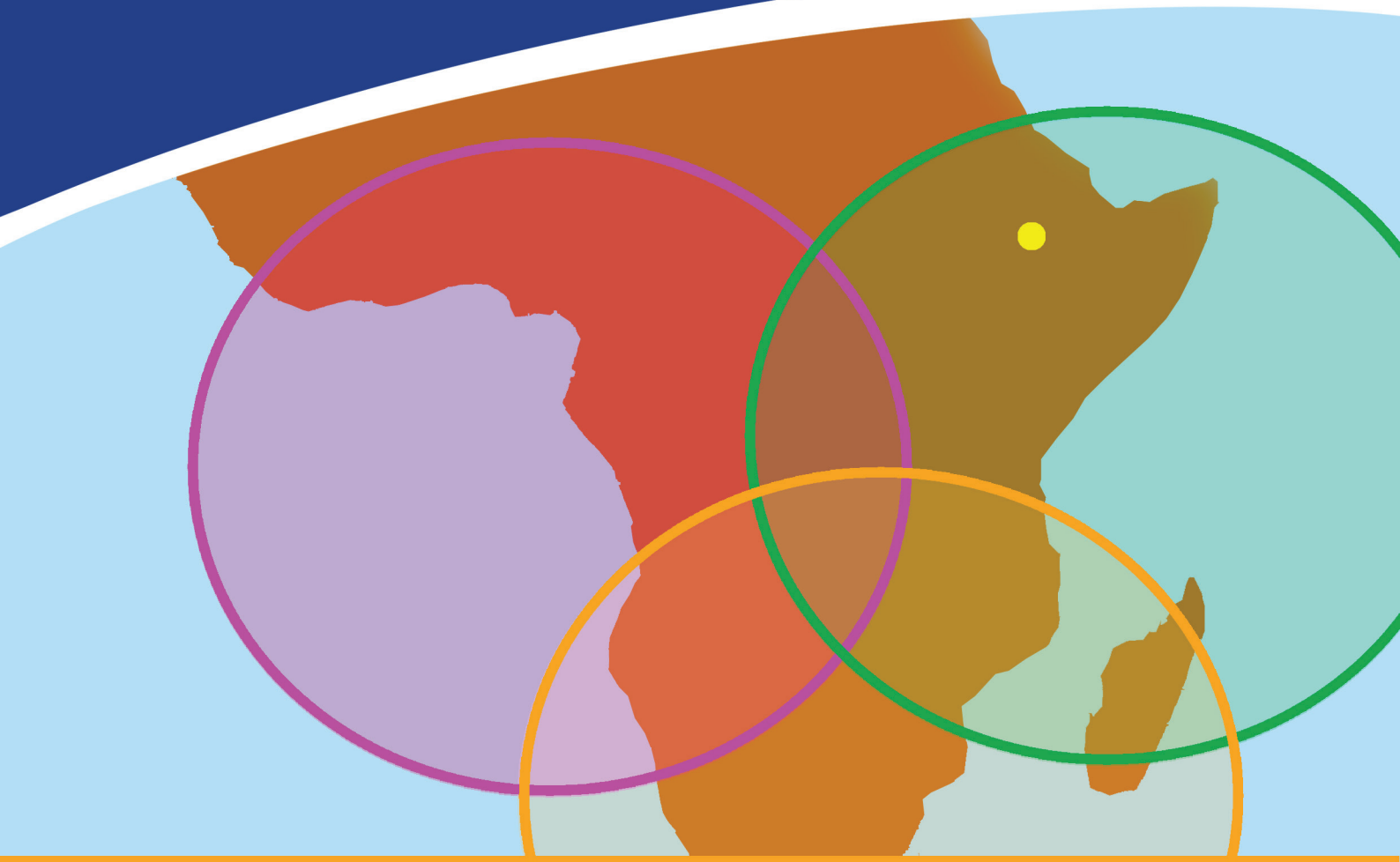
Peace and Security Series

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Ulf Engel

The African Union, the African Peace and Security Architecture, and Maritime Security

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

Ulf Engel

The African Union, the African Peace and Security Architecture, and Maritime Security

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Acronyms

AIM	Africa's Integrated Maritime Strategy ("2050 AIM Strategy")
AMD	Africa's Maritime Domain
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUC	AU Commission
CEMZA	Combined Exclusive Maritime Zone for Africa
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
CGG	Commission of the Gulf of Guinea
CGPCS	Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy (of the EU)
DIE	Department for Infrastructure and Energy (of the AUC)
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
IMO	International Maritime Organization
IUU	Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated Fishing
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PSC	Peace and Security Council (of the AU)
PSD	Peace and Security Department (of the AUC)
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RMs	Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UNEP	UN Environmental Programme
UNSC	UN Security Council

1. Introduction

> *The [AU] Commission on its part continues to believe that the issue of piracy is a symptom of the broader challenge to peace and security in the Horn of Africa. Any effort to address piracy in isolation from its wider context would not produce results.*
>
> *— Ramtane Lamamra, African Union Commissioner for Peace and Security, 4 October 2010* [1]

> *During our Golden Jubilee, we also reflected on Africa's Blue Economy, i.e. the Maritime dimension of African Renaissance. This led to the incorporation of Maritime issues into the Agenda 2063. So, African Maritime geostrategic challenges and opportunities now occupy a golden space in the Strategic Plan 2014-2017 of the African Union Commission.*
>
> *— Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Chairperson of the African Union Commission, 25 June 2013* [2]

The content of African maritime security as a policy field is currently contested. It can be located anywhere between traditional security politics (such as related to piracy and unregulated fishing), developmental and environmentalist concerns, and efforts to regain economic sovereignty over African territorial and offshore waters. As a result, since approximately 2006 the institutional place of maritime security in continental politics has also been in flux.

The African continent has been described as a big island (AU Commissioner Peace and Security 2010: 1). Some thirty-eight of Africa's fifty-four countries are either coastal or island states. The total length of Africa's coastline is 26,000 kilometers, making the African maritime domain (AMD) extremely important for commercial, environmental, developmental, and security reasons. There are more than 100 ports in Africa, with 52 of them handling containers and transnational trade. The continent's maritime economy is thought to represent close to 90 percent of its total commerce (Leijenaar 2012). At the same time, Africa's waters are a vital source for food and nutrition security, highlighting the environmental and developmental dimensions of its maritime domain. Since around 2005, the AMD increasingly has been discussed in the context of piracy in the Gulf of Aden, the Indian Ocean (East Africa), and the Gulf of Guinea (West Africa), in order of degree. Various African actors —among them, member states of the African Union (AU), the Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution (RMs), and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and the African Union Commission — have responded to dimensions of the ADM with a set of policies in an effort to integrate their evolving practices into a coherent maritime security and safety policy. This led in January 2014 to the adoption of the 2050 Africa's Integrated Maritime Strategy (2050 AIM Strategy) by the AU Assembly (AU 2012, 2014a).

