places. The DushD2 attack, however, was a targeted strike against a security compound. This indicates a shift in the group's tactics, from indiscriminate attacks to targeted operations. The attack also demonstrated the group's ability to plan and execute a complex operation in a densely populated urban area.

**Internationalization of DushD2 Attack**  
There is a strong possibility that the DushD2 attack will have international implications. The attack could lead to increased international attention on Somalia and the region. It could also lead to increased international support for the Somali government in its efforts to counterterrorism. The attack could also lead to increased international pressure on al-Shabaab to end its attacks.


**Key Findings**  
The DushD2 attack is a significant escalation of international terrorism in Somalia. It indicates a shift in the group's tactics, from indiscriminate attacks to targeted operations. The attack also demonstrated the group's ability to plan and execute a complex operation in a densely populated urban area. There is a strong possibility that the DushD2 attack will have international implications. The attack could lead to increased international attention on Somalia and the region. It could also lead to increased international support for the Somali government in its efforts to counterterrorism. The attack could also lead to increased international pressure on al-Shabaab to end its attacks.



### Open-Ended Conscription in Eritrea's National Military Service: Here is How to Improve the Policy

**Background**  
Eritrea's conscription policy is a source of controversy. It is a form of open-ended conscription that requires all Eritreans to serve in the military for an indefinite period. This policy has led to widespread criticism and has been identified as a human rights concern. This report examines the implications of the policy and offers recommendations for improvement.

**Key Findings**  
The current policy is a source of controversy and has led to widespread criticism. It is a form of open-ended conscription that requires all Eritreans to serve in the military for an indefinite period. This policy has led to widespread criticism and has been identified as a human rights concern. This report examines the implications of the policy and offers recommendations for improvement.




### CALMING THE STORM: A Strategic Approach to Resolving Kenya-Somalia Maritime Crisis

**Executive Summary**  
The maritime dispute between Kenya and Somalia is a complex issue. It involves territorial claims, maritime boundaries, and the rights of innocent passage. This report examines the dispute and offers a strategic approach to resolving it.


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The maritime dispute between Kenya and Somalia is a complex issue. It involves territorial claims, maritime boundaries, and the rights of innocent passage. This report examines the dispute and offers a strategic approach to resolving it.

Papers



### The Kenya-Somalia Maritime Boundary Dispute Threatens Kenya's Regional Transport and Logistics Hub Ambitions

**Abstract**  
This paper examines the implications of the Kenya-Somalia maritime boundary dispute for Kenya's regional transport and logistics hub ambitions. It discusses the dispute and offers recommendations for resolution.



The dispute has the potential to threaten Kenya's regional transport and logistics hub ambitions. It could lead to increased international attention on the dispute and could also lead to increased international support for Kenya's position. The dispute could also lead to increased international pressure on Somalia to resolve the dispute.



### How Strategic Choices Keep President Museveni in Power

**Abstract**  
This paper examines the strategic choices that have kept President Museveni in power in Uganda. It discusses the political and economic context and offers recommendations for reform.

The strategic choices that have kept President Museveni in power are a result of a combination of factors. These include the political and economic context, the role of the military, and the role of the international community. This paper examines these factors and offers recommendations for reform.



### South Sudan Power Sharing Agreement and Intricate Realities: Conceptual and Critical Reflections

**Abstract**  
This paper examines the South Sudan power sharing agreement and its implications for the country's future. It discusses the agreement and offers critical reflections on its implementation.

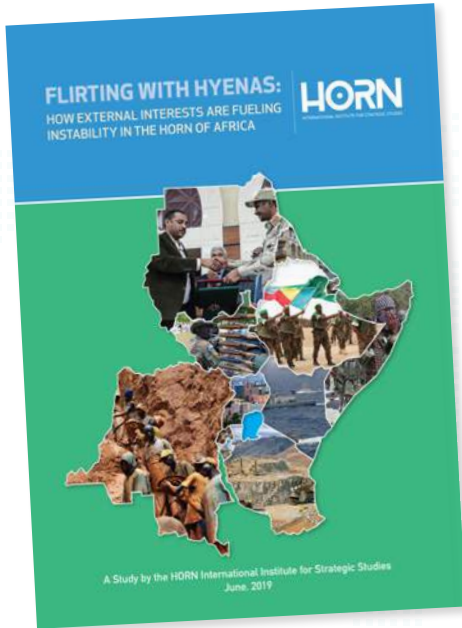
The South Sudan power sharing agreement is a complex issue. It involves the distribution of power between the central government and the states. This paper examines the agreement and offers critical reflections on its implementation.



