



THE FIGHT FOR AFRICA

THE NEW FOCUS OF THE SAUDI-IRANIAN RIVALRY

SUMMARY

Africa has become a new competing arena between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Both states have turned their focus to the continent, developing ties with a number of African states on both economic and security levels. As international focus remains centered on the Persian Gulf and the Levant, Africa's importance in the regional rivalry is often overlooked. By focusing on key strategic issues found throughout the continent, including the formation of alliances in East and North Africa, as well as the role of ideological proxies in West Africa, this paper offers a holistic analysis of the role Africa plays in the rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran. The implications of these issues are also examined to emphasize their effects on Saudi-Iranian relations, as well as stability in Africa.

KEY POINTS

- ◆ Saudi Arabia and its Gulf allies have distanced the Horn of Africa from Iran through financial incentives.
- ◆ Iran is looking to expand its presence in West Africa through the formation of further Hezbollah-styled ideological proxy groups.
- ◆ Both Saudi Arabia and Iran are deploying soft power to increase diplomatic ties with Sub-Saharan African states.
- ◆ The exportation of conservative forms of Islam to the continent is increasing Islamic extremism and religious sectarianism throughout Africa.
- ◆ African states that have benefitted from substantial financial investment from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states are being drawn into Middle Eastern conflicts and disputes.



INTRODUCTION

Saudi-Iranian rivalry in the Persian Gulf littoral, South Asia, and the Levant dominates the international attention paid to their broad competition for regional, political, security, and sectarian domination. But with nearly 650 million adherents to Islam (53 percent of Africa's total population), untapped natural wealth, and strategic location, the African continent offers equal if not greater rewards to the regional rivals if they can gain a competitive advantage. Unsurprisingly, Africa has become another arena in the Saudi-Iranian rivalry; a reality made clear by Saudi King Salman's call for a Saudi-Africa summit to be held before the end of 2017. From the formation of strategic alliances in the Horn of Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Maghreb, to the use of ideological proxies in West Africa, this paper will look at various elements of the ongoing rivalry as well as analyze how they may shape Saudi-Iranian relations, Africa, and the wider region.

EAST AFRICA

The Horn of Africa has emerged as the principal focus for Saudi-Iranian competition on the African continent. Prior to reaching agreement with the international community on the nuclear deal in 2015, Iran struggled to break out of the isolation imposed in response to its nuclear weapons programs. The Horn of Africa was one of the few regions in the world to offer the Iranians opportunities to develop relations. Similarly suffering under the weight of international sanctions, several



Gerald Feierstein

Gerald Feierstein is the Director of the Center for Gulf Affairs at the Middle East Institute. He retired from the U.S. Foreign Service in May 2016 after a 41-year career. At the time of his retirement, Feierstein held the personal rank of Career Minister.

Over the course of his career, he served in nine overseas postings including

three tours of duty in Pakistan, as well as tours in Saudi Arabia, Oman, Lebanon, Jerusalem, and Tunisia. In 2010, President Obama appointed Feierstein U.S. Ambassador to Yemen, where he served until 2013. From 2013 until his retirement, Feierstein was Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs.



Craig Greathead

Craig Greathead is an undergraduate student at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. He is majoring in Arabic, French, and International Relations with a focus on Persian Gulf politics. He works with the country analysis team of the U.K based risk analysis and security consultancy

Frontier Horizons. He has previously reported on political and economic events in Yemen and Kuwait.

of the states in the region eagerly welcomed Iran's friendship.

Most significant among Iran's regional successes was Sudan, which proved a vital Iranian ally for many years. The two states established a cooperative military and intelligence-sharing relationship. Sudan became a major transshipment point for Iranian arms re-supply to partners in Gaza and Lebanon, primarily Hamas and Hezbollah.



Eritrea and Somalia also proved to be sympathetic partners for Iran, with Eritrea becoming a key ally in the region. The use of Eritrean ports by the Iranian navy was a notable strategic asset for Iran as it offered the Islamic Republic a foothold in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden, as well as a strong naval position in Saudi Arabia's backyard. Since 2015, the Iranians used access to Somalia as a principal gateway for smuggling arms and supplies to the Houthi rebels fighting against the Saudi-backed Yemeni government.

Had they been able to sustain the relations, access to Eritrea and Somalia, coupled with control of the Yemeni Red Sea coast through the Houthis, would have enhanced Iran's ability to threaten international shipping in the Bab al-Mandeb. The capacity to challenge international commerce passing through the two strategic chokeholds in the region—the Bab al-Mandeb and the Strait of Hormuz—has long been perceived as a principal strategic objective for the Iranians, providing them with a significant deterrent against outside pressure. Iranian interest in demonstrating the capacity to challenge shipping in the Red Sea was apparent in 2016, when several attacks on U.S. and coalition naval vessels were launched from the Yemeni side of the Bab al-Mandeb.

