

# INDIA'S APPROACH TO NAVIGATING A CONTESTED GEOPOLITICAL LANDSCAPE IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

SUDHEER SINGH VERMA<sup>1</sup> SREELAKSHMI RAJEEVAN<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Assistant Professor, Department of South and Central Asian Studies, SIS, Central University of Punjab, Bathinda, Punjab, INDIA

<sup>2</sup>Master of Arts Student, Department of South and Central Asian Studies, SIS, Central University of Punjab, Bathinda, Punjab, INDIA

## ABSTRACT

*Due to its strategic positioning, abundant natural resources, and evolving global power dynamics, the Horn of Africa holds geopolitical significance in international relations. India has emerged as a partner in the developmental trajectories of these countries. The region's primary interest is attributed to its role as a crucial access point to the Indian Ocean and important maritime trade routes. This article endeavours to elucidate how India adeptly manoeuvres through the emerging regional geopolitical landscape influenced by the engagement of various great powers, such as the US, China, France and so on. Moreover, it undertakes an analysis of India's economic-diplomatic and security initiatives in the region. This qualitative study was conducted by using a content analysis method to examine the gathered data. The article argues that India's current engagement in the Horn of Africa is driven by strategic initiatives focused on counterterrorism, energy security, and marine safety. Additionally, India seeks to counteract the influence of external forces in the region. Understanding India's role in the geopolitics of this region is crucial, particularly in light of its implications for global trade and security.*

**KEYWORDS:** Geopolitics, Strategic Location, Maritime Security, India, Horn of Africa

## INTRODUCTION

The Horn of Africa (HOA) is geopolitically significant due to its strategic location and proximity to crucial waterways. The region connects Africa, West Asia, and South Asia, with coastlines along with the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, and Indian Ocean. The Bab Al Mandeb strait is pivotal for controlling access to the Red Sea and the Suez Canal. This chokepoint is a major maritime route for oil and good trade worldwide. Disruption of this passage can significantly affect global trade and energy security. The Suez Canal serves as a crucial link between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. The Red Sea facilitates trade in the HOA, connecting Europe, Asia, and East Africa. The Gulf of Aden is a key naval route between the Arabian and Red Seas. The Indian Ocean links the HOA to Asia, with trade routes connecting India, China, and Southeast Asia. The Bab Al Mandeb strait is a critical chokepoint for Red Sea access from the Indian Ocean, separating Yemen on the Arabian Peninsula from Djibouti and Eritrea in the HOA (Seethi, 2024).

India has been engaging significantly in the region, which is evident from its agricultural investments to enhance food security and humanitarian assistance. Its interests encompass natural resources, maritime security, and garnering African backing for the United Nations Security Council reform. India is also striving to penetrate African markets. Participation

in anti-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia highlights India's naval diplomacy. The Indian Navy actively engages in regional security initiatives. Historically, India has sustained cultural and commercial relations with several African countries, including Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya, Eritrea, and Somalia. Indian merchants, especially from the west coast, established trade networks with East Africa and settled along the Somali coast centuries ago. Active commercial relations with Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya, Eritrea, and Somalia have been developed. India is a major trading partner of Somalia, importing agricultural products, cattle, and seafood. Furthermore, India has provided capacity-building initiatives and technical assistance in education, health, and agriculture. Collaborative marine security initiatives with Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia aim to combat piracy and ensure secure shipping in the Indian Ocean region (Gujrar, 2020).

Because of its strategic location near the oil-rich Arabian Peninsula and crucial shipping lanes (Suez Canal in the Red Sea), the HOA is a focal point for powerful nations (for example, the US, China, France, and Russia) vying for resource exploitation and influence. The blue economy and trade corridors are crucial for regional powers, including the Gulf States, such as Saudi Arabia and the UAE. China seeks to acquire minerals and natural resources from Africa, employing debt-trap diplomacy for infrastructure development in exchange

for access to African resources. Djibouti hosts China's first overseas military base, while the US aims to limit China's influence through alliances. Russia similarly invests in infrastructure projects like the construction of Railroads and ports to balance geopolitical powers (Ayefram & Muchie, 2016). Djibouti's strategic position near the Bab el Mandeb strait enhances its regional significance. The country accommodates military bases from multiple states, including the US, France, Italy, China, and Japan. India concentrates on the southern Red Sea, where piracy and terrorist activities pose serious threats. The Red Sea serves as a critical maritime route, underscoring the importance of securing trade for global powers. Furthermore, India has stakes in the Western Indian Ocean (WIO) and is enhancing maritime cooperation through various regional associations such as the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) and the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS) (Ylonen, 2022). Therefore, there are opportunities for increased India-Africa cooperation, with India playing a crucial role in the geopolitics of the HOA.

Against this backdrop, this article endeavours to elucidate how India adeptly manoeuvres through the emerging regional geopolitical landscape influenced by the engagement of various great powers, such as the US, China, France and so on. Moreover, it undertakes an analysis of India's economic-diplomatic and security initiatives in the region. The article argues that India's current engagement in the HOA is driven by strategic initiatives focused on counterterrorism, energy security, and marine safety. Additionally, India seeks to counteract the influence of external forces in the region. Understanding India's role in the geopolitics of this region is crucial, particularly in light of its implications for global trade and security.

This qualitative study was conducted using a content analysis method to examine the gathered data. The data comprise journal articles, newspaper articles, books, reports, press releases, and governmental reports as governmental evidence. This article uses a balance of power theoretical framework to understand the emerging geopolitical landscape in the region and India's engagement with the region for sailing, such as geopolitical complexities for serving national interests and becoming a credible partner in their developmental journey. This article is structured as follows: just after the INTRODUCTION section, the article reviewed the available literature in this area. The third section discusses India's historical linkages with the region. The fourth section elucidates India's engagements in the HOA at the bilateral and regional institutional levels. The fifth section analyses India's strategic balancing with the other great powers in the region, and the last section concludes the study with major takeaways.