H.E. Erastus Mwencha

## Studies

### Flirting with Hyenas: How External Interests are Fueling Instability in the Horn of Africa



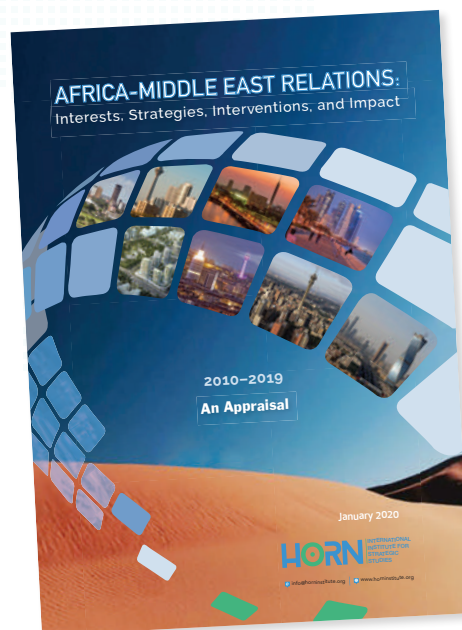
In June and July this year, the Institute conducted a study titled *FLIRTING WITH HYENAS: How External Interests are Fueling Instability in the Horn of Africa*.

This study examines how external interests are destabilizing the Horn of Africa region. The objective is to highlight how external commercial, geostrategic, political, and military interests are contributing to regional instability, and explore options for possible mitigation. This study also examines the dynamics of the ongoing

maritime dispute between Kenya and Somalia, on potential implications for regional security.

### Africa-Middle East Study

In September, the Institute conducted a yet-to-be-published study titled *'Africa-Middle East Relations: Interests, Strategies, Interventions and Impact: An Appraisal (2010-2019)*. The goal of the study is to increase understanding of the impact of the United Arab Emirates, Iran, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Turkey interventions in Africa. The study findings are meant to inform Africa-Middle East foreign policies; promote mutually beneficial relations and regional stability.







## Activities

### **Tony Blair Institute for Global Change Project Design Workshop: P/CVE Project to Support Women Leaders - January 22-24, 2019**

The Institute participated in a workshop to design the 'Supporting Women Leaders' project. The workshops were organized by the Tony Blair Institute and Act! to redesign the pilot project and syllabus and assign responsibilities for confirmed members. The HORN Institute would later be a key implementing partner. It also sought to establish criteria for selection of 'at risk' communities that the project

targets and the leaders who would work in these communities; serve as the platform for preliminary discussion on the syllabus that was to be developed and delivered by consortium members; and began a discussion on how the project will be monitored and evaluated. The Institute also participated in a similar event on February 18 to 22, 2019 in Nairobi.

### **TBI (Tony Blair Institute) - Religious Leaders Program**

In collaboration with Tony Blair Institute for Global Change, the Institute continued the Religious Leaders Program activities which seek to leverage on the influence and power of religious and community leaders in the fight

against violent extremism and terrorism in the vulnerable areas in Kenya.

Through its implementing partner, CSCR, training workshops were conducted in Kwale

and Garissa counties on pedagogy of adult learning, C/PVE introduction, definitions, principles and practice, radicalization, context of violent extremism in East Africa, early warning to recruitment and radicalization, introduction to types of narratives, extremism narratives, alternative and counter narratives, introduction to gender dynamics in violent extremism, role of women in C/PVE.

### Maritime Working Group Sessions

The Institute convened a group of maritime conflict experts to oversee discussions on Africa maritime border conflicts, particularly Kenya-Somalia dispute. This move was informed by the ascendancy of significance of oceans and seas in the world as well as potential for conflict among nations. The first Maritime Working Group session was conducted on March 4, 2019 at the HORN Institute. The overriding objective of the Working Group was to provide a framework for structured discourse on the Kenya-Somalia

maritime border dispute. Members of the group act as lead experts in the engagements, by coordinating follow up activities including structured dialogues. This session paved way for the Consultative Forum that was held on March 14, 2019 and brought together maritime lawyers, scholars, practitioners, and government officials. The core objective was to provide a platform for comprehensive understanding of the dispute and lay framework for future deliberations. Some of the key takeaways included the need to understand Somalia better, especially the relationship between the center and the periphery; presence of a multiplicity of interests in the case of Somalia; the presence of secessionists, unionists, federalists; chances of resurgence of al Shabab if the row persists; the need to find out the spoilers or influencers in this conflict; the need to evaluate and expand Kenya's foreign policy in the region; and understand the interest of other international actors.