Recognizing the threat to their interests if Iran were allowed to establish a foothold in the Horn, Saudi Arabia invested heavily in the effort to counter Iranian influence. The most notable Saudi success has been in provoking the break in Sudan's relations

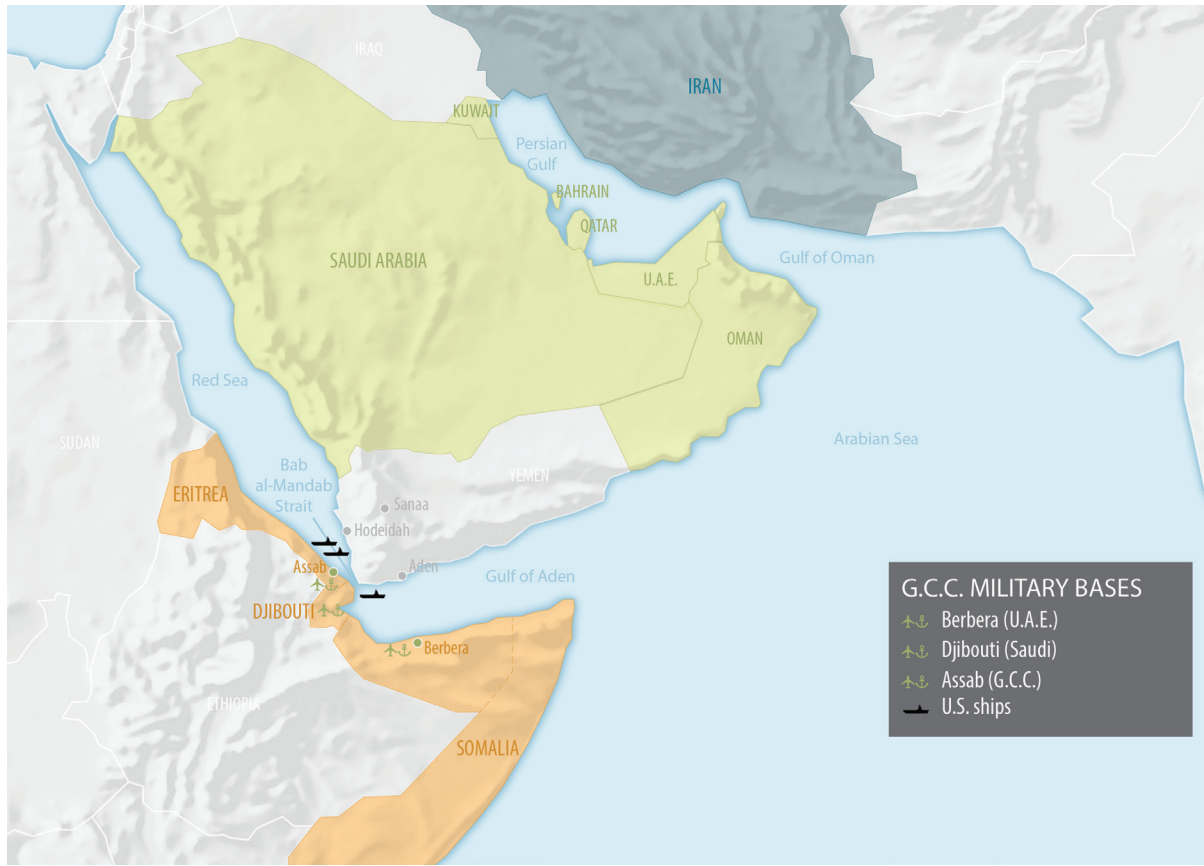
with Iran. In 2014, the Sudanese expelled Iranian officials, accusing them of spreading Shiite Islam through their cultural centers. Khartoum announced, at the same time, that it was joining the Saudi camp. Beyond financial inducements, the Saudis have used their diplomatic leverage to entice the Sudanese shift, pledging to help Sudan break out of its diplomatic isolation. As part of that effort, the Saudis have led a push to overcome the International Criminal Court indictment of Sudan's president, Omar al-Bashir, for war crimes and genocide in Darfur. Most recently, the Saudis raised eyebrows when they invited Bashir to attend the Arab-Islamic-U.S. summit with President Donald Trump in Riyadh in May, although Bashir ultimately decided not to attend, presumably as a result of U.S. pressure.

Diplomatic initiatives aside, it is clearly Saudi Arabia's far greater economic clout, along with its position as the leader of the Sunni Islamic world, which has allowed it to succeed in its competition with Iran for influence in Sudan. In 2016, the Saudis deposited \$1 billion in Sudan's Central Bank, presumably as a reward following Khartoum's decision to break relations with Iran as a result of the attack on the Saudi embassy in Tehran. The Saudis have also used their economic power to strengthen their bilateral ties to Djibouti, Somalia, and Eritrea, all of which have cut their ties to Iran.

While Iran's traditional influence in the Horn of Africa was once a threat to Saudi Arabia and its interests, the recent moves to



FIGURE 1: GROWING G.C.C. PRESENCE IN EAST AFRICA



increase Saudi involvement in the area have allowed the kingdom to extend its “security belt”. The recent establishment of several military bases by Saudi Arabia and its principal Gulf ally, the United Arab Emirates (U.A.E.), in the Horn of Africa has given the Saudis a launching pad from which to eliminate Iranian influence in the region. In January 2017, Saudi Arabia and Djibouti formally agreed to the construction of a military base in the East African state. With the U.A.E.’s new military installation in the territory of Somaliland, as well as the jointly operated military base in Assab, Eritrea, Saudi Arabia and its Gulf ally have successfully distanced the region from Iranian influence.

