TOPIC

SECURITY IN THE GULF OF GUINEA – FOCUS ON NIGERIA AND REGIONAL MARITIME DEFENCE FRAME WORK

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PREAMBLE

Today's very complex and challenging global environment, along with its attendant maritime security threats implies less secure oceans. Therefore, there is a compelling need to strengthen the bonds of strategic maritime partnerships and international cooperation for enhanced security of the World Oceans.

<u>OUTLINE</u>

- > INTRODUCTION
- CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION
- > REMOTE AND IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF INSECURITY/SECURITY CHALLENGES
- > SYNOPSIS OF EXTANT NIGERIA AND REGIONAL MARITIME DEFENCE AND SECURITY FRAMEWORK
- EXTANT LEGAL INSTRUMENTS FOR MARITIME SECURITY
- > EFFICACY OF EXTANT MEASURES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST ILLEGALITIES IN THE GULF OF GUINEA
- WAY FORWARD

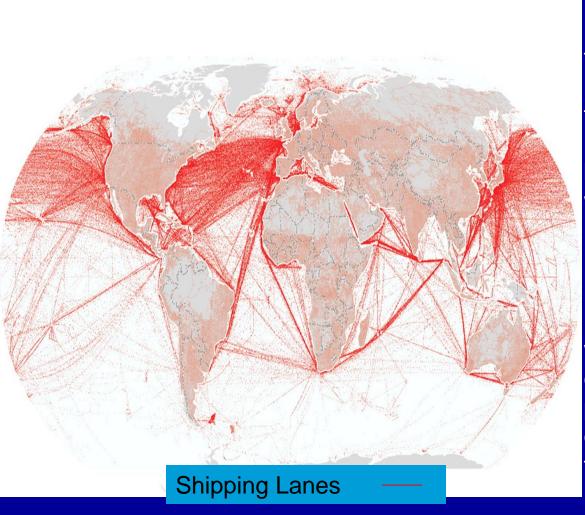
INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION



- World's oceans, seas, lakes including inland waters are veritable platforms/medium for over 90% of global trade and commerce.
 - Body of water mass covers about 70 % of the earth's surface.
 - Enormous endowment with huge mineral resources, marine ecosystems, oceanographic scientific research and recreation underscores its prime importance in the calculus of socioeconomic growth and the development of Nations.

GLOBAL COMMONS- MARITIME TRAFFIC DISTRIBUTION



- Based on the strategic credentials of the global maritime environment often refered to as the "Global Commons", its therefore not surprising that there is a huge scramble for space and competition by nations for its resource endowment which is germane for their survival.
- Obvious competition for survival has created serious security challenges within the maritime domain that must be continuously addressed to ensure peaceful and mutual exploration and exploitation of the resources contained therein for the wellbeing of Nations.

It is within this context that National, Regional and Global Maritime Defence and Security Framework/Strategies within the purview of a robust Global security architecture becomes Imperative for safety of the Global Commons and its optimal utilization for the benefit of mankind.

OBJECTIVE

REVIEW OF NIGERIA AND REGIONAL MARITIME DEFENCE FRAMEWORK WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE GOG

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

KEY VARIABLES/CONCEPTS

- >Gulf of Guinea (GoG)
- > Maritime
- > Security
- Defence
- > Challenge
- > Framework

GULF OF GUINEA (GOG)



