

REPORT OF THE ONE-DAY COLLOQUIUM ON SECURITY IN THE GULF OF GUINEA ORGANISED BY THE GUSAU INSTITUTE AT SHEHU YAR ADUA CENTRE ABUJA ON 1 SEPTEMBER 2015

INTRODUCTION

The Gusau Institute (GI) on Tuesday 1 September, 2015, organized a one-day Colloquium on ‘Security in the Gulf of Guinea’, at the ShehuYar’adua Centre Abuja, Nigeria. The Colloquium was organized to interrogate the state of security in the Gulf of Guinea (GoG) region.

The Colloquium also sought to highlight the economic importance of the region and how insecurity is leading to the underdevelopment of the region. It equally aimed to examine the security mechanisms in place and those that could be proffered to combat maritime security threats in the region.

PARTICIPATION

The participants to the workshop included, former governors, ministers, diplomats, retired and serving military officers, academics and members of the organised private sector. Others included representatives of international, regional and donor organisations, civil society organisations, stakeholders in the oil and gas sector and media.

METHODOLOGY

The Colloquium was a one-day programme, which had three Paper Presentations. The first was a Keynote Address by His Excellency, Patrice Emery Trovoadá, the

Prime Minister of Sao Tome and Principe; the second was on ‘Regional/Local Economic Perspective’ by Dr Ibe Emmanuel Kachikwu, the Group Managing Director (GMD), Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC); while the third, which was on “Nigerian/Regional Maritime Defence Framework” by Vice Admiral Dele Ezeoba (rtd), former Chief of Naval Staff, Nigeria. After the Paper presentations, there was an Interactive Session during which Participants made their contributions on the Papers presented. The proceedings were conducted in English.

COMMENCEMENT

The one-day colloquium started with the welcome formalities by the Master of Ceremonies, Mr Emeka Izeze, Managing Director, Guardian. He apologised for the late commencement of the programme. He noted that the Gulf of Guinea (GoG) bestrides many states in West and Central Africa, while highlighting the importance of the region to national and regional security. However, he said, the Gulf is confronted with several security challenges, including piracy. After these initial remarks, the MC introduced the first Speaker, His Excellency, Patrice Emery Trovoada, for the first session as well as the Chairman for the session, Dr Mohammed IbnChambas. Other speakers for the colloquium introduced by the MC were Dr Ibe Emmanuel Kachikwu and Vice Admiral Dele Joseph Ezeoba (Rtd). He noted that these speakers are eminently qualified to make presentations due to their background and vast knowledge of the subject of security in the GoG.

Following the welcome formalities, a short video clip on the background, mission and vision of the Gusua institute was aired to the participants. It revealed that the mission of the Institute is to be a provider of research, training and discussion of initiatives, policies and programmes for the enhancement of peace, security and development, locally and internationally. It further showed the facilities, resource pool, partners and programmes of the Institute. Essentially, from the Clip, the Institute strives to be a Centre of Excellence for training, research and leadership development.

PRESENTATION 1: KEYNOTE ADDRESS

The Keynote Speaker for the Colloquium, His Excellency Patrice Emery Trovoada, was formally introduced by Ambassador Ahmed Magaji, Nigeria's Ambassador to Sao Tome and Principe (STP). Ambassador Magaji gave a detailed background of His Excellency, Trovoada, covering his birth, education, hobbies and political career.

The Prime Minister commenced his address by welcoming all to the event, and emphasized the importance of such a Forum, as he noted that security in GoG, is very important to the STP. Thereafter, His Excellency Patrice Emery Trovoada, provided the strategic location of the Sao Tome and Principe in terms of its importance to regional trade and maritime security in GoG.

He noted that the size and population of Sao Tome and Principe is small compared to the size of its maritime domain, but fortunately, geo-graphically, it is strategically located in an area where it has shared and overlapping resources with Nigeria. He noted that Nigeria is a country known for its hospitality and that he is happy to be in Nigeria, while acknowledging the role Nigeria can and does play in Africa's stability and the future security of the continent. He noted that nations in the region look up to Nigeria for leadership. Hence Nigeria has to get it right if Africa is to get it right. He further highlighted the volume of trade in the GoG sub-region. He however regretted that the region is blighted with militancy, piracy, organised trafficking in flows arms, drug and people, while noting that cooperation, interaction and sharing resources is key to maintaining security and development in the region. He posited that vulnerabilities exist due to weak enforcement capabilities. He acknowledged the importance of the role of Nigeria's Navy in providing maritime security. He maintained that a single-state solution will last for only a short time; therefore there is the need for an integrated maritime security strategy for the region that will enhance sharing of intelligence and law enforcement.