Beyond the security component, Saudi and Emirati engagement in the Horn reflects their interest in safeguarding access to food supplies. Unable to provide for their own food needs domestically, and uncomfortable relying entirely on food imports across long distances, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf Cooperation Council (G.C.C.) states have invested heavily in the purchase of land for agricultural production in East Africa. In Saudi Arabia, the King Abdullah Initiative for Saudi Agricultural Investment Abroad has played a key role in promoting deals between Saudi investors and land owners in Ethiopia and Sudan in particular. Presumably, Gulf ownership of agricultural lands in Africa will help



guarantee a reliable food supply in G.C.C. states as their populations continue to grow.

But it has also promoted a backlash within Africa as concerns grow over foreign ownership of vital farmland. A U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization report noted that: “As governments or markets make land available to prospecting investors, large-scale land acquisitions may result in local people losing access to the resources on which they depend for their food security—particularly as some key recipient countries are themselves faced with food security challenges.” Overall Gulf agricultural investments in Africa amounted to over \$30 billion between 2004 and 2014, according to the Dubai Chamber of Commerce. (N.B.: In fairness, the Saudis and Emiratis are hardly alone in what has been dubbed “land-grabbing.” India, China, and South Korea, among others, have been similarly engaged in the practice.)

Indeed, while greater Saudi engagement in the Horn of Africa has largely succeeded in eliminating Iranian influence, it has been a source of friction with other Saudi part-

ners. Prior to the recent rapprochement between Egypt and the Saudis, Cairo looked skeptically at the growing Saudi presence on the African side of the Red Sea. In particular, the Egyptians were angered by a visit to the Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), a source of Egyptian-Ethiopian bilateral strain, by a senior advisor to King Salman, Ahmed al-Khatib, in December 2016. Ostensibly intended to showcase Saudi-Ethiopian bilateral interest in renewable energies, the Egyptians interpreted the visit as an unsubtle intervention in their backyard. At the same time, Egyptian officials expressed “suspicion” over Saudi plans to develop a military presence in Djibouti and insisted that the Saudis seek Egypt’s “permission” before proceeding with their plans.

Closer ties to Saudi Arabia and a growing dependence on Saudi largesse has also drawn the East African states uncomfortably into the middle of intra-Gulf conflicts. Although Somalia has remained neutral in the Saudi-Emirati-Egyptian dispute with Qatar (and is therefore at risk of losing an \$80 million donation from the Saudis), Sudan, Eritrea, and

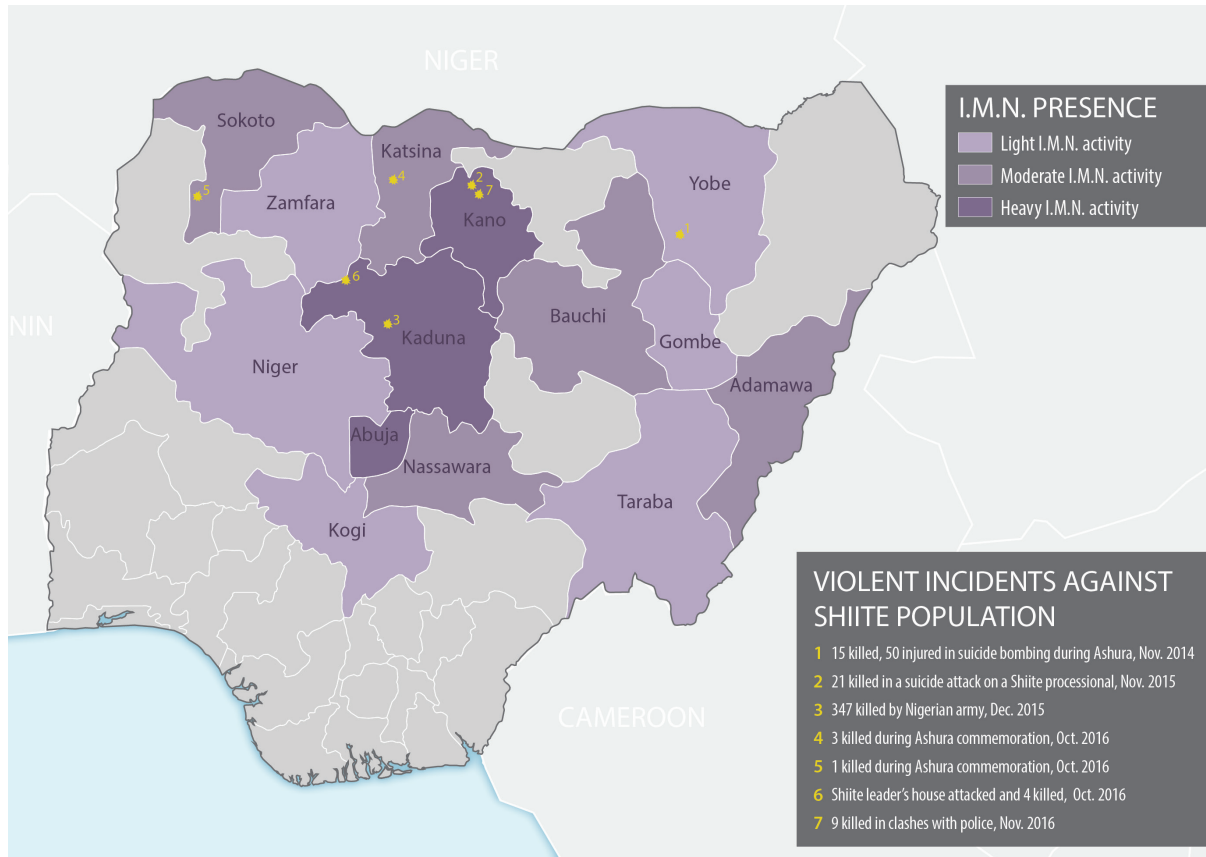
Egyptian officials expressed “suspicion” over Saudi plans to develop a military presence in Djibouti



Djibouti have all sided with Saudi Arabia and downgraded their relations with Qatar. As a result of their decision, Qatar withdrew several hundred peacekeepers from the Eritrean-Djiboutian border where they had been deployed since 2010 to maintain a 2008 border agreement mediated by Doha. Immediately following



FIGURE 2: VIOLENT INCIDENTS AND 2017 I.M.N. PROTESTS IN NIGERIA



the Qatari withdrawal, Djibouti accused the Eritrean military of occupying territory in the contested Dumeira Mountains, ratcheting up tensions and drawing U.N. and African Union engagement.

WEST AFRICA

Historically, the Saudi-Iranian rivalry in East Africa has been a zero-sum game for strategic power. But in West Africa, Riyadh and Tehran play out their rivalry primarily as a sectarian battle between Sunni and Shiite Islam. A once notably tolerant region in terms of religious freedoms, West Africa is now an area of rising sectarian tension as Saudi Ara-

bia and Iran export their differing views on Islam to the wider Islamic community.

This divide is most evident in Africa's most populous state, Nigeria. Nigerians are predominantly Sunni Muslims. The country is governed by a Sunni, President Muhammadu Buhari, and the Salafist extremist group Boko Haram also operates in the country. Caught between the two poles of Nigeria's Sunni Islamic community, Nigeria's Shiite minority finds itself increasingly under threat. Iran, in its self-declared role as leader of the Shiite, has attempted to justify interference in Nigeria's domestic affairs on the grounds that it is the legitimate guarantor of the security of its fellow Shiites. In particular, Iran has used the killing of over 300 Shiites by the Ni-



Foreign funding of mosques and Islamic schools leads to a rise in Sunni-Shiite sectarianism



states, including Cameroon, Mauritania, and Senegal, are also being drawn into the Saudi-Iranian ideological proxy conflict.

For Iran, this ideological battle in Nigeria fulfills another of

its regional ambitions: establishing Hezbollah-styled proxies throughout Africa. Iran and Hezbollah see several African countries, with weak state institutions and porous borders, as potential platforms from which Iran can threaten the wider region in the event of growing pressure in the Middle East. Hezbollah already has a foothold in West Africa due to the presence of a large Lebanese diaspora, who use the diamond and drug trades to help fund and supply arms to the group in Lebanon. Having the I.M.N. as another proxy would help fortify Iranian influence in West Africa. Saudi Arabia's attempts to limit the I.M.N.'s growth by supporting rival Sunni groups such as Izala, as well as doing little to condemn the actions of Boko Haram when it targets the I.M.N., highlight Nigeria's importance to both Saudi and Iranian interests in West Africa.

Thus, in contrast to Saudi Arabia's apparent dominance in East Africa, Iran is competing effectively with its regional rival on the ideological front in West Africa. Iran's invaluable assets of Ibrahim Zakzaki and the I.M.N. are providing Tehran with the ability to disrupt key Sunni states in the region, as well as ensuring the creation and development of valuable proxy groups. As Saudi Arabia naturally

gerian government during a rally in December 2015 as an excuse to warrant its continuous support for an Iranian-inspired Shiite extremist group, the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (I.M.N.), and its currently imprisoned leader Ibrahim Zakzaki. I.M.N. has been labelled a terrorist organization by Nigeria's government and its events have been targeted by the government, Boko Haram, and the Izala Society, a Sunni group that is strongly backed by Saudi Arabia. King Salman has supported the Nigerian government's attempts to suppress the I.M.N., while President Hassan Rouhani has allegedly called for an investigation into the imprisonment of Ibrahim Zakzaki and the recent violence against Nigeria's Shiite community.

Both sides in the Saudi-Iranian proxy conflict are now investing in and supporting rival groups throughout the region in order to gain both an ideological and strategic foothold in West Africa's Muslim communities. Saudi and Iranian interference in the domestic affairs of African states follows a cycle: foreign funding of mosques and Islamic schools leads to a rise in Sunni-Shiite sectarianism, which in turn allows both sides to intervene, allegedly in support of their respective sect. While Nigeria remains the country where growing religious intolerance is most apparent, other



seeks to combat this expansion, the rivalry is deepening religious intolerance and Islamic extremism in the West African region.

NORTH AFRICA (ALGERIA)

Algeria is a key target for Iran in Africa. Since the resumption of diplomatic ties in 2000, the two states have developed strong economic and diplomatic relations. One of the few states to voice support for Iran's nuclear development program, Algeria is seen by the Iranian government as a vital "launching pad" not just into the Maghreb region, but into the African continent as a whole.

Strong diplomatic relations between Algeria and Iran look set to continue. In a June 2017 state visit to Algeria by Iran's foreign minister, Mohammad Javad Zarif, both sides reiterated their desire for increased economic, cultural, and counterterrorism cooperation. The establishment of a production site in Algeria for Iranian car manufacturer Iran Khodro in 2016 underscores the strengthening relations.