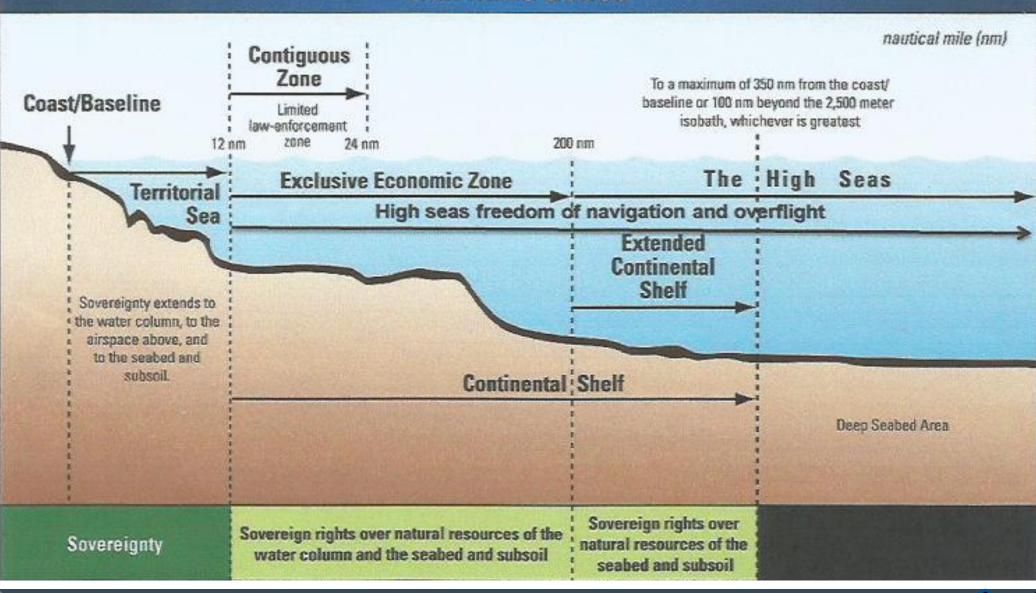
According to the International Hydrographic Organisation (IHO) the GG refers to the maritime environment situated at the west seacoast of the Atlantic Ocean from Cape Palmas in Liberia extending down to Namibe in Angola.

The GoG Sea area covers a coastline of about 5,500 Kilometres, which is roughly the size of the Gulf of Mexico as depicted in the map below. The IHO description of the GoG will be adopted in this discourse.

MARITIME

The word 'maritime' generally refers to the sea area, which covers 70 per cent of the Earth's surface, while the maritime environment includes the contiguous land mass measured 100 nm inshore from the base line, usually referred to as the littorals. In descriptive terms, the maritime environment is defined as the 'oceans, seas, bays, estuaries, islands, coastal areas, the corresponding airspace, including the littorals'.

Maritime Zones



SECURITY

- Security in its basic form is freedom from fear.

 Two Models: Traditional/Classic and Generic
- a. Traditional/Classic is state Centric-Protection of the interest of the state.
- b. Generic implies the wider security agenda after the advent of globalization which includes economic, social, cultural, food, environmental and human aspects of security.

DEFENCE

Defence refers to military forces of a nation state. In an active sense are the actions undertaken by the military to protect the territorial integrity of a nation state and its citizens including the prosecution of war against another state.

CHALLENGE

Challenge within the context of this discourse connotes any threat, opposition, resistance or obstacle to the attainment of a desired outcome or end state.

FRAMEWORK

A framework is considered to be a constructive structure/process that ensures the proper understanding of something useful and its ultimate realization or attainment.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITON

In this discourse, Maritime Defence Framework connotes the totality of the strategic, operational, tactical, legal instruments and processes established to address extant maritime security challenges within the GoG taken into cognisance the wider security perspective defined by economic, social, cultural, food, environmental and human security paradigm.

REMOTE AND IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF INSECURITY/SECURITY CHALLENGES

REMOTE AND IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF INSECURITY/SECURITY CHALLENGES

> POLITICAL INSTABILITY

- ✓ Conflict and Wars.
- ✓ The proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons.
- Resulting into Failed and Rouge States.

> BAD GOVERNANCE FACTOR

- ✓ Lack of Transparency and Accountability.
- ✓ Disregard for the Rule of Law.
- ✓ Nepotism, Ethnic Sentiments and Marginalisation.

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

- ✓ Extremism.
- ✓ Ideological Conflicts and Violence (ISIS, BOKO HARAM etc).

> ECONOMIC ISSUES

- ✓ Poor Management of Resources.
- ✓ Economic Inequality.
- Unemployment.
- ✓ Poverty

> ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

- ✓ Climate Change
- ✓ Environmental Degradation.
- ✓ Marine Pollution.
- ✓ Poor Environmental Management Control Ability
- ✓ Natural Disasters

> SOCIAL FACTORS

- ✓ Broken Moral Values and Norms.
- ✓ Social Inequality.
- National Demographics (Population Explosion, Urban Migration).
- ✓ Human Trafficking and Slavery.
- ✓ Drug Abuse.
- ✓ Corruption.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

- ✓ Poor Delineation of Maritime Boundaries.
- ✓ Porous Borders.
- √ Vast Expanse of the Maritime Space –Difficult to Enforce
 Total Sea Control.

- > CULTURAL INADEQUACY
 - ✓ Poor Maritime Culture.
 - ✓ Sea Blindness.
- CAPABILITY FACTOR
 - ✓ Weak/Limited Capacity for proper maritime governance.
 - ✓ Weak Legal Statutes.
 - ✓ Lack of Political Will to domesticate extant international laws, protocol and conventions.

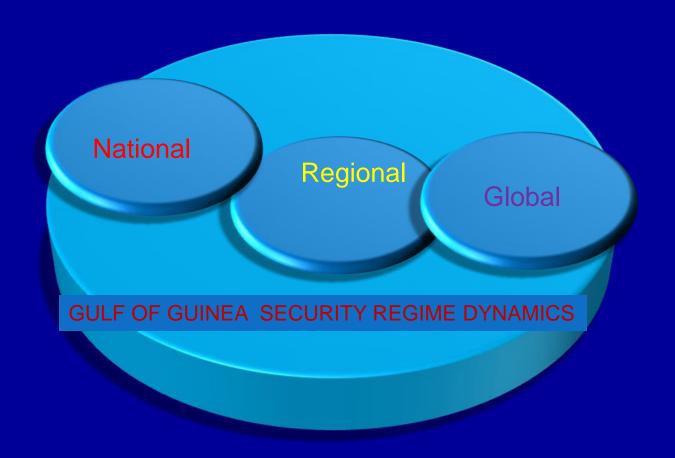
DEDUCTIONS

These challenges are quite daunting and have adversely impacted on the ability of Nations to optimally utilize the huge endowments of the Global Commons for the development of their states and overall benefit of mankind particularly in the Gulf of Guinea Maritime **Environment.**

It therefore presupposes that the enthronement of a safer, secure and accessible sea lanes of commerce for Nigeria and the Gulf of Guinea requires a robust proactive well structured Maritime Security Framework.

Such Maritime Security Framework must be anchored on the fundamental principles of collective security mechanism for the Gulf of Guinea sub region. This security instrument should be driven by the Global Maritime Security Partnership initiative (GMP) based on the pillars of "Collaboration and Cooperation" encompassing National, Regional and Global Security Architecture.

LEVELS OF MARITIME SECURITY AND DEFENCE FRAMEWORKS



SYNOPSIS OF EXTANT NIGERIA AND REGIONAL MARITIME DEFENCE AND SECURITY FRAMEWORK

SYNOPSIS OF EXTANT NIGERIA AND REGIONAL MARITIME DEFENCE AND SECURITY FRAMEWORK

- Analysis of capabilities of Navies/ Coast Guards and MDA's of GoG States
- > Current Regional Economic Blocs
- > Overview of Extant Security Arrangements Framework in the Gulf of Guinea
- > Extant Legal Instruments

CAPABILITIES OF NAVIES AND COAST GUARDS OF GULF OF GUINEA STATES

Navies can be classified based on their perceived roles and geographical reach. These roles consist of policing, diplomatic and military functions.

CAPABILITIES OF NAVIES AND COAST GUARDS OF GULF OF GUINEA STATES

accordance with geographical reach, > In navies are classified as Global, Ocean Going, Contiguous and Coastal Sea Navies. However, navies at the lower end of the scale can further be classified into coastal, constabulary and token navies by virtue of the composition of their fleet and capabilities. Consequently, GoG navies can be categorised as shown.

CLASSIFICATION OF GOG NAVIES/COASTGUARDS

Serial	Rank	Countries	Capacity
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
1.	Global Navies	None	Global expeditionary and force projection capabilities
2.	Ocean Going Navies	None	Expeditionary and Force Projection Capabilities
3.	Contiguous navies	Nigeria	Offshore defence capabilities that fall within the EEZ
4.	Littoral/Coastal Navies	Ghana, Cameroon, Angola, Equatorial Guinea	Primarily territorial defence with limited offshore defence capability
5.	Constabulary Navies (Patrol and Coastal Combatants)	DRC, Cote D'Ivoire, Benin rep, Gabon, Togo,	Limited capability for coastal and inshore operations; emphasis on constabulary functions.
6.	Token Navies	Guinea, Sierra Leone	Unable to patrol territorial seas effectively, impotent in the EEZ
7.	No Navies	Sao Tome and Principe/ Liberia	Limited

SOURCES: MILTARY BALANCE 2013 AND JANES FIGHTING SHIPS 2014

ANALYSIS OF CAPABILITY OF GOG NAVIES

Only Nigeria is considered to have the ability to exercise sea control up to the limits of the EEZ, whilst Ghana, Angola, Equatorial Guinea and Cameroun possess the capability to function within their respective contiguous zones.

ANALYSIS OF CAPABILITY OF GOG NAVIES

Other GoG Navies fall under the constabulary category and have just few coastal/inshore patrol boats, thus highlighting their extremely limited capacity for maritime security operations in a vast sea area like the GoG.

ANALYSIS OF CAPABILITY OF GOG NAVIES

Consequently, the overall capability of the GoG states clearly indicates serious capability gap thus there inability to effectively protect the GoG resulting in ill-governed maritime spaces, which has led to the high incidence of maritime crimes and insecurity in the GoG.

ANALYSIS OF MDA'S CHARGED WITH MARITIME SAFETY AND RELATED RESPONSIBILITY IN SOME GOG STATES

Serial	Country	Agencies	Remarks
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
1.	Angola	Navy, Revenue and Customs Police, Port Authorities of each coastal province,	No established organisation for maritime safety.
2.	Benin	Navy, Army, Gendarmerie, National Planned Action against IUU Fishing	No established organisation for maritime administration and safety
3.	Cameroun	Navy, Army, Gendarmerie	No established organisation for maritime administration and safety
4.	Cote d'Iviore	Marine Police, Army, Gendamarie	No established organisation for maritime administration and safety
5.	Ghana	Navy, Ghana Maritime Authority, Marine Police Unit, National Maritime Security Committee	Definite structure for maritime security and safety.
6.	Nigeria	JTF, NAVY, MNJTF, NIMASA, NPA, Marine Police	Definite structure for maritime security and safety
7.	Togo	Nay, Army, Gendarmerie, Private Maritime Security Companies.	No established organisation for maritime safety

SOURCE: GoG Maritime Security and Criminal Justice Primer www.africenter.org April2015

CURRENT REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROUPS

- > GULF OF GUINEA COMMISSION (GGC).
- > ECONOMIC COMMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)
- > ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES (ECCAS)
- > MARITIME ORGANISATION OF WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA (MOWCA).
- > LAKE CHAD BASIN COMMISSION.

ANALYSIS OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROUPS

> GGC provides an invaluable mechanism in dealing with maritime boundary disputes (Bakassi issue), it is however lacking in ensuring the requisite cooperative mechanism to deal with other maritime security issues with respect to transnational and national maritime crimes.

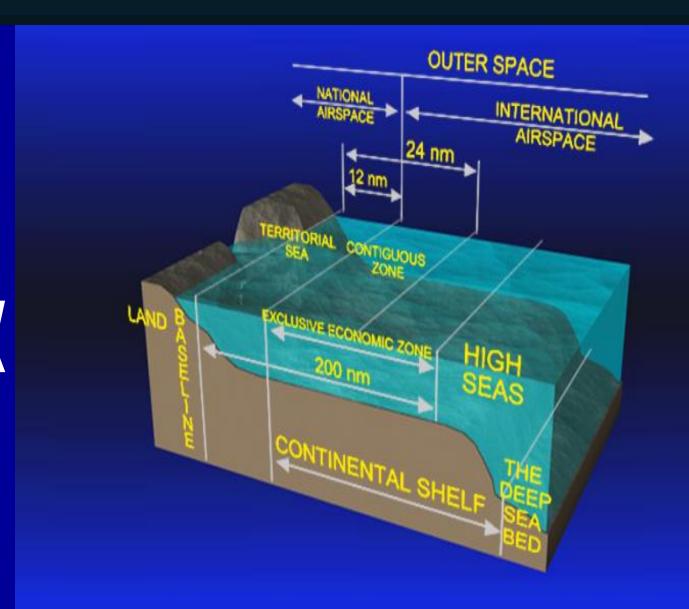
> ECCAS has its own maritime security protocol, which focuses on Central African States in fostering maritime security cooperation in the GOG maritime environment in Central Africa. Its protocols are yet to be adequately operationalised, due to weak capacity.

> ECOWAS was established to promote economic integration among West African States. It only recently established protocols on defence and security with the ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy endorsed in March 2014.

> The Lake Chad Basin Commission is an intergovernmental organization that oversees water and other natural resource management in the chad basin. Members only recently began to focus on security with the reinvigoration of the Multinational Joint Task Force to fight Terrorism.

