

**HORN** | INTERNATIONAL  
INSTITUTE FOR  
STRATEGIC  
STUDIES

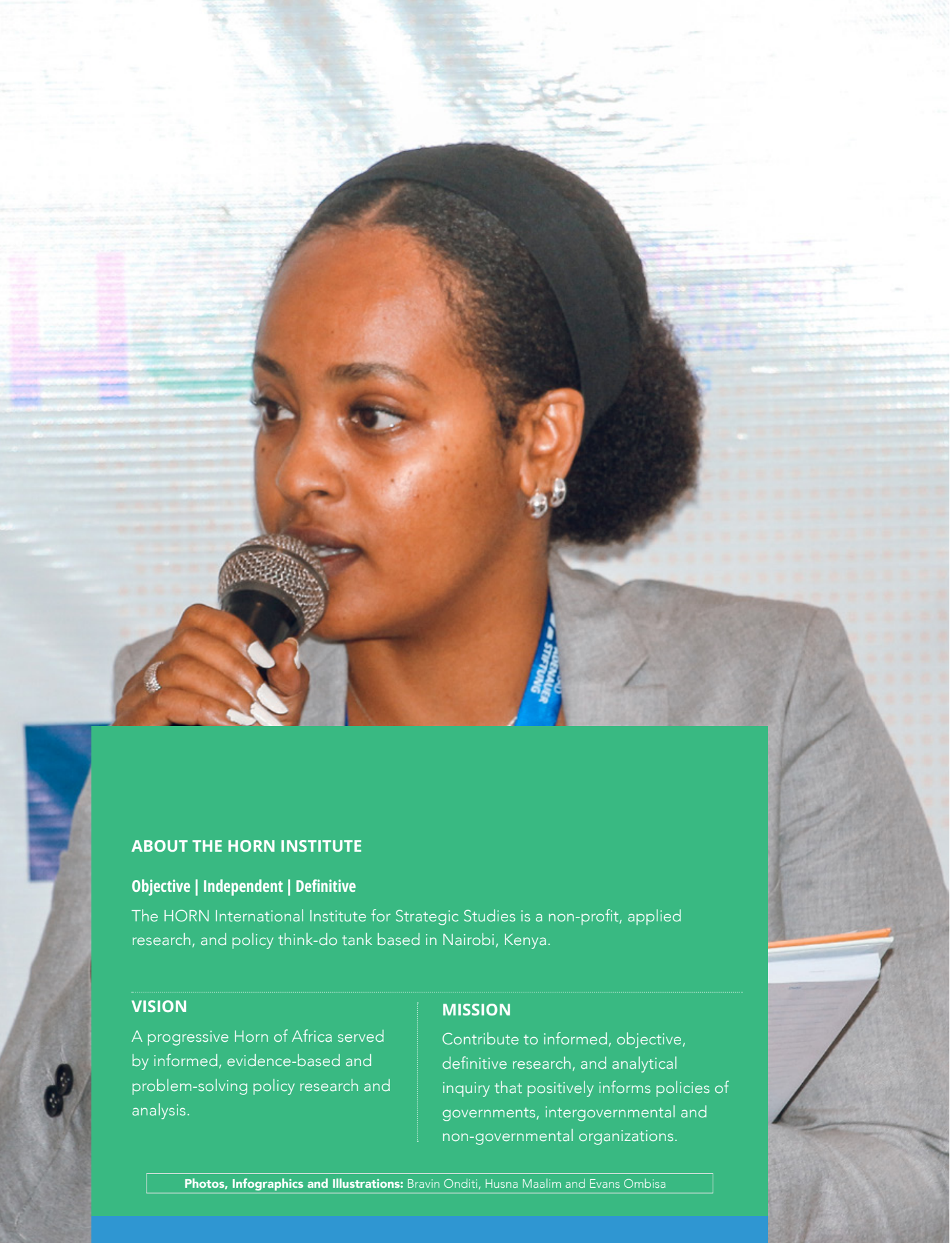
Objective • Independent • Definitive



# Annual **Report** 2024







## 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.

**Photos, Infographics and Illustrations:** Bravin Onditi, Husna Maalim and Evans Ombisa

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# Message from the Chairman

I am proud of our team's resilience and innovation. Our growing presence in global forums and consistent media engagement amplified our influence as a trusted thought leader

The year 2024 marked a turbulent chapter for the Horn of Africa, as the region grappled with escalating geopolitical tensions and persistent internal strife. Sudan's spiraling conflict and humanitarian crisis, coupled with intensifying rivalries over the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden, placed the region at a critical juncture in global security dynamics. Ethiopia's internal divisions, Somalia's ongoing battle with insurgencies, and South Sudan's fragile peace processes further underscored the region's volatility. These challenges, compounded by external powers' strategic maneuvers, demanded nuanced analysis and decisive policy engagement core pillars of the HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies' mission.

In 2024, the Institute solidified its role as a leading voice in navigating the region's complex geopolitical landscape. We convened high-level forums, uniting policymakers, scholars, and practitioners to dissect Sudan's post-conflict reconstruction challenges and analyze Kenya's evolving global alignments, particularly following President William Ruto's landmark State Visit to the United States. Our research expanded to address maritime insecurity, environmental crimes, and climate-induced migration, offering critical insights into the intersections of conflict, climate shocks, and mobility. A pivotal contribution was our support for IGAD's Plan of Action on the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden, reinforcing our commitment to regional cooperation amid rising geopolitical stakes.

The Institute's partnerships with international organizations, including IDEA, JICA, and the European Union, yielded policy-oriented studies that shaped regional peacebuilding and



security frameworks. Our groundbreaking work on environmental crimes and youth-led peace initiatives added vital perspectives to national and regional discourses. Additionally, our conflict mapping tools, enhanced in 2024, provided stakeholders with accessible, real-time analysis to inform decision-making in this volatile environment.

Despite these challenges, I am proud of our team's resilience and innovation. Our growing presence in global forums and consistent media engagement amplified our influence as a trusted thought leader. In 2025, we will deepen our research, strengthen partnerships, and sharpen our impact, remaining steadfast in our mission to foster peace, security, and sustainable development in the Horn of Africa.

My gratitude goes to the Horn Institute staff, our partners and supporters who contribute continue to walk this journey with us. Together, we remain committed to addressing the region's geopolitical challenges with rigor, determination, and purpose.

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

Chairman,

HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies



# Message from the Director

We were proud to partner with institutions such as IGAD, IDEA, JICA, and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, among others, to advance research and action on complex transnational issues

The year 2024 was both momentous and sobering for the Horn of Africa. It was a year in which persistent conflict, environmental shocks, and shifting geopolitical alignments underscored the fragility of peace and governance in our region. Yet, amid these uncertainties, the HORN Institute remained a steadfast pillar of knowledge generation, dialogue, and policy innovation.

Our work this year was shaped by an evolving landscape of challenges that demanded both analytical clarity and strategic engagement. We responded by deepening our research and expanding our convening capacity. From facilitating dialogues on Sudan's post conflict recovery to contributing to regional maritime security strategies in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden, the Institute worked across thematic and geographic boundaries to provide timely, evidence based insights.

We embraced a futuristic oriented agenda, one that recognizes the centrality of climate change, governance reform, and youth inclusion in shaping regional stability. Our flagship studies on environmental crimes, climate induced migration, and the intersection of security and development reflect this adaptive approach to knowledge production. The Institute's research outputs spanning over two dozen well researched articles, six editions of the HORN Bulletin, and multiple policy briefs have informed national, regional, and continental conversations on conflict, peacebuilding, and diplomacy.

In 2024, we also reaffirmed our role as a convener-whether analyzing the significance of Kenya's foreign engagements or facilitating policy dialogues on democratic transitions in Sudan, the Institute brought together scholars, diplomats, practitioners, and civil society to engage critically and constructively.



At the global level, our growing presence in forums from Berlin to Sochi, Kampala to New Delhi and Addis Ababa to Djibouti, speaks to our increasing relevance in shaping discourses that go beyond our immediate geography. We were proud to partner with institutions such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), among others, to advance research and action on complex transnational issues.

As we close 2024, I am proud of what we have accomplished and mindful of the work ahead. The Institute enters the new year with a renewed commitment to excellence, objectivity, and impact. We will continue to generate ideas that move policy, foster trust across divides, and build bridges toward a more peaceful and integrated Horn of Africa.

I extend my sincere gratitude to our staff, partners, and supporters. Your belief in our mission has made our progress possible. We look ahead with determination and hope.

**Hassan Khannenje Ph.D.**

Director,

HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies



## Executive Summary

This report provides a comprehensive overview of the HORN Institute's activities in 2024. The year marked significant achievements in research, policy influence, and strategic collaborations as the Institute was actively engaged in a diverse range of impactful activities, as outlined below.



**Conferences, symposia, and Roundtables:** In May 2024, the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies hosted a flagship symposium on the role of non-military actors in Sudan's post-conflict reconstruction, bringing together over 80 participants and producing actionable policy recommendations. The Institute also convened a roundtable on President William Ruto's state visit to the United States, providing insights into Kenya's strategic positioning within US-Africa relations and its geopolitical implications.

**Research and Publications:** In 2024, the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies conducted comprehensive research on key regional issues, including climate change, environmental crimes, migration patterns, and conflict dynamics in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden. Over the course of the year, the Institute published six issues of the *HORN Bulletin* and 20 articles, all aligned with its thematic focus areas and regional geopolitical trends. These publications provided valuable insights for education, policy formulation, and strategic decision-making, reinforcing the Institute's role as a thought leader in security, governance, and geopolitics within the region.

**Collaborative Projects:** In 2024, the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies partnered with the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) to conduct a study supporting Sudan's democratic transition, offering key policy insights on governance and conflict resolution.

The Institute also secured a bid to develop a multi-disciplinary, policy-oriented analysis on the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden for IGAD-RESGA. Engaging researchers from seven countries, the study provided policy recommendations on maritime security, peace and stability, socio-economic development, and technological innovation, shaping regional strategies for security and economic resilience.

### Training and Capacity Building:

In January and December 2024, the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies, in partnership with the Center for Sustainable Conflict Resolution (CSCR) and JICA, facilitated two training workshops. These 10-day sessions aimed to strengthen the capacity of Somali policymakers and community leaders in countering violent extremism, equipping them with strategic tools for policy development and grassroots engagement.

**Media Engagement:** HORN experts provided thought leadership on regional issues through local and international media platforms, amplifying the Institute's influence and reach.

With these accomplishments, the HORN Institute remains a pivotal actor in addressing the interconnected challenges of governance, climate security, and peacebuilding in the Horn of Africa and beyond.



## 2024 highlights: An overview of the year

### Conferences, Roundtables and Symposia

#### Symposium



In May 2024, the Institute organized a symposium aimed at defining the role of civilians in the post-conflict reconstruction of Sudan. The event themed “Situating Non-military players in the Sudan conflict; Assessing their role in the post-conflict reconstruction” brought together over 80 participants drawn from the academia, diplomatic community, civil society and government for a moment for dialogue on the subject matter. After the symposium, a comprehensive policy brief that included key findings and recommendations was shared to practitioners and policymakers. (Images)

#### Round table

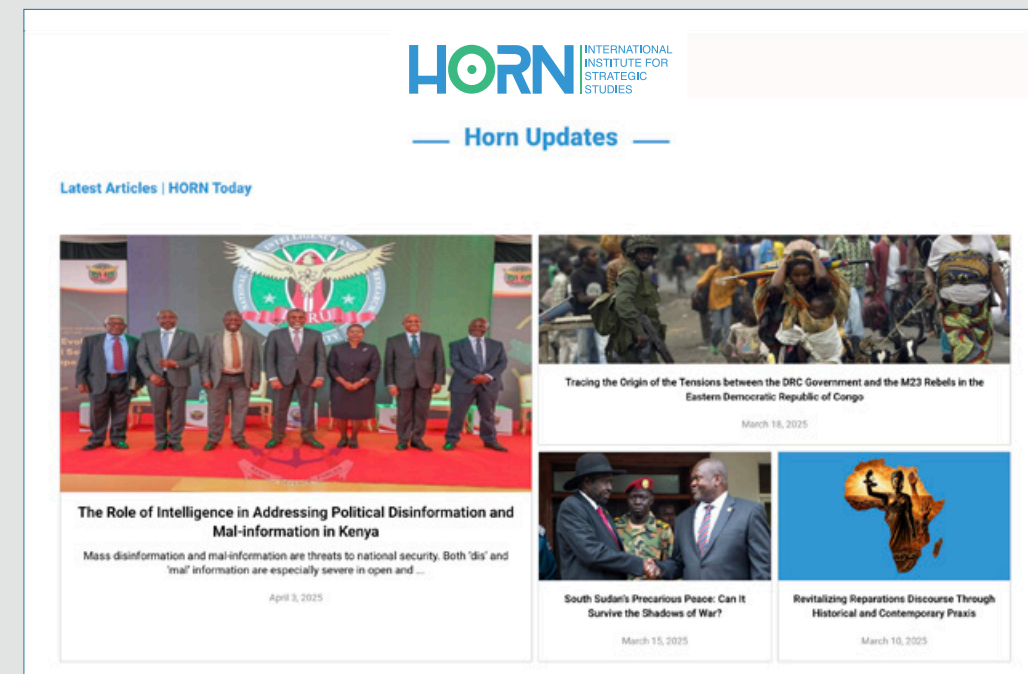


On May 30<sup>th</sup> 2024, the HORN Institute in collaboration with the Africa Center for the Study of the United States (ACSUS), hosted a roundtable aimed at analyzing President William Ruto’s state visit to the US. The event which was hosted at the University of Nairobi’s Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) brought together leading experts in history, foreign policy, diplomacy, security, and strategy. The participants delved into subject areas which included; strategic implications of the visit, historical significance, and future opportunities of

US-Kenya relations within the broader US-Africa policy framework. A key output from the event was a comprehensive report that was shared to practitioners and policy makers. (Images)

The event which was hosted at the University of Nairobi’s Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) brought together leading experts in history, foreign policy, diplomacy, security, and strategy

### Research and Publications



In 2024, the Institute published 20 articles, all aligned with its six core thematic areas: defense and security; terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization; diplomacy and foreign policy; governance, statecraft, and conflict management; transnational crimes and strategic threats; and climate change, migration, and development.



Additionally, the Institute produced six issues of the HORN Bulletin, each containing four articles. These issues covered a wide range of policy-relevant topics including regional security dynamics, emerging geopolitical shifts in the Horn of Africa, the impact of climate change on mobility and conflict, governance challenges, peacebuilding initiatives, and strategic developments in diplomacy and foreign policy. The Bulletin served as a key platform for disseminating timely analysis and expert commentary, reinforcing the Institute’s mission to inform policy and shape public discourse on critical regional issues.



# Projects

## IDEA PROJECT

### Title: Comprehensive Conflict Analysis on Sudan: A Horn Institute Study

This is part of a project “Strengthening citizen engagement in peaceful democratic transition in Sudan” by the **Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)** that was conducted by the HORN Institute. The project supports the generation of knowledge products, aimed at informing peace mediation efforts and dialogues on the return to a peaceful democratic transition. The HORN Institute undertook a comprehensive conflict analysis on Sudan to provide guidance and essential data and analysis to inform its strategy and programmatic interventions to advance peace mediation and return to democratic governance in Sudan.



recommendations across four critical domains: maritime and terrestrial Matters in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden; Peace and Security in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden; Socio-Economic Development in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden; Technological Innovation and Capacity Building in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden

The policy recommendations from this study were designed to serve as a foundational document for IGAD’s Plan of Action on the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden, guiding member states in formulating collective strategies. The IGAD Council of Ministers, which comprises foreign ministers from its eight member states, has been at the forefront of shaping a common regional position on geopolitical and security challenges in the Red Sea. This study directly responded to the Council’s 46<sup>th</sup> session directive, which emphasized the need for evidence-based policy development to enhance regional security, maritime governance, and economic cooperation.

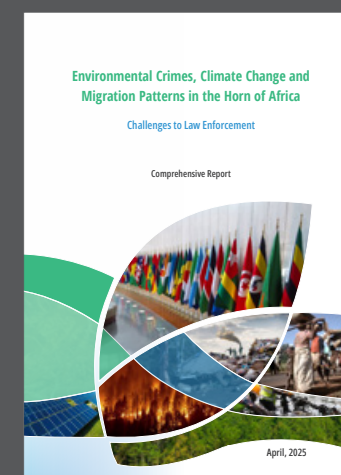
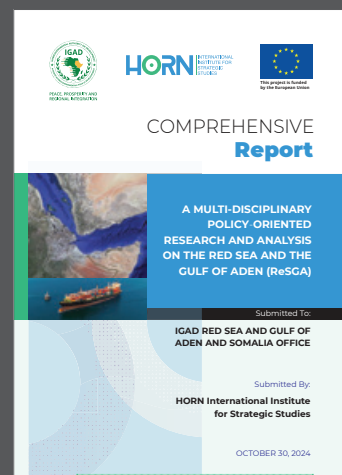
## CLIMATE PROJECT

### Title: Environmental Crimes, Climate Change, and Migration Patterns in the Horn of Africa: Challenges to Law Enforcement

## IGAD RESGA PROJECT

### Title: Multi-Disciplinary Policy Oriented Research and Analysis on the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden (RESGA).

The Horn Institute was awarded a consultancy contract by the **Intergovernmental Authority on Development Red Sea & Gulf of Aden (IGAD-RESGA)** to develop a multi-disciplinary, policy-oriented research and analysis on the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden. This initiative was commissioned under the IGAD Council of Ministers’ directive aimed at **strengthening regional cohesion, coordination, and cooperation in the Red Sea region**, particularly in maritime security, socio-economic development, and environmental sustainability.



crimes, climate change, and migration patterns in the Horn of Africa. The study covered eight countries; Kenya, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Sudan, South Sudan, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and aimed to assess the law enforcement challenges associated with environmental crimes while proposing policy interventions to address the increasing vulnerabilities caused by climate-related disruptions.

The research focused on understanding how environmental crimes such as illegal deforestation, poaching, unregulated fishing, land degradation, and hazardous waste disposal are accelerating ecosystem collapse and undermining the

The institute worked through its consortium of experienced researchers from: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda. The primary objective of this study was to inform IGAD’s Plan of Action for the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden region by identifying key policy challenges, offering

viable solutions, and enhancing strategic decision-making within IGAD’s leadership and policy organs. The study provided policy options and

The Horn Institute conducted a comprehensive, multi-country research study from June 2024 to March 2025, examining the complex interconnections between environmental

resilience of communities that depend on natural resources for their livelihoods. Additionally, the study examined how climate change is altering migration patterns across the region, exacerbating displacement, intensifying competition over scarce resources, and heightening socio-economic vulnerabilities.



## WEWORLD PROJECT

### Title: Kujenga Amani Pamoja (Building the Peace Together) Kenya Component - Kwale County Research

The Kujenga Amani Pamoja is a three-year project, co-financed by the European Union, and being implemented by WeWorld with support from Peaceful Change initiative (PCi) and other local partners. The overall objective of the project is to have aware and mobilized young women and men (YW&M) living in the coastal bordering areas of Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique act as peace builders and agents of positive change. The project is based on the premise that working with and strengthening youth networks and grass-roots organizations (formal and informal) along the Swahili Coast in their agency to build peace, prevent conflict and promote inclusion within peace-centered Swahili cultural practices will mobilize YW&M in bordering areas of Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique to be peace resources and agents of positive change within their communities. The HORN Institute did a research study in Kwale county on behalf of the Project partners.

## JICA PROJECT

### Title: Community Based Training on Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism



The HORN Institute in partnership with our sister organization the Center for Sustainable Conflict Resolution (CSCR) took part in the Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (PCVE) Policy training workshop, held in Nairobi, Kenya. The training involved two groups which included religious and community leaders under the Ministry of Endowment and Religious Affairs and Policy Makers under the same ministry.

The main objectives of the training program were to build capacity to establish a motivated and sustainable PCVE coordination network among stakeholders in the Federal Government of Somalia, involving local communities and to strengthen the capacity of policy makers in PCVE policy formation.

The program was organized by JICA in partnership with the Ministry of Endowment and Religious Affairs (Somalia) and the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) Kenya. The institute was in charge of the Policy Training Program, which focused on PCVE policy development and implementation. (Images)

## HORN IN THE MEDIA

The Institute's scholars and associates continued to shed light on various regional issues on local and international media. Some of the major media outlets in which HORN experts featured include; CNN, AL Jazeera, SABC, Deutsche Welle, CGTN, BBC (TV, Radio, Africa), VOA, TRT World, ARD, ZDF, News Central, Citizen TV, NTV, K24, Horizon TV, KTN, The Standard, Sunday Nation and The East African.





In 2024, the Horn of Africa faced tremendous instability, with the continuation of the conflict in Sudan creating one of the world's worst humanitarian crises. The HORN Institute played a critical role in addressing this crisis through its symposium on non-military roles in Sudan's post-conflict reconstruction. This event brought together over 80 participants, including academics, civil society members, and government representatives, culminating in a detailed policy brief and a comprehensive symposium report. These documents provided actionable recommendations for fostering inclusive reconstruction, emphasizing the role of civilian actors in governance and rebuilding efforts. The outcomes of the policy brief included key strategies for integrating non-military stakeholders in peacebuilding, prioritizing humanitarian relief coordination, and establishing mechanisms for long-term stabilization. These contributions were instrumental in shaping regional and international dialogues on Sudan's recovery.

The Institute also contributed to regional geopolitics through its collaboration with the IGAD-RESGA initiative. The HORN Institute's multidisciplinary analyses on the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden offered crucial insights into maritime security, peacebuilding, and socio-economic development. These studies provided actionable recommendations to regional leaders, particularly regarding equitable water resource sharing in the Red Sea. By addressing complex transboundary challenges, the research underscored the critical need for cooperative frameworks among nations bordering this vital maritime corridor. This work significantly strengthened IGAD's ability to navigate these geopolitical complexities and fostered a deeper understanding of the interdependencies within the region.

In the realm of climate financing and environmental governance, the Institute undertook pioneering research on climate change and environmental crimes in the Horn of Africa. Its studies revealed the intricate links between climate-induced migration, governance gaps, and transnational environmental crimes, offering policy recommendations to enhance resilience and enforcement mechanisms. Additionally, the Institute's advocacy for sustainable climate financing models contributed to raising awareness of the unique vulnerabilities of the region. By integrating climate adaptation strategies into policy discussions, the HORN Institute highlighted the importance of international collaboration and local capacity-building to mitigate environmental and socioeconomic risks. These efforts positioned the Institute as a leading voice in addressing climate challenges in one of the world's most vulnerable regions.

# Our Impact

## The Do

In 2024, the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies remained steadfast in its mission to advance peace, security, and stability in the Horn of Africa and beyond. Through cutting-edge research, impactful advocacy, and collaborative capacity-building initiatives, the Institute addressed pressing regional issues, including geopolitical dynamics, governance, climate security, and peacebuilding. Below is an overview of our key activities and accomplishments:

### Key Activities/Events and Publications

#### Flagship Conference:

We hosted the conference *Situating Non-Military Players in the Sudan Conflict: Assessing Their Role in Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Sudan*, providing a platform for diverse stakeholders to explore non-military contributions to Sudan's recovery.

#### Roundtable Discussion:

A high-level discussion on *President Ruto's State Visit to the United States and Its Implications for Kenya* fostered insights on Kenya's international relations and strategic positioning.

#### Special Edition Paper:

Published *Towards an Effective Campaign for African Union Commission Chair: A Critical Examination of Kenya's Bid*, providing critical perspectives on Kenya's continental aspirations.

#### HORN Bulletin Series:

Released five editions of the *HORN Bulletin*, addressing diverse topics in security, governance, and regional geopolitics.

#### Articles and Contributions:

The Institute published numerous articles on a wide range of thematic areas, furthering regional and global discourse on critical issues.



## Collaborative Projects

### 1. IDEA Project

- Title:** Comprehensive Conflict Analysis on Sudan: A Horn Institute Study
- Overview:** Conducted under the “Strengthening Citizen Engagement in Peaceful Democratic Transition in Sudan” initiative by IDEA, this project produced data-driven insights and actionable recommendations to support peace mediation efforts and the return to democratic governance in Sudan.

### 2. Climate Project

- Title:** Environmental Crimes, Climate Change, and Migration Patterns in the Horn of Africa
- Overview:** This comprehensive study analyzed the interconnections between climate change, environmental crimes, and migration, with contributions from researchers across nine countries, including Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Sudan.

### 3. JICA Project

- Title:** Community-Based Training on Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (PCVE)
- Overview:** In collaboration with JICA, the Institute organized PCVE training workshops in Nairobi. These workshops enhanced the capacity of Somali policymakers, religious leaders, and community leaders in policy formation and implementation to prevent violent extremism.



## 4. IGAD-RESGA Project

- Title:** Multi-Disciplinary Policy-Oriented Research on the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden
- Overview:** As part of an IGAD initiative, the Institute led a research team from seven countries to provide policy recommendations on maritime and terrestrial matters, peace and security, socio-economic development, and technological innovation in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden region.



## 5. WeWorld Project

- Title:** Kujenga Amani Pamoja (Building the Peace Together) – Kenya Component
- Overview:** As part of a European Union co-financed initiative, the Institute conducted a research study in Kwale County to support youth as peacebuilders along the Swahili Coast, fostering inclusion and conflict prevention.



## Participation in Key Forums and Conferences

Throughout the year, the Institute actively participated in international, regional, and local conferences, seminars, and workshops. These engagements bolstered our partnerships, enhanced our thought leadership, and amplified our role as a regional knowledge hub. Some of the key Forums and conferences are as follows:

1. The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs set up a **Colloquium on the Review of Kenya's Foreign Policy**, held on **July 30, 2024**, to assess and refine the country's diplomatic framework in response to evolving global, regional, and national dynamics. The event aimed to ensure Kenya's foreign policy remains relevant and strategic in advancing the nation's interests on the global stage. As part of this initiative, the Horn Institute was invited to participate in the high-level discussions. **Dr. Hassan Kanneje**, Director of the Horn Institute, was identified as a panelist for the session on "Peace Diplomacy," where he contributed insights on Kenya's role in conflict resolution, mediation efforts, and strengthening regional and international security frameworks. The discussion provided key recommendations to support the finalization of Kenya's updated foreign policy.
2. The East African Institute for Peace and Governance, in collaboration with the University of Nairobi, hosted the **EAI Conference 2024: Climate Change, Peace, and Development in the Horn of Africa** on **September 11, 2024**. The Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies was invited to participate in a high-level panel discussion, with researcher **Raudhat Saadam** and research assistant **Bravin Onditi** representing the Institute. The conference convened experts, policymakers, researchers, and practitioners to examine the intersections between climate change, peace, and development in the region, fostering dialogue on strategies to mitigate climate-related security risks and promote sustainable development.



3. The **Dialogue Programme on "Regional Key Actors in the New Global Order"**, organized by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, invited the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies to participate in a high-level discussion from **September 24–28, 2024, in Berlin, Germany**. The programme marked the conclusion of a year-long joint study with the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) on the positioning of key regional players: Turkey, Kenya, Colombia, and India in the evolving global order. **Dr. Hassan Kanneje** was invited as a panelist for the study's launch event on September 26, 2024, where the findings were presented to German and European policymakers as potential policy recommendations.





4. The **Kampala Geopolitics Academy 2024**, organized by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, invited the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies to participate in a week-long program in **Kampala, Uganda**, from **September 17 to 21, 2024**. The academy focused on analyzing global security shifts and their impact on Africa, equipping participants with expertise in international and security affairs while fostering collaboration among young practitioners and promoting African perspectives on geopolitical dynamics. The Horn Institute nominated **Janice Sanya**, Programs Manager, to represent the organization in the training.



5. The **Indo-Pacific Regional Dialogue (IPRD-2024)**, organized by the National Maritime Foundation (NMF) of India, invited the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies to participate in a high-level conference from **October 3–5, 2024**, at the Manekshaw Centre in **New Delhi, India**. Themed “Resource-Geopolitics and Security in the Indo-Pacific,” the event brought together global experts to discuss maritime security, economic resource competition, and strategic policy in the region. **Dr. Hassan Kanneje**,



Director of the Horn Institute, was a key speaker, delivering a presentation on “Maritime Resource-Geopolitics off the Coast of Eastern Africa—The Case for Kenyan Leadership.” Additionally, the Horn Institute formalized a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with NMF, reinforcing collaborative efforts in maritime research and security.

6. The **Expert Roundtable on Food Security in Africa and Russia**, organized by Rossotrudnichestvo, the Center for African Studies, and HSE University, invited the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies to participate in a high-level discussion on **October 21, 2024, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**. The Institute’s Director, **Dr. Hassan Kanneje**, led a panel discussion on the main challenges of food security in African countries, exploring key factors affecting food access, the impact of geopolitical dynamics, and strategies for enhancing resilience. The event brought together experts from across Africa and Russia to examine policy solutions, infrastructure needs, and international cooperation in addressing food security concerns.



7. The **7th Kampala Geopolitics Conference (KGC) 2024**, organized by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) in partnership with the Embassy of France to Uganda, Makerere University, and Alliance Française Kampala, invited the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies to participate in the two-day event on October 23–24, 2024, in **Kampala, Uganda**. The Institute nominated two participants **Elizabeth Radina**, Strategic Communications Officer and **Dr. Hassan Kanneje**, The Horn Institute’s



Director to attend the conference, which brought together experts from Eastern Africa and global thought leaders to discuss key geopolitical trends and their implications.



8. The **Future of United States Policy Towards Africa conference**, organized by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS), invited the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies to participate in a high-level panel discussion on October 24, 2024, in **Kampala, Uganda**. The event explored potential shifts in US policy towards Eastern Africa under different political administrations, assessing strategic interests, security concerns, economic engagements, and the evolving geopolitical landscape. The Horn Institute's Director, **Dr. Hassan Kanneje**, was a key panelist, contributing insights on regional security dynamics, the implications of Kenya's designation as a major non-NATO ally, and the broader impact of US foreign policy on Africa.
9. The **Amplifying African Voices for Strategic Action (AFSA) Conference**, held at Strathmore University, **Nairobi**, on **October 31 and November 1, 2024**, invited the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies to participate in key discussions on Africa's global engagement. **Dr. Hassan Kanneje**, was invited to moderate the panel discussion titled "Amplifying Africa's Agency in its Engagement with the United States," The session featured distinguished scholars and policymakers, exploring strategies for strengthening Africa's position in U.S.-Africa relations through trade, security, and diplomacy
10. The **Institute for Security Studies (ISS)** invited the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies to participate in the launch of a research report titled **"Charting Africa's Blue Future: Youth Inclusion as a Catalyst for Peace and Development."** The event took place on November 7, 2024, at Trademark Hotel, Nairobi. The launch aligned with AU Youth Month and focused on youth inclusion in the blue economy as a pathway for sustainable development and climate resilience. The discussions highlighted findings from the ISS research report, emphasizing the role of Africa's youth in maritime economic growth, environmental sustainability, and climate action. The event featured

policymakers, regional organizations, researchers, and experts in ocean governance and aimed to raise awareness, foster collaboration, and advance practical strategies for youth empowerment in coastal communities.



11. The **First Ministerial Conference of the Russia-Africa Partnership Forum**, organized by Roscongress, invited the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies to participate in a high-level dialogue from **November 9-10, 2024**, at Sirius University in **Krasnodar, Russia**. This conference follows the commitments made at the 2023 Russia-Africa Summit, aiming to strengthen cooperation between Russia and African nations across various sectors. **Dr. Hassan Kanneje**, Director of the Horn Institute, was invited as a speaker for the session on "Knowledge Sharing: Capacity Building in E-Governance," alongside government officials, business leaders, and policy experts from Africa and the Russian Federation.
12. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Horn Dialogue, themed **"Road-mapping the Future Security Cooperation in the Horn of Africa,"** invited the Horn Institute to participate in a high-level conference on **November 27-28, 2024**, at the Radisson Blu Hotel in Nairobi, Kenya. The event, organized by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) and the Institute of Foreign Affairs (IFA), convened policymakers, security experts, and scholars to discuss regional security frameworks and cooperation mechanisms. **Dr. Hassan Kanneje**, Director of the Horn Institute, was a key panelist in one of the sessions titled "Are the Current Regional Cooperation Frameworks Fit for Purpose?" He provided insights on trust-building as a pillar for security cooperation and strategies for fostering collaboration among regional and extra-regional actors
13. The **Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs** organized a conference **commemorating the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Kenya's Diplomatic Journey**, which took place on **December 5, 2024**, at the **University of Nairobi's** Chandaria Auditorium. Under the theme "60





Years of Kenya's Diplomacy: The Hits, the Misses, and the Lessons," the conference provided a platform for reflection on Kenya's diplomatic achievements, challenges, and future strategies. The event brought together government officials, diplomats, academics, private sector representatives, and civil society members to discuss Kenya's evolving role in global affairs. The Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies was invited to participate, with **Dr. Mustafa Ali**, Co-Founder and Chairman and **Dr. Hassan Kanneje**, Director of the Horn Institute, contributing insights in discussions on diplomatic strategy, managing current geopolitical dynamics, and shaping Kenya's foreign policy for the future. The conference featured three strategic panel sessions addressing past diplomatic successes, present challenges, and future directions in foreign policy and international relations.

14. In 2024, the Institute was honored to be represented at the **International Relations Society of Kenya (IRSK) Annual Conference**, held under the theme "**Fostering Integration and Cooperation in the COMESA Region through International Relations and Diplomacy**." The conference brought together regional scholars, policymakers, and diplomats to engage in critical discussions on Africa's integration agenda. **Lawrence Jost**, a researcher from the HORN Institute, presented a paper examining the tension between domestic policy imperatives and regional commitments within the East African Community (EAC), offering practical insights into how member states can align national interests with collective regional ambitions. His contribution added significant value to the discourse and positioned the Institute as a key player in advancing policy-relevant research on regional cooperation and diplomacy. This engagement reaffirms our commitment to supporting platforms that foster dialogue, innovation, and collaborative solutions for a more integrated and peaceful Africa. In attendance was **Bravin Onditi** and **Jeremy Oronje** from the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies.



## 15. Participation in the NEXT Milan Forum - 2024

The Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies was proudly represented at the NEXT Milan Forum held in Milan, Italy, by our researcher **Raudhat Sayeeda**. The prestigious event was co-hosted by the International Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI), Bocconi University, and the OECD, bringing together emerging leaders from think tanks, civil society, and the private sector to engage with global policymakers and influencers.

### Think Tank Forum



Raudhat participated in the Think Tank Forum, which featured 55 selected young professionals (ages 25–35) from around the world in advanced managerial and research roles. The Forum offered a series of Masterclasses held at Palazzo Clerici, delivered by esteemed global thought leaders:

- ❑ *Think Tanks and Policymaking: Access and Impact* – John R. Allen (Brookings Institution)
- ❑ *Keeping Donors Near and Dear* – Paolo Magri (ISPI)
- ❑ *Consolidating the Brand: The Role of Big Events* – Samir Saran (ORF)
- ❑ *Think-Tanking Together* – Karim El Aynaoui (PCNS)
- ❑ *Drafting a Research Agenda* – Charles Powell (Elcano Royal Institute)
- ❑ *Working in Think Tanks: Recruitment and Career* – Elizabeth Sidiropoulos (SAILA)
- ❑ *The Quest for Independence and Inclusion* – Maha Yahya (Carnegie Middle East Center)



### Shared Sessions

Participants also engaged in interdisciplinary sessions with members from the Civil Society and Business Forums at Bocconi University. These sessions explored key global challenges, including:

- Women empowerment, AI ethics, humanitarian responses, urban planning, nuclear security, and justice during conflict—featuring prominent speakers such as Ouided Bouchamaoui, Rafael Mariano Grossi, Paolo Gentiloni, and Oleksandra Matviichuk, among others.



### Networking and Cultural Engagement

The forum facilitated rich networking opportunities, including a formal dinner at Palazzo Clerici and a private cultural visit to **Gallerie d'Italia**, fostering informal dialogue and collaboration across sectors and regions.



## Key Activities

### IDEA Project

**Title:** Comprehensive Conflict Analysis on Sudan: A Horn Institute Study

### IGAD RESGA Project

**Title:** Multi-Disciplinary Policy Oriented Research and Analysis on the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden.

### Climate Project

**Title:** Environmental Crimes, Climate Change, and Migration Patterns in the Horn of Africa: A Comprehensive Study on the Challenges posed to Law Enforcement and Policy Recommendations

### WEWORLD Project

**Title:** Kujenga Amani Pamoja (Building the Peace Together) Kenya Component - Kwale County Research

### JICA Project

**Title:** Community Based Training on Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism

### Kampala Geopolitics Conference 2024




# Outreach and Partnerships

## Partnerships

In 2024, the Institute has actively fostered several strategic partnerships aimed at promoting collaborative research initiatives and organizing joint conferences and seminars. These partnerships hold significant potential for advancing knowledge and addressing pressing global challenges. Some of the notable partnerships include:

 <p>THE GLOBAL CENTRE FOR POLICY AND STRATEGY (GLOCEPS)</p>	<p><b>The Global Centre for Policy and Strategy (GLOCEPS):</b> GLOCEPS is a think-tank based in Nairobi, Kenya. GLOCEPS is a leading center of excellence in policy influence and strategy formulation. The Centre provides strategic linkage between experience and research by bringing together outstanding professionals, thought leaders and academia to advance key issues on peace and security.</p>
 <p>KONRAD ADENAUER STIFTUNG</p>	<p><b>Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS):</b> KAS is an international German political foundation. KAS promotes democracy, the rule of law, sustainable development, and international cooperation worldwide. Through research, education, and policy dialogue, the foundation fosters political awareness and supports the development of innovative solutions to global challenges.</p>
 <p>jica</p>	<p><b>Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA):</b> JICA is a Japanese governmental agency that supports international cooperation and development. It focuses on capacity building, infrastructure development, and promoting peace and security worldwide. The Horn Institute has partnered with JICA to conduct training workshops aimed at preventing and countering violent extremism (PCVE). These workshops, held in collaboration with Somali policymakers and community leaders, emphasize policy formation and implementation to build sustainable PCVE coordination networks and enhance stakeholder capacities.</p>
 <p>International IDEA</p>	<p><b>Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA):</b> IDEA is an intergovernmental organization that supports sustainable democracy worldwide. Its work focuses on promoting democratic governance, electoral processes, and citizen engagement. The Horn Institute collaborated with IDEA on a project titled <i>"Strengthening Citizen Engagement in Peaceful Democratic Transition in Sudan."</i></p>

	<p>This initiative involved conducting a comprehensive conflict analysis to provide data-driven insights and actionable recommendations for peace mediation and fostering democratic governance in Sudan.</p>
 <p>National Maritime Foundation</p>	<p>National Maritime Foundation (NMF) of India - is a leading think tank dedicated to <b>maritime security, strategy, and policy research</b>. It operates under the aegis of the <b>Indian Navy</b> and focuses on advancing maritime domain awareness, regional security cooperation, and sustainable ocean governance. The Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies formalized a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on October 5<sup>th</sup> 2024 with NMF, reinforcing collaborative efforts in maritime research, security studies, and strategic policy development.</p> <p>This partnership aims to enhance regional security cooperation, knowledge exchange, and research on maritime governance in the Horn of Africa and the wider Indo-Pacific region.</p>



## Bulletins Articles

The Institute published the following bulletin issues: January-February, March-April, May-June, July-August, September-October, and November-December. These issues were published online and shared with embassies, consulates, policymakers, researchers etc.

### January-February Issue



a. **Emergent Global Players and Likely Power Transitions of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Implications for Peace and Security in Africa**

This article explores the emergence of new global powers such as China, India, and the BRICS alliance and their implications for Africa. It examines Africa's position amidst shifting global power dynamics and evaluates how these transitions affect peace and security on the continent. The discussion highlights Africa's increasing involvement in multipolar alliances and its strategic decisions in the ongoing geopolitical contest.

b. **The Nexus Between Border Management and Migrant Smuggling in the Horn of Africa: Kenya's Role in the Region**

This article delves into the challenges of managing borders in the Horn of Africa and their connection to migrant smuggling. It analyzes push-and-pull factors, corruption, and weak governance structures contributing to the issue. Kenya's role as a transit hub for migrants and the systemic enablers of smuggling are critically assessed.

c. **Community Policing in Kenya: An Overview of Gaps and Opportunities; The Shakahola Massacre**

This article evaluates the gaps in Kenya's community policing framework, focusing on lessons learned from the Shakahola massacre. It highlights opportunities to strengthen public trust and enhance law enforcement capabilities through community engagement and institutional reforms.

d. **Prospects for Peace and Prosperity in the Horn of Africa: Overcoming Historical Legacies and Embracing Regional Cooperation for Sustainable Development**

This article discusses the historical legacies of conflict in the Horn of Africa and their impact on regional development. It proposes strategies for fostering peace and sustainable development through enhanced regional cooperation and integration.

### March-April Issue



a. **Sustainable Cooperation and Healthy Competition in a Globalized World: Exploring Strategic Options for Türkiye-Horn of Africa Relations**

This article explores Türkiye's growing engagement in the Horn of Africa, a region it views as strategic for economic, diplomatic, and security interests. It analyzes Türkiye's efforts to balance cooperation with competition in a region marked by rivalries among global powers like the US, China, and Russia. The article outlines policy recommendations to foster sustainable collaboration, mitigate risks, and maximize mutual benefits in areas such as trade, infrastructure development, and humanitarian assistance.

b. **Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) of Kenya Process: A Pill Too Bitter to Swallow**

This article critically examines Kenya's TJRC process, highlighting its inability to effectively address historical injustices and reconcile aggrieved communities. It delves into the challenges faced, including political interference, insufficient public engagement, and implementation gaps. The article concludes by recommending measures to strengthen transitional justice mechanisms to foster genuine reconciliation and accountability in Kenya.

c. **The Untold Crisis: Understanding the Epidemic of Gender-Based Violence on Women and Girls in Sudan's Conflict**

Focusing on Sudan's prolonged conflict, this article sheds light on the alarming prevalence of gender-based violence against women and girls. It analyzes the socio-political and cultural factors exacerbating this crisis, including weak legal frameworks and the breakdown of social order. The article advocates for coordinated local and international efforts to address the root causes, ensure justice for survivors, and strengthen protective measures.

d. **Diverting Attention from Domestic Challenges: Las Anod Crisis and Ethiopia-Somaliland Memorandum of Understanding**

This article explores the Las Anod crisis and its implications for Somaliland's relations with Federal Somalia, contextualized within the Ethiopia-Somaliland Memorandum of Understanding. It examines how internal dynamics and external partnerships have shaped the crisis, drawing attention to the need for a balanced approach to sovereignty, development, and peacebuilding.



## May-June Issue



a. **Leveraging China-Kenya Collaboration for Sustainable Environmental Diplomacy**

This article highlights the collaboration between China and Kenya in addressing environmental challenges such as climate change, biodiversity conservation, and renewable energy development. It explores joint initiatives under the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), emphasizing their potential to foster sustainable development. The article underscores the importance of strategic partnerships in shaping global environmental governance.

b. **Politics and Conflict in the Republic of Sudan: A Brief Retrospective Commentary**

Providing a historical overview, this article examines the root causes of Sudan's political instability and recurring conflicts. It highlights the impact of governance failures, socio-economic inequalities, and international interventions. The article also suggests pathways for Sudan to overcome its challenges through inclusive governance, robust institutions, and international support.

c. **Kenya's Security Nexus: Unraveling Transnational Crime, Climate Change, and Militarization**

This article investigates how transnational crime, climate change, and militarization intersect to influence Kenya's security landscape. It explores the socio-economic drivers behind these challenges and their implications for national and regional stability. The article calls for integrated policies that address root causes and strengthen institutional capacities to ensure sustainable security.

d. **Mapping the Evolution of Violent Extremism in Kenya: Policy and Strategic Implications**

The article analyzes the rise of violent extremism in Kenya, focusing on socio-economic, political, and ideological drivers. It evaluates the effectiveness of existing counter-terrorism policies and proposes a multi-pronged approach that includes education, community engagement, and economic empowerment as strategies to curb extremism.

## July-August Issue



a. **Austerity, Corruption, and Discontent: Comparative Analysis of the Economic Grievances Fueling Protests in Kenya (2024) and Sudan (2019)**

This article compares economic protests in Kenya and Sudan, highlighting how austerity measures and systemic corruption have exacerbated public discontent. It examines the socio-economic impacts on vulnerable groups and calls for reforms such as improved governance, equitable resource allocation, and robust anti-corruption measures to address underlying grievances.

b. **Climate Financing and International Public Goods: BRICS-Africa Partnerships and Prospects for the Horn of Africa**

This article explores the role of BRICS-Africa partnerships in addressing climate financing gaps in the Horn of Africa. It evaluates the potential of these collaborations to fund renewable energy projects, enhance climate resilience, and support sustainable development. The article emphasizes the need for coordinated efforts to leverage these partnerships for regional benefits.

c. **From Digital Mobilization to Street Protests: A Comparative Analysis of Social Democracy in Burkina Faso, Kenya, and Sudan**

The article examines the role of digital platforms in mobilizing social movements in Burkina Faso, Kenya, and Sudan. It highlights how digital activism has transformed governance and accountability, while also identifying challenges such as state surveillance and misinformation. The article offers insights into leveraging technology for democratic gains.

d. **The Impact of Climate Financing to the South from the North: A Case Study of Kenya**

Focusing on Kenya, this article evaluates the effectiveness of international climate financing in addressing environmental challenges. It examines successes and gaps in utilizing these funds for sustainable projects and calls for stronger accountability mechanisms to ensure impactful outcomes.



## September-October Issue



### a. The 'Calculus' of Expansion: The Content, Context, and Consequences of the EAC Integration Strategy

This article analyzes the East African Community's (EAC) strategy of balancing membership expansion with deepening intra-regional ties. It highlights achievements such as the inclusion of new members and collaborative projects like the Standard Gauge Railway, while addressing challenges like decision-making bottlenecks. The article calls for a balanced approach to ensure sustainable regional integration.

### b. The Sudan Crisis: An Opportunity to Depart from the Tragic Past

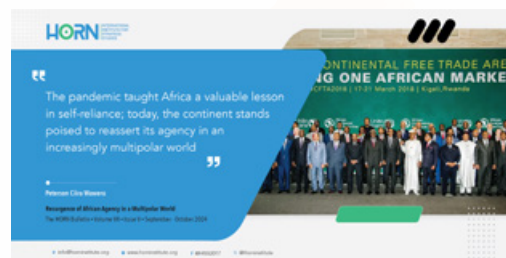
This article examines Sudan's ongoing crisis, emphasizing the need for transitional justice and inclusive governance to break the cycle of conflict. It advocates for regional and international collaboration to address root causes, rebuild institutions, and foster long-term peace.

### c. Resurgence of African Agency in a Multipolar World

This article explores Africa's increasing role in a multipolar global order, focusing on the continent's strategic positioning and agency. It highlights the importance of regional cooperation and collective action in navigating global challenges and leveraging opportunities for sustainable growth.

### d. Ethiopian-South African Relations from the Second World War to the Present

This article traces the historical and contemporary ties between Ethiopia and South Africa, examining political, economic, and cultural exchanges. It highlights lessons learned from this partnership and their implications for fostering South-South cooperation.



## November-December Issue



### a. The West's Relative Absence in the Sudan Conflict: A Geopolitical Shift?

This article analyzes the declining involvement of Western powers in Sudan's conflict, focusing on the roles of regional and non-Western actors like Egypt, UAE, Russia, and China. It discusses the implications of this geopolitical shift for peacebuilding efforts and the broader stability of the region.

### b. Counterterrorism in Eastern Africa: Balancing Security, Human Rights, and Development

The article evaluates counterterrorism strategies in Eastern Africa, highlighting the importance of integrating human rights and development into security frameworks. It emphasizes the need for holistic approaches that address root causes of extremism while fostering sustainable peace.

### c. The Impact of Climate Diplomacy in Promoting Sustainable Development in the COMESA Region

This article explores how climate diplomacy has advanced sustainable development in the COMESA region. It underscores the significance of regional cooperation in addressing climate change challenges and achieving shared environmental goals.

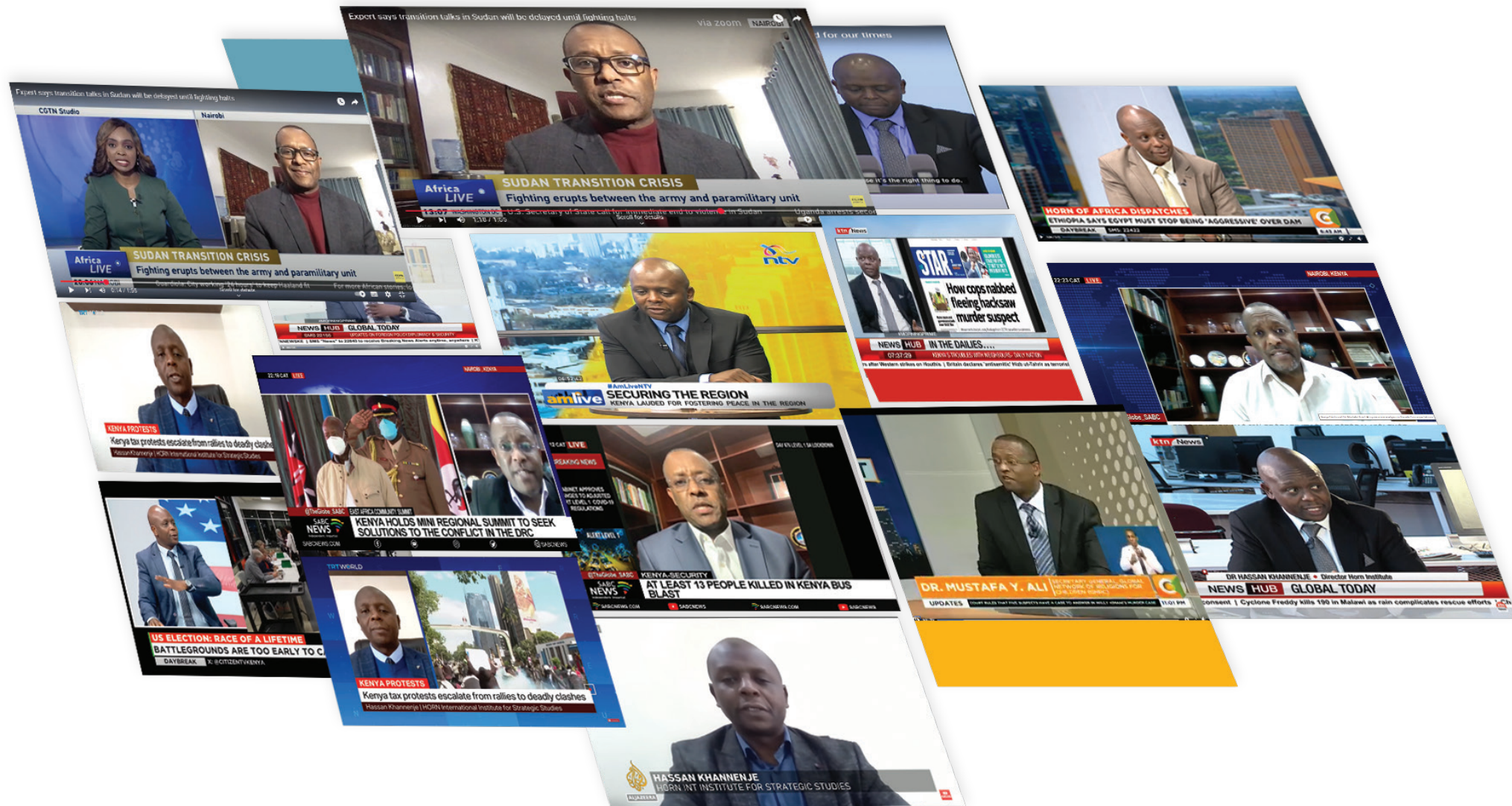
### d. Berbera Port: A Nexus of Tensions, Sovereignty, and Regional Ambitions

This article examines the strategic importance of Berbera Port, highlighting competing interests among regional and global powers. It discusses the port's role in economic development and its implications for sovereignty and regional stability.





# Media Outreach





## Partners



## 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



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



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



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

“ If there is not the war, you don't get the great general; if there is not a great occasion, you don't get a great statesman; if Lincoln had lived in a time of peace, no one would have known his name

**Theodore Roosevelt**



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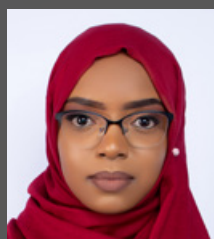
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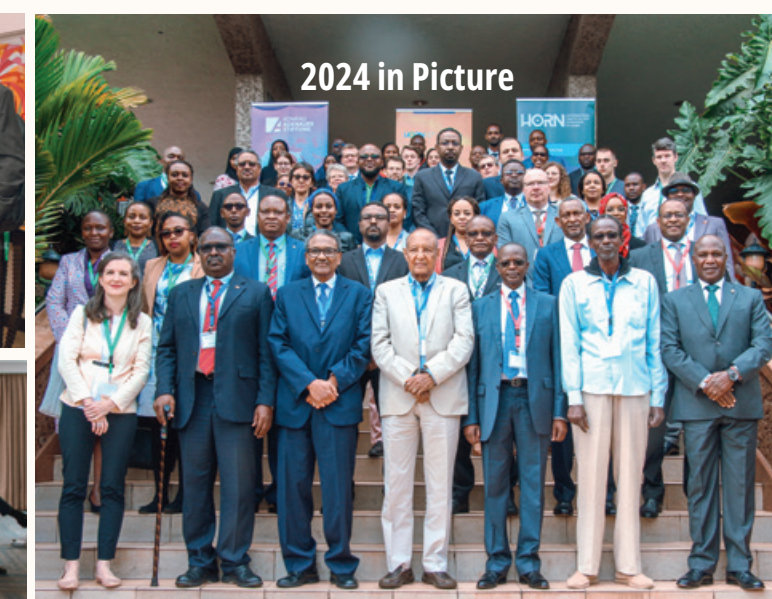
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# Annual **Report** **2024**




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