Strategically, Algeria's unwillingness to follow Saudi Arabia's lead in ongoing events in the Middle East reinforces Iran's diplomacy. Algeria is neutral in Saudi Arabia's dispute with Qatar and, echoing the Iranians, has called for dialogue; the Qataris have described the Algerian position

as "honorable." In Yemen, despite several attempts by Saudi Arabia to convince Algeria to join its military coalition against Iranian-backed Houthi rebels, Algeria has refused to intervene. Finally, Algeria's non-membership in the Saudi-formed Islamic Military Alliance (an alliance which has been accused of sectarianism due to the non-membership of notable Shiite states including Iran), highlights Algeria's determination to stay clear of Saudi Arabia's increasing dominance in the politics and conflicts of the Middle East. The Algerian Constitution also prohibits the deployment of Algerian military forces outside of the country.

Iran sees Algeria, an economic and military power in Africa, as essentially up for grabs in the regional rivalry between itself and Saudi Arabia. The more Algeria remains officially neutral in the rivalry, the more Iran will seek to expand existing ties to the regional power. Unlike its opportunities elsewhere in Africa, however, Iran has few options to influence Algerian policy. Indeed, with its sights set firmly on expanding its own influence and presence in Africa, Algeria is as likely to find



The more Algeria remains officially neutral in the rivalry, the more Iran will seek to expand existing ties



itself competing with Iran on the continent as it is to partner with it.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

The Saudi-Iranian rivalry in Sub-Saharan Africa is primarily waged through soft power policies as well as the promise of investments, particularly in the oil and gas fields. Both states use their abundant natural resources to obtain allies and advance their strategic goals.

In a demonstration of its efforts, Iran welcomed the opening of a Beninese embassy to Tehran in June. Rouhani greeted the newly arrived ambassador and heralded an era of increased cooperation between the two states in various economic, cultural, scientific, and political fields. For Iran, the cornerstone of its presence in the region is its traditionally strong ties with South Africa, advanced primarily through the sale of cheap oil and gas to the main regional power. (The Irani-

an-South Africa relationship reaches back to the era of the Shah, when Iran was one of the only OPEC members willing to sell oil to the apartheid state in violation of U.N. sanctions). Saudi Arabia, for its part, has promised \$20 million in cheap oil through the Saudi Fund for National Development to promote bilateral ties with Zambia.

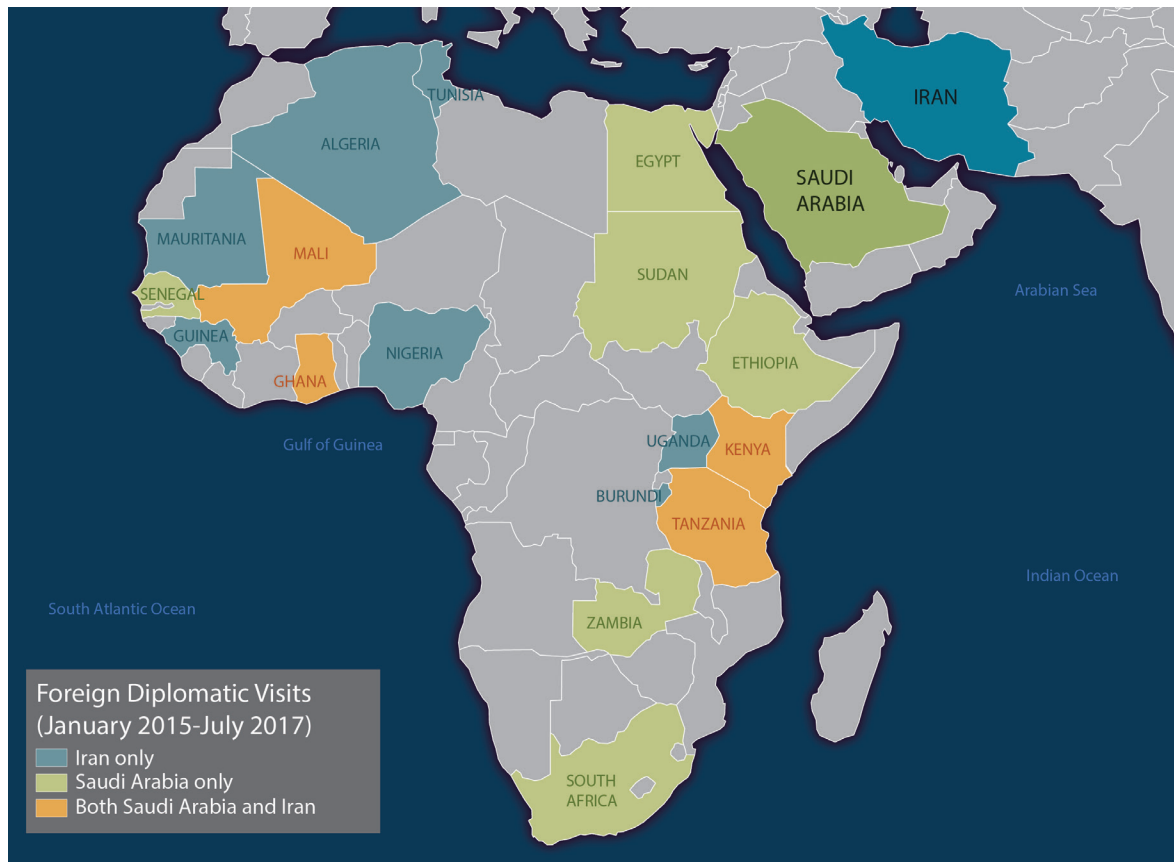
Iran looks to Sub-Saharan Africa not only for political and diplomatic support, but also as a source of raw material for its nuclear program. Through cheap oil and gas exports, Iran ensures diplomatic assistance from African states in vital international bodies including the United Nations Security Council and International Atomic Energy Agency. Iran looks to strengthen ties with African states to increase support against international sanctions and measures taken against the country. Moreover, Iran has pursued bilateral relations with several Sub-Saharan African states that possess uranium deposits to ensure supplies for its nuclear program.