*Prof. Macharia Munene makes a point during the Maritime Working Group meeting held at the HORN Institute on March 4, 2019.*



*Dr. Hassan Khannenje, the HORN Institute director, introducing the Institute to the participants in the Consultative Forum*



*Rachel Eshiwani, a lecturer and advocate, makes a point during the Consultative Forum on March 14, 2019*



*Dr. Fatma Ali, an International Relations scholar, during the Consultative Forum*

## Roundtable Discussion on Kenya-Somalia Maritime Border Dispute March 28, 2018

The HORN Institute held a roundtable discussion on Kenya-Somalia Maritime Border Dispute on March 28, 2019 to deliberate on the main issues raised at the Consultative Forum held on March 14, 2019. Some of the outcomes of this discussion included the need to explore the current legal intricacies of the case as well as the appropriate political interventions; consider regional-wide institutional approach in terms of bringing on the table the relevant institutions such as IGAD and AU; there was consensus that the AU

should be doing more. They should activate the 'panel of the wise' and be more involved in disputes between countries.



*Andrew Franklin, a security analyst focusing on the Horn of Africa, makes a point during the Roundtable Discussion on Kenya-Somalia maritime security on March 28, 2019*



A section of participants during the Roundtable Discussion on Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute held at the HORN Institute on March 28, 2019



Prof. Macharia Munene, Chairman, HORN Maritime Study Group, explains a point during one of the strategy meetings at the HORN Institute

## Maritime Border Challenges Symposium

The Institute held a high-level symposium, *Maritime Border Challenges and Implications on Security: An Experts' Symposium*, on July 25-26, 2019 at Radisson Blu Hotel in Nairobi (Kenya). The main objective of the Symposium was to closely examine the Kenya-Somalia case, interrogate alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, and seek a practical way forward with regard to the case.

The Symposium attracted local and international maritime and legal experts, notably from Kenya, Nigeria, United States, Norway, South Korea, Poland and Ghana; high-ranking serving and former military officers; representatives from

Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence; scholars and practitioners from Ghana, Nigeria, Norway, USA, South Africa, Japan, Poland, South Korea in the fields of political science, law, maritime security, and international relations. Regional think tanks and academic institutions were also represented in this symposium.

Some key guests included Nancy Karigithu, C.B.S, Principal Secretary, Shipping and Maritime Affairs who opened the symposium on Day 1; Titus Ibui, Chairman, LAPSSET, closing speech; and Lt-Gen (Rtd) Humphrey Njoroge, Former Commandant, Kenya National Defence College, a keynote speech.



*Dr. Abdiwahab Sheikh Abdisamad (second from left), a security expert attached to Southlink Consultants, makes a point during the Maritime Border Challenges Symposium organized by the HORN Institute on July 25-26, 2019*



*Justice Srem-Sai, a lawyer and maritime expert from Ghana, makes his contribution during a plenary session*



*Prof. Stig Hansen makes a presentation during the Maritime Border Challenges Symposium*

## Preserving and Securing Against Radicalization and Violent Extremism (PRESERVE) Training

The Institute delivered a five-day advanced course training on P/CVE at the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government on February 18-22, 2019. The course included an examination of geographies and typologies of terrorism and violent extremism; conceptual and theoretical foundations; geopolitics of terrorism and violent extremism, among others.



With evolving and changing dynamics in terrorism and violent extremism, the HORN Institute Academy conceived PRESERVE Course – Preventing and Securing against Radicalization and Violent Extremism. The aim of PRESERVE Course is to deepen understanding of the dynamics of terrorism and violent extremism within the relevant agencies, government officials, non-governmental organizations, and academic institutions.

PRESERVE traces the evolution of global, international and domestic terrorism, terrorist ideology and its ideological infrastructure, antecedents and formation of terrorist groups, and the trajectories of terrorism in Africa and the World. The course is spearheaded by scholars and practitioners with vast experience in research on terrorism and counter-terrorism; former senior military officers; diplomats; and theologians; among others.





## **BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) P/CVE Research Launch Facilitation March 21, 2019**

The HORN Institute was invited by the British and Dutch High commission to facilitate a high-level launch of a BRICS P/CVE study at Radisson Blu Hotel. The launch, which was facilitated by the HORN Institute director, was attended

by among others the director of the NCTC, the British High Commissioner and the Dutch ambassador, governors, ambassadors and senior government officials.

## **Ministry of Foreign Affairs Paper Presentation on Kenya's Bid for United Nations Security Council (UNSC) seat March 22, 2019**

At the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Director, Dr. Hassan Khannenje presented a paper of Kenya's Agenda for Africa in a brainstorming session for Kenya's bid to join the United Nations Security Council at La Mada Hotel. The session was chaired by

the Cabinet Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Monica Juma, and the Principal Secretary, Mr. Kamau Macharia in a meeting attended by high level diplomatic, defence and security officials.