He stated that Sao Tome and Principe is a country committed to tourism and trade, while informing participants that his country has free Visa regime for nationals of the US and Canada. He noted that the country is further developing a deep water seaport to enhance trade and development. He emphasised that security is vital for the region's prosperity, which calls for greater and immediate efforts by the member

states of the GoG to improve security in the maritime domain. He stated that Sao Tome and Principe is willing to cooperate with Nigeria, US and other States to improve security in the sub region. He suggested the need to build advanced electronic surveillance and warning system in the GoG which can be located in Sao Tome and Principe.

He noted that the key component of any meaningful cooperative security arrangement, are political will and resource sharing. Unfortunately, he said this has not been pursued vigorously in the region. Furthermore, he noted that the Gulf of Guinea Commission (GGC) was created to enhance security in the region, however, it has been undermined by several factors including inflation of overheads and cost. In contrast, organised criminal networks have been exchanging resources in the perpetration of crime in the region. To this end, he suggested a holistic approach to the security challenges in the GoG, leveraging social, economic, military, diplomatic and political resources available to the member states.

At this juncture, the Keynote Speaker acquainted the participants with the nature and character of political governance and developments in Sao Tome and Principe. He noted that the government has adopted a tool known as the Citizenry participatory process of democracy that has also incorporated transparency in their governance system. In this system, he said, budgeting prioritise the needs of the people in the conception and delivery of government projects. He informed the

meeting that in Sao Tome and Principe, they have been able to match the perception of their people and the reality they face, noting also that the reforms they have embarked have been able to build the confidence of the private sector in the system. This, he said, has brought about tangible benefits to the people, leading to higher confidence on the part of the people in government. This has equally enabled the government to leverage private public partnership to balance budget and funding gaps. He stated that if government is not of the people, by the people and for the people, not much will be achieved.

He further decried the level of frustration among unemployed African youth which contributes to illegal migration and susceptibility to engagement in acts of terrorism and violent extremism. In view of this, he expressed his happiness that Nigeria had a free and fair election and that the present administration of President Muhammadu Buhari is committed to tackling corruption and terrorism. He argued that a long term, multilateral and integrated strategy is needed to promote and sustain in the GoG. He called for attention to be paid on other sectors of the economy like agriculture, tourism, ICT to reduce reliance on oil.

PRESENTATION 2: OIL AND GAS (REGIONAL/LOCAL ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE)

The second presentation was made by Dr Ibe Emmanuel Kachikwu, the GMD of the NNPC. He noted that the 'Gulf' his presentation is concerned with is the gulf of

the Niger Delta of Nigeria and the pipelines. He stated the job of ensuring transparency oil receipt and to keep the nation afloat is the main focus of his work. He posited that he carries a responsibility not to only ensure that the NNPC brings in more revenue to state coffers, but also a responsibility of bringing high level of transparency in the oil and gas sector. He noted that Nigeria is the 8th largest producer of oil in the world, however this has not translated to significant level of development in Nigeria. He revealed that oil theft is a major security concern to the industry, leading to loss of over 50,000 barrels per day. Stating that Ships carrying crude, are harassed regularly in Nigeria's territorial waters He stated further that most pipelines in the country are ruptured and attacked regularly, with over \$7 billion dollars in losses to the nation's economy. According to him, Nigeria has been rated as one having one of the highest rates of crude oil theft in the world. He also highlighted the negative net effect of pipeline vandalism on optimal operation of the refineries.

He noted that Nigeria has lost over 350 lives, including NNPC staff, security personnel and citizens due to criminal attempts to breach the pipelines. He noted that there are cases in US and China over tankers detained for illicit oil transactions. He noted that the issue of oil theft is a major concern to the current administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. He noted that there is consideration to take the bull by the horn by better equipping the Nigerian Navy, deployment of drones for surveillance, change of security arrangements for the pipelines and engagement of

host communities to ensure the safety and integrity of the oil pipelines. Other efforts include attempt to create more depots companies.

He stated that a lot is being done and that the current administration of President Buhari has given itself eight months to end oil theft. Dr Kachikwu stated that the rich is behind the problem of the oil theft and not the poor. He posited that the Nigerian face must not be seen as a face of theft but a face of decency. He stated further that every litre of oil stolen is a loss for Nigeria. He concluded that oil theft is the greatest problem in the industry for Nigeria, given its wide ramifications for revenue generation, stability, job creation and overall development. He therefore called the participants to contribute to the campaign to end oil theft in Nigeria.