In this regard, Iran has recently looked to improve relations with Malawi (Africa's third largest uranium producer) as well as Namibia, where Iran owns a 15 percent stake in the Rössing Uranium Mine. While heavy international sanctions have blocked Iran's easy access to global uranium markets, Iran has been able to bypass sanctions through the illicit trade in uranium in Sub-Saharan Africa due to poor levels

With limited strategic goals in the region, [Saudi Arabia] appears motivated primarily by the need to counter Iran's influence



FIGURE 3: RECENT DIPLOMATIC VISITS TO AFRICA (2015-JULY 2017)



of infrastructure and wide-spread corruption.

Saudi Arabia, with limited strategic goals in the region, appears motivated primarily by the need to counter Iran's influence. In the last few years, the Saudis have undertaken several diplomatic initiatives to diminish Iran's position in Sub-Saharan Africa. Most notably, South African President Jacob Zuma canceled a trip to Iran and traveled to Saudi Arabia instead after an unannounced visit by Saudi Foreign Minister Adel al-Jubeir in 2016. Furthermore, after the Iranian navy concluded a deal with Tanzanian authorities allowing its navy to conduct regular visits to Tanzanian ports, it took only a matter of weeks before the Saudi foreign minister traveled to Tan-

zania and declared the state Saudi Arabia's priority country for trade and investment in Africa. As such, Saudi Arabia's diplomatic strategy in Sub-Saharan Africa corresponds to its approach in East Africa, namely the promise of large financial investments to gather support and challenge Iranian influence in the region.

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR AFRICA

Saudi-Iranian competition for influence in Africa has been waged for a number of years. But it has sharpened in recent months, reflecting a more aggressive stance by Wash-

ington, at least rhetorically, to challenge Iran's regional ambitions, and the adoption of a more robust Saudi foreign policy under the leadership of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman.

Although Iran continues to use Somalia as a smuggling transshipment point for its arms and materiel support to the Houthi rebels in Yemen, the struggle for influence in East Africa has largely been decided in favor of the Saudis and their Gulf allies. Saudi financial power and diplomatic leverage have swayed the states of the Horn of Africa in their decisions. Increasingly, the Iranians and Saudis have shifted their focus to West Africa, where each side enjoys advantages. Although the Muslim populations of West Africa are predominantly Sunni, and thus inclined to favor the Saudis, Iran can call on the loyalties of the large Lebanese community in the region, which is heavily Shiite and historically supportive of Hezbollah.

The Saudi and Iranian attention to Africa is, at best, a mixed blessing for the governments and people of the region. The competition has undoubtedly meant a financial and development windfall for the region as the two sides seek to buy loyalty. But it has also drawn the states into larger regional conflicts that they can ill afford, not only between Iran and the Gulf states, but into intra-Gulf and intra-Arab disputes as well. As noted in this paper, Qatar's confrontation with its G.C.C. neighbors has triggered the withdrawal of Qatari peacekeepers from Eritrea and Djibouti, resulting in a deterioration

of their bilateral relations and the re-emergence after a seven-year hiatus of their territorial disputes. At a low point in Saudi-Egyptian relations last year, Ethiopia and Djibouti also risked becoming battlegrounds in Riyadh's dispute with Cairo as a result of their relations with the Saudis.

But it is in the internal dimensions of Saudi and Iranian involvement in the region that poses the greatest threat to the African states. The exportation of differing forms of conservative Islam to the African continent is leading to a rise in extremism in the region. As Saudi Arabia and Iran continue to fund and construct mosques and centers for Islamic learning, the consequent spread of fundamentalist Shiite Islam and Wahhabism, coupled with weak state institutions, is radicalizing populations. Somalia serves as a prime example of the dangers of exporting conservative forms of Islam to weak or fledgling states in the African continent. As such, as Saudi Arabia and Iran expand their ideological battle, this rising sectarianism will lead to increasing security threats for several states throughout Africa.



ENDNOTES

1. "Africa's Muslim Population in 2016". Muslim Population. Web. 07 July 2017. <<http://www.muslimpopulation.com/africa/>>.
2. "King Salman calls for a Saudi-African summit". Al Arabiya. 04 June 2017. Web. 07 July 2017. <<http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/2017/07/04/King-Salman-calls-for-a-Saudi-African-summit.html>>.
3. Winsor, M., "Saudi Arabia – Iran Rivalry in Africa: Sudan, Djibouti, Somalia part ways with Tehran as Riyadh influence grows". International Business Times. 07 January 2016. Web. 16 July 2017. <<http://www.ibtimes.com/saudi-arabia-iran-rivalry-africa-sudan-djibouti-somalia-part-ways-tehran-riyadh-2255456>>.
4. "Maritime Interdictions of Weapon Supplies to Somalia and Yemen". Conflict Armament Research. November 2016. Web. 7 July 2017. <file:///C:/Users/Laptop/AppData/Local/Packages/Microsoft.MicrosoftEdge_8wekyb3d8bbwe/TempState/Downloads/Maritime-Interdictions-Of-Weapon-Supplies-To-Somalia-And-Yemen-Deciphering-A-Link-To-Iran.pdf>.
5. LeGrone, S., "Destroyer USS Mason Unsuccessfully Attacked from Yemen", U.S. Naval Institute News, 10 October 2016. Web. 6 July 2017. <<https://news.usni.org/2016/10/10/destroyer-uss-mason-attacked-yemen>>.
6. Taylor, M., "Horn of Africa States Follow Gulf into the Yemen War". The Africa Report. 22 January 2016. Web. 15 June 2017. <<http://www.theafricareport.com/East-Horn-Africa/horn-of-africa-states-follow-gulf-into-the-yemen-war.html>>.
7. Sengupta, S., Gladstone, R., "Sudan President, Charged with Genocide, Is Invited to Saudi Summit with Trump", The New York Times, 16 May 2017. Web. 07 July 2017. <<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/16/world/middleast/sudan-bashir-genocide-saudi-arabia-trump-summit.html>>.
8. "Sudan's Bashir declines to attend Saudi summit with Trump". BBC. 19 May 2017. Web. 10 July 2017. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-39978742>>.
9. "Why has Sudan ditched Iran in favour of Saudi Arabia?". The Guardian. 12 January 2016. Web. 14 June 2017. <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/12/sudan-siding-with-saudi-arabia-long-term-ally-iran>>.
10. Rondos, A., "The Horn of Africa - Its Strategic Importance for Europe, the Gulf States, and Beyond". Center for International Relations and Sustainable Development. 2016. Web. 14 June 2017. <<http://www.cirsd.org/en/horizons/horizons-winter-2016--issue-no-6/the-horn-of-africa---its-strategic-importance-for-europe-the-gulf-states-and-beyond>>.
11. Aman, A., "Why Saudi Arabia and Egypt are competing for influence in Africa". Al Monitor. 11 January 2017. Web. 19 June 2017. <<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/01/saudi-arabia-egypt-conflict-appear-in-africa-over-influence.htm>>.
12. "Somaliland agrees to U.A.E. military base in Berbera". BBC. 13 February 2017. Web. 20 June 2017. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38956093>>.
13. Cooke, K., "Saudi agricultural investment abroad - land grab or benign strategy?". Middle East Eye. 5 October 2016. Web. 19 June 2017. <<http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/saudi-agricultural-investment-abroad-land-grab-or-benign-investment-strategy-218650423>>.
14. Melly, P., "G.C.C. investors eye African farmland". Middle East Business Intelligence. 22 April 2013. Web. 14 June 2017. <<https://www.meed.com/databank/special-reports/gcc-investors-eye-africanfarmland/3176877.article>>.
15. Wilkerson, M., "Why is Saudi Arabia buying up African farmland?", Foreign Policy. 15 July 2009. Web. 10 July 2017. <<http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/07/15/why-is-saudi-arabia-buying-up-african-farmland/>>.
16. "Changes in G.C.C.-Africa investment provides the Gulf with stable supply". Oxford Business Group. Web. 15 June 2017. <<https://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/analysis/stable-supply-drivers-and-change-gcc-africa-investment-0>>.
17. Hussein, W., "Are Cairo, Riyadh in a messy political 'divorce?'". Al Monitor. 28 December 2016. Web. 21

- June 2017. <<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/12/egypt-saudi-arabia-visit-ethiopia-renaissance-dam.html>>.
18. "Egypt-Saudi tension bubbling over planned Djibouti base", *The New Arab*. 06 December 2016. Web. 10 July 2017. <<https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2016/12/6/egypt-saudi-tension-bubbling-over-planned-djibouti-base>>.
 19. "Saudi accused of blackmailing African states with Hajj visas". *Middle East Monitor*. 13 June 2017. Web. 13 June 2017. <<https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20170613-saudi-accused-of-blackmailing-african-states-with-hajj-visas/>>.
 20. Djibouti accuses Eritrea of occupying disputed area". *Al-jazeera*. 16 June 2017. Web. 28 June 2017. <<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/06/djibouti-accuses-eritrea-occupying-disputed-area-170616140840566.html>>.
 21. "Iranian presence in Africa: motives and objectives". *Arabian Gulf Centre for Iranian Studies*. 05 October 2016. Web. 22 June 2017. <<https://arabiangcis.org/english/studies/iranian-presence-in-africa-motives-and-objectives/>>.
 22. "Nigeria: 'Army killed 347 Shiite followers of Zakzaky'". *Al-jazeera*. 02 August 2016. Web 21 June 2017. <<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/08/nigeria-army-killed-347-shia-followers-zakzaky-160802071409995.html>>.
 23. "Iranian presence in Africa: motives and objectives". *Arabian Gulf Centre for Iranian Studies*. 05 October 2016. Web. 22 June 2017. <<https://arabiangcis.org/english/studies/iranian-presence-in-africa-motives-and-objectives/>>.
 24. "Saudi, Iran stoke Sunni-Shiite tensions in Nigeria: experts". *Al Monitor*. 05 November 2016. Web. 21 June 2017. <<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/afp/2016/11/nigeria-unrest-islam-saudi-iran.html>>.
 25. "The arrest of Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzaky revealed these four things". *Ventures*. 17 December 2015. Web. 18 June 2017. <<http://venturesafrica.com/four-things-the-arrest-of-sheikh-ibrahim-zakzaky-reveals/>>.
 26. "In Senegal, Iran and Saudi Arabia vie for religious influence". *Reuters*. 12 May 2017. Web. 17 June 2017. <<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-senegal-saudi-iran-insight-idUSKBN1880JY>>.
 27. Karmen, E., "Out of Iran, Into Africa: Hezbollah's Scramble for Africa". *Haartz*. 17 June 2013. Web 23 June 2017. <<http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.530327>>.
 28. Weinthal, B., "Analysis: The rise of Hezbollah in Africa". *The Jerusalem Post*. 11 July 2013. Web. 21 June 2017. <<http://www.jpost.com/International/The-rise-of-Hezbollah-in-Africa-319512>>.
 29. "Saudi, Iran stoke Sunni-Shiite tensions in Nigeria: experts". *Al Monitor*. 05 November 2016. Web. 21 June 2017. <<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/afp/2016/11/nigeria-unrest-islam-saudi-iran.html>>.
 30. Farrar-Wellman, A., "Algeria-Iran Foreign Relations". *Track Persia*. 9 May 2010. Web. 18 June 2017. <<http://www.trackpersia.com/algeria-iran-foreign-relations/>>.
 31. McAnney, A., "Iran in Africa". *Center for Security Policy*. 2015. Web. 16 June 2017. <<https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Iran-in-Africa.pdf>>.
 32. Martinez, M., Namane, W., "The Limits of the Improbable Iran-Algeria Partnership". *International Policy Digest*. 20 May 2017. Web. 15 June 2017. <<https://intpolicydigest.org/2017/05/20/limits-improbable-iran-algeria-partnership/>>.
 33. "Iranian FM Kicks Off Tour in North Africa by Meeting with Algerian Counterpart". *Al Sharq Al-Awsat*. 19 June 2017. Web. 21 June 2017. <<https://english.aawsat.com/theaawsat/news-middle-east/iranian-fm-kicks-off-tour-north-africa-meeting-algerian-counterpart>>.
 34. "Iran to produce cars in Algeria". *Iran Business News*. 26 November 2016. Web 23 June 2017. <<http://www.iran-bn.com/2016/11/26/iran-to-produce-cars-in-algeria/>>.
 35. "Qatar says Algeria's position over Gulf diplomatic crisis "honorable". *Xinhua*. 16 June 2017. Web. 18 June 2017. <http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-06/16/c_1136369200.htm>.

36. Nouri, H., "Africa: An Iranian-Saudi battleground". Al Ahram. Web. 22 June 2017. <<http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/19900.aspx>>.
37. Vinograd, C., "Is Saudi Arabia's 'Islamic Military Alliance' Spin or Gamechanger?". NBC News. 12 December 2015. Web. 18 June 2017. <<http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/isis-uncovered/saudi-arabias-islamic-military-alliance-spin-or-gamechanger-n480886>>.
38. "Closer Ties with African Nations Iran's Principled Policy: Rouhani". Tasnim News Agency. 20 June 2017. Web. 21 June 2017. <<https://www.tasnimnews.com/en/news/2017/06/20/1442164/closer-ties-with-african-nations-iran-s-principled-policy-rouhani>>.
39. "South Africa open to Iranian investment if new refinery goes ahead". CNBC Africa. May 2017. Web. 22 June 2017. <<https://www.cnbc.com/news/africa/2017/05/22/sa-iranian-investment-oil-refinery/>>.
40. "Saudi Arabia to supply cheaper oil to Zambia". Lusaka Times. 15 May 2016. Web. 27 June 2017. <<http://africa.tvcnews.tv/2016/05/18/saudi-arabia-zambia-agree-cheaper-fuel-trade/#.WjtMcRiZO8U>>.
41. Rubin, M., "Africa: Iran's Final Frontier". American Enterprise Institute. 17 April 2013. Web. 21 June 2017. <<http://www.aei.org/publication/africa-irans-final-frontier/>>.
42. McAnney, A., "Iran in Africa". Center for Security Policy. 2015. Web. 16 June 2017. <<https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Iran-in-Africa.pdf>>.
43. Rubin, M., "Africa: Iran's Final Frontier". American Enterprise Institute. 17 April 2013. Web. 21 June 2017. <<http://www.aei.org/publication/africa-irans-final-frontier/>>.
44. Fakude, T., "South Africa: Between Iran and Saudi Arabia?". Aljazeera. 31 March 2016. Web. 23 June 2017. <<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/03/south-africa-iran-saudi-arabia-160331113354567.html>>.
45. "Iran, Tanzania Navy officials agree on regular visits". The Iran Project. 5 March 2016. Web. 27 June 2017. <<http://theiranproject.com/blog/2016/03/05/iran-tanzania-navy-officials-agree-on-regular-visits/>>.
46. "Saudi Arabia Chooses Tanzania As Priority Country to Develop Trade and Investment in Africa". Tanzania Invest. 02 April 2016. Web. 27 June 2017. <<http://www.tanzaniainvest.com/economy/trade/saudi-arabia-chooses-tanzania-as-priority-country-to-develop-and-promote-trade-with-africa>>.



Middle East Institute



www.mei.edu



Middle East
Institute