“Historically, Africa’s security thinking has relegated the maritime domain below the terrestrial level. The continent’s neglect of the sea can be attributed to overreliance on colonialists and Euro-centric military doctrines instead of using African ones. These mentalities need to change.”

**Prof. Macharia Munene**

Professor of History, United States International University (USIU-Africa),  
Maritime Border Challenges and Implications on Security: An Experts' Symposium

## 6<sup>th</sup> Africa Think Tank Summit

The Institute was invited to a high-level planning meeting for a Think Tank Summit organized by Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA) and the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF). Later, the Institute took part in the 6<sup>th</sup> Africa Think Tank Summit held at Kenyatta International Convention Centre (KICC) on April 24-26, 2019. The summit

aimed at proposing strategies and actionable recommendations for think tanks to meaningfully contribute to tackling policy implementation challenges within the context of Africa's vision as reflected in Agenda 2063 and the SDGs, through sharing knowledge and country case studies on good practices in ensuring successful implementation of policies and strategies.



Panelists during the 6<sup>th</sup> Africa Think Tank Summit held on April 24-26, 2019.

## Development of a Training Manual for Developing and Disseminating Counter-Messages and Alternative Narratives

The Institute developed a training manual titled *Training Manual for Developing and Disseminating Counter-Messages and Alternative Narratives*. This manual is intended for audiences in the Intergovernmental Authority on Development region key among them Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda.

In line with good practices, the Institute held a validation workshop on September 3, 2019 to validate the manual. Select clerics (both Christians and Muslims); youth, women, and experts on terrorism and violent extremism took part in the validation process.



*Paul Agina, a doctoral student at the University of Nairobi making his contribution during the validation of the IGAD Training Manual*



*A section of participants during the validation workshop of the Training Manual on September 3, 2019*

### Alternative Messaging Workshop

The Institute took part in the *Alternative Messaging Workshop* held on April 24-25, 2019 at Heron Portico Hotel organized by Equal Access International. The workshop ran under a project titled *The Somali Voices*. It aimed at building resilience of the Somali community against radicalization into violent extremism, and recruitment into violent extremist groups using the media, key among them, radio and social media.

### IGAD Research Conference (in Nairobi, December 4-6, 2019) on Violent Extremism in IGAD Countries Plus Tanzania.

The forum brought together researchers from, among other countries, Djibouti, Uganda, Tanzania, Somalia, Kenya, and Ethiopia. The Institute was represented by Roselyne Omondi, Dr. Halkano Wario, Dr. Hassan Khannenje, and Dr. Mustafa Ali. Dr. Wario, presented findings on Kenya's early warning, early response mechanisms. Roselyne, and Dr. Mustafa moderated different sessions. At the

Conference, the HORN Institute suggested the formation of a Research Consortium to help streamline research related to violent extremism in the region. The proposal was accepted, and the Institute was appointed to chair and coordinate the Consortium. IGAD committed to supporting the process. The first Research Consortium meeting will be held at the end of the first quarter of 2020.

### Implementation of Tony Blair Institute for Global Change Supporting Leaders Program



Sh. Ibrahim Lethome, a Sharia Law Expert, during a training on Countering Violent Extremism in Garissa. The HORN Institute, through its implementing partner, CSCR, is conducting the Supporting Leaders Project.

The HORN Institute in conjunction with Tony Blair Institute for Global Change conducted the Supporting Leaders Programme. The Programme sought to leverage on the influence and power of religious and community leaders in the fight against violent extremism and terrorism in the vulnerable areas in Kenya. The Institute, through its implementing partner, Center for Sustainable Conflict Resolution (CSCR), conducted a Muslim intra-faith supporting leaders' workshop from April 29, 2019 to May 12, 2019. The participants were trained on Countering Violent Extremism

(CVE). Another workshop was conducted in Garissa on April 14, to April 17, 2019.

### Bratislava Forum

The HORN Institute, through its Director, Dr. Hassan Khannenje, was invited to moderate a high-level global security forum (GLOBSEC). The Director moderated one of the main sessions. Dr. Khannenje was accompanied by the Associate Director, Center for the Study of Terrorism, Violent Extremism and Radicalization, Dr. Halkano Wario, who served as one of the panelists.