This paper traces the origins of the debate on maritime security in Africa and looks at the emergence of a policy field whose borders remain undefined. The main concern here is to examine the relationship between the emerging African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and maritime security

and safety politics from institutional and political perspectives (AU 2002). Maritime security represents one of a number of policy fields in the making that also allows for insights into the division of labor emerging among various stakeholders, such as the AU Commission (AUC), RECs, and AU member states. The paper also analyzes how maritime security and safety is embedded in the politics between the African Union and its international partners.

2. Taking stock: Emerging African debates and policies on maritime security

2.1. The rise of maritime security

Maritime security is a fairly new sector. It entered on to regional and continental agendas around the middle of the first decade of the 2000s. The initial debate on African maritime security stemmed from different sources, reflecting a wide field of interests and a complex but unsystematic set of African-international relations. The debate can be traced to disconnected but parallel efforts by RECs — some of them supported by such international institutions as the United Nations and its specialized agency, the London-based International Maritime Organization (IMO) — and other efforts by state actors, including the United States.[3]

Initial continent-wide efforts to beef up search and rescue capacities evolved within the context of the 2000 International Convention on Maritime Search and Rescue (see IMO 2012: 7). Bueger (2013: 306) notes that following the decision to establish five regional maritime rescue centres, such facilities and related naval capacities were successfully set up along the continental coastline in Cape Town, Lagos, Mombasa, Monrovia, and near Rabat between 2006 and 2011. Baker (2011: 48) identifies other regional initiatives, including the East Africa and Southwest Indian Ocean conference on maritime security, held 25–27 July 2006 in Antananarivo, Madagascar; the 4 July 2008 meeting of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) ministers responsible for marine fisheries, who gathered in Windhoek, Namibia, to take action on illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing (IUU); the October 2009 Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) draft maritime security strategy (ECCAS 2009a, 2009b); Kenya, Mozambique, South Africa, and Tanzania's sponsorship (since March 2009) of patrols in the Indian Ocean by a South African vessel; and the 31 July 2009 memorandum of understanding on the implementation of a regional coastguard network signed by the Maritime Organization of West and Central Africa.

At this stage, the debate on maritime security in Africa was advanced by the United Nations and the IMO, which set the tone by introducing sector standards. In 2008 the UN Security Council (UNSC) adopted a series of resolutions that, among other things, led to the establishment on 14 January 2009 of the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia (CGPCS), pursuant to Resolution 1851 (2008).[4] The IMO sponsored a meeting of sixteen African and Arab states in Djibouti on 26 January 2009 that adopted a Code of Conduct Concerning the Repression of Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in the Western Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden (IMO 2009).[5] The

code is meant to facilitate cooperation in the investigation, arrest, and prosecution of people "suspected of having committed acts of piracy and armed robbery against ships, including those inciting or intentionally facilitating such acts", in "the interdiction and seizure of suspect ships and property on board such ships", in "the rescue of ships, persons and property subject to piracy and armed robbery", and in the conduct of shared operations.[6]

Around 2009 maritime security reached the agenda of the Africa Union. The issue was mentioned for the first time in regard to piracy off the coast of Somalia in a statutory report on the activities of the AUC during January – June 2009 and tabled by the Chairperson to the Executive Council in June 2009 (AU 2009a). In July 2009, the Thirteenth Ordinary Session of the AU Assembly — in Decision 252, on the report of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) on the state of peace and security in Africa — "[Expressed its serious concern] at the mounting insecurity in the maritime spaces around Africa, and Somalia in particular, and [strongly condemned] all illegal activities in these regions, including piracy, illegal fishing and dumping of toxic waste".[7] The Assembly at the same time welcomed the newly unfolding activities of the AUC; from then on it expected regular reports on the issue (AU 2009b: §18).

Maritime security, again in regard to combating piracy, formed part of the Plan of Action adopted a few weeks later, on 31 August 2009, by the Special Session of the AU Assembly on the Consideration and Resolution of Conflict in Africa, in Sirte, Libya (AU 2009c). Referring to Somalia, the plan called on AU member states to "convene an international conference to discuss the adoption of an international convention on the phenomenon of maritime piracy and its underlying causes, as well as the promotion of effective international cooperation, which, in conformity with the Convention on the Law of the Sea, ensures the freedom of maritime navigation and preserves the right of States on their Exclusive Economic Zone and their territorial waters, as well as that of local populations to benefit from the resources therein" (AU 2009c: 3[XI]).

There was, however, a disconnect between international and African efforts on maritime security (Baker 2011: 47). When the IMO invited the AU Department for Infrastructure and Energy (DIE) for a follow-up meeting, to be held in the Seychelles on 12–16 October 2009, the DIE had already invited African maritime transport ministers to Durban, South Africa, for a gathering. The latter meeting, also held 12–16 October, adopted the Durban Resolution on Maritime Safety, Maritime Security and Protection of the Marine Environment in Africa and the related Plan of Action: Maritime Transport, 2009–2012 (AU DIE 2009a, 2009b). The Charter was based on a 1994 document being updated by the AUC between 2007 and 2009 (Baker 2011: 44).

In the Durban Resolution, the field of maritime "safety and security" was defined with regard to "incidents of piracy and armed robbery, and the protection of the marine environment" (AU DIE 2009a: 1); "the dumping of toxic waste along African coast and hazards health related Marine pollution incidents" [*sic*]; "the need to enhance and build up human and institutional capacities capable of ensuring uniform and effective compliance with international regulatory standards in the maritime sector"; and "the need for prioritization in

favour of providing the necessary financial resources to advance the strategic maritime transport development agenda" (ibid.: 2). Member states undertook to support IMO and UNSC efforts "in coordinating an international response to the scourge of piracy along the coast of Somalia, including the establishment of the piracy information centres and building of sub-regional capacity and capabilities" and to "enact national legislation where appropriate and take all the necessary measures to give full effect to relevant international instruments in the area of maritime, port safety and security in order to ensure safe, secure, efficient, and environmentally friendly shipping".

Implementation of the Djibouti code of conduct was also encouraged (AU DIE 2009a: 3). With regard to preventing and combatting marine pollution from ships and other sources, the role of the AUC was recognised as one "to coordinate and provide mandate to set up a common policy" (ibid.: 4). African states and RECs were urged to foster cooperation in the maritime sector. Baker (2011: 44) points out that the Charter is silent on illicit trafficking at sea and IUU fishing. According to them, the objectives and measures listed in the Charter "come across more as lofty aspirations than as directives. The Maritime Transport Charter and its plan of action seem to lack authority, and their language begs the question of how institutions are to implement this broad agenda" (ibid.: 45).