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Geopolitics of the HOA encompasses states' assessments based on various strategic factors, such as size, economy, population, power, prestige, potential wealth, location, strategic importance, and international influence (Waithaka & Maluki, 2016). Its strategic location fosters competition among global powers. The region's economic potential further compels international actors to manage its strategic importance (Rondos, 2016). Regional powers engage with global powers individually or collectively to maintain their influence (Gebremichael, 2019). The HOA has transitioned from a volatile and conflict-ridden area to a pivotal geostrategic region. It is now the focal point of an intense geopolitical contest for dominance. China is actively pursuing its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in this crucial region (Alexandre, 2020). The economic initiatives in the region may facilitate the replacement of local labour with Chinese workers by its companies. The US and Russia regard this region as a strategic maritime chokepoint, particularly the Bab el-Mandeb Strait, that provides the most direct shipping route from the Pacific Ocean to Europe (Chase, 2021).

India's engagement in East Africa marks a shift from neoliberal arguments on sovereignty and economic development towards a dedication to Third Worldism., focusing on providing club goods to East and North Africa. India's aid is unconditional and not tied to democratic principles, which differentiates it from Western and Chinese approaches. The significance of East Africa is increasing in India's foreign policy. India is enhancing relations with its diaspora (Narlikar, 2010). Furthermore, India is developing a comprehensive marine policy. Its naval capabilities are expanding in the Indian Ocean region, driven by aspirations for great power status and emerging insecurity because of China's geopolitical expansion in the region. For India, the Indian Ocean is viewed as a significant geostrategic space rather than merely a regional focus, indicating its growing importance. Over the last two decades, India's strategic vision has broadened to incorporate maritime considerations, with the Indian Ocean now integral to its security framework (Venter, 2017). India aims to secure critical maritime routes while also engaging with the African coastal region.

India and Japan initiated the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) in 2017. Media in both countries perceive it as a counter to the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). China and India are monitoring each other's strategic developments in the Indian Ocean that is crucial for global oil supply (Hassan, 2019). Since 1947, India has maintained favourable relations with African countries. India has enhanced its position as a developing country representative through South-South cooperation. The Summits held in 2008, 2011, and 2015 exemplify this collaboration. India perceives itself as a leader of the Global South, which is supported particularly by African nations. The voting power of African states is vital for the UN reform and India's bid for a permanent Security Council seat. Trade between

African countries and India has significantly increased since the 1990s (Wagner, 2019). India's strategic location in the Indian Ocean necessitates secure trade routes. Consequently, India has engaged as an economic and defence partner for countries strengthening relations with it to enhance their financial and security capabilities. In 2015, India introduced a "Security Policy for All in the Region" to revitalise ancient trade routes and cultural connections. Security and Growth for All in the Region (SAGAR) initiative was also launched (Gurjar & Dutta, 2021). The above-discussed literature shows the geopolitical, geostrategic, geoeconomic, and geocultural importance of the region. India needs to engage deeply with the region to take the geopolitical advantage in comparison to various great powers.

### INDIA'S HISTORICAL LINKAGES

India has historically engaged with the HOA through extensive cultural and historical interactions. These interactions have significantly shaped the social-cultural and economic framework for cooperation. Historical connections date back to ancient times, marked by maritime trade and cultural exchanges. Indian merchants, sailors, and travellers wandered over the Indian Ocean and secured trade ties with the kingdoms and civilisations along the East African coast. The exchange of goods, such as spices, textiles, ivory, and precious stones enhanced economic prosperity and cultural enrichment. The Swahili coast, encompassing present-day Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, and Mozambique, developed as a vibrant trading hub where Indian, Arab, Persian, and African merchants converged and fostered a dynamic fusion of culture and traditions.

Evidence of Indian influence is present in the HOA's language, religion, and architecture. Ibn Battuta, a prominent historical figure, illustrated India's engagement in the HOA through his explorations, highlighting the socio-economic relations (Mickleburgh, 2021). Indian languages like Hindi and Gujarati have influenced local dialects in East Africa, reflecting Indian community presence. Numerous Swahili terms borrowed from Indian languages evidence the linguistic relationship (Karmwar, 2010). The colonial period witnessed increased Indian migration to East Africa, driven by economic prospects in various sectors such as plantation, agriculture, trade, and railway (Ahmed, 2021).

India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru formulated the country's strategy toward Africa. He perceived Africa as crucial, viewing it as a neighbouring region despite the Indian Ocean's separation. During the 1970s and 1980s, India supported African Liberation movements (Berl, 2003). The Non-Alignment Movement facilitated India's engagement with Africa in the early post-colonial period. In 1958, India established the Imperial Military Academy in Harar, Ethiopia, the continent's inaugural institution to enhance India's capacity building (Pimparkar, 2023). The economic ties between the HOA and

India have been robust throughout the post-colonial period, characterised by development cooperation, investments, and trade (Madhuri, 2023). In the post-colonial landscape, India's relations with independent African countries focused on human and national development (Alpers, 2018). The India-Africa Forum Summits significantly enhanced political relations between India and East African countries. Over time, trade between India and Africa, particularly East Africa, has grown substantially, reinforcing economic cooperation. India's post-independence engagement with East Africa evolved from historical connections to a strategic alliance predicated on diplomatic relations, mutual economic support, and cross-cultural exchanges (Biswas, 2015).

### INDIA'S ENGAGEMENTS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA : BILATERAL AND REGIONAL INSTITUTIONAL LEVELS

*India and Ethiopia:* India established diplomatic relations with Ethiopia in the early 1950s. Over the decades, India emerged as a Global South development partner. Through its Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program and EXIM Bank (Export-Import Bank of India) lines of credit (LOC), India has contributed Ethiopia's development in several areas, including infrastructure development, agriculture, education, capacity building, and the production and distribution of energy (Purushothaman, 2018). The India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) has significantly shaped India's engagement with Africa. In 2011, Indian Prime Minister visited Ethiopia during the second IAFS in Addis Ababa. Prime Minister Modi committed USD 10 billion for Africa over the following five years during the third IAFS in 2015. Ethiopia becomes a major benefiting country from this support (Seyoum, 2017). Ethiopia emerged as India's second-largest commercial partner, accounting for 10.2% of trade. With over US \$4 billion in investments, India ranks as the second-largest foreign investor in Ethiopia (MEA, 2022). India is assisting Ethiopia in achieving electrification and enhancing energy security.

Ethiopia is a first country to join the International Solar Alliance (ISA) of which India is a founding member (Purushothaman, 2018). Both countries' relationship is based on mutual respect, shared values, and commitment to regional and international cooperation (Srivastava, 2023). During his visit to Addis Ababa, Indian External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar met Ethiopian President H.E. Ms. Sahle-Work Zewde and conferred with on various collaborative initiatives, such as in education, health, investment, and development partnerships (MEA, 2022). Since 1969, the Indian Technical and Education Cooperation (ITEC) program has trained professionals across numerous fields, such as defence, agriculture, information technology, telecommunications, management, rural development, accounts, audit, banking, finance, health, environment, and renewable energy in Ethiopia. The ITEC program has provided over 2732

scholarships for capacity building, with approximately 502 utilised by Ethiopian students through the ICCR (Seth, 2021). Furthermore, India significantly contributed to the establishment of the Harar Military Academy. The Academy trained cadets from various African nations alongside Ethiopians. A nine-member Indian Army Training Team commenced a three-year mission in Ethiopia in August 2009 (MEA, 2012). A defence cooperation agreement between Ethiopia and India is nearing completion, focusing on strengthening Ethiopian defences through financial and training support (Padmanabhan, 2024). Therefore, bilateral relations are strengthening daily and reaching a strategic level of cooperation.

**India and Eritrea:** Since Eritrea's independence, trade relations with India have steadily improved. Eritrea's strategic location enhances its role in facilitating Indian maritime trade. Eritrea seeks assistance from India to develop its political and economic frameworks (Mohammed, 2016). The value of trade between both countries increased to \$244.73 million by 2015. Besides mining, both countries have joint venture opportunities in health, infrastructure development, the textile industry, and education (Ghebreyesus, 2016). In the 2022–2023 fiscal year, India exported goods worth USD 17.95 million to Eritrea (MEA, 2023). The Indian Naval Ship Airavat delivered food aid to Eritrea (in the Massawa Port) during humanitarian Mission Sagar-II on November 6–8, 2020 (MEA, 2023). The Rome Agreement was signed in March 2008, fostering collaboration between the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the governments of Eritrea and India. India emerged as Eritrea's key partner in agricultural development projects, enhancing agricultural productivity (Ghebreyesus & Petros, 2016). Annually, India offers eight scholarship opportunities for Eritrean students who want to pursue an MA or PhD degree in Indian universities (UNESCO, 2010). India significantly contributed to de-escalating the Eritrea-Ethiopia border conflict. India played a supportive role after the Algiers Agreement, signed on December 12, 2000. Approximately 1,500 soldiers participated in the UN mission concerning Eritrea and Ethiopia (Atish & Madhup, 2007). Since January 2011, India has chaired the UNSC's Somalia-Eritrea Sanctions Committee (MEA, 2012). India's relations with Eritrea are moving in a positive direction toward establishing a strategic relationship level.

**India and Djibouti:** After gaining independence, Djibouti and India became active in international affairs (Times of Africa, 2016). In 2016–17, bilateral trade was valued at US\$284.54 million, with India exporting US\$281.71 million and importing US\$2.82 million (Ahmad, 2017). Djibouti's port is strategically situated at the intersection of significant shipping lanes connecting Africa, the Arab-Persian Gulf, and the Far East. As the HOA's maritime access point, it serves as a critical hub for landlocked countries. Djibouti seeks to forge economic and development partnerships with India. The government of

Djibouti generally endorses Indian industry and investments. Djibouti has not yet seen direct Indian investment from Indian businesses. Nonetheless, over the past five years, Indian-owned companies based in Dubai have invested in the country's banking and logistics sectors (MEA, 2017). Djibouti established an Embassy in New Delhi in 2004, and a Consulate in Mumbai in 2006. As part of Operational Turn Around, India aims to counter the risk of piracy in the Gulf of Aden and leverages its strategic position in the Red Sea. Indian military boats have routinely visited Djibouti since November 2008. Furthermore, Indian naval vessels have consistently docked in Djibouti for overseas deployment. In 2019, India set up a diplomatic mission in Djibouti. During 2021–2022, bilateral trade between the two nations reached US\$ 755 million (Mohammed, 2010). Djibouti supported the International Solar Alliance and became the first among the signatories of the International Solar Alliance Framework Agreement (MEA, 2017).

Djibouti serves as India's significant regional ally. To combat piracy, India proposed the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping force at the 101<sup>st</sup> International Maritime Organization meeting. India's naval force has conducted counter-piracy operations in proximity to Djibouti and Somalia. India relies on Djibouti ports for trade and commerce with Ethiopia (Mohammed, 2010). Due to its strategic location in Africa, Djibouti attracts great powers for military deployments. China seeks to solidify a long-term foothold in Africa, with Djibouti as a crucial component. It became China's first overseas military base and a crucial geographic location for advancing its "Maritime Silk Road" initiative (Ahmed, 2017).

**India and Somalia:** Trade between India and Somalia witnessed a notable increase in 2011–12, amounting to over US\$ 181 million, after a dramatic decline from US\$129.1 million in 2007–08 to US\$21.5 million in 2009–10. India is Somalia's second-largest trading partner, accounting for 13.7 percent of its imports, following Djibouti. Somalia benefited from India's 1985 commitment of 100,000 tonnes of wheat to the HOA. Somalia may seek training scholarships from India through the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program (Mishra, 2012). Somalia is eligible for scholarships from India through the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) and the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) (MEA, 2016). A memorandum was signed on June 5, 2018, between FSI and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Somalia. For Somali students, India has been a preferred destination (MEA, 2021). In 1993–1994, 4,600 Indian peacekeepers, led by Brigadier M. P. Bhagat, participated in UNOSOM II. India is a member of the UN Contact Group on Somali Coast Piracy. Since 2008, the Indian Navy has been actively engaged in anti-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden (MEA, 2016).

**India-Africa Forum Summit:** The India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) serves as the official platform for India and

Africa relations. The IAFS takes place every three years. The inaugural summit was held in New Delhi, India, from April 4 to April 8, 2008. This summit was the first to include heads of state and government from 14 African nations, as selected by the African Union and India. Africa is a crucial partner for India in all international strategic affairs amidst global political divisions. The continent possesses rich natural resources and exhibits rapid growth. It offers significant trade and investment prospects for businesses and addresses the needs of India. Acknowledging Africa's potential for prosperity, India has intensified efforts to expand trade and investment and support capacity building, fostering South-South Cooperation (Observer Research Foundation, 2015). A second summit was held after a three-year interval in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on May 24-25, 2011. The third IAFS took place in New Delhi on October 26 and 29, 2015 (Bhatia, 2015). India has developed a three-pronged policy framework to promote relations with Africa bilaterally, regionally through the African Union, and at the continental level with Regional Economic Communities (RECs). In the 2008 and 2011 summits, the parties recognised that enhancing commercial cooperation, human resources, infrastructure, and cultural and academic exchanges is vital for interaction (Lal, 2013).

**Asia–Africa Growth Corridor:** The Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) signifies an economic cooperation agreement among India, Japan, and several African nations. On May 25, 2017, India presented its AAGC vision document at the African Development Bank summit in Gujarat. The AAGC Vision Statement marked a significant development for Japan and India in Africa, reflecting a unified approach to competing China's economic ambitions in Africa (Singh G, 2019). The AAGC initiative, announced on May 16, 2017, aims to improve connectivity between Asia and Africa, as articulated by Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi. The AAGC Vision Document prioritises skill development, people-people collaboration, quality infrastructure, institutional connectivity, and developmental projects, aligning with Agenda 2063 for Africa's transformation over the next five decades (Beri, 2017). Through this corridor, India enhances its strategic capability in the region.

## DISCUSSION

### *India's Maritime Outreach*

New Delhi's maritime security framework encompasses all East African coastal states because they are a part of its proximate maritime neighbourhood. India's maritime security strategy, articulated in the 2015 document titled "Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy," aims to safeguard the country's core naval interest. India's maritime interests stem from the eight maritime objectives guided by its maritime strategy, summarised by Security and Growth for all in the Region (SAGAR). The primary objectives are maintaining

peace in its maritime neighbourhood and promoting, safeguarding, and preserving the country's overseas and coastal seaborne trade and its Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs). Therefore, India prioritises stability in the east African littoral and island states (Khan, 2023). The oceans are becoming increasingly plagued with marine hazards, posing significant threats to maritime stability and security.

A mix of traditional and non-traditional hazards currently afflicts the waterways off the shores of East African countries. A threat that is rapidly moving eastward is worsened by the existence of violent non-state actors (VNSAs) like the Al Shabab organisation in Somalia. A range of transnational organised crime activities and State-on-State conflict plagues the littoral region, including piracy, illegal oil bunkering, mixed migration, and seaborne and coastal trafficking in weapons, drugs, and people (Gilpin, 2016). The HOA's peak year for piracy, mainly off the coast of Somalia, was 2009. The challenges associated with piracy are still there even though the symptoms have shifted from a maritime to a land-based one. In addition to these difficulties, the security situation in Yemen has resulted in a notable level of criminal inventiveness in the Red Sea (Africa Centre for Strategic Studies, 2019). Recently, the Houthi group in Yemen has attacked ships in the Red Sea, exposing the weakness of African maritime security. There have been 133 occurrences reported since November 2023, including 14 boats that were hit by drones or missiles and 18 ships that Somali pirates took over. Africa's security and economic development are fundamentally threatened by the disruptions brought about by non-state actors who are not constrained by international law and have access to stocks of standoff weapons (Vrey & Blaine, 2024). One of the world's most significant marine routes borders the HOA and is an important transit route for oil exports and international trade across the Western Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Gulf of Aden.

Somalia's breakdown as a state is the primary factor for maritime insecurity in the area. Additionally, Somalia is home to weak regional governments like Somaliland and Puntland. The Puntland coast is an important hub and jumping-off point for pirate activity, although the Somaliland coastline reportedly lacks pirate activity. Somali pirates attack ships and other vessels, taking the crews, cargo, and boats hostage until a ransom is paid. The implicit and explicit threat of Somali piracy to commerce via the Gulf of Aden and the Suez Canal has enormous economic and commercial ramifications that affect the entire world (Fantaye, 2014). Piracy in the HOA has long been considered a marine problem. In an attempt to stop Somali piracy, the international world has sent a sizable number of navy warships and billions of money into the area. Despite declining piracy in the HOA in 2012, naval ships worldwide are still monitoring the Gulf of Aden and the Western Indian Ocean (Lucas, 2013).

India and African nations shared security concerns drive the need to collaborate on maritime security issues. The Africa Integrated Maritime Policy for 2050 is crucial to regional maritime strategies and India's partnership. India prioritises combating marine piracy, extending its influence beyond economic interests. In light of this, the Indian Coast Guard and Navy are instrumental in countering threats emanating from criminal elements like pirates. Since 2008, over 3,000 vessels have received protection from Indian anti-piracy patrols in the Gulf of Aden. Overall, the Indian Navy's engagement in maritime areas like the Eastern Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Aden has been greatly facilitated by the piracy-affected waterways off the coasts of Somalia. In addition, the Indian Navy has captured 120 pirates and stopped over 40 deliberate maritime piracy attacks in the last ten years. One such effort took place in 2017 on board the bulk carrier OS 35 (Kidwai, 2023). India's sphere of influence is expanding, with a shift in strategic focus beyond its borders. Consequently, India's involvement in the Western Indian Ocean Region (WIOR) has intensified. The Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia (CGPCS), established in January 2009 following UN Security Council resolution (UNSCR) 1851 (2008), includes India, several organisations, and several African nations, including Djibouti, Egypt, Somalia, the African Union, and the International Maritime Organization. The CGPCS promotes information exchange, situation awareness, and anti-piracy patrols (Arushi, 2023). India's anti-piracy initiatives encompass naval deployments, regional and international collaboration, and legislative measures. Since October 23, 2008, the Indian Navy has escorted more than 3,000 ships and prevented 40 piracy attempts.