PRESENTATION 3: NIGERIAN/REGIONAL MARITIME DEFENCE FRAMEWORK

The third presentation by Vice Admiral Dele Joseph Ezeoba (Rtd), focused on the Nigerian and regional perspective on maritime defence framework in the GoG. He noted that one of the major challenges to addressing the issue of maritime security and other threats to the region is the lack of forums to debate and find solutions to these problems. To this end, he acknowledged the role of the Gusau Institute in filling this gap.

Admiral Ezeoba noted that over 90 percent of global trade and commerce are conducted via the sea which underscores the importance of maritime security in the GoG region. He went further to clarify key concepts germane to his presentation, namely the GoG, maritime, security, defence, challenge and framework. He noted that with respect to security, two models are discernible. These are traditional/Classic model and the Generic Model, which focuses largely on broader issues of human security.

Having established these conceptual building blocks, Admiral Ezeoba delved into the remote and immediate causes of maritime insecurity in the GoG region. He argued that activities on land ultimately lead to insecurity in the maritime environment. The immediate causes he identified include, political instability, bad governance, religious intolerance, economic deprivations (poverty, inequality, unemployment and poverty), and environmental issues. Others are social factors (like broken moral values, drug abuse, corruption and social inequality) and geographic factors – poor delineation of maritime boundaries, porous borders, and vast expanse of unpoliced maritime space. The presenter also identified cultural inadequacy and capability factors as contributing to maritime insecurity in the GoG sub region. He noted that these daunting challenges have frustrated efforts by member states to optimally utilise the resources of the region for development. He then called for a holistic document that creates a synergy between policy formulation and implementation. This will inform the development of a regional maritime

defence framework that will capture national, regional and global levels of cooperation.

He provided a synopsis of the Maritime Security Framework for the GoG to include a) Analysis of capabilities of Navies/Coast Guards and MDAs of GoG; b) Current Regional Economic Blocs - REBs; and c) Extant Legal Instruments on maritime Security, among others. He noted that Nigeria is the only country that has the capability to enforce sea control of its maritime domain up to its Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ). Admiral Ezeoba posited that only countries such as Nigeria and Ghana have well-structured institutions for maritime safety. These have created serious capability gaps in the region that have permitted the prevalence of maritime insecurity. Regarding the REBs in the region that have a stake in maritime security, the presenter identified organisations such as the Gulf of Guinea commission – GGC, the Economic Community of West African States – ECOWAS, the Economic Community of Central African States – ECCAS, Lake Chad Basin Commission – LCBC, . He identified critical gaps in these organisations that have hampered efforts at enhancing maritime security. Particularly, he emphasized that the ECCAS Protocols are yet to materialize due to inadequate capacity

Regarding extant legal instruments for maritime security in the region, Admiral Ezeoba listed some of these tools to include the UN Convention on the Law of the

Sea, IMO Convention on the Safety of life at Sea, the United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 2018 and 2039, the African Integrated Maritime Strategy(AIMS), ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy, The MOU between ECOWAS and ECCAS on Maritime Security, and the GoG Code of Conduct on Repression and Prevention of Priacy, Armed Robbery against Ships and Illicit Maritime Activities in West and Central Africa. At the national level, he identified the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, National Defence Strategy and Navy Maritime Strategy as key instrument for promoting maritime security framework. He further posited that outcomes of workshop and seminars have equally helped in shaping efforts at promoting maritime security in the region. He noted that these documents provide policy and guidance framework for the desired operationalization of the collective security of the GoG.

Admiral Ezeoba further highlighted the efforts and partnership between the GoG states and international community in improving maritime security in the region. Examples of the equipment support to the Nigerian Navy by the United States through its Excess Defence Article was used to illustrate how partnership and collaboration with international partners help in providing maritime security.

He further dwelt on the zonal arrangement in the GoG to enhance maritime security. He noted that the region has been divided into zones A, B, D, E, and F. Despite the creation of these zonal arrangements, Admiral Ezeoba noted that

capability gaps have hampered the quest for sustainable security. The gaps identified included, but not limited to, technical and operations inadequacies, funding constraint, bureaucratic red tapes and conflicting interest of GoG members states.

In order to actualise the goal of maritime security, he suggested the need for a broad range of policies that will cover the strategic, operational and tactical level. The policies must be specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and time-bound. He therefore strongly recommended Global Maritime Partnership (GMP) as the key to achieving maritime security in the GoG. The GMP would be pursued within the context of a well-articulated security mechanism that is anchored on alliance, coalitions, cooperation and collaboration. According him, the GMP will cover inland and territorial waters, contiguous zones, EEZs and continental shelf. He called for a mutual cooperation and collaboration of the willing to ensure quick response to multiple security challenges in the effort to ensure maritime security. He further identified key imperatives for achieving the GMP, which include positive political will, capacity building measures, joined/combined training, and commitment to enforce extant and standardized legal instruments, among others. He listed other current GMP efforts to include the Sea Power for African Symposiums, and Exercises OBANGEMAE Express Operations. To this end, he proposed a GMP security architecture for the GoG, which is anchored on efforts at strategic levels (involving partnerships), Operational Level (leading to Output) and Tactical Level (guaranteeing Outcomes) in ways that provide opportunities for

verification and feedback for sustainable maritime security. He also called for the signing of a holistic South Atlantic Treaty Agreement for the region. He concluded that security challenges in the GoG and its effects on the economy, reinforces the need for vigorous cooperation and collaboration in the region.

INTERACTIVE SESSION

The interactive session was chaired by Dr Mohammed IbnChambas, Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA). The Chairman thanked the keynote speaker and panellists as well as the Gusau Institute for organising the dialogue that brought together very eminent and distinguished participants. He noted that the challenge of piracy and transnational crimes in the GoG is a major challenge, however, the good news is that partners are recognising them as international threats. Therefore there is the need for partnership and cooperation among the stakeholders to deal with the problem. He recalled that maritime security is one subject that have successfully brought the two regions together, that is the ECCAS and ECOWAS. Dr Mohammed Ibn Chambas also noted that there is now Friends of the GoG, composed of several advanced countries that are supporting efforts at enhancing security in the region. He equally acknowledged the role of partnership involving organised private sector in enhancing security in the region

He emphasised the importance of the leadership role by Nigeria, stating that Nigeria will be key to enhancing security in the GoG. Dr Chambas noted that a strong and prosperous Nigeria will be good for West Africa, the GoG and the entire African region.

At this juncture, Dr Chambas called for comments, observations or questions from the participants. A participant sought to know how the issue of the national, regional and international frameworks should proceed in improving maritime security. Her concern was on how the ordering of the GMP should proceed, should the focus start from the global, regional to cascade down to the national or start at the national and go to the regional and international levels.

In relation to the issue of how to order the structuring of the GMP, Admiral Ezeoba, noted that the word global is a nomenclature to capture the broad spectrum that nations can play in. He noted that what is very important in the structure is that no nation can do it all alone, so member nations must seek out collaboration and partnerships that will allow for greater synergy and utilisation of resources to ensure the realisation of collective security in the region.

Another participant wanted to know why Sao Tome and Principe was so hesitant in signing a Military Treaty with Nigeria and when it was eventually signed, Sao Tome and Principe has not shown strong commitment to its implementation.

In his response, His Excellency Trovoada noted that the Treaty was one of the best examples of conflict resolution in Africa. He noted that the major challenge is the issue of trust and perception. More worrisome however is the issue of the influence of foreign partners who obstruct efforts at greater integration in the region. He identified leadership and political instability as other factors that have hampered their ability to implement the military agreements between the two countries. Nevertheless, he noted that headway is being made concerning the Treaty, as there is now the Political will from both parties.

A participant drew attention to a disconnect between the presentations made by Dr Kachikwu and Admiral Ezeoba regarding the challenge of oil theft, while seeking to know if the oil theft is truly a case of oil theft or alternative to oil export due to political leadership failure. Admiral Ezeoba clarified that Dr Kachikwu's presentation is on the reform initiative of the current Buhari administration while his paper is broader, focusing on wider issues that impact on maritime security. So to him, the issue of political failure that participant alluded to does not apply. Rather what applies is the need for everyone to be committed to the need for the change that they so. In relation to oil theft, Admiral Ezeoba noted that nobody has had the effrontery to point to those who are responsible for crime.

A participant from the ECOWAS Commission observed that the region has made significant effort in tackling piracy. He noted that part of the problem was that a UK Insurance based firm, Lloyds, connived with the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) to produce fictitious data on the incident of piracy in the GoG region to serve the interests of those that benefits from increment in insurance premium. He advised that it is important that such mischievous developments are brought to the attention of participants to show the damaging activities of some foreign firms on the image of the GoG.

