Addressing Militancy in the Maritime Industry in the Niger-Delta through Human Capital Development.

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Abstract

The Niger Delta is richly endowed with abundant hydrocarbon resources that place Nigeria as the seventh largest producer of oil in the world. Paradoxically, despite its immense contribution to the up-keep of the Nigerian state, the region has suffered monumental neglect and deprivation over the years. This has resulted in widespread poverty, excruciating hardship, complete lack of basic socio-economic infrastructure, plundered environment and high rate of unemployment. The neglect by oil companies and all levels of government, as well as treatment of the genuine demands of the oil-producing communities as mere security issues have been implicated in the emergence of militancy in the Niger Delta. However, some efforts have been made by both the federal and Delta State governments especially since 2009 when the Annesty programme was introduced by the former and the Human capital development programme of the Uduaghan administration was launched. In spite of these laudable programmes, militancy has not disappeared. Why have efforts to address the grievances of the oil-producing communities failed to stem the tide of militancy? This paper attempts answer to this puzzle, and recommends that if there is going to be any hope for a reversal of the cycle of violence in the Niger Delta, as far as the Maritime Industry is concerned, there is need for a paradigm shift in the manner the Nigerian state engages the people vice-a-vice Human Capital Development of the region. It relies on data from secondary sources and field work in the rural communities of Burutu local Government in Delta State.

Keywords: Human Capital Development, Amnesty, Militancy.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Executive Governor of Delta State, Dr Emmanuel Uduaghan on assumption of office, displayed enormous commitment in giving a new face to Human Capital Development as enshrined in his three-point agenda which aims at empowering most especially the youth to be self reliant.. With a litany of packages ranging from Micro-Credit Programmes, Free Maternal and Rural Healthcare programmes, Payment of WAEC fees for senior secondary school students, bursary schemes, Youth Empowerment through Agriculture and Farmer's Support Programme (YETA-FSP), various agricultural boosting initiatives, and many others, the governor has simply defined the TRUE FACE OF DELTA as far as human capital development is concerned. (wwwdeltastate.com.ng/3-point-Agenda). The Federal government in 2009 also launched the Amnesty programme all in a bid to address the problem of militancy. These programs are quite laudable no doubt, militancy has not disappeared. Why?

Findings from secondary data and field work in some of these communities have revealed that over the years, these communities have suffered neglect by oil companies; Secondly, these communities have benefited little or nothing from these programmes (especially the Human Capital Development Programme) as they do not get to the remote rural communities where a lot of discount that fuel militancy dwells.

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Thirdly, the violent insurgency of the region is an inevitable product of the crisis of development and failure of the federal/ State governments to treat the peaceful demands of the people of the region, which anchors on the provision of Basic Human Needs (infrastructural development) with seriousness and sincerity. Fourthly, there is the lack of political will, and transparency of political leaders representing these communities to deliver their mandate to the people and fifthly, the representatives/ rulers of the local communities who are either lukewarm or non-chalant in ensuring that Government programs in their areas are properly implemented.

These vexed situations of depravity have in recent times engendered youth restiveness, pipeline vandalisations, hostage taking, Sea Pirating, violent uprising and intensified militia activities in the Maritime Industry. The objective of this paper therefore is to present these interrelated and fundamental issues that have engendered the environment of deep anger, frustration and militancy in the Niger Delta region and finally, proffer solution on how the Human Development program of the Delta State Government and the current Amnesty programme can serve as a panacea to reduce if not total eradication of militant insurgence in the Maritime industry. The importance of this paper lies on the domain of the application of these programmes. Burutu Local Government Area under study is the largest Local Government of the Human Capital Development Programme of the state Government and the Federal Government Amnesty Programme in this area considering the terrain and geographic location of these riverine communities. Moreover, these programmes are visible in urban areas and other Local Government Areas that are up land in Delta State.

The contribution to knowledge from this paper will draw the attention of the Federal, State and Local Governments, including stake-holders to improve on infrastructural Development; Human Capital Development, and better implementation of the Amnesty programme. The LGA is the third tier of government and agent of Development at the grass root level. Attention to its development will eradicate militancy and bring about national development at large.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

2.1 The Basic Needs Theory

This study is hinged on the basic needs theory as propounded by a foremost motivational scholar Abraham Maslow. The basic Needs theory can be interpreted, essentially in four ways, first, basic needs means provision of people's minimum requirements for water, housing, clothing, food and sanitation. Second, it also means allowing people to define their own wants rather than what is stated by professionals or expert bodies. Third, those who oppose the buyer's rationality model, argue instead for government intervention in education, water and sanitation and guidance in consumption. Fourth, the basic needs can also be seen as the liberty of the people to express themselves through personal and group participation in planning and implementation of projects. (Iyoha, 1999). The choice of this theory aptly portrays the condition of the riverine communities of the Niger Delta. The Niger Delta Crisis is a natural response to survival, where the people's means of livelihood have been altered with no alternative in place. The quest for resource control takes the centre stage to redress the Nigerian state neglect resulting in 'Marginalization, poverty, unemployment, corruption at high level, misery, lack of basic human needs, infrastructural decay and bad governance' (Ronald and Hassan 2007:2).

3. NIGER DELTA COMMUNITIES: AN OVERVIEW.

There are two incontrovertible facts about the Niger Delta region of Nigeria: First, it is a region of strategic importance to both the domestic and international economies. Secondly, it is a region of great and troubling paradox-it is an environment of great wealth as well as inhuman poverty. Niger Delta creeks and swamps which lie over one of the biggest reserves of oil on planet earth-about 34 billion barrels of black gold (Robinson 2006) plays a phenomenal role in the health of the global political economy especially that of the most powerful nation on earth, the United States of America. Presently, the hydrocarbon resources of the region have made Nigeria the largest oil producer in Africa and the seventh largest in the world (Ajanaku 2008). It is therefore not surprising that the region's security has become a major issue to the global community. This is the reason why mere whisper of unrest in the Delta has normally sent global oil prices spiralling upwards.

It is also instructive to note that the importance of the Niger Delta territory to the global economy goes beyond contemporary times: the region played a phenomenal role in the slave trade, and later with the advent of trade in palm oil, it became a major lubricant of the Industrial Revolution in England in the 18th and 19th centuries. The state of insecurity of oil exploration activities and militancy in the Maritime Industry in the Niger Delta is even more telling on the socio-economic well-being and political stability of the Nigeria state. The Niger Delta is the base of modern day Nigeria. The region has been the main financial lifeblood of the Nigerian state for more than four decades. Oil and gas wealth produced in the region have made the country and multinational oil companies (MNOCs) such as Chevron, Shell, Agip and Exxon Mobil hundreds of billions of dollars. Nigeria currently earns more than US\$3billion a month from oil-this account for about 95 per cent of its export earnings and 40 per cent of its GDP. There is no doubt that oil has brought Nigeria to world reckoning. Since it was first exported in 1958, the black gold has ostensibly, catapulted the country from a struggling independent nation to an economically independent and buoyant country. With oil wealth, the country was able to built two capital cities of enviable standard-Lagos and Abuja respectively. But the bulk of the people of the Niger Delta still live in severe and visible poverty (Robinson 2006).

Secondly, another indisputable reality of the Niger Delta is that it is a region of stark contrast. The dilemma of the region is that its wealth and riches has become a source of poverty, squalor and curse to the people of the oil bearing communities. The truth is that despite its invaluable contribution to the sustenance of the Nigerian state, the Niger Delta is now home to some of Africa's poorest people and some of its worst cases of environmental destruction. In return for their generosity and patriotism, Nigeria has unashamedly paid Niger Deltans back with severe neglect and abandonment, political and economic deprivation, mindless looting of revenue generated from the region, joblessness, biochemical poisoning through pollution, brutal military assaults (as well as occupation) and extreme poverty. It is this grim reality of the Niger Delta region, coupled with the lack of attention and refusal of the Nigerian state to respond to the peaceful and genuine agitations of the oil bearing communities that have created an environment of frustration, anger and desperation in the region. Today, this has snowballed into lingering and volatile restiveness and insurgency, resulting in the demand for local ownership and control of oil resources under a truly restructured federal system in Nigeria.

Political agitations and violence in the Niger Delta is nothing new. But the criminalization of the Niger Delta struggle for justice by few unscrupulous individuals, politicians and greedy/selfish local representatives and cult groups especially since Nigeria returned to civilian rule has become a source of concern to a lot of people. At this junction perhaps it is pertinent that we make a distinction between militancy and criminality. As defined by Encarta (2006) paraphrased, militancy is an aggressive and active behaviour geared towards the defence and support of a cause (mainly politically), often to the point of extremism. Therefore, a militant could be described as a person involved in fighting (or a protest movement) in the defence of a cause. Understandably, there are several types of militancy: you could be an intellectual militant who believes that the Niger Delta struggle should be ideologically driven based on peaceful dialogue. Similarly, you could be a militant mobiliser who believes in enlightening and conscientising the people of the region on how to respond to the injustice of the Nigerian state. On the extreme, one can be a violent militant that believes in the power of the barrel of the gun; that the Nigerian political structure is so insensitive and deaf that it is only the logic of the fire power of the gun that can make it respond to the sufferings of the people of the region.

This paper shares the position of Benjamin Okaba, who holds a professorial degree in Rural Sociology in the Delta State University, that the excruciating and harsh socio-economic reality of the region has turned all Niger Deltans into militants. However, the militancy that is causing the Nigerian state so many headaches is the rise in violent insurgency which is adversely affecting the output of oil production in the Maritime Industry. And this is the aspect of the Niger Delta militancy that has been corrupted and infiltrated by criminal minded individuals, groups and gangs. These groups of unscrupulous individuals may use the same tactics of the genuine militant agitators, but they are always motivated by pecuniary interests. There is no doubt that the spate of militancy in the Niger Delta has made Nigerians oil fields among the most dangerous in the world and has also increasingly become a major threat to the nation's main source of revenue. Nigeria has lost billions of dollars in oil revenue through the activities of the militants (Ekpu 2007). In addition, the activities of the criminal elements of the Niger Delta militancy have created a state of insecurity, anomie and distortion of the value system of the communities of the region. With the increasing spate of blood-letting, the recurrent hostage taking, the sporadic shut-down of production facilities, and the panicky withdrawal of some foreign oil firms from the region, it is clear that the Niger Delta question deserves an urgent solution on which the Human Capital Development/Ammesy Programmes should focus on.

4. ADDRESSING MILITANCY THROUGH HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT.

As stated in the introduction, one of the reasons for the violent insurgency of the region is an inevitable product of the crisis of development and failure of the federal/ State governments to treat the peaceful demands of the people of the region, which anchors on the provision of Basic Human Needs with seriousness and sincerity. Taking a cue from the objectives of the on-going Human Capital Development programme in Delta State, we shall be looking at its implementation in the riverine communities with a view to presenting the interrelated and fundamental issues that are responsible for the environment of deep anger, frustration and militancy.

Starting with the free Maternal and Rural Healthcare package of the human capital development program, it cannot be said to have ameliorated the plight of women in some selected riverine communities in Burutu Local Government Area of Delta state. A pilot study carried out by this researcher revealed that areas such as **Obuguru (Agip)** and **Yeye** communities for example have no functional Primary health care centre. The one in **Forcados** is not patronized due to the absence of Medical/ Health personnel besides its being ill-equipped. As found out, often time's pregnant women resign their faith to local mid-wives especially in times of emergency as the only means to gain access to the nearest centre is through water transport which is quite expensive. This has resulted to high ratio of child/Maternal death.

Also immunization programmes for children are near to zero in these communities except in **Burutu and Ogulagha** communities where visible immunization takes place quarterly. The free surgical treatments of the Delta State Government have not benefited the people in areas such as: **Ofuogbene**, **Odimodi**, **Toruogbene**, and many others due to the difficulty in accessing these terrains. These problems are not being addressed by the Human Capital Development Programme. The contamination of the environment and disruption of the eco-system of these communities due to the explorative activities of the oil companies in the area has resulted in the outbreak of cholera/diahorria, Malaria/typhoid fever and other infectious diseases which has claimed the lives of adult and children. The resultant effect no doubt is frustration, depression and anger leading to restiveness experienced in these areas.

The Youth empowerment program designed by the State Government to channel the redundant energies of the youth into meaningful venture through the Agriculture and farmers' support programme (YETA-FSP) cannot be said to have positively impacted on the Youth in these areas. This program is not only created to harness the potentials of the youth, but to also create avenue of revenue generation for the state. Attempts made in this direction under the first phase of the programme, was the selection of about 450 (Four hundred and fifty) youths from across the 25 (twenty five) Local Government Areas of the State, who were at Songhai-Delta, Amukpe, for four weeks where they received intensive training on various agricultural programmes such as fish and Poultry farming, Piggiry,etc . At the end of the training programme, start-up capital was given to the beneficiaries to embark upon meaningful economic activities that they have been trained in.

A critical analysis of this program shows that while some rural communities up land has benefited immensely from these, it has failed to address the yearnings of the people in the riverine communities. Often times it seems successive Nigerian Governments and the political leaders of these communities, have failed either consciously or unconsciously to prioritize infrastructural development as a basic need of the people which is the bedrock for any form of development either human or economical. This misplaced priority of infrastructural development has continuously sparked an emergence of groups agitating for self-determination and resource control. Ownership, control and management of these natural resources are vested in the federal government and supported by laws and legislation. Many of these laws and legislation have been generated without due consultation/consideration for the agitations for the improved well-being of Niger Delta oil-bearing communities.

Successive civilian and military governments have ensured that compensation is paid to oil-mineral producing regions or states based upon derivation principles. The National Constitutional Conference (NCC) during its 1994-1995 sessions adopted a 13% derivation from the revenue generated by the region as stipulated in the 1999 Constitution. Cap, 2002, Laws of the Federation, 1990. The Land Use Act has since been incorporated into the 1979 and 1999 constitutions and can only be repealed or amended through a cumbersome amendment procedure in accordance with Section 9 of the 1999 Constitution.)

The poor level of infrastructural and socio-economic development in the Niger Delta indicates that there has been a poor management of derivation fund accruing to the region as seen above, which is a combination of factors ranging from poor governance to outright embezzlement by the region's leadership. Tracking the amount of funds that has been disbursed to the region *vis-à-vis* the level of development shows there has not being concerted developmental efforts on the part of state and local governments. A case in point is in Burutu local Government where reports alleged that in 2008 the council suffered twenty-four million naira loss as a result of sharp practices (Amiaze, 2008:10).

In the face of these predicaments, the Niger Delta has become a place of frustrated expectations. This has inevitably fostered a siege mentality especially among youths who feel condemned to a future without hope. As a reaction to widespread neglect, marginalization and environmental degradation, the youths have adopted confrontational strategies to address these challenges. This action resulted in the emergence of several militant groups who resorted to the use of sophisticated arms such as machine guns, rifles, dynamites, rocket propelled. Grenade launchers, and gun boats to draw the attention of the multinational oil companies and the Nigerian state to their collective travails.(www.ccsenet org/ jsd Journal of Sustainable Development. Volume 4 No4: Aug 2011). The militants' confrontational strategies find expression in high profile kidnapping of expatriates or members of their families and important personalities, bombing and destruction of oil facilities as well as daring guerrilla-styled attack on highly fortified military formations set up to police the water ways. The reaction disrupts production of crude and other related activities and undoubtedly hurt the economy through the loss of needed foreign exchange required to finance sub-national and national development programmes. The Youth Empowerment Program can be said to be a colossal failure in this regards.

5. THE AMMESTY PROGRAM

Disturbed by the security and economic challenges of the militants' violent agitations in the Niger Delta, the Nigerian state under the leadership of late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua introduced the annesty programme for the militants as a solution to the problem of general insecurity and also to create a peaceful and an enabling environment to tackle the development crisis in the region. The Delta state government under the leadership of Governor Uduaghan was very much instrumental in negotiating the amnesty programme with the militant youth. The fundamental premise of the Amnesty Program is to provide training opportunities for restive youths who voluntarily surrender their arms. The youths are therefore encouraged to become productive members of the society as they are provided opportunity to acquire employable skills and to enable them to be gainfully employed.

A partial success of this program can be found in the number of individuals who took part in the training opportunities provided by the key partnering organizations in Nigeria – Century Energy and PPS (Niger Delta Annesty Program). Century Energy specializes in the provision of marine, diving and seafaring courses. The recent figures provided by the Niger Delta Annesty Program suggest that reasonable members of the, otherwise restive youth successfully completed their courses and are ready for employment and integration as productive members of the society. But this has not completely addressed the problem of the Maritime industry. Majority of these youths are shun out of these programmes into the already over populated labour market without gainful employment.

Records have shown that from October, the last quarter of 2012, Nigeria experienced an increased spike in piracy off its coast. By early 2013 Nigeria became the second most pirated nation in Africa next to Somalia. The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) is thought to be behind most of the attacks. Since October 2012 MEND has hijacked 12 ships, kidnapped 33 sailors, and killed 4 oil workers. Since this started the United States has sent soldiers to train Nigerian soldiers in maritime tactics against pirates, and this has resulted in the arrest of 33 pirates. Although the Nigerian Navy now has learned new tactics against pirates, attacks still occur on a radical frequency. (Nigeria Portal, September, 2013). The question now is how can the on-going Human Capital Development/ Amnesty program in Delta State fully impact positively on the people in these communities?

6. CONCLUSION.

In line with the topic of this paper, there can be no proper empowerment without the provision of an enabling environment. The major constraint to development in these areas is the lack of basic human needs which are both social and economic Infrastructural e.g. Electricity, Bridges, Dams, houses etc. Efforts made so far in the various programs of the Human Capital Development, besides being more visible and effective in the urban centers, have failed in these riverine communities due the absence of the above basic human Needs. The amnesty program sponsored by the Federal Government specially to tackle the militant insurgence in these areas can be said to be a total failure because these youths who are selected for training within the nation and abroad come back home to meet the same situation of hopelessness resulting from lack of gainful employment.

There are no pro-active measures by the Federal/State government and even the Multinational corporations to neither redress the environmental degradation nor provide infrastructure for development to strive. Suffice it to note that there can be no Development without economic/social infrastructure. Agreed that there has been a form of monetary empowerment at the end of these programs but what can they do with the money in these communities where there is no electricity, no safe drinking water, no comfortable housing, no commercial houses, no motor able roads to mention but a few. The monthly allowance paid to the militant is not put to meaningful use due to absence of viable economic ventures in their communities. The resultant effect is the rural- urban migration that has further compounded the problem of combating the negative vices in our society.

As stated earlier, there is the lack of political will, and transparency of politicians to deliver their mandate to the people. The revenue accrued to these communities from the derivation fund is being paid to the state government. Despite the hue and cry of the state governments about resource control, there is nothing to show for the fund paid as compensation. The state agency, Delta state oil producing development commission (Dessopadec) created to address the plight of these communities concentrate more on projects in the urban oil producing communities leaving the riverine areas probably due to the difficulty in accessing these terrains and the huge financial burden involved in project execution. