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International Security, Africa, and Energy, Environment and Resources Summary

The Battle of the Atlantic Anniversary: The Navy's Role in Resilience and Prosperity

10 May 2013

INTRODUCTION

This document is a summary of a meeting commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Battle of the Atlantic, held onboard *HMS Illustrious* on 10 May 2013.

At this seminar, members of the Royal Navy, policy-makers, academics and maritime experts considered the strategic importance of the United Kingdom's current maritime responsibilities. Discussions focused on the Royal Navy's involvement in international maritime security, UK foreign policy, global economic development and the United Kingdom's prosperity agenda.

The primary speakers were: Adjoa Anyimadu, Research Associate, Africa Programme, Chatham House; Rob Bailey, Senior Research Fellow, Energy, Environment and Resources Department, Chatham House; Bob Dewar CMG, Associate Fellow, Africa Programme, Chatham House; Douglas Guilfoyle, Reader in Law, University College London; Professor Andrew Lambert, Laughton Professor of Naval History in the Department of War Studies, King's College London; Nicholas A Lambert, Associate Fellow, Royal United Services Institute; Professor Douglas McWilliams, Chief Executive, Centre for Economics and Business Research; Professor of Commerce, Gresham College; and Alex Vines OBE, Director of Area Studies and International Law and Head, Africa Programme, Chatham House.

The event was held on the record. The following summary is intended to serve as an *aide-mémoire* for those who took part and to provide a general overview of discussions for those who did not.

OPENING ADDRESS: PROFESSOR ANDREW LAMBERT

Professor Andrew Lambert presented the Battle of the Atlantic as a battle of resources and a battle of attrition. At its core, it was an Allied naval blockade of Germany, followed by a subsequent German counter-blockade. Constituting of a sea, sub-surface and air threat, it was a battle between U-boats, German warships and Luftwaffe, against Allied navies and their air forces, and formerly neutral shipping merchants, and escort forces. Professor Lambert argued that ultimately, it was the convoy system, not individual boats, that was critical to Allied success. By taking convoys safely through some of the most inhospitable waters, the Battle was billed as a great strategic victory for the Royal Navy.

As an island nation and seafaring state, the United Kingdom was heavily dependent on imported goods. In 1939, the nation required monthly imports of at least one million tons of fuel, food and raw materials to sustain the war effort.

In pre-war planning, the United Kingdom had not accounted for a purely Anglo-German War and had not anticipated or possessed the resources necessary to cover the space created by the defeat of France. However, the failure of Germany to break the convoys, and the introduction of the United States into the war, provided a turning point in both the Battle of the Atlantic and the Second World War.

Professor Lambert stated that the entry of the United States altered perceptions of the Atlantic, and elevated its strategic priority under Operation Bolero. At the Casablanca conference, Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt agreed that they must defeat the U-boat threat.

Professor Lambert asserted that this strategic victory came at the price of 3,500 merchant ships, 175 war ships, and 783 U-boats. This was a battle of attrition – success was guaranteed by concentrating on maximizing fatal casualties and breaking morale. The only way to achieve this was to sink the U-boats in large numbers. In May 1943, after losing 40 U-boats in a month and with a fatality rate of 75 per cent, Germany withdrew its units and ceased to pose a serious threat in the Atlantic.

Professor Lambert identified key lessons that can be learnt from the Battle of the Atlantic. First, it is unwise to concentrate disproportionately on pre-war planning and alliance effort. Second, an offensive maritime position has a long history as a wartime strategy, used by continental states against maritime states. As continental states do not depend on sea communications, it gives them an asymmetric advantage. Today the role of communications is more vital than ever and, as a maritime state, the United Kingdom has a vital concern toward this interest. In essence, one of the main lessons from the Second World War is that one must remain aware that different countries have different national interests.

Professor Lambert also noted that throughout the Cold War anti-submarine efforts continued in the Atlantic. By the end of the Cold War, this threat had reduced, as had the strategic priority of the Atlantic. The dependence of United Kingdom on fuel, food, and resources, however, has become more significant. At the height of Battle of Atlantic, the United Kingdom's reserves were higher than they are now. Professor Lambert argued that if the United Kingdom faced a real threat, the situation could deteriorate very quickly and there would be no capacity to make it easier. The United Kingdom is not particularly resilient in the face of these threats. Maritime security is a vital interest and thus a point of exploitation; sea power states are vulnerable to loss of access to sea and the United Kingdom must be aware of this.

SESSION 1: UNDERSTANDING THE OCEANS

The first session, 'Understanding the Oceans', emphasized the complexities of the maritime sphere; recognizing the importance of interdependencies, legal frameworks and commercial interests. The chair, Chris Trelawny, asked 'What is the government's role in resilience and prosperity?' and 'Where does the Navy fit into that?' To break down this complexity, Dr Nicholas Lambert spoke about the economic infrastructure in the maritime sphere and Dr Douglas Guilfoyle spoke of the modern challenges and the laws of the sea.

Dr Nicholas Lambert: Economic Infrastructure and the Maritime Sphere

Dr Lambert spoke of the complexities of economic infrastructure in the maritime sphere. Wartime activities, in particular, create a tension between economic logic and strategic victory. He also spoke of the enduring legacy of wartime decision-making and its lasting effect on the maritime sphere.

To breakdown some of these complexities, Dr Lambert employed a model based on that of naval historian Alfred Thayer Mahan. Mahan explored the correlation between sea commerce, wealth generation and national development, and built on the idea of a 'global commons'. Mahan saw the protection of this global commons and sea commerce as one of the most important functions of government. International co-operation can protect this commerce, but conversely the global commons also creates an interdependence that can increase state vulnerability. Dr Lambert explored this connection and the different uses of the 'global commons'.

