

**INSTITUTE FOR PEACE RESEARCH AND SECURITY POLICY AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAMBURG**

UNRAVELLING THE PUZZLE OF PIRACY

A SOMALI PERSPECTIVE

Supervisor: Dr. Hans-Georg Ehrhart

Candidate: Fatma Ahmed

A.Y. 2012/2013

Declaration against plagiarism¹

To be signed and placed at the beginning of the thesis

Name of the student: FATMA AHMED

Second semester host university: UNIVERSITY OF HAMBURG

Name of the supervisor: DR. HANS-GEORG EHRHART

Title of the E.MA thesis:

"UNRAVELLING THE PUZZLE OF PIRACY: A SOMALI PERSPECTIVE"

Academic year: 2012/2013

I certify that the attached is all my own work.

*I understand that I may be penalised if I use the words of others without
acknowledgement.*


(Signature)

¹ Art. 5.1.i of the E.MA Rules of Assessment: The thesis shall consist of an academic piece of work, written individually and independently by the student. It shall be different from work previously undertaken by the student outside the framework of the E.MA Programme, e.g. in another Master's programme. It shall be written in English. The student may write the thesis in French upon prior approval of the E.MA director of the second semester University. [...]

UNRAVELLING THE PUZZLE OF PIRACY

A SOMALI PERSPECTIVE

ABSTRACT

The UN Security Council has issued ten resolutions dealing specifically with piracy off the coast of Somalia. There has since been a growing concern among international, regional and maritime actors about the potential threats posed by the phenomenon of piracy as long as Somali waters remain in a state of lawlessness. Academics and international maritime actors have analysed the several dimensions of the threat to the global economy and global security that piracy off the Horn of Africa constitutes. However, there is a considerable gap in analysing the implications of piracy within Somalia and the broader local consequences. The present thesis addresses this gap and offers a Somali perspective on the dynamic challenges of piracy. Such analysis will inform the debate on prospects for long-term eradication of Somali piracy and propose pragmatic local solutions to confront the piracy problem within Somalia.

The main body of this thesis is divided into three parts: Part I analyses the political and social context of piracy to understand why it has flourished practically unfettered; Part II investigates its core characteristics to identify internal stakeholders; Part III proposes to re-think the counter-piracy approach to allow Somali people themselves to be at the forefront of tackling and eradicating piracy.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BMP	Best Management Practice
CMF	Combined Maritime Force
CGPCS	Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia
CTF 151	Combined Task Force 151
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zones
EU	European Union
EUNAVFOR	European Union Naval Force Somalia
EUCAP NESTOR	EU Maritime Capacity Building Mission in Horn of Africa
EUROPOL	European Law Enforcement Organisation
HHPN	Hobyo-Harradherre Piracy Network
ICC-IMB	International Chamber Commerce-International Maritime Bureau
ICU	Islamic Courts Union
IMO	International Maritime Organisation
INTERPOL	International Criminal Police Organisation
IRTC	Internationally Recommended Transit Corridor
IUUF	Illegal Unregulated Unreported Fishing
MARSIC	Maritime Security and Safety
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MSC-HOA	Maritime Security Centre – Horn of Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
PPN	Puntland Piracy Network
ROLS	UNDP Rule of Law and Security programme
SEMG	Somalia and Eritrea Monitoring Group
SHADE	Shared Awareness and De-confliction
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN	United Nations
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

UNCLOS	United Nation Convention on the Law of Sea
US	Unites States
WFP	World Food Programme

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	4
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	5
CONTENTS	7
MAP OF SOMALIA.....	9
INTRODUCTION.....	10
1. Starting Point: Problem Diagnosis	10
2. Political and Scholarly Relevance.....	12
3. Guiding Question, Research Goals and Hypothesis.....	12
4. Methods of Inquiry and Structure of Work.....	15
5. Theories.....	16
PART I: THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SOMALI PIRACY	19
Introduction.....	20
Chapter 1: Origins of Somali Piracy	20
1.1 Industrialisation.....	22
Chapter 2: Responses to Piracy within Somalia.....	27
2.1 The Mogadishu Roadmap	28
2.2 Counter-Piracy Efforts	29
2.3 Challenges	31
Conclusion.....	32
PART II: UNDERSTANDING SOMALI PIRACY	34
Introduction.....	35
Chapter 3: Characteristics of Somali Piracy.....	35
3.1 Pirate Kingpins.....	35
3.2 Pirate Networks and Structures	37
3.3 Modus Operandi.....	38
3.4 Ransom Negotiations	40
3.5 Internal Stakeholders.....	43

3.6 Risks versus Rewards	45
Chapter 4: Political Economy and Consequences of Piracy	47
4.1 Political Economy	48
4.2 Consequences	49
Conclusion.....	51
PART III: RETHINKING THE COUNTER-PIRACY FRAMEWORK	53
Introduction	54
Chapter 5: Perceptions of Piracy	55
5.1 International Approach to Piracy	56
5.1.1 Short-term measures.....	57
5.1.2 Challenges	60
5.1.3 Medium and Long-term Measures	61
5.2 Somali Approach to Piracy	63
5.3 Lessons learned	64
Chapter 6: Re-thinking the Counter-Piracy Approach	67
6.1 Good Governance.....	67
6.2 Rule of Law	68
6.3 Maritime Law Enforcement and Security	69
6.4 Economic Growth	70
Conclusion.....	71
Data Analysis	72
CONCLUSION	75
Recommendation.....	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY	79
AKNOWLEDGEMENT	94
ANNEX I: GLOBAL PIRACY PROSECUTIONS	95
ANNEX II: PIRACY STATISTIC	96
ANNEX III: PROMINENT RANSOM DISTRIBUTION	97
ANNEX IV: RANSOM DISTRIBUTION	98