2.2. Maritime security enters the AU peace and security debate

Maritime security then gained some momentum within the relevant AU structures. In 2010, the AUC launched its Make Peace Happen campaign. Even before the AU Assembly endorsed the Charter on 14 January 2010, the AU's Peace and Security Department (PSD), which typically drives all the organization's peace- and security-related policies, was invited for the first time – through member states' ministries of external affairs (AU Commission 2010a) – to the "Experts Workshop on Maritime Security and Safety: Towards a Stable, Secure and Clean African Maritime Domain for a Prosperous Africa" (AU 2010a). The workshop, held in Addis Ababa on 6–7 April 2010, was an initiative mandated by AU Assembly Decision 252 (2009) and coordinated by LtCdr Samuel Kamé-Domguia (Cameroon), the AU's point person for developing a maritime security and safety strategy and who was based in the PSD's Defence and Security Division.[8] The workshop built on previous, commissioned consultancy work. In July 2008, the AU contracted a South African think tank, the Brenthurst Foundation, established by the South African Oppenheimer family in 2003, and the Washington, DC–based Africa Centre for Strategic Studies, a US Department of Defense research outlet, "to provide the union's deputy chairman a maritime strategy for Africa" (Baker 2011: 46). Based on a joint research project dating back to 2008, the consultants framed maritime security in terms of the "importance of maritime trade to the economies of African states and its potential contribution to economic development through the creation of employment", the richness of Africa's fishing grounds and the rise of piracy as a collective security threat and the foundation for economic development of the continent. They called for Africa "to begin to take the lead in controlling its own maritime domain", assisted through

partnerships "with global players and established commercial institutions" (Brenthurst Foundation 2010: 3).

In "Towards the Elaboration of an African Strategy for Maritime Security and Safety for the Experts Workshop on Maritime Security and Safety", the concept note for the April 2010 workshop, the expectation was aired that the workshop would result "in the adoption of a Declaration on an African strategy in the area of Maritime security and safety, as well as a Plan of Action outlining the measures to be taken and the timelines for their implementation" (AU Commission 2010b: §iii; see also AU Commission 2010d). For the first time, the AUC seized the opportunity to coordinate and harmonise maritime security policy by inviting various stakeholders, including from the RECs, African think tanks, nongovernmental organizations, and international organizations.

Although the PSD took the organizational lead, the AU Commissioner for Infrastructure and Energy opened the workshop and appeared to assume the policy lead. Amid the workshop's conclusions and recommendations, one finds the language of previous meetings referring to "maritime security and safety", which basically encompassed IUU fishing, dumping of toxic wastes, piracy and armed robbery at sea, and oil bunkering (AU Commission 2010c: §§9 and 11). The workshop recommended the establishment of cross-sector working groups under AUC coordination to address "(a) maritime security, (b) maritime safety, (c) maritime pollution, and (d) wealth creation from Africa's seas and oceans" as well as the development of an integrated maritime strategy for Africa (ibid.: §10 v and vi). Further momentum was lent to the issue by a Russian-sponsored UNSC resolution that called for the criminalisation of piracy under domestic law (UNSC 2010).

The fifteenth AU Assembly, held in Kampala, Uganda, on 25–27 June 2010, expressed its support for the idea of elaborating a "continental strategy for the management of the continent's maritime domain and the involvement of the ASF [African Standby Force] in efforts to promote maritime security and safety". It also supported a plan to convene a conference within a UN framework to develop an international convention on piracy (AU 2010a). On 4 October, the PSC reiterated the AU's "serious concern at the mounting insecurity in the maritime spaces around Africa, including illegal fishing, dumping of toxic waste, drug and arms trafficking, oil bunkering, as well as piracy and armed robbery at sea. Council strongly condemned these illegal activities and stressed the need and urgency of a comprehensive strategy to protect the African maritime domain".

3. 2050 Africa's Integrated Maritime Strategy

Fusing consultants' proposals and on-going AU debates, a thirty-two-page draft outlining 2050 Africa's Integrated Maritime Strategy (2050 AIM Strategy) was completed in 2012 (cf. AU 2012). On 8 June 2011, the establishment of an inter-departmental task force had been announced by Erastus J. O. Mwencha (Kenya), AUC Deputy Chairperson, with a view towards developing an integrated, coherent, and comprehensive maritime strategy. The task force, which was actually

set up on 3 June, brought together members from the following AUC departments and directorates: Peace and Security; Economic Affairs; Human Resources, Science and Technology; Infrastructure and Energy; Political Affairs; Rural Economy and Agriculture; Social Affairs; Gender; Trade and Industry; Information and Communication; Administration and Human Resources Management; and the Office of the Legal Counsel and Strategic Planning.

The 2050 AIM Strategy is integrated in the sense that it addresses almost all the issues related to maritime security and safety. Observers saw the strategy simply as one of many initiatives related to a policy field in the making (see Bueger 2013: 308; Vreÿ 2013: 4). The 2050 AIM Strategy begins with a bold but largely unsubstantiated statement:

> Africa's inland waters, oceans and seas are under pressure. Over the years, traditional maritime activities, such as shipping or fisheries, have intensified, while new ones, such as aquaculture or offshore renewable energy, emerged. However, the rise in intensity of activities at sea is taking place against the backdrop of insecurity, various forms of illegal trafficking, degradation of the marine environment, falling biodiversity and aggravated effects of climate change. In the past decades direct aggregate losses of revenue from illegal activities in Africa's Maritime Domain (AMD) amount to *hundreds of billions [of] US dollars*, not to mention the loss of lives [emphasis added]. (AU 2012: 7).

Going far beyond existing African documents on maritime security and safety, the 2050 AIM Strategy addresses thirteen different issue areas: illegal oil bunkering/ crude oil theft; money laundering, illegal arms and drug trafficking; environmental crimes; a container security and control programme; flag state and port state control; hydrography, oceanography and meteorology; aids to navigation; piracy and armed robbery at sea; maritime terrorism; human trafficking, human smuggling, and asylum seekers travelling by sea; strategic communications systems; maritime spatial planning; and environmental and biodiversity monitoring. The strategy stresses the importance of developing the AMD, merging arguments from a more general developmental discourse (see Ncube and Baker 2011) with those stemming from a fairly narrow but concrete peace and security debate. Hence some observers have welcomed the 2050 AIM Strategy as a holistic approach that integrates all relevant dimensions of maritime security, including from an operational perspective. According to this view, the AU is beginning to construct a maritime security community based on its own experiences, needs and practices. It is an African attempt to reclaim the maritime security agenda from external actors and to define a coherent and development oriented maritime security strategy for the continent that serves the interests of all stakeholders (Stockbruegger 2014).

Others, however, strongly emphasise the economic core of the 2050 AIM Strategy. In fact, the AU stresses the economic importance of Africa's oceans:

> The Strategy aims to foster more wealth creation from Africa's oceans, seas and inland water ways

> by developing a thriving maritime economy and realizing the full potential of sea-based activities in an environmentally sustainable manner. It goes without saying that the preservation of Africa's marine environment is vital to growing its GDP, share of global and regional trade, competitiveness, long-term growth and employment (AU 2012: 10).

This would be in line with the national interest of a number of member states and related maritime extractive industries, such as the South African–based energy and chemical company Sasol, which is active in the offshore exploration of gas and oil deposits in West and Southern Africa.[9] Think tanks like the Pretoria-based Institute for Security Studies (ISS) have emphasised national economic interests (in the case of ISS, South Africa's) to claim and to effectively be able to exercise sovereignty over exclusive economic zones. They highlight the need for an integrated maritime strategy to be able to monitor and patrol African waters (Leijenaar 2012). This is consistent with South Africa's articulation of national economic and security interests for decades.

The second thrust of the 2050 AIM Strategy addresses "real and potential threats" that could result in mass casualties and inflict catastrophic economic harm to African States. In addition to loss of revenue, they could fuel violence and insecurity. Some of them, such as drug trafficking, could feed corruption, finance the purchase of illegal weapons, corrupt the youth, pervert democracy/rule of law, distort economies and destabilize communal life. As the actors threatening Africa's maritime domain continue to grow in number and capability, there must be a corresponding African endeavour to address these at the national, regional and continental levels (AU 2012: 10).

The overall goals of the 2050 AIM Strategy are to achieve

i. A comprehensive understanding of existing and potential challenges, including allocation of resources to identified priorities over a pre-determined time-frame.

ii. A comprehensive, concerted, coherent and coordinated approach that improves maritime conditions with respect to environmental and socio-economic development as well as the capacity to generate wealth from sustainable governance of Africa's seas and oceans.

iii. A common template for the AU, the RECs/RMs, and relevant organizations and Member States, to guide maritime review, budgetary planning and effective allocation of resources, in order to enhance maritime viability for an integrated and prosperous Africa.

iv. A business plan that specifies milestones, capacity building targets and implementation requirements, including technical and financial support from within Africa and also from development partners. (AU 2012: 11f.).

Implementation of detailed sub-aims is scheduled for an initial period of eight years, from 2010 to 2018. In the sub-chapter "Framework for Strategic Actions", a number of important but still non-existent institutions are given responsibility for implementation of the strategy, among them the Combined Exclusive Maritime Zone for Africa (CEMZA),[10] an inter-agency naval component capacity within the framework of the ASF, including the establishment of a representative continental working group of chiefs of African navies or coast guards, and regional maritime operational centres, that is, standardised regional maritime headquarters with maritime operational coordination centres in all RECs (AU 2012: 15–17).

With the adoption of the 2050 AIM Strategy on 31 January 2014, the AU Assembly also endorsed the 2050 AIM Strategic Plan of Action (AU 2014a: §8) and decided to declare 2015–2025 as the Decade of African Seas and Oceans and 25 July as the African Day of Seas and Oceans (ibid.: §9). However, the Plan of Action has not yet been officially published. The Assembly further underscored that "the 2050 AIM Strategy requires, at Member State level, inter-agency collaboration to address the challenges and opportunities in the African maritime domain and enhance transborder and sub-regional Cooperation" (ibid.: §10). It also stressed the "need to build strategic partnerships" to support the strategy (ibid.: §11). In addition, the Assembly envisioned the "establishment of the Strategic Special Task Force to prepare the technical details in view of the early implementation of the strategy AIM 2050 Combined Maritime Exclusive Zone" (ibid.: §12). It tasked the AUC "to carry out an evaluation of the structural and financial implications of the Strategy and report thereon to the next session of the Assembly in June 2014" (ibid.: §18).

However, adoption and implementation of the 2050 AIM Strategy were deferred. In 2012 and in 2013, the strategy failed to make it onto the agenda of the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government (despite its review and approval by the AU Permanent Representatives Committee and the Executive Council).[11] On 19-20 April 2012, the strategy was discussed by African ministers in charge of maritime related affairs[12] and later endorsed at their second conference, on 6 December 2012, through the so-called Addis Ababa Declaration.[13] It was only the Twenty-second Ordinary Session of the AU Assembly, held in Addis Ababa on 30–31 January 2014, that adopted the 2050 AIM Strategy.

The draft decision was motioned by the Republic of Congo (and had a slightly different title).[14] In this six-page document, emphasis unequivocally is on the economic dimension of maritime security and safety, highlighting the need for protecting the AMD and its "sustainable exploitation" and developing the "blue economy" (AU 2014b: §§4 and 10). The security dimension and possible link to APSA is reduced to one bullet point — the objectives to "prevent hostile and criminal acts at sea, and prosecute offenders if necessary" (ibid.: §12). On an institutional level, the draft decision proposes the establishment of a department or a stand-alone unit within the AU Commission "tasked with maritime affairs to comprehensively address the geostrategic, cross-cutting and multidimensional challenges and opportunities inherent in our inland waters, oceans and seas" (ibid.: §24).

The AU Assembly's Decision 496 somewhat tones down these proposals. It clearly supports an emphasis on the economic aspects of the 2050 AIM Strategy and the mid-term aim of implementing the CEMZA (AU 2014a: §§5, 7 and 13). The Assembly also put slightly more emphasis on the security dimension of the strategy by inviting RECs and RMs "to develop and adopt a regional strategy against piracy, armed robbery and other illegal activities committed at sea" (ibid.: §15). It underscores the need for inter-agency collaboration at the level of member states and calls for the establishment of a special task force for early implementation of the strategy (ibid.: §§10 and 12).

4. Maritime security and APSA

4.1. Maritime security unanchored from the peace and security and APSA realm

From a peace and security perspective, some momentum was lost on maritime issues between 2010 and early 2014. As a result, the policy aspect has neither politically nor institutionally been integrated into the African Peace and Security Architecture. In particular, it has no connection whatsoever to the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) or the ASF. Member states and RECs do not report to CEWS on issues of maritime security, and CEWS does not collect or monitor data specifically on maritime security, although defined. (Violence in the Gulf of Guinea and piracy off the Somali coast are, however, regularly captured by the system.) The issue also does not figure in current AU-public debates on the ASF or the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises, which was established as an interim arrangement by the AU Assembly at its Twenty-first Ordinary Session in May 2013.[15]

There are five primary reasons for the lack of institutional anchoring and political support for the 2050 AIM Strategy during this period. First, there was insufficient political leadership exercised in the AUC on maritime security and safety. Neither the AU Commissioners for Infrastructure and Energy nor for Peace and Security nor the AUC Deputy Chairperson's office offered strong leadership for this process. This is also reflected by the 2050 AIM Strategy to date lacking an authorised foreword by the Chairperson of the Commission and her deputy (which in itself is an unusual practice because one would expect one of the commissioners to become involved rather than the chairperson and deputy).[16]

Second (and closely related to the first reason), despite support from the AU Assembly, institutional buy-in within the AUC was not sufficiently solid. Concerning the Maritime Transport Charter and the related Plan of Action, Baker (2011:44) observed that they "seem to lack authority, and their language begs the question of how institutions are to implement this broad agenda". Thus these documents "sit on a shelf, making no progress". According to Baker, the Maritime Transport Charter also has had little buy-in from departments within the AUC, a situation similar to the fate of the 2050 AIM Strategy. The Department of Peace and Security failed to make the strategy one of its top APSA priorities. Despite piracy remaining a problem off the coast of Somalia and along the Gulf of Guinea (though decreasing somewhat), the issue did not feature at all until the 2014 statutory reports of the AU chairperson on

the state of peace and security to the PSC.[17] In contrast to the excerpted introductory quote of the AUC Chairperson chairperson above (p. 3), in the AUC's second draft strategic plan for 2014–2017, the issue of maritime security is only introduced in the margins, in a four-line paragraph on page 92, lumped together with border tensions/ disputes, illicit drugs trade, terrorism, extremism, piracy, and criminal networks (AU Commission 2013b: 92).

Third, the subordinate status of an AU maritime security policy within APSA is evident in the AUC leaving control of the drafting process of the 2050 AIM Strategy to Kamé-Domguia, the point person for maritime security, but a fairly junior level officer within the commission's hierarchy. He left his institutional base at PSD and, with the relocation of most departments of the AUC to the new Chinese-built AU headquarters in Addis Ababa beginning in January 2012, moved to the new headquarters without proper institutional anchoring. (PSD will actually be accommodated in a separate building.) With regard to the 2009 Maritime Transport Charter, Baker suggests that the AU "has no human or capital resources to assume" the lead role it was expected to play. He speculates that in 2009, the creation of a Continental Maritime Coordination Unit was sidelined "until a suitable donor takes an interest in funding it" (Baker: 44). It seems that there is little donor coordination on (or perhaps interest in) the 2050 AIM Strategy, thus its brief institutional anchoring in PSD was lost.

Fourth, despite declarations to the contrary, there is too little commitment to maritime security by member states when it comes to implementation and application of legal instruments domestically. The revised 2009 Maritime Transport Charter, adopted in Kampala on 26 July 2010 (AU 2010b), is a case in point. Three years after its adoption, it had been signed by only fifteen member states, and only four had ratified and deposited the legal instruments.[18]

Fifth, in contrast to the 2009 charter, the 2050 AIM Strategy was designed as a "grand strategy" (Baker 2011: 45). As a political strategy document in the context of the AU, however, it is not terribly convincing. Its rhetoric resembles too much that of the OAU's many lofty grand plans from the 1980s and 1990s. For instance, it states that efforts "shall be intensified with RECs/RMs and Member States, to significantly improve Africa's share of global ship ownership by gross tonnage from 0.9% to at least 7% by 2050" (AU 2012: 29). Statements of this nature are not linked to economic reality or reliable modelling. The issue areas covered are too many, and the concept of maritime security and safety has still not been defined precisely. Too many agendas of different actors are brought together. Serious issues are mixed with fancy but totally unrealistic plans, such as the "profitable walkthrough" Giant Africa Aquariums every member state is encouraged to build (AU 2012: 20). The shopping list mentality of the 2050 AIM Strategy defeats its intentions.

In some parts of the document, in particular where is discusses "real and potential threats" and their likely implications, the argumentation is inconclusive and is not based on reliable research. The strategy's notion of security is ambiguous and shifts between traditional ideas of regime security and more recent ideas of human security (which in fact found their way into the Constitutive Act of the African Union, 2000). As in many other AU documents, the

issue of financing, which is the most serious impediment to all AU plans and a reflection of a lack of political will and serious commitment to continental integration on the part of most member states, is addressed rather naively, calling for the imminent launching of a 2050 AIM Strategy Capital Fund to provide moneyfor research and equity venture capital (ibid.: 31).

4.2. Collective (in)action on maritime security

Against the background of the three-year vacuum in political and institutional leadership on African maritime security, further activities can be observed at the level of member states and RECs for whom piracy is a national security concern (Baker 2011: 48). This situation has fostered a process of securitization that, in principal, is increasingly out of line with AUC interests (AU Director of Peace and Security 2013). The number of acts of piracy off the coast of Somalia and along the Gulf of Guinea was comparatively low in 2013, continuing a steady decrease since the high numbers of 2008. Year-to-year the London-based International Maritime Bureau (IMB), an office of the International Chamber of Commerce, registered 264 attacks of piracy, representing a 40 percent drop worldwide.[19] Along the Somali coast, the number of incidents fell from 237 in 2011 to 75 in 2012 to 15 in 2013. By contrast, most incidents of piracy in Africa today occur in the Gulf of Guinea (51 in 2013), with Nigerian waters being the most troubled (31 in 2013).[20]

In the Horn of Africa, national security interests have been articulated by Kenya with regard to piracy off the Somali coast and the inability of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) to deal with the issue. In the strategic review of AMISOM tabled at the PSC in February 2013, the AUC stated that maritime crime must be curbed and the exploitation of Somalia's long coastline by AS [Al-Shabaab] fully contained. This demands the recovery of remaining key port cities and towns. AMISOM military also requires maritime capability, at least to assist in the development of the Somalia Coast Guard/Marine Police through training and mentoring. (AU Commission 2103a: annex D,21)

In the same vein, African countries in the Gulf of Guinea consolidated their policies on maritime security. After signing a memorandum of understanding in March 2013, the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Commission of the Gulf of Guinea (CGG) met 24–25 June 2013 for a summit on securing traffic in the Gulf of Guinea.[21] Expressing its deep concern "that Africa has become one of the major hubs for global crude oil theft, money laundering, illegal arms and drug smuggling, human trafficking and smuggling, environmental crimes, piracy and armed robbery at sea, dumping of toxic waste, and maritime terrorism" (AU PSC 2013: §3), the PSC, in a session at the level of foreign ministers on 29 July 2013, welcomed the creation of the inter-regional Coordination Centre on Maritime Safety and Security for Central and West Africa and the adoption of the Code of Conduct Concerning the Repression of Piracy, Armed Robbery Against Ships, and Illicit Maritime Activities in West and Central Africa by ECCAS and ECOWAS. The PSC also supported the call of the Yaoundé

ECCAS/ECOWAS/CGG summit to formulate a regional strategy on maritime security in line with the 2050 AIM Strategy. The council encouraged other RECs to emulate the example set by the West African organizations. During 31 October – 1 November 2013, ECOWAS experts met in Banjul, Gambia, to endorse a draft ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy.[22]

There is, in fact, a related process within the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which in 1995 had introduced the Standing Maritime Committee as a sub-body of its Interstate Defence and Security Committee. Within SADC, the Seychelles, Mozambique, and Tanzania are seen as particularly vulnerable in terms of maritime security. The SADC Defence and Security Council and Senior Staff Council met in July 2011 to discuss a regional anti-piracy strategy, but the resulting maritime strategy framework, adopted at the August 2011 SADC summit (Coelho 2013: 13), is still treated as a classified document. Only a few SADC member states, such as South Africa, have clearly articulated interests in this area and the related naval capabilities to translate them into some form of practice (cf. RSA DoD 2012: 53ff.). The South African cabinet approved a maritime security strategy on 22 April 2011 (Vreÿ 2013: 13). Regardless, South Africa still faces a dilemma, as Coelho (2013: 14) notes:

> On the one hand, it has grand geo-strategic motives and a self-appointed status as rescuer of the region that requires the support of a modern blue-water navy, despite what seem to be major problems in maintaining it. On the other hand, this option does not respond to domestic challenges in respect of drug and human trafficking, IUU fishing, environmental protection and rescuing and disaster response.