Between 1870 and 1914, the world underwent its first period of globalization. Global trade changed dramatically with the emergence of international credit markets. During this period, every 'developed' country saw a steady rise in the ratio of foreign trade to economic growth. The commercial supply chain began to stretch around the world, and national economies became increasingly intertwined.

Dr Lambert stated that during this period, the meaning of terms such as 'maritime security' and 'communications' broadened to include the economic structure. By contrast, Dr Lambert argued that the interwar period saw a decline in global interdependence. Government intervention during, and after, the First World War stifled the flow of trade by introducing further barriers that divided the world into economic blocs. By the end of the Second World War, a different trading system had developed.

During the Second World War, the global commons became a means to traffic weapons across the Atlantic and operated in defiance of economic efficiency. The state controlled what was shipped and what was imported. By 1942, Britain was a war economy with 85 per cent of its GDP devoted to war production. Dr Lambert stated that international trade did not recover until the 1980s. The war created a commons highly dependent on trading blocs, and subsequently we created a system more vulnerable to crashes than that which existed pre-1914.

To mitigate the risks and protect the global commons, Dr Lambert recommended a judicious blend of naval spending and international co-operation. This, he argued, is akin to a national premium for economic security and prosperity.

Dr Douglas Guilfoyle: Modern Challenges and the Law of the Seas

To understand the modern challenges and the law of the sea, Dr Guilfoyle examined relevant current disputes. He argued that the priorities of great powers continue to shape how the laws of the sea are discussed and developed. He also explored how information-sharing and capacity-building can result in weaker states taking greater control of their own maritime space.

Maritime commons

Dr Guilfoyle noted that there are a number of threats to the maritime commons requiring a legal response, either through legislation or in implementation. He highlighted disputes regarding Japanese whaling, in particular *Australia Vs Japan* in the International Court of Justice, that demonstrate the need for international dispute-resolution bodies to have international jurisdiction. The current system often involves shoehorning disputes into particular treaties that they may not fit.

A recent ruling in the 9th Circuit Court of the United States found that, in reference to the marine conservation society Sea Shepherd, private violence on the high seas from one vessel to another can constitute piracy and this criminal act can be the subject of an injunction. Dr Guilfoyle stated that, although correct in principle, this raises the question of whether the 'counter-violence' of anti-whaling boats, by crossing the threshold, could also be piracy.

The depletion of fishing stocks is the original tragedy of the maritime commons. With reference to East and West Africa, Dr Guilfoyle stated that both coasts are experiencing issues relating to the illegal, unregulated and unreported fishing. At present, the Sub Regional Fisheries Commission is asking for an advisory opinion on the law of the sea with regard to rights and responsibilities of states when there is good reason to believe their vessels are fishing in foreign waters. This may result in states using law as a tool of intervention, giving increased powers to certain states.

Boundary disputes and their impact on freedom of navigation

Dr Guilfoyle gave the example of how the Philippines is bringing action against China for its claim to space in the South China Sea. 'The nine-dotted line', a demarcation line, is present on many Chinese maps. In response, the Philippines invoked the UN Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) arbitration against China. That China has lawfully reserved all boundary disputes from accessions under UNCLOS has complicated matters, i.e. a maritime boundary dispute cannot be brought against China. The case calls into question the characterization of certain features in state's maritime zones, e.g. islands are characterized as a maritime zone, but man-made concrete structures do not constitute an island.

Weapons proliferation

The Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf (2005) created a space for a criminal law-enforcement regime against the proliferation weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Its reach has been limited by two predominant factors: it has just 23 parties, none of which are major naval powers, and weapons-trafficking can effectively still only be criminalized in national law. Most states do not possess the legal instruments to enforce the law on trafficking of WMD material to a foreign actor on a foreign vessel.

Although there are strict limitations on North Korea and Iran, in general there is a reluctance to intervene because of the classic freedom of navigation.

Dr Guilfoyle noted that, in contrast to WMD proliferation, numerous international instruments exist with regard to small arms and light weapons. However, these instruments are relatively weak and none specifically target maritime traffic. Overall, only patchy resolutions exist on WMD and even less on small arms.

Piracy

Dr Guilfoyle stated that though piracy has traditionally been tackled within a military context, there is an emerging law-enforcement paradigm with regard to the piracy debate. For example, issues arise with the prosecution, by other states, of pirates captured by foreign navies patrolling the region. Dr Guilfoyle argued that there are also issues with prison transfer arrangements.

Sea bed mining

Dr Guilfoyle stated that the issue of sea bed mining has been discussed for decades but only now is the technology beginning to catch up with the debate. This issue has seen a new wave of licensing and exploration within and beyond national jurisdictions. In 2012, the International Seabed Authority adopted new prospecting regulations, and a UK company called Seabed Resources, a subsidiary of Lockheed Martin, has just been given license from the authority. Companies are turning to developing countries as sponsoring states for deep-sea bed exploration mining. This raises questions as to the responsibilities of sponsoring states.

Human rights

The impact of securitization on seafarers is often overlooked. Many major port states, such as the United States, Canada and Australia, are often unwilling to admit anyone without a visa issued before departure. This has led to increased difficulties for seafarers at port. The International Labour Organization proposed a Seafarers Identification Document in 2003, which would have formed a more robust identification measure in return for visa-free shore leave. This failed. While the United States is a major protagonist for greater biometric data, it was internally unable to grant visa-free shore leave.

With regard to irregular migration, a duty exists to rescue those in distress at sea but governments are unwilling to disembark those persons in their territories.

Dr Guilfoyle argued that as the domain of law-enforcement expands at sea, through dealing with piracy and drugs for instance, so too should the application of human rights at sea. Particular attention should be given when there is multinational co-operation or transnational criminal co-operation, and there is the potential for subjection to a series of legal systems in a framework that can be a matter of chance.