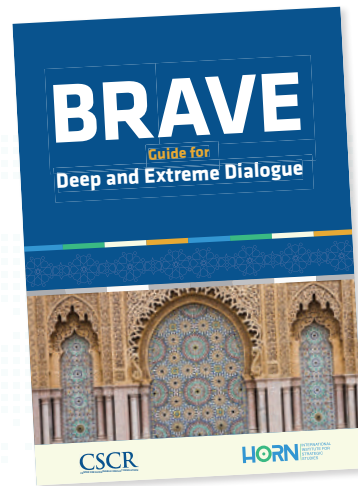
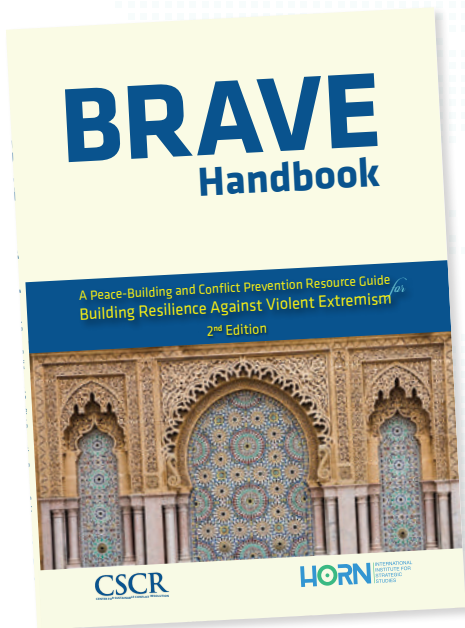
*Dr. Hassan Khannenje moderating one of the main sessions in the GLOBSEC Bratislava Forum 2019*

*Dr. Halkano Wario, Associate Director, Center for the Study of Terrorism, Violent Extremism and Radicalization, at the GLOBSEC 2019 Bratislava Forum represented the HORN Institute in this high-level forum.*



## D-PRIVE Program

D-PRIVE (Diminishing the Prevalence of Radicalization into Violent Extremism) is a year-long program to prevent and reduce the incidents and prevalence of radicalization into violent extremism and recruitment into terrorist organizations in the most vulnerable pockets in the affected regions of Kenya. D-PRIVE aims to counteract and delegitimize extremists' rhetoric, narrative, and ideologies through championing ideological 'push backs' activities,



and counter narratives through counter-messaging. D-PRIVE, which aims at supporting counter-terrorism efforts in Kenya, has three pillars: Deep and Extreme Dialogues (Deep Dialogue (DD)); Extreme Dialogue (ED); and Deep and Extreme Dialogue (DED), Disruption of Extremists' Narratives (DEN), and Capacity-building to Counter Violent Extremism (CVE). In this regard, the Institute, in collaboration with CSCR, revised the BRAVE Handbook. The Handbook is a key component in carrying out D-PRIVE programmatic activities.

The youth represent a critical mass of Africa's population, and are a key target of various forms of violent extremism. Yet, they too have a pertinent role to play in preventing violent extremism, particularly through inter-religious approach.

Mumo Nzau, Ph.D.  
National Security and Governance Strategist and,  
Lecturer, University of Nairobi

## Training of University Deans and Registrars on Countering Violent Extremism

The HORN Institute, through the Center for the Study of Terrorism, Violent Extremism and Radicalization, and under the auspices of the European Union (EU) and National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC), were involved in

training university deans and registrars on the role of universities in countering violent extremism. The trainings took place on June 18-20, 2019 and June 25-27, 2019.



*A group photo of participants during the Training of University Deans on Countering Violent Extremism on June 20, 2019 in Naivasha, Kenya*

## Lenga Ugaidi na Talanta Competition Season Three

The Institute was one of the core organizers of the *Lenga Ugaidi na Talanta Competition Season Three*. *Lenga Ugaidi na Talanta* Competition seeks to promote the fight against terrorism and other violent extremist organizations through art. This competition is focused on youth under the age of 35 years. This year, the competition ran

between October and November. The winners were announced at a gala which was attended by the Principal Assistant to the Inspector General of Police – National Police Service, Gideon Nyale Munga, and several high-ranking security officials. The winner pocketed Ksh. 500,000/=.



From Left to Right: Kenneth Odongo, Events Manager, Col. (Rtd) Cyrus Oguna, Spokesperson of the Government of Kenya, Dr. Hassan Khannenje, the HORN Institute Director, and Col. Sam Njuguna from the Ministry of Defence pose for a photo during the Lenga Ugaidi na Talanta Competition launch



Artists performing during the Lenga Ugaidi na Talanta gala on December 10, 2019. The Institute is one of the key sponsors and organizers of the competition





Winner of the 2019 Lenga Ugaidi na Talanta Competition, Omar Hamza, receives his award from one of the key guests



Dr. Hassan Khannenje during the Lenga Ugaidi na Talanta competition gala on December 10, 2019

## HORN-Zimbabwe National Defence University (ZNDU) Conference (2020)

International Conference on Peace and Security (ICPS 2020) is a collaboration of The HORN Institute and Zimbabwe National Defence University (ZNDU). HORN and ZNDU convened the first planning meeting of the International Conference on Peace and Security (ICPS, 2020). This initial meeting was held at the HORN Institute offices on September 2 to 5, 2019. The Conference is originally a ZNDU brand of conferences on international security held biennially.



*Air Vice-Marshal (Dr) M T Moyo, Vice Chancellor and Commandant, Zimbabwe National Defence University (second left), and Dr. Hassan Khannenje, Director, the HORN Institute (second right) sign a Memorandum of Understanding during the first planning meeting of the International Conference on Peace and Security (ICPS, 2020)*

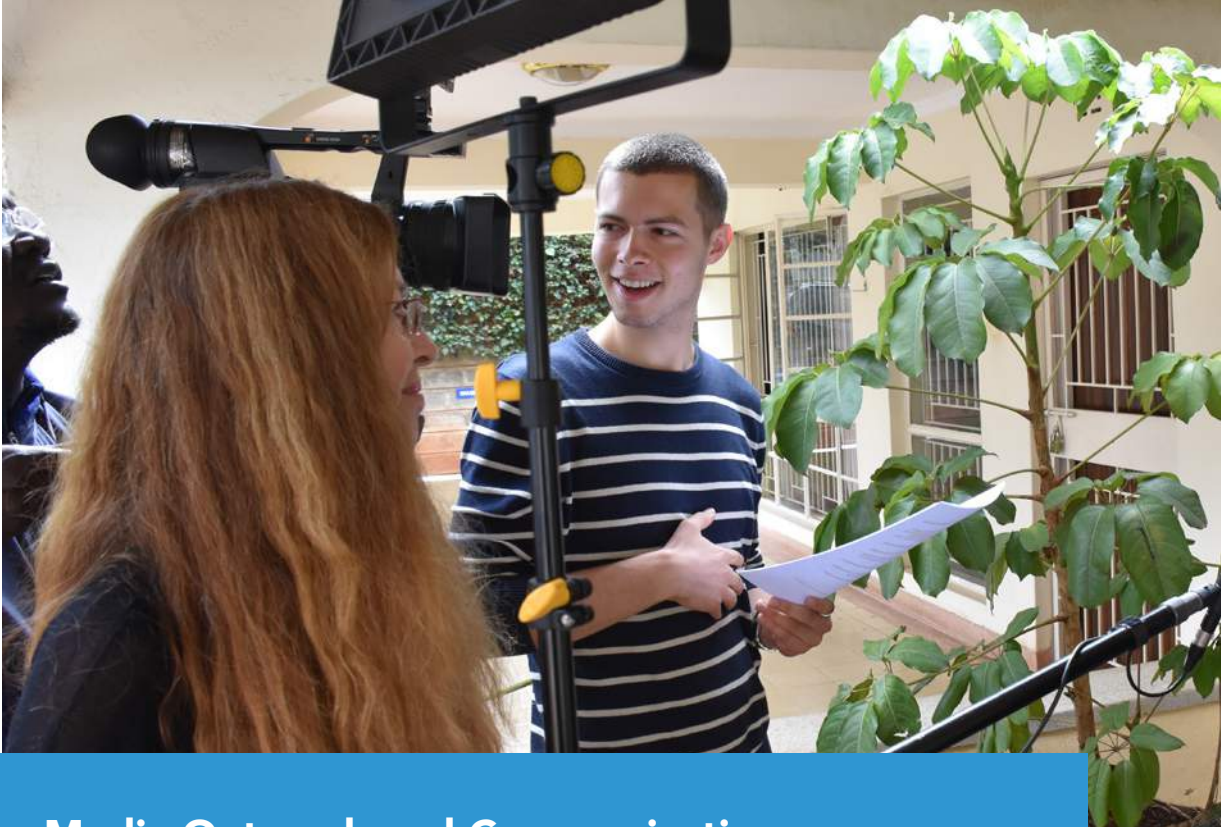
The first conference of this kind was successfully co-hosted by ZNDU and Universiti Utara (Malaysia) in October 2018 in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe. ICPS 2020 will be co-hosted by ZNDU and the HORN Institute. The Conference is set to be held in October 2020. During this meeting the budget of the Conference was developed; and a Joint Coordination Committee with relevant sub-committees was formed to facilitate the efficient planning for ICPS 2020.



The HORN Institute staff and Zimbabwe National Defence University team convene at the HORN Institute offices for the first planning meeting of the International Conference on Peace and Security, 2020



Dr. Hassan Khannenje, Director, the HORN Institute (R), receiving a plaque from Col (Dr) Lucky Bangidza, Head of Research, Zimbabwe National Defence University (L) during the last day of the first planning meeting of ICPS, 2020



## Media Outreach and Communication

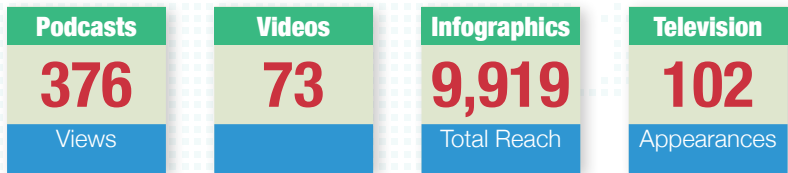
- In 2019, the HORN Institute increasingly became the go-to think tank whenever the media (both local and international) needed expertise to explain issues and analyze current affairs in the Horn of Africa. The region has seen a flurry of activities particularly in the realms of politics, security, and statecraft. The year began in a sombre mood following a terror attack on DusitD2 Complex along Riverside Drive in Nairobi. The attack left more than 20 dead and several others injured. The aftermath of the attack prompted the media to reach out to specialists who could offer expert analysis of the occurrence and related themes. The Institute became the main source of these experts. Experts from the Institute who offered expert analysis include Dr. Hassan Khannenje, Dr. Mumo Nzau, Dr. Mustafa Y. Ali, Brig. Gen. (Rtd) Ahamed Mohammed, and H.E. Erastus J. Mwencha. Some of the media houses involved include BBC, Aljazeera, CGTN Africa, Citizen TV, and NTV.
- In 2019, the Somalia-Kenya maritime border dispute escalated into a legal and diplomatic spat. In response, the Institute held a series of deliberations on the issue key among them maritime working sessions, consultative forum, roundtable discussion, and a symposium. Also, within the news media, the issue garnered significant attention. Experts affiliated to the Institute were, on numerous occasions, invited by various media houses to offer expert analysis on the issue. By its judgement of February 2, 2017, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) took up jurisdiction to adjudicate the maritime dispute between Somalia and Kenya and it is pending determination in June 2020. The Institute is monitoring both the legal and



political development of the case through The HORN bulletin, and website articles, and policy briefs.

- In April, one of the longest-serving rulers in Africa, Omar al Bashir, was ousted, setting Sudan down the road of a major political transition. Al Bashir came to power in 1989 through military coup and ruled with an iron fist. During his rule, al Bashir presided over a genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. His ouster was widely reported and analysed by both local and international media. During this period, HORN experts and fellows became reference points for the media particularly BBC, Aljazeera, CGTN, and NTV.