EXTANT LEGAL INSTRUMENTS FOR MARITIME SAFETY AND SECURITY

UNITED
NATIONS
CONVENTION
ON THE LAW
OF THE SEA
1982MARITIME
ZONES



- >IMO Conventions
 - ✓ Safety of Life at Sea.
 - ✓ Suppression of Unlawful acts against the Safety of Marine Navigation.
 - ✓ International Ship and Port Facility Security Code (ISPS).
 - √ Several others

IMO Conventions





➤ United Nation Security Council Resolutions 2018 (2011) and 2039 (2012) for collective effort for combating piracy and acts of illegalities in the Gulf of Guinea.

African Integrated Maritime Strategy 2050

- >ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy.
- ➤ MOU between ECCAS, ECOWAS and GGC (Yaounde Declaration 2013) for enhanced synergy, cooperation and interoperability among security agencies of member states on maritime security for Central and West Africa.

Maritime Organisation for West and Central Africa in conjunction with IMO and other international partners have called for an Integrated Sub-Regional Navy/Coastguard Network (ISCN). Also established is an **Information and Communications Centre and** stipulated the need for a Regional Maritime Fund.

- ➤ GoG Code of Conduct on Repression and Prevention of Piracy, Armed Robbery against ships and illicit maritime activities in West and Central Africa.
- > The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
- **➢ Nigeria's National Defence Policy.**
- Nigerian Navy Doctrine, Operational and Tactical Publications.

> The Regional Maritime Awareness Capability Conference in Calabar (28-31 July 2013) with the Resolution to fast track the establishment of Maritime Coordination Centres and develop effective capacity for Maritime Domain Awareness.

> The communique of the Maiden Offshore Patrol Vessel Conference held at Lagos in August 2013 and the decisions of the second edition in August 2015, enunciated the need for enhanced cooperation and collaboration between maritime security agencies and other stakeholders to build capacity for local naval ship construction.

DEDUCTION

- The above stated strategic documents clearly provides a broad policy framework for collaboration and cooperation among members states in the GoG.
- Administrative, Technical, Financial and Legal imperatives for the desired operationalization of the collective security mechanism for effective security of the GOG.

- International Collaboration and Cooperation with international community and UN Agencies and GoG States:
 - **✓USA (African Command).**
 - ✓ Europe Union
 - ✓ United Kingdom
 - ✓ France
 - ✓ Norway
 - ✓ International Maritime Organisation
 - ✓ International Hydrographic Organisation

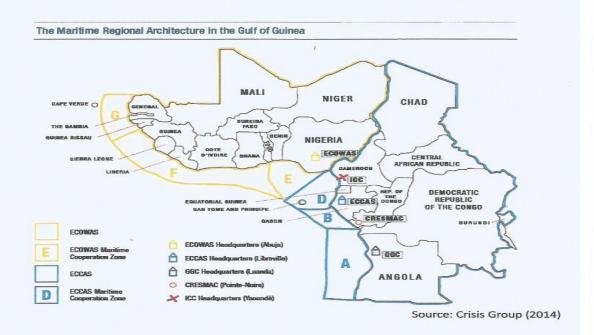
In part through collaboration and cooperation initiatives between member states of the GoG and the International Community and their agencies, well tailored and structured human and technical capacity building measures at the operational and tactical levels are provided to security agencies of GoG states for enhanced maintenance of law and order at sea.

These Measures include the following:

- ✓Training Assistance –International Military Education and Training Programme and Special Forces Training.
- ✓ Equipment RMAC System, Excess Defence Article
- ✓ Technical Support Assistance
- √ Funding and Grants (FMF and FMS)
- ✓ Combined and Joint Exercises: (OBANGAME EXPRESS, FLINT LOCK, AFRICAN WINDS)

EXTANT MARITIME SECURITY FRAMEWORK IN THE GOG

The Extant Maritime Security Framework in the GoG is premised on the delineation of the GoG into maritime zones designated A,B,D,E,F and G respectively as shown.



- >Zone A comprising Angola and DR Congo.
- Zone B comprising Angola (extensive coastline), Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon.
- > Zone D, which groups together Cameroun Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Sao Tome and Principe.
- > Zone E comprising Nigeria, Niger, Benin and Togo.
- Zone F, comprising Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone.
- > Zone G, which groups together Cape Verde, the Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Mali and Senegal.

- Bilateral Agreement between Nigeria and Benin Republic; Operation PROSPERITY (Counter Piracy Effort).
- Lake Chad Basin Commission; Multinational Joint Task Force to combat Terrorism.
 - Bilateral Agreement between Nigeria and Cameroun on trans-border security.

EFFICACY ?

CAPABILITY GAPS

The analytical review of stated extant security apparatus/orbats of Navies/Coast Guards and MDAS of Gulf of Guinea states portrays an inherent capability gap in the efficacy of the GoG security apparatus to effectively secure the maritime environment. This capability gap is characterized by, but not limited to the following issues.

- □ Technical and Operational Inadequacies. (very low/limited Equipment Holdings)
- □ Poor Maritime Domain Awareness Capacity.
 (Surveillance Capabilities)
- Weak Info gathering and intelligence sharing capacity.
- Lack of effective cooperation and coordination of efforts at the operational and tactical levels.

- □ Funding Constraint.
- Mutual suspicious and conspiracy theories amongst GoG states.
- Weak legal framework and lack of political will to domesticate International laws and Convents acceded to by GoG States.
- □ Bureaucratic Red Tapes.
- □ Conflicting Interest of Gulf of Guinea member states.

- □ Poor implementation of extant protocols and codes of conducts.
- Very weak prosecution and law enforcement mechanism.
- □ Fiscal challenges on account of global economic downturn.
- ☐ Poor maritime governance structure.
- □ Vast expanse of the GoG maritime domain resulting in ill-governed spaces.

ASSESSMENT OF EXTANT MARITME DEFENCE FRAMEWORK

Given the capability gaps, the assessment of the extant maritime defence framework on a nominal Scale of 1 - 10 collectively can be adjudge as 5/10 which is just about average. This clearly shows that there still a lot of room for improvement.

WAY FORWARD

The roadmap for the actualization of this goal would be holistic and largely driven by the GLOBAL MARITIME PARTNERSHIP and collective security mechanism for the Gulf of Guinea.

Such measures will encapsulate a broad range of actions from the strategic to operational and tactical initiatives defined by a SMART security architecture.

PRINCIPLES OF SMART SECURITY POLICY ARCHITECTURE

- S Simplistic
- M- Measurable
- A Actionable
- R Realistic
- **T Time bound**

It is in this regard that I recommend the GLOBAL MARITIME PARTNERSHIP within the broader context of Collective Security Mechanism as strategic tool of choice for maritime security of the Gulf of Guinea.

GLOBAL MARITIME PARTNERSHIP

METHODOLOGY – W4H MATRIX

What Why Where When How

WHAT IS GMP?

Global Maritime Partnership is aptly defined as a strategic relationship between nations (littoral and land-locked states) driven by sustainable alliances, collaboration and cooperation within the context of a wellarticulated security mechanism; the essence of which is to ensure robust security of the maritime domain.

PILLARS OF GMP

STRATEGIC	OPERATIONS	TACTICAL ENVELOPE
(a)	(b)	(c)
ALLIANCES	TRUST AND UNDERSTANDING	SURVELLIANCE
COALITION		RESPONSE & INITIATIVE
COOPERATION		ENFORCEMENT
COLLABORATION		

MHY GMP2

In view of the above, it is therefore proper to assert that GMP as a strategic concept is:

- Intended to serve countries with a shared stake in international commerce, safety, security and freedom at seas.
- Serves as a basis for building a global consensus on policy and principles, as well as for undertaking common activities to address maritime challenges by improving collective capabilities.
- > Seeks opportunities to assist nations in using the sea for lawful purposes and legitimate commerce, while limiting its use as a channel for threatening national, regional and global security.

- Global security challenges and maritime security concerns have become more fluid and complex to deal with by individual nations because of their peculiarities, capability gaps and complexities of the operating environment.
- It ensures the effective management and security of the world's oceans, which are considered a common heritage to mankind.
- This new paradigm, which I consider a continuum, can be largely attributed to the emergence of a new world order influenced by the attributes of ICT and globalization.

WHERE?

GMP covers the span of inland and territorial waters, contiguous zones, exclusive and economic zones and sub seas of littoral states - including corresponding airspaces.

WHEN?

GMP was essential YESTERDAY, is desired TODAY, and will be of utmost relevance **TOMORROW AND** BEYOND.

- Provides vital value addition to the capabilities of partner nations by allowing Coast Guards and Navies including MDAs and other maritime stakeholders to leverage on the opportunity cost and core competencies of their partners so as to boost their technical, operational and tactical capabilities.
- ➤ GMP as a platform allows for open adaptive security architecture for facilitating both long-term cooperation and spontaneous, short-term collaboration.
- Presents opportunities for countries with converging interests in the maritime domain to form mission-focused, and often temporary goal-oriented associations to address common maritime security challenges.

However, it is pertinent to emphasize that close and effective partnerships could take years to develop. Nonetheless, a "mutual cooperation and collaboration of the willing" can rapidly support quick and multiple responses to changing circumstances, while simultaneously providing an enduring backbone for the development of deeper collaboration among nations.

OTHER IMPERATIVES OF GMP

Good maritime governance (Maritime Security Sector Reforms, Fiscal Responsibility and Accountability)

Maritime Security Sector Reforms provides systemic guidelines for analysing regulatory operational and institutional policies and functions needed for effective and efficient maritime security capability anchored on the fundamental principles of approach and service delivery measured on a benchmarked outcome.

- Positive political will to forge partnerships.
- Enhanced MDA (Surveillance Gathering and Intelligence Sharing).
- Enhanced Coordination via National and Regional Integrated Command and Control Centres.
- Defence diplomacy (Flag showing visits, Exchange of defence personnel).
- **Economic Diplomacy.**
- Burden Sharing (Based on areas of comparative advantage and core competences).

- > Joint/combined training, drill and exercises.
- > Standardization of doctrine and military hardware to allow for interoperability.
- Capacity building measures (Human and Material Development).
- Review and Commitment to implement and enforce extant legal framework/instruments as applicable for effective prosecution and enforcement action.

Gleaning from the aforementioned imperatives, it is evident that the establishment of a credible GMP requires effective management skills and commitment for the consolidation of all these contending variables. The good news, however, is that there are ongoing concerted efforts at both global, regional and national levels to entrench GMP as a strategic tool of choice for enhanced security of the maritime domain.

CURRENT GMP EFFORTS

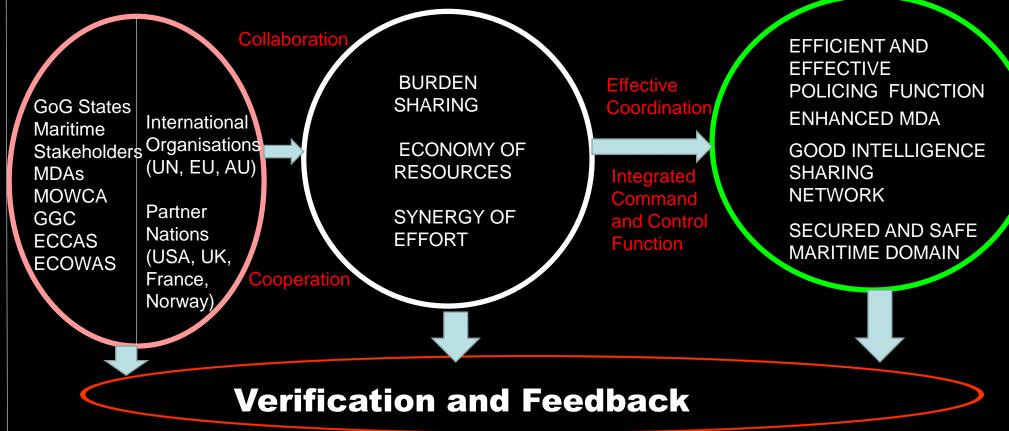
- > Seapower for Africa Symposiums.
- > The successful Nigeria-Benin Combined Maritime Patrols codenamed Operation PROSPERITY.
- Operationalization of some ECCAS and ECOWAS Maritime Security Pilot Zones.
- Exercises OBANGAME EXPRESS, AFRICAN WINDS, FLINTSTONE; annual exercises by Coast Guards, Navies of littoral states and other maritime stake holders in the Gulf of Guinea, as well as other International Navies under the auspice of AFRICOM.

PROPOSED GMP SECURITY ARCHITECTURE FOR THE GoG

THEATER LEVELS

Strategic		Operational	Tactical
Partnership	End State	Output	Outcome

Key Actors



CONCLUSION

The current security challenges in the Gulf of Guinea and its effect on the economy of the region reinforces the need to forge Global Maritime Partnerships to deal with extant maritime threats which are transnational in nature and also address related capacity inadequacies

THANK YOU

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