All in all, although several of these regional and national efforts are visionary and effective, according to Baker (2011: 48) "all suffer, however, from a lack of coordination among a broad set of stakeholders and therefore tend, as noted, to address only security symptoms rather than other core problems of governance and economic development".

5. African maritime security in an international context

The issue of maritime security is also not clearly defined internationally. Different actors, based on their particular interests and mandates, pursue varied strategies in this area. Maritime security and safety as a broad policy arena can involve a broad range of activities, including fisheries and resource governance, environmental protection, mitigating the effects of climate change, as well as combatting terrorism and piracy. Among the main actors and norm-setters are RECs from the global North and South, such as the European Union (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), but also international inter-state bodies, such as the IMO and the Nairobi-based United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP). In addition, different coalitions of states are actively involved in anti-piracy operations, mainly off the Somali coast and, on a bilateral basis, in the Gulf of Guinea.

The IMO, as the UN system's "regulatory agency for the maritime sector" (IMO no date: 3), certainly has the broadest mandate for addressing the issue of maritime security and safety. The organization covers all the various aspects of the topic. Of the four IMO regional offices, three are located in Africa — in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Kenya. In its capacity-building efforts, the IMO has given priority "to the development of maritime search and rescue capabilities leading to an effective network of five Maritime Rescue Coordination Centres and 26 sub centres, the first of which was commissioned in Mombasa, Kenya, in May 2006" (IMO no date: 7). As stated above, the IMO was instrumental in developing the 2009 Djibouti code of conduct on combating piracy in the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean.

UNEP follows a resource-based approach. In its Marine and Coastal Strategy, the programme developed a five-year strategy to address the challenges of food provision, energy, climate regulation and transport involving the "earth's finite, fragile and most valuable resource" — water (UNEP 2011: 3). The strategy aims at improving coastal water quality through "addressing land based pollution, strengthen ecosystem management of marine areas within and beyond national jurisdictions, equip countries with tools for reconciling the different demands on marine and coastal resources, in particular small islands and other vulnerable places" (ibid.).

A mix of security and economic motives are driving the EU's policies on maritime security. It took on the issue of piracy in 2003, when in response to the al-Qaida attacks of 11 September 2001, it formulated the European Security Strategy, which linked piracy to organized crime (EU 2003: 5). The debate on the subject took place within the context of the emerging Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). This dimension of the security equation, however, was never integrated into the broader maritime policies managed by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Maritime Affairs and Fisheries. The Integrated Maritime Policy for the European Union, published in October 2007, addresses a number of topics, ranging from economics (including fisheries, labour law, and research) to the environment (including mitigating the effects of climate change and pollution). It also discusses governance aspects (member states policies, surveillance, spatial planning and integrated coastal zone management). Such security issues as piracy and terrorism are not, however, part of the integrated maritime policy. Only the question of pirate fishing is raised (EC Commission 2007). This part of EU policy is more geared towards developing what is referred to as "blue growth" opportunities (EC Commission 2012).

The EU, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and others responded to the security implications of piracy by launching a number of joint operations. The EU inaugurated its first maritime CSDP mission, Operation NAVFOR (Naval Forces) Atalanta, on 8 December 2008 to combat piracy off the Somali coast.[23] Another multi-nation naval operation was launched by NATO. Guided by its latest strategic concept "Active Engagement, Modern Defence" (NATO 2010), a combined task force of the alliance is currently mounting Operation Ocean Shield, a successor to Operation Allied Protector (March – August 2009) and Allied Provider (October – December 2008).[24] On

19 March 2012, the North Atlantic Council extended the operation through the end of 2014. It is authorised by UNSC Resolution 2020, which calls on states cooperating with the Somali government to use "all necessary means" to combat piracy (UNSC 2011).

Bilateral naval operations off the Somali coast are also being conducted by China, India, Malaysia and Russia (Ncube and Baker 2011: 51), to name but a few. The United States remains the most active international actor in maritime security with concerted efforts by the National Security Council, the Departments of State and Defence, as well as the Stuttgart-based US Africa Command to address the issue in bilateral and multinational partnerships involving training, joint exercises and deployments – both in East and in West Africa.

Confronted with a piracy threat in its region too, particularly in the Strait of Malacca, ASEAN – just as many African actors – has focussed on piracy and related threats. The 2009 "Political-Security Community Blueprint" foresees the establishment of an ASEAN Maritime Forum, inter alia to focus on the safety of navigation and security concerns in the region, but also to promote cooperation in maritime safety and search and rescue (ASEAN Secretariat 2009: 7). ASEAN agreed to "forge closer cooperation in fighting against sea piracy, armed robbery against ships, hijacking and smuggling, in accordance with international laws" (ibid.: 13). Since March 2009, the Inter-Sessional Meeting on Maritime Security has held regular gatherings at the ministerial level.

With regard to the conceptual scope of maritime security policies, Demissie Fantaye of Addis Ababa University, claims that in terms of the Horn of Africa, there has been a "divergence between the approaches of the international community to maritime security versus the regional approach. The latter prioritized the roots and causes of maritime insecurity while the international community focused on symptoms" (Sekomo 2013: 4). Addressing such issues as "chemical and toxic waste dumping, illegal fishing, illegal migration and human trafficking, maritime delimitation and competition over maritime resources" (ibid.), indeed, poses serious challenges to all actors involved, yet it seems a little far-fetched to reduce international maritime security practices to only military measures. It would similarly be an exaggeration to claim that African efforts in this domain are in practice truly preventing conflict or addressing the root causes of conflict.

And, finally, given the importance of close cooperation and the development of a strategic partnership in many areas of the African Peace and Security Architecture between the African Union on the one hand and the European Union, but also the German government, on the other, the lack of cooperation on maritime issues is striking.

6. Conclusions and recommendations

6.1. Conclusions

Over the past decade, Africa's maritime domain (AMD) has begun to play an increasing role in the continent's politics. As a result, the policy field of maritime security and safety evolved. It is discussed at all policy levels, from the state to RECs to the

African Union. African policy formulation on maritime security and safety has not been a linear process. As Baker (2011: 53) states, "The African maritime is marked by a variety of interdependent but different, unlinked, and uncoordinated policies, resolutions, codes, and activities... [T]he right hand is not working with the left". Slightly more optimistic, Bueger (2013: 312), while referencing Emanuel Adler and Michael N. Barnett, notes, that "various overlapping and nested collectives are being formed that constitute proto-forms of maritime security communities".

As a policy field, African maritime security and safety is characterised by an over-ambitious combination of content and unsettled responsibilities and a touch of randomness. The African Union and the RECs have developed a broad understanding of maritime security and safety, which includes everything from environmental protection, economic development, and trade and commerce to military security in a traditional sense (that is, unrelated to the discussion on human security partly informing AU peace and security policies). With the adoption of the 2050 AIM Strategy in January 2014, the emphasis seems to be on economics and control over the Combined Exclusive Maritime Zone for Africa.

Up to this point, there has been a lack of political leadership on the issue of maritime security in its narrow sense, both on the continent and within the AU Commission. The debate was initially driven by the regions, in particular through the Economic Community of Central African States and the International Maritime Organization. The AU became involved in the debate in 2009 and 2010, with the rise of piracy off the Somali coast and what could be called the "securitization" of the maritime domain. Maritime security and safety was not, however, fully integrated into the AU's African Peace and Security Architecture. Thus far, it does not feature in the African Standby Force or in the Continental Early Warning System. As a result, the RECs again took the initiative and are currently the driving force on maritime security. In this process, a second dynamic of securitization can be observed in which maritime security, and in particular the issue of piracy, is increasingly seen through the perspective of conventional national security interests that are then projected onto the regional level (Vreÿ 2013: 12ff.). This debate seems to be increasingly detached from the blue economy debate underlying the 2050 AIM Strategy.

So politically, a disconnect has developed that has consequences for coordination and harmonisation of maritime security and safety politics within the AUC and for the emerging division of labour between the AU and the RECs. This is also reflected by existing institutional arrangements. Currently the AU's Office of the Legal Counsel is considering what space within the AU — i.e. a unit, a full-fledged independent department, or a special agency — needs to be provided for implementation of the 2050 AIM Strategy.[25]

As briefly discussed above, the AU is not an active participant in international maritime security debates or a norm developer in this domain. The AU's international partnerships have not yet been fully utilised to address the issue. Again, this raises questions of future political and institutional arrangements.

6.2. Recommendations

1. *Define institutional responsibilities:* The African Union's Office of the Legal Counsel is currently considering the most appropriate institutional design for hosting maritime security and safety and the 2050 AIM Strategy within the AU Commission. The appointment of a special representative for maritime security, as once suggested by Baker (2011: 41), does not appear to be particularly promising at the moment. The policy field needs clear institutional anchoring within the existing departmental structure of the AUC.

2. *Strengthen the coordination mechanism:* Currently implementation of the 2050 AIM Strategy is being carried out by an inter-departmental task force which brings together the relevant departments (i.e. Infrastructure and Energy, Trade and Industry, Peace and Security, and so on). The task force should be supported by additional quarterly meetings at the level of directors.

3. *Integrate maritime security into the APSA:* Regardless of the future location of maritime security and safety within the AUC (as a unit, department, or special agency), the peace and security dimension of the AU's 2050 AIM Strategy should be strengthened with a view towards the coordination and harmonisation of efforts within the AUC as well as between the AUC and the RECs. Maritime security in its narrow sense needs to be strengthened as a policy field in the AU's peace and security policies and fully integrated into the African Peace and Security Architecture. This can be achieved by, first, supporting the necessary cross-divisional communication links (see recommendation 2). Second, maritime security should become a regular item in the Peace and Security Council's statutory reports on its activities and the state of peace and security in Africa (which are presented to the AU Assembly). Third, to fully integrate maritime security into the African Standby Force, the issue needs to systematically be put on the agenda at the continental level through the Specialized Technical Committee on Defence, Safety and Security. In addition, the Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution and the Regional Economic Communities should liaise on how best to integrate maritime security into the process of building regional standby brigades. Fourth, to fully integrate maritime security into the Continental Early Warning System, the data collection and monitoring function of CEWS needs to be expanded to systematically cover related information; also, the reporting formats should be amended to include the maritime security domain (e.g. in incident reports, briefing notes). In addition to producing country-specific early warning reports, CEWS should also present documents that address regions and transnational conflict complexes, including Africa's maritime domain. Fifth, the PSC should devote one meeting a year to reviewing the various regional efforts in maritime security, and RECs and RMs should be invited to report on their related activities on a regular basis. More traditional maritime security issues, i.e. piracy and illegal fishing, could be points of departure, but should gradually be supplemented by more recent concerns (i.e. terrorism, drug and

weapon trafficking, smuggling of goods and people, illegal oil bunkering, and so on).

4. *Coordinate and harmonise maritime security:* The AU needs to assume a proper policy coordination and harmonisation role on maritime security vis-à-vis the RMs and RECs, concentrating on joint efforts to combat piracy and maritime terrorism. As in all other APSA areas, this relationship should be guided by principles of comparative advantage and subsidiarity. Regular meetings between the AUC and the RECs at the working level would be helpful in this regard. Regional institutions, such as the recently established Coordination Centre on Maritime Safety and Security for Central and West Africa, should also be invited. Gradually, these technical meetings could serve as bases for the establishment of an oversight mechanism for implementation of the various agreements on maritime security.

5. *Draft a roadmap for the implementation of the 2050 AIM Strategy:* A roadmap for implementation of the 2050 AIM Strategy and the (yet unpublished) Plan of Action needs to be developed by the above-mentioned stakeholders with a view towards defining workflow within the AUC with regard to the policy field of maritime security and safety, the division of labour between the AU and the RECs, concrete — achievable and financially manageable — milestones for implementation of the various aspects of the 2050 AIM Strategy, and a monitoring and evaluation mechanism.

6. *Develop a reporting mechanism:* The AUC should establish — through the existing Task Force — a regular reporting mechanism with regard to implementing the 2050 AIM Strategy. This could, for instance, be done through an annual report to the Council of Ministers.

7. *Assess financial needs and resources:* In most cases, implementation of ambitious AUC policies suffers from a lack of financing by AU member states and depends to a large extent on the goodwill of international donors. Therefore, an assessment of the financial implications of the implementation of the 2050 AIM Strategy is vital (see AU 2014a: §18). The roadmap (see recommendation 5) should be based on a realistic review of financial needs and continental sources of finance, including the activities of the RECs.

8. *Review the 2050 AIM Strategy regularly:* Against this background, a regular review of the 2050 AIM Strategy should take place with a view towards revising the agenda to incorporate realistic, implementable policy options.

9. *Build strategic international partnerships:* The AUC and the RECs should foster strategic international partnerships for training and knowledge exchange and transfer on maritime security in its narrow sense. Such partnerships could involve supra-national organizations (such as the EU), multilateral alliances (such as NATO), and bilateral partners (such as the United States). Maritime security partnerships should be coordinated between donors on the one hand and the AU and the RMs and

RECs on the other through a permanent Africa maritime security forum based in Addis Ababa. This forum should be open to other coordinating institutions (such as the UN Political Office for Somalia) and relevant organizations (such as the African Port Management Association or the Union of African Shippers Council).

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[1] Remarks from a speech on maritime security and safety, 242nd Peace and Security Council meeting, Addis Ababa, 4 October 2010.

[2] Remarks from a speech at the Gulf of Guinea summit, Yaoundé, 25 June 2013.

[3] The Organization of African Unity (OAU), the AU's predecessor, had dealt with maritime transport as one aspect of the developmental vision laid out in the Lagos Plan of Action (OAU Council of Ministers 1988). The first special session of African ministers of maritime transport was held in Addis Ababa, 17–22 July 1989 (OAU Council of Ministers 1989).

[4] The United States chaired the group in 2013, and the European Union did so in 2014. The CGPCS's five working groups focus on sharing information, operational naval coordination, and capacity building; resolving legal and judicial issues; raising awareness among the shipping industry and capability building among seafarers; raising public awareness of the dangers of piracy; and disrupting piracy ashore and illicit financial flows.

[5] Among others, the meeting was attended by delegations from the Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Jordan, Kenya, Madagascar, the Maldives, Oman, Saudi Arabia, the Seychelles, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, and Yemen.

[6] See IMO, "Djibouti Code of Conduct" <http://www.imo.org/OurWork/Security/PIU/Pages/DCoC.aspx>. The Djibouti Code has so far been signed by 20 of the 21 eligible countries: the Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Jordan, Kenya, Madagascar, the Maldives, Mauritius, Mozambique, Oman, Saudi Arabia, the Seychelles, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

[7] Apart from piracy, other maritime security-relevant topics highlighted in the African debate involved illegal trafficking (including drug networks), terrorism, illegal oil bunkering, insufficient coastal protection capacity, threat to fisheries as well as unsettled maritime boundaries and offshore assets (Vreÿ 2011: 60–62).

[8] Before becoming the strategic planner of the Darfur Integrated Task Force (2007–2008) and point person for maritime security strategy (2008–2011) for the AUC, Kamé-Domguia had been director of instruction and commander in chief of the Douala Naval Training Centre (1997–2000), assistant project leader for operations at the Cameroonian navy headquarters (2000–2005), and project leader for operations and strategy, as well as a lecturer at the Command and Staff College (2005–2007). He has served as coordinator of the 2050 AIM Strategy task force since June 2011.

[9] See Sasol's website <http://www.sasol.co.za/>. The company, established in 1950, has concentrated on the production of synthetic fuels, especially during the sanctions campaign against apartheid.

[10] This is one of the key legal concepts of the 1982 (Third) UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, which introduced exclusive economic zones of up to 200 nautical miles.

[11] It was supposed to be tabled at the Twentieth Ordinary Summit of the AU Assembly, in Addis Ababa, 27–28 January 2013, but the summit did not make a decision on the issue, nor did the Twenty-first AU Assembly, also held in the Ethiopian capital, 26–27 May 2013. See African Union, "Task Force to Lead Development and Implementation of 2050 Africa's Integrated Maritime Strategy (2050 Aim-Strategy) Formed", press release <http://www.au.int/en/content/task-force-lead-development-and-implementation-2050-africa's-integrated-maritime-strategy-20>.

[12] At this meeting, held 19–20 April 2012, the ministers were briefed on the outcome of the Fourth African Maritime Cross-Sectorial Experts Workshop on the 2050 AIM Strategy.

[13] On the AU maritime security website, however, the upcoming events section still refers only to 2011 and 2012 activities. <http://pages.au.int/maritime>.

[14] It was called Adaption of the Implementation of the Integrated African Strategy for Seas and Oceans 2050 (AU 2014b).

[15] However, the issue of how to integrate maritime security into the ASF has been taken up at desk officer level around 2012 by the Peace Support Operations Division of the Commission's Peace and Security Department.

[16] When the first conference of the African ministers responsible for maritime-related affairs convened in Addis Ababa, 21 April 2012, the Commissioner for Infrastructure and Energy no longer was involved (or available). The meeting was opened by the AUC Deputy Chairperson and the Commissioner for Rural Economy and Agriculture.

[17] The report tabled in January 2014 (covering the second part of 2013) makes reference to the 387th PSC meeting, held 29 July 2013, at the ministerial level, which endorsed the conclusions of the summit of heads of state and government of the Economic Community of Central African States, the Economic Community of West African States, and the Commission of the Gulf of Guinea on Maritime Safety and Security in the Gulf of Guinea, held in Yaoundé, 24–25 June 2013. See AU PSC 2014: §56.

[18] As of 10 May 2013, legal documents had been deposited only by Benin, Ethiopia, Mauritius, and Togo. The fifteen signatories are Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Congo, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, South Africa, Sierra Leone, Togo, and Tunisia. See <http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/Revised%20-%20Maritime%20Transport%20Charter%20(1).pdf>. Beyond maritime transport, the updated charter also includes provisions for the security and protection of the marine environment.

[19] See International Chamber of Commerce Commercial Crime Services, "Somali Pirate Clampdown Caused Drop in Global Piracy, IMB Reveals", 15 January 2014 <http://www.icc-ccs.org/news/904-somali-pirate-clampdown-caused-drop-in-global-piracy-imb-reveals>. For a critical reading of these figures (based on different definitions offered by the IMB and IMO of what constitutes piracy), see "Sharp Drop in African Piracy: Are We Missing Something?", ISS Today, 27 January 2014 <http://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/sharp-drop-in-african-piracy-are-we-missing-something>.

[20] On the situation in the Gulf of Guinea, see Chatham House (2013) and Onuoha (2010, 2013); on the Horn of Africa, see McKay (2011), Maihold and Petretto (2008), Onuoha (2009a), and the detailed study published by the World Bank (2013); on the Indian Ocean, see Potgieter (2013), and on Southern Africa, Potgieter and Pommerin (2009). In general, see also African Security Review (2009), Sekomo (2013) and Onuoha (2009b); on "piracy momentum", see Bueger (2013) and Piracy-Studies.org, the website he helps maintain <http://piracy-studies.org>. For a comparison of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea and off the Somali coast, see Coelho (2013).

[21] Kamal-Deen and Tsamenyi (2013) draw attention to the northern and southern segments of the Gulf of Guinea being regulated by boundary agreements, but there also being the potential for a boundary dispute in the coastal region between Guinea and Benin, where not a single boundary is properly demarcated.

[22] "ECOWAS poised to reduce illicit marine activities", The Daily Observer (Banjul), 1 November 2013. The meeting was based on a summit decision taken on 17–18 June 2013.

[23] See the EU NAVFOR website <http://eunavfor.eu>.

[24] See "Counter-piracy operations" on the NATO website <http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_48815.htm>.

[25] Personal communication with an official from the AUC, 27 March 2014."

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About this study

The content of African maritime security as an emerging policy field is contested. It can be located anywhere between traditional security politics (i.e. related to piracy, maritime terrorism and unregulated fishing), developmental and environmentalist concerns as well as efforts to regain economic sovereignty over African territorial and offshore waters. As a result, since approximately 2005, the institutional place of maritime security in continental politics has been in flux. This paper traces the origins of the debate on maritime security in Africa. The main concern here is to examine the relationship between the nascent African Peace and Security Architecture on the one hand and maritime security and safety politics on the other from both an institutional and a political perspective. Maritime security represents one of a number of peace and security-related policy fields in-the-making that also allows for insights into the division of labor emerging among various stakeholders, such as the AUC, RECs, and AU member states—and the related challenges of policy coordination and harmonization.

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