### HORN Impact by Numbers



## HORN COMMUNICATION METRICS 2019

### HORN Website Analytics

Total Page Views

**13,106**

Bounce Rate

**47.1%**

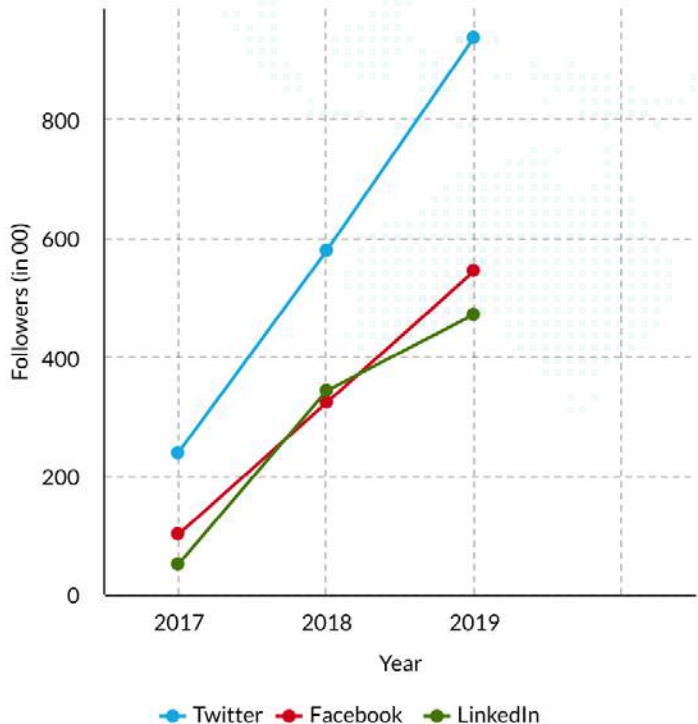
Unique Pageviews

**9,754**

Most Visited Page - About Us

**2,757**

### Social Media Followers Growth (2017-2019)



# HORN IN THE MEDIA

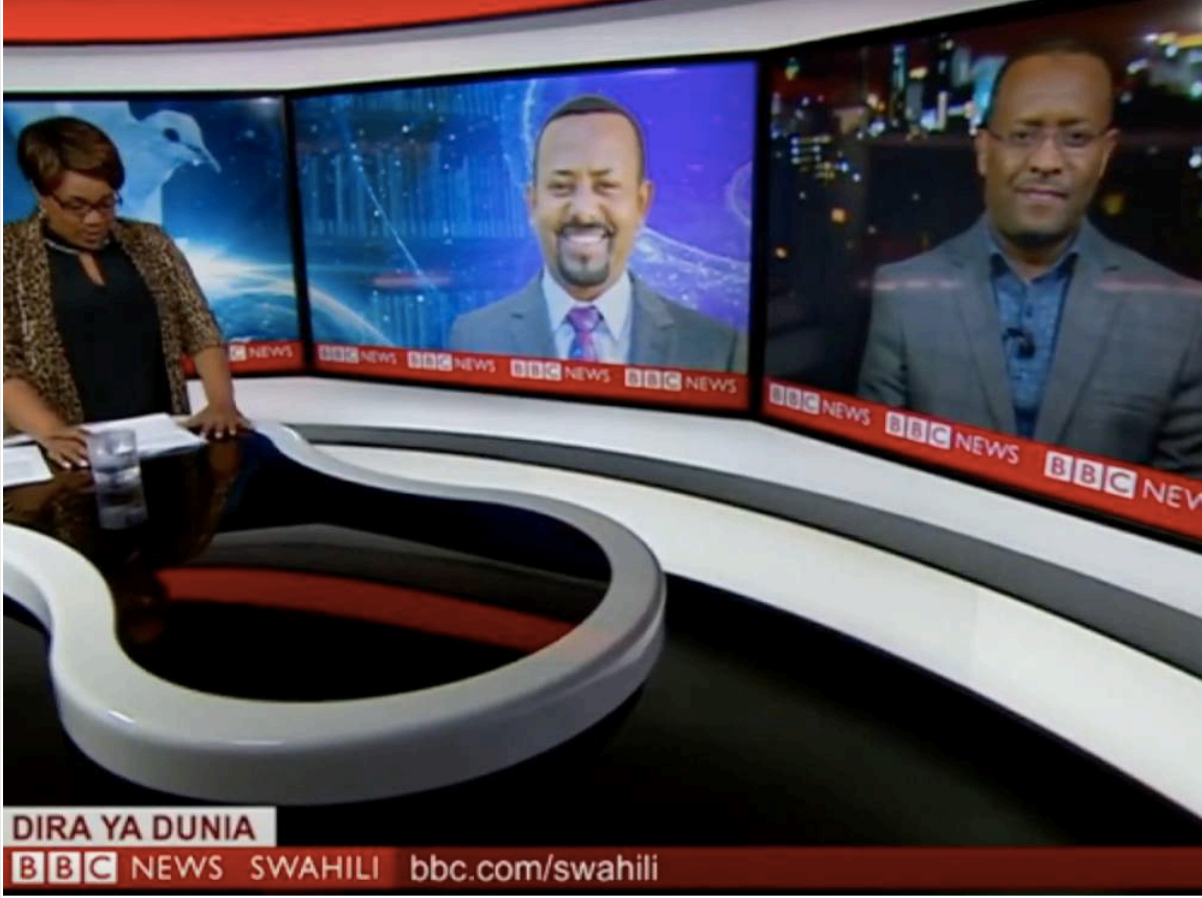


Maritime row: Why ICJ ruling likely to settle Kenya-Somalia

At a glance

BOUNDARY ROW





## The HORN Institute Council of Advisors



**H.E. Erastus J. Mwencha, E.G.H., M.B.S.,** Chairperson, African Capacity Building Foundation



**Rev. Samuel Kobia, Ph.D.,** Chairman, National Cohesion and Integration Commission



**H.E. Yusuf Nzibo, Ph.D., E.B.S.,** Former National Chairman, Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims (SUPKEM)



**Titus K. Ibui, E.G.H.,** Chairman, Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia-Transport (LAPSSET)



**Mumo Nzau, Ph.D.,** Lecturer, University of Nairobi, and National Security Strategist



**Mustafa Y. Ali, Ph.D.,** Director, Arigatou International – Nairobi, and Secretary General, GNRC



2019 in Pictures



2019 in Pictures



## HORN Partners



Government of Kenya



National Counter Terrorism Centre  
Kenya



MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS



ACSRT/CAERT



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI





# HORN

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