India proposed a five-point plan to the UN Security Council in January 2011 to bolster the anti-piracy efforts. Participation in the Shared Awareness and Deconfliction (SHADE) Process, initiated in 2008, is a major aspect of India's approach. A Committee of Secretaries on Anti-Piracy and Maritime Hijacking (COSAPH) was also formed for crisis management (Parmar, 2015). India was among the first countries to send a ship on an anti-piracy patrol (Banerjee, 2024). India launched the India-Africa Defence Dialogue (IADD) to strengthen relations. In line with the SAGAR doctrine, the Indian Navy has reinforced its role as a "net security provider" in the IOR. Joint operations and counterterrorism are crucial elements of maritime security. India continues to engage in anti-piracy and counterterrorism efforts across several African nations.

At the India-Africa Defence Ministers' Conclave held in India on February 6, 2020, both expressed a commitment to combat terrorism by bolstering UN mechanisms (Dwivedi, 2023). Defence collaboration between India and Africa is anchored on three pillars: educating African defence personnel, participating in UN peacekeeping missions, and encouraging

marine cooperation. In 2020, India ratified the Djibouti Code of Conduct (DCoC), addressing the suppression of armed robbery and piracy in the Gulf of Aden and the Western Indian Ocean region. India has recently supported Africa in peacekeeping, cybersecurity, and counterterrorism initiatives. PM Modi's SAGAR initiative, introduced in 2015, underpins India's defence relations with African nations, which reflects India's commitment to *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* (All that is Our Family) (Bhattacharya, 2022). The Navy's collaboration with East African marine forces has evolved significantly over time, enabling India to assist in developing marine organisations and regulatory frameworks (Banerjee, 2017).

## INDIA'S STRATEGIC BALANCE BETWEEN GLOBAL POWERS

Djibouti hosts military bases for the US, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, China, and Saudi Arabia. As a result, the HOA has been transforming into an army garrison. The Red Sea as the shortest waterway connecting the East with the West and the Bab al-Mandeb Strait shared by four nations - Djibouti, Eritrea, and Somalia makes the region geopolitical significant for military, naval, and counterterrorism operations, marine security, and anti-piracy. As a result, external powers assert control over the Red Sea and surrounding coastline area (Ayeferam & Muchie, 2016). Following the September 11 attacks, the US revised its engagement in the HOA in 2002, establishing the Africa Command headquarters in Djibouti shortly thereafter (Ylonen, 2022). Since the early 1990s, China has revised its diplomatic relations with Africa, primarily for economic reasons. Its economic assistance becomes a major diplomatic tool (debt-trap diplomacy) for serving strategic interests. Due to "debt-trap diplomacy," China now has significant influence in the HOA, including Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti, and, to a lesser extent, Eritrea. Additionally, Beijing has bolstered its military engagement to secure its investments and corporate interests. This was initially done through peacekeeping, but in 2017, it set up its first overseas naval support base in Djibouti, near Doraleh Port.

India has signed logistics support agreements and boosted defence cooperation with Oman and France in order to provide comprehensive naval access. India and Japan were negotiating to enable Indian naval ships access to the Japanese facility in Djibouti. In addition, India plans to increase its maritime presence in the Western Indian Ocean and has applied to build a military facility in the Seychelles (Gurjar, 2020). The Western Indian Ocean is home to three of the Indian Navy's ongoing deployments: (a) an anti-piracy mission in the Gulf of Aden; (b) a Gulf mission that patrols the northern Indian Ocean and the Gulf's entrance (the Strait of Hormuz); and (c) a mission focused on the southern Indian Ocean, the Seychelles, Madagascar, and Mauritius. Furthermore, to gain access to its military sites in the Indian Ocean, India has previously signed

military logistical agreements with the US and France (Melvin, 2019). India is attempting to strengthen its ties in strategically important areas. To unleash the actual economic potential of the region, the “Asia-Africa Growth Corridor” strategy also concentrates explicitly on Africa, particularly East Africa. India considers maritime diplomacy an essential step towards defining its Indian Ocean position (Long et al., 2023). India has started working on infrastructure development projects in the Seychelles and Mauritius, including dual-use logistics facilities. India wants to improve the facilities of Mauritius's Agalega Islands. In the Indian Ocean, India participates in several bilateral and international military drills. Delegates from 17 different fleets participated in the Indian Navy's Naval Exercise MILAN, which took place on November 8, 2019. Exercise Malabar, a trilateral maritime exercise involving the United States, Japan, and India, aims to improve participant cooperation (Ghosh, 2020).

## CONCLUSION

Economic, geopolitical, and historical factors are driving India's engagement in the region. Its contemporary involvement is motivated by counterterrorism, energy security, and marine Safety initiatives. The strategic importance of the HOA as a gateway to India underpins its interests in the region. The region's abundant natural resources, particularly energy reserves, offer lucrative investment opportunities for Indian stakeholders. Opportunities exist for Indian firms in the emerging markets of the HOA, particularly in areas like agriculture, energy, and infrastructure development. Geopolitically, India seeks to counteract the influence of external forces by promoting regional peace and security through increased security cooperation. To address China's growing influence in the Indian Ocean, India cooperates with other great powers to enhance its maritime capabilities.

In recent years, India has enhanced economic interactions with countries in the HOA. India has invested in modernising and extending ports in Djibouti to improve connectivity and ease trade between Africa and Asia. Further, it has also contributed to constructing critical infrastructure, such as railroads and highways, necessary for the region's economic growth. India has a long history of taking part in humanitarian relief and UN peacekeeping missions. Indian peacekeepers have been posted to countries in the HOA, including Somalia and Sudan. India's engagement with the region has extended its relationship beyond the economic sphere by making the fight against marine piracy a fundamental commitment. Overall, India's engagement in the HOA aligns with its broader strategic objectives in the Indian Ocean region, focussing on strengthening economic ties, safeguarding security concerns, and promoting peace in the region. India's foreign policy needs to take a proactive, multifaceted approach to strengthen relations with the HOA. India can strengthen its regional strategic presence and promote mutual growth and stability by prioritising

development assistance, diplomatic engagements, security cooperation, and economic investment.

## REFERENCES

- Ahmed, S. (2021): The Horn of Africa Strategy, BLACKPAST, <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/the-horn-of-africa/>
- Ahmad, A. (2017): India Djibouti Relation: A Beginning of a New Era, *International Affairs and Global Strategy*, 59, 19-21, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/372406200\\_India\\_Djibouti\\_Relation\\_A\\_Beginning\\_of\\_New\\_Era](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/372406200_India_Djibouti_Relation_A_Beginning_of_New_Era)
- Africa Centre for Strategic Studies (2019): Trends in African Maritime Security. Africa Centre for Strategic Studies, <https://africacentre.org/spotlight/trends-in-african-maritime-security/>
- Alpers, E. A. (2018): India and Africa. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.013.26>
- Alexandre A M G (2020): A Geopolitical Analysis of the Horn of Africa. *Revista de ciencias militares [Portuguese Journal of Military Sciences]*, 8(1), 45-72. [https://comum.rcaap.pt/bitstream/10400.26/34298/2/A%2520geopolitical%2520analysis%2520of%2520the%2520Horn%2520of%2520Africa%2520%2528ing%2529\\_Ant%25C3%25B3nio%2520Alexandre.pdf&tbn=ilp&ctx=atr&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjJ-6mAxNuLAXUbsmMGHVd\\_DXkQv5AHegQIABAR](https://comum.rcaap.pt/bitstream/10400.26/34298/2/A%2520geopolitical%2520analysis%2520of%2520the%2520Horn%2520of%2520Africa%2520%2528ing%2529_Ant%25C3%25B3nio%2520Alexandre.pdf&tbn=ilp&ctx=atr&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjJ-6mAxNuLAXUbsmMGHVd_DXkQv5AHegQIABAR)
- Ayferam, G., & Muchie, Z. (2016): The Advent of Competing Foreign Powers in the Geostrategic Horn of Africa: Analysis of Opportunity and Security Risk for Ethiopia, *International Relations and Diplomacy*, 4 (12), 787-800, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/313811475\\_The\\_Advent\\_of\\_Competing\\_Foreign\\_Powers\\_in\\_the\\_Geostrategic\\_Horn\\_of\\_Africa\\_Analysis\\_of\\_Opportunity\\_and\\_Security\\_Risk\\_for\\_Ethiopia](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/313811475_The_Advent_of_Competing_Foreign_Powers_in_the_Geostrategic_Horn_of_Africa_Analysis_of_Opportunity_and_Security_Risk_for_Ethiopia)
- Banerjee, A (2024): Guarding the sea: The Indian Navy has fielded 12 Anti-Pirate patrolling ships in the Arabian Sea, *The Tribune*, <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/features/guarding-the-sea-indian-navy-has-fielded-12-anti-pirate-patrolling-ships-in-the-arabian-sea-581035>
- Banerjee, S (2017, October 30): India Needs Proactive Engagement with East African Countries on Maritime Security, Vivekananda International Foundation,

- <https://www.vifindia.org/article/2017/october/30/india-needs-proactive-engagement-with-east-african-countries-on-maritime-security>
- Bereketeab, R. (2012): Intergovernmental Authority on Development: A Critical Analysis, in *Regional Integration, Identity and Citizenship in the Greater Horn of Africa* edited by Kidane Mengisteab and Redie Bereketeab, Boydell & Brewer, 173-194, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280010259\\_Intergovernmental\\_Authority\\_on\\_Development\\_A\\_Critical\\_Analysis](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280010259_Intergovernmental_Authority_on_Development_A_Critical_Analysis)
- Beri, R. (2017): Asia Africa Growth Corridor: Towards a Shared Philosophy, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, <https://idsa.in/africatrends/asia-africa-growth-corridor-rberi>
- Beri, R. (2003): India's Africa policy in the post-Cold War Era: An assessment. *Strategic Analysis*, 27(2), 216-232, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700160308450084>
- Bhattacharya, S. (2022): Tracing the Future of India- Africa Defence Cooperation. Vivekananda International Foundation, <https://www.vifindia.org/article/2022/august/06/tracing-the-future-of-india-africa-defence-cooperation#:~:text=The%20Convergence%20of%20India%20Africa,in%20'India's%20vision%2020263'>
- Bhatia, R. (2015): Third India-Africa Forum Summit: A Critical Evaluation, *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, 10(4), 368-382, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45341061>
- Biswas, A. (2015): India-Africa Relations: Evolving Past to a Promising Future, *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, 10(3), 284-299, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45341049>
- Chase, M. S. R. (2021): Bang for the Buck: Foreign Aid and Investment in the Horn of Africa through the Lens of Great Power Competition, *School of Advanced Military Studies Report*, <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/trecms/pdf/AD1160685.pdf>
- Dwivedi, G. G. (2023): India- Africa Defence Cooperation: A Strategic Perspective, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis; *Journal of Defence Studies*, 17, 148-156, [https://www.idsa.in/system/files/jds/jds-17-3\\_G-G-Dwivedi.pdf](https://www.idsa.in/system/files/jds/jds-17-3_G-G-Dwivedi.pdf)
- Fantaye, D. (2014): Regional Approaches to Maritime Security in the Horn of Africa, *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung; Peace and Security Series*, <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/aethiopien/10880.pdf>
- Gebremichael, M. (2019): *Geopolitical Dynamics in the Horn of Africa and Mechanisms for Collaboration between NATO and IGAD Countries*, Institute for peace and security studies, [https://thesouthernhub.org/systems/file\\_download.ashx?pg=297&ver=5](https://thesouthernhub.org/systems/file_download.ashx?pg=297&ver=5)
- Ghebreyesus, B. (2016): *Evolving Eritrea-India Bilateral Relations: Opportunities and Challenges*, *Elixir International Journal*, [https://www.academia.edu/96661203/Evolving\\_Eritrea\\_India\\_Bilateral\\_Relations\\_Opportunities\\_and\\_Challenges](https://www.academia.edu/96661203/Evolving_Eritrea_India_Bilateral_Relations_Opportunities_and_Challenges)
- Ghosh, P. (2020): India's Indian Ocean Region Strategy, *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs*, <https://media.defence.gov/2020/Aug/31/2002488089/-1/-1/1/GHOSH.PDF>
- Gilpin, R. (2016): *Maritime Security: Crucial for Africa's Strategic Future*, Africa Centre for Strategic Studies, <https://africacentre.org/spotlight/maritime-safety-security-crucial-africas-strategic-future/>
- Gurjar, S. (2020, October 28): Understanding Indian ties with Horn of Africa countries, *Deccan Herald*, <https://www.deccanherald.com/opinion/understanding-indian-ties-with-horn-of-africa-countries-908243.html>
- Gurjar, S., and Dutta, A. (2021): *Evolving Geopolitics of Western Indian Ocean: a primer from India*, *Indian Council of World Affairs* <https://www.icwa.in/WriteReadData/RTF1984/5898247569.pdf>
- Hess, M. R. C. K. (2021): Counterbalancing Chinese Influence in the Horn of Africa: A Strategy for Security and Stability, *960th Cyberspace Wing; Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs*, <https://www.960cyber.afrc.af.mil/News/ArticleDisplay/Article/2848080/counterbalancing-chinese-influence-in-the-horn-of-africa-a-strategy-for-security/>
- Hassan, M. A. (2019): Growing China-India Competition in the Indian Ocean: Implications for Pakistan, *Strategic Studies*, 39(1), 77-89, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48544289>
- Karmwar, M. (2010): India's Relations with East Africa: A historical study, *Indian journal of African studies* (vol.1/2, p.39-57) [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334284675\\_INDIA'S\\_RELATIONS\\_WITH\\_EAST\\_AFRICA\\_A\\_HISTORICAL\\_STUDY/citation/download](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334284675_INDIA'S_RELATIONS_WITH_EAST_AFRICA_A_HISTORICAL_STUDY/citation/download)



- Khan, A. (2022): Africa's Maritime Security: From Strategy to Solutions, National Maritime Foundation. [strategy-to-solutions/](https://maritimeindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Anum-Khan-Africa%E2%80%99s-Maritime-Security-From-Strategy-to-Solutions-pdf-1.pdf)
- <https://maritimeindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Anum-Khan-Africa%E2%80%99s-Maritime-Security-From-Strategy-to-Solutions-pdf-1.pdf>
- Kidwai, S. A. (2023): India-Africa Cooperation in the Maritime Space, Manohar Parikkar Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis; Journal of Defence Studies, [https://www.idsa.in/system/files/jds/jds-17-3\\_Saman-Ayesha-Kidwai.pdf](https://www.idsa.in/system/files/jds/jds-17-3_Saman-Ayesha-Kidwai.pdf)
- Lal, J. A. (2015): India - Africa Forum Summits: Engagements and Outcomes, Indian Council of World Affairs, [https://www.icwa.in/showfile.php?lang=1&level=3&ls\\_id=712&lid=653](https://www.icwa.in/showfile.php?lang=1&level=3&ls_id=712&lid=653)
- Lucas, E. R. (2013): Somalia's "Pirate Cycle": The Three Phases of Somali Piracy. Journal of Strategic Security, 6(1), 55–63, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26466489>
- Madhuri, A. N. B. (2023, September 12): Horn of Africa: India's Strategy to Counter China, Defence Research and Studies, <https://dras.in/horn-of-africa-indias-strategy-to-counter-china/>
- Melvin, N. (2019): The Foreign Military Presence in the Horn of Africa Region, SIPRI, <https://www.sipri.org/publications/2019/sipri-background-papers/foreign-military-presence-horn-africa-region>
- Mickle, A. (2021, June 23): Horn of Africa and South Asia, Oxford Bibliographies. doi: 10.1093/obo/9780199846733-0222
- Ministry of External Affairs (2012): India- Ethiopia relations. Government of India, <https://www.google.com/search?q=About+https://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/18262/Second%2BIndiaEthiopia%2BForeign%2BOffice%2BConsultations&tbm=ilp&ctx=atr&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwit46rKytuLAXU7m2MGHWQMEsoQv5AHegQIABAD>
- Ministry of External Affairs (2016): India-Somalia Relations, Government of India, [https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Somalia\\_Jan\\_2016.pdf](https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Somalia_Jan_2016.pdf)
- Ministry of External Affairs (2017a): India - Djibouti Relations, Government of India, [https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Djibouti\\_September\\_2017\\_en.pdf](https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Djibouti_September_2017_en.pdf)
- Ministry of External Affairs (2017b): India- Ethiopia Relations, Government of India, [https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Ethiopia\\_Sept\\_2017.pdf](https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Ethiopia_Sept_2017.pdf)
- Ministry of External Affairs, (2021): India- Somalia Relations, Government of India, [https://hcinairobi.gov.in/public\\_files/assets/pdf/Somalia-PDF.pdf](https://hcinairobi.gov.in/public_files/assets/pdf/Somalia-PDF.pdf)
- Ministry of External Affairs (2022): India- Ethiopia Relations, Government of India, [https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/EthiopiaOct\\_2022.pdf](https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/EthiopiaOct_2022.pdf)
- Ministry of External Affairs (2023): India- Eritrea relations, Government of India, <https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Eritrea-2023.pdf>
- Mishra, S. (2012): Somalia, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, [https://idsa.in/africatrends/somalia\\_smishra\\_0612](https://idsa.in/africatrends/somalia_smishra_0612)
- Mohammad, K. (2010): India and Djibouti in Indian Ocean Geopolitics, Research journal Social Sciences, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/339770182\\_India\\_and\\_Djibouti\\_in\\_the\\_Indian\\_Ocean\\_Geopolitics](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/339770182_India_and_Djibouti_in_the_Indian_Ocean_Geopolitics)
- Mohammed, K. (2016): India and Eritrea a geopolitical bond of cooperation across the Arabian Sea, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/339749592\\_India\\_and\\_Eritrea\\_A\\_Geopolitical\\_Bond\\_of\\_Cooperation\\_Across\\_the\\_Arabian\\_Sea/citations](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/339749592_India_and_Eritrea_A_Geopolitical_Bond_of_Cooperation_Across_the_Arabian_Sea/citations)
- Narlikar, A. (2010): India's rise to power: where does East Africa fit in? Review of African Political Economy, 451–464, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2010.530943> 37(126)
- Observer Research Foundation (2015): India-Africa Forum Summit: A landmark in boosting ties with Africa, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/india-africa-forum-summit-a-landmark-in-boosting-ties-with-africa>
- Padmanabhan, K. (2024): India's Africa push — defence pact with Ethiopia in final stages, ThePrint, <https://theprint.in/defence/indias-africa-push-defence-pact-with-ethiopia-in-final-stages/1998983/>
- Parmar, S. S. (2015): India's Role in Counter Piracy Operations around Africa, Brookings India, [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/indiaafrica\\_parmar.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/indiaafrica_parmar.pdf)
- Pimparkar, A. (2023, October 7): India Africa Relations in the 21st Century - Politics for India,

- <https://politicsforindia.com/india-africa-relations-in-the-21st-century/>
- Purushothaman, C. (2018): India's Economic Diplomacy with Ethiopia, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, <https://idsa.in/africatrends/indias-economic-diplomacy-with-ethiopia>
- Redie Bereketeab (2019): External Interventions and Consequences in the Horn of Africa, *The Journal of US-Africa Studies*, 1 (1), <https://ojs.letras.up.pt/index.php/AfricaStudies/article/view/10871>.
- Rondos, A. (2016): The Horn of Africa: Its Strategic Importance for Europe, the Gulf States, and Beyond. *Horizons: Journal of International relations and sustainable development*. No. 6, (pp. 150-161). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48573620>
- Seethi, K. M. (2024): India's Horn of Africa Engagements: Emerging Ties with Djibouti and Implications for Regional Dynamics, *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/25765949.2023.2300583>
- Seth, Amb. M. (2021): Education and Capacity Building: key components of India-Ethiopia Ties, *Diplomatist*, <https://diplomatist.com/2021/02/12/education-and-capacity-building-key-components-of-india-ethiopia-ties/>
- Seyoum, A. (2017): India Avails Billion Dollars' Worth Line Of Credit To Ethiopia, <https://www.thereporterethiopia.com/1866/>
- Singh, A. (2023): India-Africa Maritime Security and Strategic cooperation in the twenty first century, Manohar Parikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis; *Journal of Defence Studies*, 17 (3), 280-309. [https://www.idsa.in/system/files/jds/jds-17-3\\_Arush-Singh.pdf](https://www.idsa.in/system/files/jds/jds-17-3_Arush-Singh.pdf)
- Singh, G. (2018): India, Japan and the Asia Africa Growth Corridor, Gateway House: Indian Council on Global Relations. <https://www.gatewayhouse.in/japan-aagc/>
- Sinha, A., and Mohta, M. (2007): Indian foreign policy: challenges and opportunities. [https://archive.org/details/indianforeignpol0000unse\\_e3h0/page/n5/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/indianforeignpol0000unse_e3h0/page/n5/mode/2up)
- Srivastava, P. (2023): India And Ethiopia: A Flourishing 75-Year Diplomatic Bond, *Digpu News*, <https://digpu.com/diplomatic-diary/india-and-ethiopia-a-flourishing-75-year-diplomatic-bond#:~:text=The%20Indian%20Diaspora%20in%20Ethiopia>
- Telci, I. N. (2021): The Horn of Africa as Venue for Regional Competition: Motivations, Instruments and Relationship Patterns, *Insight on Africa*, 14(1), <https://doi.org/10.1177/09750878211034153>
- Trần Thanh Long, Tran, Y., and Thi, H. (2023): Competition of Strategy Between China And India In The Indian Ocean Nowadays, *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, 9(2), 615–628, <https://doi.org/10.47305/jlia23926151>
- UNESCO (2010): Reaching the Marginalised: EFA Global monitoring report. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000186606>
- Venter, D. (2018, July 19): India and Africa: Maritime Security and India's Strategic Interests in the Western Indian Ocean, *Centro de Estudos Internacionais*, <https://books.openedition.org/cei/469?lang=en>
- Vrey, F., and Blaine, M. (2024): Red Sea and Western Indian Ocean Attacks Expose Africa's Maritime Vulnerability, *Africa Centre for Strategic Studies*, <https://africacentre.org/spotlight/red-sea-indian-ocean-attacks-africa-maritime>
- Wagner, C. (2019): India's Africa Policy, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, [https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/research\\_papers/2019-RP09\\_wgn\\_Web.pdf](https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/research_papers/2019-RP09_wgn_Web.pdf)
- Waithaka, E., and Maluki, P. (2016): Emerging Dimensions of the Geopolitics of the Horn of Africa, *International Journal of Science Arts and Commerce*, Vol. 1 No.4. [https://www.academia.edu/64807475/Emerging\\_Dimensions\\_of\\_the\\_Geopolitics\\_of\\_the\\_Horn\\_of\\_Africa](https://www.academia.edu/64807475/Emerging_Dimensions_of_the_Geopolitics_of_the_Horn_of_Africa)
- Ylonen, A. (2022): A scramble of external powers and local agency in the Horn of Africa, [https://www.cidob.org/en/publications/publication\\_series/notes\\_internacionais/280/a\\_scramble\\_of\\_external\\_powers\\_and\\_local\\_agency\\_in\\_the\\_horn\\_of\\_africa#:~:text=For%20centuries%2C%20external%20powers%20have](https://www.cidob.org/en/publications/publication_series/notes_internacionais/280/a_scramble_of_external_powers_and_local_agency_in_the_horn_of_africa#:~:text=For%20centuries%2C%20external%20powers%20have)