Sharing of information in maritime security

Maritime domain awareness relies on information-sharing. With regard to piracy, there are some regional information-sharing agreements and counter-piracy programmes – such as those in South East Asia. The International Maritime Organization has introduced long-range information-tracking regulation. Coastal states can receive information on ships within 1,000 miles of their shores. This relies on data-exchange co-operation mechanisms. This system is hampered by restrictions on the type of information that can be shared, and this does not include fishing boats and small vessels. Pertinent questions have arisen as to whether this could ever be practically achieved.

Looking at resilience and sea-security from a human security point of view may not be a priority for certain great powers, but the capacity of weaker states can undermine maritime security if they are unable control their maritime space. Dr Guilfoyle argued that this highlights the need for information-sharing and capacity-building.

He also spoke of the potential for dispute-resolution mechanisms in the law of the sea. He noted the potential to invoke law as one path of wider, more complex dispute-resolution mechanisms, even if dispute is a poor fit for legal mechanisms.

During the discussion, a question was raised concerning the militarization of the sea with the increase in private maritime security companies. Dr Guilfoyle responded that, although these entities declare only honourable intentions, on a practical level if abuses are committed there are not necessarily 'people watching' their actions.

In reference to the 'nine dotted line', it was reiterated that there was no legal justification for the map, and that perhaps it would be a matter of history. On whether the Chinese position on the law of the sea would shift, Dr Guilfoyle noted that pretending China has a single position on anything is illusory. A tension exists between China wanting to invoke universal laws of the sea and wanting to have its own set of rules for its region.

SESSION 2: CASE STUDIES – THE ROLE OF NAVIES IN RESILIENCE

The second session explored 'The Role of Navies in Resilience'. With specific reference to recent history, the speakers discussed the opportunities for navies in tackling food security, countering piracy, and reducing illegal, unregulated and unreported fishing.

The chair, Charles Emmerson, noted that resilience can be defined beyond survival, in broader terms of development and peace-building. However defined, resilience is not easily achievable. It involves a complex, multi-faceted approach, and international cooperation and coordination. Mr Emmerson posed several questions to consider during the course of the session: What does victory look like? How does one know if resilience has been achieved? Is it recognizable when it breaks down? Or is it recognized by its absence?

Rob Bailey: Food Security and the Oceans

Rob Bailey spoke on the impact of the global food system on security, trade, shipping and global markets. He explained how food security is of increasing global strategic importance. Agricultural commodity prices have increased and become more structurally volatile over the past five years, with price spikes in 2008 and in 2011.The World Bank estimates that these spikes have increased the global poverty level by 100 million people. Prices are expected to fall slightly in the short term, but they will remain structurally high with increased volatility.

Mr Bailey outlined a number of variables that affect food prices.

Climate change affects productivity and has increased the volatility of agricultural markets. This has been exacerbated by the fact that global stocks are at relatively low levels.

Political instability can be both a cause and effect of high food prices. Instances of insecurity often cluster around times of high international prices. For example, the Arab Spring can be linked to the 2011 price spike, particularly in wheat.

Global governance has an impact on food markets. There are no rules on the imposition of export bans, stock holding or concerning global transparency. This lack of transparency can lead to speculative crises when countries do not know exact levels of global stocks.

Mr Bailey argued that trade is central to international food security. The Americas, particularly North America, and Australasia are net exporters of food, while China, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East and North Africa region are net importers. In the Gulf States, 90 per cent of the food consumed is imported.

The oceans are critical for food trade – approximately 80 per cent of strategic agriculture commodity trade is shipped due to advances in cold-chain technologies. According to Mr Bailey, such a dependence on shipping creates a strategic vulnerability and major shipping routes are susceptible to insecurities, especially at strategic choke points. Import and export bottlenecks add to the cost of shipping and can have ramifications for regional food security. The Atlantic corridor and the Indian Ocean have significant importance, not only for energy security, but also for food security as major shipping lanes for rice and wheat.

Bottlenecks also occur on land, as many countries lack capacity in ports. For example, Brazilian soybean truck drivers often queue for days to get into docks, with up to 90 ships waiting to dock on a typical day. These bottlenecks also affect importing regions. The 'turnaround' time for a ship in Saudi Arabia is 20 days, compared to one day in the Netherlands, despite Saudi Arabia being 90 per cent dependent on imports. Due to a lack of port capacity on the Saudi west coast, and internal transport infrastructure, policies of stockpiling have ensued. Saudi Arabia now has a 12-month supply of wheat, reducing concern around price fluctuations.

Two concerns raised were the possibilities that Iran may close the Straits of Hormuz or that a regional war may break out. Ultimately, the bottleneck shutting down completely is unlikely due to global power interests. Countries such as China need access to energy markets. The argument then becomes whether stockpiling is proportionate to the risks involved.

Mr Bailey concluded that significant disruptions are unlikely, but smaller more frequent disruptions pose perhaps a greater threat to food security than the shutdown of a major shipping route. There is a high incidence of piracy around regions of acute food insecurity, in particular the Horn of Africa. This increases the costs of imports into Somalia as firms incur costs related to higher insurance premiums, onboard security, rerouting and cancelling shipments. This also has a knock-on effect in neighbouring countries (Kenya and Djibouti). Piracy has indirect effects on regional food security, because it undermines livelihoods and economic development and leads to declines in tourism and exports.

Adjoa Anyimadu: The Naval Response to Piracy – Lessons Learned from the Indian Ocean

Adjoa Anyimadu addressed the rise in piracy in the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean since 2006. The presentation focused on counter-piracy initiatives carried out by international navies, and explored how these initiatives could be instructive for future efforts to combat illegal maritime activity.

There was a significant increase in piracy off the Somali coast between 2006 and 2010. However, instances of piracy have reduced markedly since 2012. This includes both attempted and successful hijackings. The speaker attributed this to the fact that, currently, piracy may be a less attractive method of revenue-generation for young Somalis. In 2011, there were 199 incidents in the high-risk area off Somalia's coast, but in 2012 this figure had dropped to 70.

Ms Anyimadu pointed to three major reasons behind the fall in piracy.

Best management practices (BMP) have been implemented by the majority of commercial ship-owners with vessels passing through the region. These BMPs detail methods to protect a vessel from attack, including recommending faster travel through the high-risk area of the Indian Ocean and ship-protection measures such as the installation of barbed wire and citadels.

Private maritime security companies (PMSCs) providing armed guards on aboard commercial vessels have become more prevalent. This increases the risks for pirates and reduces their chances of success. However, the explosion of the private maritime security industry is perhaps the most controversial aspect of counter-piracy. This is due to concerns about the risks to seafarers and innocent fishermen who could be mistaken for pirates, spiralling costs to the shipping industry, and the lack of regulation and jurisdiction of PMSCs.

International navies have coordinated to refine their methods of disrupting, deterring and detaining pirates. The three major naval operations in the region are EUNAVFOR's Operation Atlanta, the US-led Combined Task Force 151, and NATO's Operation Shield. Countries that may not traditionally share information or work closely together in a political context do so in the naval context of the Indian Ocean to a surprising degree.

Ms Anyimadu explained the importance of appreciating the nuances of the Somali case. While it may be attractive to transpose Somali solutions to other regions, decisions were made and actions taken in response to a set of unique circumstances. Chiefly among them, Somalia has lacked effective governance for over two decades.

She argued that the absence of rule of law has made the government ineffective in establishing an exclusive economic zone to protect the fishing rights of Somalis, or to introduce up-to-date legislation criminalizing modern piracy. In addition, there has been very little effective coastguard presence. This is something that the new internationally supported government must focus on.

Ms Anyimadu stated that the Somali example illustrates how international navies can work together to train states with weak domestic navy capability. The EU-led EUCAP NESTOR aims to strengthen East Africa's regional maritime capabilities, partly through the development of regional coastal police forces.

Ms Anyimadu highlighted concerns over whether direct technically focused training of coastguards and marine police is always advisable. She explained how there have been cases in Somalia where individuals have received coastguard training and applied this knowledge to further their illegal maritime pursuits.

Experiences of dealing with Somali piracy have highlighted some fundamental mechanisms for counter-piracy initiatives. Intelligence-gathering and information-sharing has been critical. Since 2008, navies combating Somali piracy have increasingly improved their methods of gathering intelligence. It has become the norm for unmanned aerial vehicles to track pirate activity and for helicopters mounted with powerful cameras to take highly detailed pictures of coastlines and of pirates' movements. Sharing this intelligence can be a significant benefit to local law enforcement.

Ms Anyimadu also highlighted the success of pirate-transfer agreements. Navy personnel are not legally permitted to interrogate those suspected of piracy once they are apprehended, but transfer agreements allow them to detain suspects and collate information from the point of contact to hand over. The success of cases once they come to court often hinges on evidence given by the naval personnel involved in action to disrupt pirate activity.

Ms Anyimadu concluded that, while it is important to draw on the valuable experience of efforts confronting Somali piracy, simple replication is inadvisable. As attention shifts to piracy off Africa's west coast, differences such as the variation of 'business model' and heightened propensity for violence must be acknowledged.

Discussants asked whether medical civil action programmes, although well intentioned, are endangering local enterprises, doctors and medical centres. Ms Anyimadu argued that it is important to see first-hand the work that these foreign organizations do to protect local and national interests, and to foster relationships between the two entities.

Bob Dewar: Illegal Fishing, Human Security and the Danger of Political 'Sea Blindness'

Bob Dewar focused on illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing, in particular looking at West Africa and the Gulf of Guinea. He also discussed the human security ramifications of illegal fishing.

Mr Dewar stated that IUU fishing affects economic and social development, and undermines governance. Significant resources, revenue, nutrition and livelihoods are lost as a result of IUU fishing. The annual worldwide cost of IUU fishing is estimated to be between $9 and $24 billion, or between 11 and 26 million tonnes of fish. In Sub-Saharan Africa the value of illegal fishing is $0.9 billion annually, approximately 19 per cent of the current landed value.

Mr Dewar argued that IUU fishing aggravates underlying human security issues and social problems including criminality, social stresses, migration and conflicts. Further, important strategic opportunities for the prosperity agenda are wasted.

IUU fishing thrives in areas with poor governance and a lack of institutional capacity and regulation over the maritime domain. In West Africa, actual catches are estimated to be up to 40 per cent higher than reported catches.

Mr Dewar explained how the situation in West Africa has been exacerbated by over-capacity in international fishing fleets. There are too many high-tech industrial vessels with destructive gear operating under flags of convenience. As this has a global impact, action is needed in all spheres. From rule of law, to regulation and enforcement, the coast guards and the navies can play a key role through capacity-building, transferring skills, and sharing information and intelligence.

West African coastal waters have experienced several decades of relatively uncontrolled access to resources and illegal fishing activities. Coastal communities in many West African countries are dependent on the fishing industry. Marine fisheries contribute 25 to 30 per cent of government budgetary receipts in Mauritania; between 25 to 40 per cent of government budgetary receipts in

Guinea Bissau; contribute 25 to 30 per cent of the country's exports in Senegal; and marine fisheries support about seven per cent of the working population in Ghana.

Mr Dewar highlighted a case study of the economic impact of illegal fishing in seven West African countries that estimated the total value-added loss for industrial and artisanal fisheries as close to $300 million. Another study of nine developing countries, including Angola, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone, estimated that $372 million was lost, with between 20 and 60 per cent of fishing vessels in Guinea waters unlicensed. This represents a significant loss to national revenue that should be of concern to presidents and ministers of finance, not just to ministers of fisheries. It is not just the value of the fish that is lost, but also the licence fees, landing fees and other taxes payable by legal fishermen. Mr Dewar argued that this 'sea blindness' is a major obstacle to policy reform.

The combined impact of both 'legal' and 'illegal' fishing is depleting stocks too quickly and too extensively, and is putting artisanal fishing communities under massive pressure. Over the last five years, research, advocacy and policy work has been undertaken internationally and regionally, including by the World Bank, UN, International Maritime Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization and EU. The EU has taken significant steps toward policy reform.

Mr Dewar pointed to the fact that the Gulf of Guinea states are increasing efforts to strengthen 'fisheries governance' and make fisheries more transparent. The current UN Secretary General and regional leaders have signed up to creating an integrated regional policy framework to fight against organized crime and piracy off the Gulf of Guinea – with the definition of organized crime to include illegal or illicit fishing. Large-scale illegal operators that are involved in fraud, corruption and money-laundering should be pursued and prosecuted, and as fishing is an extractive industry there should be a level of transparency comparable to similar industries.

Mr Dewar concluded that integrated maritime strategies are needed, incorporating both security and development concerns. Potential challenges include domesticating international law and regional decisions, and strengthening regional co-operation and governance of state institutions, especially law-enforcement institutions. In order for this to happen, there needs to be political will, which thus far has been lacking. If governments and maritime agencies can begin to think differently and co-ordinate to share ideas and information, effective policy, and consequently change, can be achieved.

Discussants questioned whether once international organizations wrap up their missions, incidences of piracy will increase. Lessons from the past indicate this may happen. Therefore, training and institutional capacity-building are essential. Ultimately, it may be the international shipping industry that will bear the brunt of protection costs.

The chair concluded that improving resilience elsewhere can have indirect benefits at home. The role of the navy is not confined to a protection function. The navy is also a necessary agent in development and diplomacy.

SESSION 3: CASE STUDIES – THE ROLE OF NAVIES IN PROSPERITY

The final session focused on UK and EU maritime policy responses in the Gulf of Guinea. It also explored areas where the navy and the shipping industry intersect. Speakers reiterated the need for local and international co-ordination and regional alliances.

Alex Vines: A Coordinated Response to Maritime Insecurity – The United Kingdom and the Gulf of Guinea

Alex Vines assessed the role that the United Kingdom and EU play in combating contemporary challenges to maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea. Aside from the immediate criminal effects of illegal maritime activity, the knock-on effect on trade and increased costs in countering crime can be devastating for a country, its people and its prosperity. According to one estimate, maritime crime costs the West African sub-region about $2 billion annually.

Mr Vines discussed the challenges faced by Benin, a small West African country bordering Nigeria. After a maritime insurance company designated it as 'high-risk' in 2011, it witnessed a 70 per cent decrease in the number of ships entering the port of Cotonou. The rise in insurance premiums and subsequent decrease in trade led Benin to actively target the issue. Operation Prosperity, a joint naval effort between Nigeria and Benin, has resulted in a sharp drop in attacks, from 20 reported attacks on shipping in Beninois waters in 2011 compared with two in 2012. Here we see the success of a regional alliance in action.

Although the numbers are down in Benin, overall there has been an upward trend in the number of reported attacks in the region, from 53 in 2011 to 62 in 2012. Last year, a London-based insurance company listed Nigeria, Benin and the surrounding waters in the same risk category as Somalia.

Mr Vines argued that Nigeria appears to be the source of the piracy and armed robbery at sea occurring in the region, and therefore the country should be the source of the solution.

There is a multiplicity of actors now involved in seeking a viable solution to maritime insecurity for the entire West African region. Chatham House has been actively involved in co-ordinating these actors, and providing a platform for discussion. In 2012, Chatham House held a seminar aboard *HMS Dauntless* in Angola, in conjunction with the British Ministry of Defence to support the Angolan government in drawing up its own Gulf of Guinea strategy. It also fed into the international conference in Luanda that resulted in the Luanda Declaration of Peace and Security in the Gulf of Guinea in November 2012.

In March 2013, a ministerial conference on maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea was held in Cotonou, Benin. This meeting was organized within the framework of the development of a regional strategy in response to UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 2039. Representatives of 25 states attended, marking a progression in regional efforts at co-operation.

Just as with the Battle of Atlantic, the cooperation of allies is tremendously important for combating challenges in the Gulf of Guinea. Three key documents were adopted in Cotonou and will be submitted for endorsement by the heads of state of Central and West Africa at summit to be held in Yaoundé, Cameroon in June 2013.

Mr Vines called for a diplomatic push to ensure that IUU fishing and other types of illicit maritime activity are clearly defined in this strategy. The Yaoundé summit in June follows on from UN recommendations that all states affected by piracy in the region should convene. Wider international support for Gulf of Guinea states must be continued. Further assistance will help countries in the region to enhance their capabilities and capacities, and to formulate mutual strategies for regional patrols and information-sharing.

The United Kingdom has a vested interest in the welfare of the Gulf of Guinea. Issues such as IUU fishing and the decimation of fish stocks directly affect the United Kingdom. The British government is now taking a cross-government, holistic regional approach to combating piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. The Ministry of Defence has supported maritime training in Sierra Leone and stationed a

defence advisor with wider knowledge of West Africa in the country. It has also financed a maritime liaison officer to support the Economic Community Of West African States in creating an integrated maritime strategy.