Regarding the issue of security problems in the Joint Development zone (JDZ), His Excellency Trovoada maintained that Sao Tome and Principe is still in the process of exploration, especially when it comes to oil. As regards cooperation with Nigeria, His Excellency said that the Sao Tome and Principe is crystal clear on the need for cooperation with Nigeria, which in his view is getting stronger by the day and they both have a common interest. In his view, for Sao Tome and Principe, they are concerned with the Fiscal issues, especially when talking about the JDZ, and specifically, the non-hydrocarbon resources(that they both have a common interest in), in a way that they mutually complement each other in the exploitation of these resources. Essentially, he is concerned with how best we utilise the resources in ways that minimise competition and complement each other to ensure the derivation of greater benefits by the member states. He posited that although countries can have

divergent interests, it important that member states pursue them in complementary rather than competitive spirit.

OBSERVATIONS/SUGGESTIONS

From the papers presented by the panellists and contributions made during the interactive session, the following points or observations emerged from the one-day Colloquium, that:

- ❖ Over 90 percent of global trade and commerce are conducted via the sea which underscores the importance of maritime security in the GoG region
- ❖ The need for improved electronic surveillance and warning system in the GoG, which can be located in Sao Tome and Principe.
- ❖ The need to have the political will and resource sharing, if there was going to be any meaningful cooperative security arrangement in the GoG region.
- ❖ The Gulf of Guinea Commission (GGC) has been undermined by several factors including inflation of overheads and cost.
- ❖ Nigeria is the 8th largest producer of oil in the world, however this has not translated to significant level of development in Nigeria.
- ❖ Oil theft is a major security concern to the industry, leading to loss of over 50,000 barrels a day.

- ❖ Nigeria has lost over 350 lives in the last one year, including NNPC staff, security personnel and citizens due to criminal attempts to breach the pipelines.
- ❖ One of the major challenges to addressing the issue of maritime security and other threats to the region is the lack of forums to debate and find solutions to these problems.
- ❖ Several activities on land ultimately lead to insecurity in the maritime environment. These were identified as, political instability, bad governance, religious intolerance, economic deprivations (poverty, inequality, unemployment and poverty), and environmental issues.
- ❖ The ECCAS Protocols are yet to materialize due to inadequate capacity
- ❖ The need for a broad range of policies that will cover the strategic, operational and tactical level of activities to actualize the goal of maritime security.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the observations and suggestions that were highlighted during the paper presentation and the interactive session, the following recommendations are pertinent to improving maritime security in the GoG:

- There is the need for an integrated maritime security strategy for the region that will enhance sharing of intelligence and law enforcement

- There should be a holistic approach to the security challenges in the GoG, leveraging on social, economic, military, diplomatic and political resources available to the member states, to enhance security in the GoG.
- The need to build advanced electronic surveillance and warning system in the GoG, which can be located in Sao Tome and Principe.
- More attention should be paid on other sectors of the economy like agriculture, tourism, ICT to reduce reliance on oil.
- The imperative for a holistic document that creates a synergy between policy formulation and implementation. This will inform the development of a regional maritime defence framework that will capture national, regional and global levels of cooperation.
- Consideration and possible adoption of a Global Maritime Partnership (GMP) as the key to achieving maritime security in the GoG.
- To actualize the GMP, efforts should be made to ensure positive political will, capacity building measures, standardized joined/combined training, and commitment to enforce extant and standardized legal instruments, among others.
- The need to vigorously reinforce cooperation and collaboration among the member states to enhance maritime security in the GoG region

- The imperative for the actualization of a holistic South Atlantic Treaty agreement to reduce security threats in the region.
- Member states of the GoG should pursue their divergent national interests in complementary rather than competitive spirit.

CONCLUSION

In his closing remarks, the Chairman, Dr Chambas, appreciated the observation made by a participant on the falling trend of piracy in the GoG region. He emphasised the need for continued leadership by Nigeria in the area of maritime security in the region and thanked both the organisers and participants for their contributions that made the colloquium a success.

The colloquium was concluded with a vote of thanks by Dr Haruan Adamu. On behalf of the Gusua Institute, Dr Adamu thanked the high level panellist for making a very difficult topic understandable. He further thanked the Prime Minister of Sao Tome for attending the occasion and in assisting the audience in understanding the relationship between Sao Tome and Nigeria. He expressed his gratitude to the Chairman of the session for the way he conducted the session as well as the GMD of NNPC, Dr Ibe Emmanuel Kachikwu, for his very thought provoking presentation. He appreciated Admiral Ezeoba for the professorial manner he handled the topic assigned to him.