Naval visits have also been a prominent fixture on the Royal Navy's agenda. Visits by *HMS Edinburgh*, *HMS Dauntless* and *HMS Argyll* have involved tactical training and manoeuvring exercises in the region. Events such as trade fairs, diplomatic receptions, maritime security seminars, tactical training and manoeuvring exercises have been tremendously important. More regular visits, building on those held previously, are also important. Mr Vines argued that in the maritime domain, developing closer relationships with African maritime partners will help the United Kingdom to ensure that it optimizes planning and exercise opportunities.

In an area as vast as the Gulf of Guinea, different states have different needs. Cape Verde suffers from problems associated with drug trafficking, while Sierra Leone must mainly deal with IUU fishing. Ghana seems to be able to patrol its waters effectively, so armed robbery at sea has skipped Ghanaian waters and occurs in Côte d'Ivoire. This also happened to Togo in 2012 when Benin began to increase its naval patrols. Mr Vines stressed the need for the implementation of more tailored naval exercises to adequately reflect the realities of the Gulf of Guinea. For example, communication in Lusophone and Francophone countries would be improved if a crew member aboard the visiting ship can speak the language.

Ultimately, co-ordination begins at the national level. There is strong political will for sustainable maritime security within the Gulf of Guinea, and this makes it easier for international co-operation and success to occur.

Patricia Davies: A Coordinated Response to Maritime Insecurity – EU Policy and the Gulf of Guinea

Patricia Davies gave an overview of the work that the European External Action Service (EEAS) plans to carry out in the Gulf of Guinea. The EEAS is developing a strategy to support the initiatives being led by states in the Gulf of Guinea. The targeting of Western shipping and Western seafarers has been significant in piquing EU interest and action.

The EEAS will consider development and land-based issues as well as security when developing its comprehensive Gulf of Guinea strategy. The organization will also draw on lessons learnt from efforts to combat maritime insecurity in the Horn of Africa.

A mixture of criminal activity is taking place at sea in the Gulf of Guinea. This includes piracy and armed robbery at sea, the illicit trafficking of arms, weapons, humans and drugs, illegal migration and the toxic dumping of waste in the sea. These issues have a spill-over effect on the EU.

A comprehensive EU strategy must incorporate a number of specificities. The success of other African-led initiatives and the increasing focus on maritime security in West Africa offers an encouraging starting point for the EU's strategy and demonstrates that there is space for EU support and long-term engagement. However, the timeline for producing a strategy is short, and due to its holistic nature it must be cleared by a number of the European Commission's departments including the Directorate-General for Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, Directorate-General for Mobility and Transport and those dealing with environmental issues, the EU's budget and enterprise. The EU's Gulf of Guinea strategy must also reflect the vision of member states. Ms Davies maintained that there are high hopes that the European Commission will support the strategy, particularly as EU member states are highly interested in maritime security off West Africa's coast.

Gavin Simmonds: Mutual Support and Information Sharing – The Shipping Industry and the Royal Navy

Gavin Simmonds outlined the robust relationship between the Royal Navy and the United Kingdom's shipping industry, and emphasized the enduring economic importance of keeping sea lanes safe. As an island nation, the United Kingdom has a distinctly maritime heritage. Mr Simmonds argued that the first duty of government is to protect the national way of life. Further, as a trading nation, international sea routes are vital to the United Kingdom's economic prosperity. The British government is urging industry to play a role in moving the country beyond the economic crisis, and is encouraging trade with new and emerging economies. It must be noted that the shipping industry contributes £13 billion to the British economy each year.

No less than 70 per cent of United Kingdom shipping earnings come from the Caribbean, and the Royal Navy provides an important protection and liaison function for the safe passage of such shipping. Since 1937, this function has been provided by the Shipping Defence Advisory Committee (SDAC). SDAC works with the merchant navy to provide security and to avoid the dislocation of trade. It reviews threats, prepares contingency operations, runs exchanges, makes visits and shares information to spread maritime domain awareness.

In addition, the Royal Navy's Maritime Trade Operation, based in Dubai, works to ensure secure commercial shipping. Strategically, access to the Gulf of Guinea has been essential throughout recent history – including during the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s, the Kuwait invasion in 1991 and the Iraq war in 2003. Threats to shipping in the Gulf of Guinea have been unpredictable. The Maritime Trade Operation must now work to counter military threats and to respond to the unprecedented increase in piracy off Somalia, in the Gulf of Aden and in the Indian Ocean.

Information-sharing is the principal means of keeping seafarers and ships safe, and building confidence. The speaker maintained that the shipping industry believes very strongly that the reassurance provided by this service is highly desirable in peacetime. Mr Simmonds explained that the monitoring of trade is complex, requiring a multifaceted structure and relying on individuals with in-depth knowledge of the shipping industry to gather detailed information. Over time, ship operators have accrued such information.

The speaker argued that naval operations should be considered as part of the normal operating system. Reporting and communication arrangements must be frequently practiced to avoid the loss of information. Rapid progress is often difficult to maintain but, as new systems are introduced that allow for additional reporting functions, advances are occurring. These advances have allowed for advice on protective measures and incident reporting to be shared, and for liaisons between ship operators and military units of other nations and coalitions. There is increasing cooperation with merchant ships carrying military cargos. The speaker highlighted the importance of these arrangements, as they allow companies to provide commercially stable and reliable shipping services.

Mr Simmonds argued that sea power must be applied more liberally in order to advance national interests. Information-sharing can create an awareness of enormous mutual benefit. As well as preventing wars and conflicts, the Royal Navy's role is to protect commerce and the interests of free trading economies in times of peace. Through information-sharing arrangements and SDAC, the mechanisms are in place to continue the relationship that is as vital now as it was in the winning of the Battle of Atlantic in May 1943.

During the discussion, a question was raised about China's role in IUU fishing. Mr Vines said that China, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, supported UNSCR 2039. He maintained that solid documentation of the involvement of Chinese vessels in illicit activities was needed if countries in the region were to prove that their concerns were well-founded. The discussion moved on to cover whether commercial ships were properly equipped with communications equipment and sensors. It was posited that they could act as the 'eyes and the ears' of the maritime security community and could help to reinforce the capabilities of navies. Mr Simmonds pointed out that if information-collecting mechanisms were placed on civilian ships, this could impede their access to certain foreign ports, potentially leading to severe ramifications for ships and crew. The shipping industry is therefore cautiously exploring this option.

CLOSING ADDRESS: PROFESSOR DOUGLAS MCWILLIAMS

Professor Douglas McWilliams discussed the relationships between globalization, trade and the role of the Royal Navy. He outlined the changing nature of globalization, and explained how this will affect the UK economy and the role of the navy in safeguarding the flow of trade.

Professor McWilliams drew on the Centre for Economics and Business Research World Economic League Table (WELT) 2012, noting the relative dominance of Western economies. Predictions for 2022, however, show European economies in relative economic decline. This year has seen only a slight acceleration in world growth. This can be partially attributed to uncertainty in the Middle East and OPEC production cuts to sustain the price of oil. It is clear world trade growth is sluggish at the moment. For instance, the traffic in the Suez Canal is now lower than it was 10 years ago.

Going forward, the United Kingdom will be affected by globalization in a number of ways. As a high-cost Western economy, it will have to make adjustments in a new global economy. As the pound devalues and the costs of vital imports for primary trade rise, the terms of trade will change unfavourably. As living standards fall, due to the pressure on wages to be competitive combined with the rising real cost of primary products, the economy will become much less consumer-based. The public sector will be retrenching and, as consumer growth will be constrained by squeezed household incomes, growth will have to come from exports.

Asia, Oceania, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean saw 106 Mt of goods imported/exported by sea to the United Kingdom in 2012. This volume is likely to rise in coming years, as the growth of developing economies outpaces that of Western economies. Trade growth over the next 10 years is likely to be dominated by distant countries across waters that are, historically, much less secure.

Professor McWilliams noted Britain's dependence on seaborne trade. Around 64 per cent of total trade activity is comprised of goods transmitted by sea. In fact, in 2012, the total value of goods imported and exported from the United Kingdom via sea was £650 billion. The United Kingdom mostly trades with Europe but Asia is becoming of increasing significance accounting for £137.9 billion in sea trade over the year. North America is the third largest, with £75.1 billion in goods shipped to and from the region in 2011. Over the past decade, the value of Asia and Oceania's sea trade with the United Kingdom more than doubled, while North American sea trade values grew by a fifth.

The annual volume of seaborne trade is down from its 2007 peak. The economic crisis brought declining volumes of trade but positive growth is now returning.The ongoing European debt crisis presents a serious risk to UK maritime trade, and another recession would likely see significant falls in both import and export totals.

In light of the above figures, it is clear that several industries depend on the Royal Navy to protect the seas and coastal areas around the United Kingdom. The Royal Navy works with many industries including marine fishing and aquaculture, oil and gas extraction (including onshore refinement), and shipping and shipbuilding. Without this protection, the economic activity undertaken by these industries could be seriously jeopardized.

SPEAKERS AND CHAIRS BIOGRAPHIES

Adjoa Anyimadu is a Research Associate with the Africa Programme at Chatham House. Her work focuses on African maritime security, the politics of Kenya, the Horn of Africa and the western Sahel. She was involved in work with the British Somali diaspora and the United Kingdom's Foreign & Commonwealth Office in the lead-up to the British government's London Conference on Somalia in 2012. She lent expertise to the International Taskforce on Piracy Ransom Payments, and has appeared as an Expert Witness on the EU's counter-piracy efforts before the House of Lords European Union Committee. Adjoa has conducted research on piracy in Djibouti, Seychelles and Kenya, and accompanied a NATO counter-piracy mission in the Indian Ocean in 2012.

Rob Bailey is a Senior Research Fellow in the Energy, Environment & Resources research department, leading Chatham House's research on food security. Before joining Chatham House he spent five years working at Oxfam, most recently as Head of Economic and Environmental Policy, where he was responsible for policy on trade, food security, agriculture and climate change. He was the author of Oxfam's most recent campaign report, *Growing a Better Future: Food Justice in a Resource Constrained World,* spent time in West Africa responding to the 2010 Sahel Food Crisis, and led previous campaigns on climate change and biofuels. Prior to Oxfam he spent five years working for Oliver Wyman in strategic advisory services, where his clients included many of the world's largest financial institutions. He holds degrees from the University of Cambridge and the London School of Economics.

Commodore Neil Brown RN is the Director of Naval Staff, Ministry of Defence. Neil read Law at Queen's University Belfast before joining the Royal Navy as a Logistics Officer. Previous appointments include legal adviser to the Royal Navy's Commander in Chief Fleet, and then at the United Kingdom's Permanent Joint Headquarters where he played a key role in contingency planning for operations in Iraq. Thereafter he was senior military legal adviser to the United Kingdom's Chief of Joint Operations for ongoing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. In 2010 he completed a three year appointment as Director of the Royal Navy's Legal Services, a period that saw the implementation across the Naval Service of the new Service Justice System, and unprecedented Naval legal engagement in operations in Afghanistan, the Arabian Gulf, and the Horn of Africa.

Patricia Davies works as an International Relations Officer focused on Counter-Terrorism and Security at the European External Action Service (EEAS), based in Brussels. Her work centres on West Africa and the Gulf of Guinea. Prior to joining EEAS, she was a member of the British Civil Service, where among other roles she served as Private Secretary to a Minister with responsibility for maritime and shipping. Most of her 10-year career has been spent in security-related jobs in the Foreign & Commonwealth Office, including a posting in Paris. She studied Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics.

Bob Dewar CMG is an Associate Fellow of the Africa Programme at Chatham House. He lived and worked most of his life in Africa and South Asia including in the coastal states of Sudan, Sri Lanka, Angola, Senegal, Madagascar, Mozambique and Nigeria, where he followed marine conservation and security issues with interest. Among other assignments, he served as the British High Commissioner to Mozambique from 2009 to 2010, Ambassador to Ethiopia and Permanent Representative to the African Union from 2004 to 2007, and the British High Commissioner to Nigeria and Permanent Representative to ECOWAS from 2007 to 2011.

Charles Emmerson is Senior Research Fellow in the Energy, Environment and Resources research department at Chatham House. Born in Australia, he grew up in London. After graduating top of his class from Oxford University in modern history he was awarded an Entente Cordiale scholarship to study politics and law at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris. Since then he has worked for the International Crisis Group, as an Associate Director of the World Economic Forum and head of its Global Risks' Team, and as an independent adviser on geopolitical, environment and energy issues. He is the author of *The Future History of the Arctic* (Random House, 2010) and *1913: The World before the Great War* (Random House, 2013).

Dr Douglas Guilfoyle is a Reader in Law at the Faculty of Laws, University College London. He is the author of *Shipping Interdiction and the Law of the Sea* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) and numerous articles on law enforcement at sea. He has also assisted the Legal Issues Working Group of the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia and the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee inquiry into Somali piracy. He holds a PhD and LLM from the University of Cambridge, where he was a Gates Trust Scholar, and undergraduate degrees from the Australian National University. He is at present a British Academy Mid-Career Fellow based at the Lauterpacht Centre for International Law in Cambridge.

Professor Andrew Lambert is Laughton Professor of Naval History in the Department of War Studies at King's College, London, and Director of the Laughton Naval History unit housed in the Department. His work focuses on the naval and strategic history of the British Empire between the Napoleonic Wars and the Second World War. His work has addressed a range of issues, including technology, policy-making, regional security, deterrence, historiography, crisis-management and conflict. He has lectured on aspects of his work around the world, and made several television documentaries. His books include *The Crimean War: British Grand Strategy against Russia 1853-1856*, *The War Correspondents: The Crimean War*, *'The Foundations of Naval History': Sir John Laughton, the Royal Navy and the Historical Profession*, *Nelson: Britannia's God of War*, *Admirals*, *Franklin: Tragic hero of Polar Navigation* and *The Challenge: Britain versus America in the Naval War of 1812*.

Dr Nicholas Lambert is an associate fellow at the Royal United Services Institute. He completed his undergraduate and graduate education at Worcester College, Oxford. His specialization is the intersection of economics and warfare. His most recent book, *Planning Armageddon: British Economic Warfare and the First World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012) shows how plans for economic coercion were rendered ineffective by the political influence of economic interests on national ambitions and the continued interdependencies of all countries upon the smooth functioning of the global trading system. In addition to being a consultant for various agencies in the United Kingdom and United States, he has taught most recently at the University of Pennsylvania and University of Maryland. He has held an Olin Fellowship at Yale University as well as fellowships at Australian National University, University of Texas at Austin and Wolfson College, Oxford.

Professor Douglas McWilliams is the Gresham Professor of Commerce and Executive Chairman of the Centre for Economics and Business Research, which supplies guidance and award-winning forecasts on economic issues to multinationals, FSTE companies, government departments and professional associations. He was previously Chief Economic Adviser to the Confederation of British Industry and Chief Economist at IBM UK.

Gavin Simmonds MSc is the Head, Security & Commercial of the UK Chamber of Shipping. He served in the Executive Branch of the Royal Navy as a first career before taking a Master's degree in Maritime Economics at the London School of Economics and starting a commercial career in shipping. After wide international shipping experience, including 10 years in corporate planning and safety management roles with the Sea Containers group of companies, he joined the UK Chamber of Shipping where he now specializes in defence and security. He is Secretary of the United Kingdom's joint industry and government Shipping Defence Advisory Committee (SDAC) and a member of the National Maritime Security Committee. He has been closely involved with UK counter-piracy policy and with EUNAVFOR Operation Atalanta, and is a regular contributor to defence and security debates both nationally and internationally.

Chris Trelawny is the Deputy Director of the Maritime Safety Division at the International Maritime Organization (IMO) in charge of the Sub-Division for Maritime Security and Facilitation. Prior to that, he was the head of the Maritime Security Section. He joined IMO in March 2003. As well as providing secretariat support to the IMO committees, technical sub-committees and working groups, he is responsible for advising and liaising with IMO member governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations on the facilitation of global maritime transport, maritime security, piracy and related issues. Before joining IMO, he spent six years with ICAO, four years with the UK Government in aviation security roles, and eight years with HM Customs in both aviation and maritime environments.

Alex Vines OBE has been Head of the Africa Programme at Chatham House since 2002. In 2012, he became Chatham House's Director of Area Studies and International Law. He chaired the UN Panel of Experts on Côte d'Ivoire from 2005 to 2007, and served on the UN Panel of Experts on Liberia from 2001 to 2003. He has worked as a UN election officer in Mozambique and Angola, and has been a consultant for ECOWAS and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime in Dakar, focusing on organized crime and arms flows in West Africa. Prior to joining Chatham House, he was the Senior Researcher on Business and Human Rights at Human Rights Watch and served as their and is also a senior lecturer at Coventry University. He was awarded an OBE in the Queen's Birthday Honours in 2008 in recognition of the work he has done in founding and developing the Chatham House Africa Programme.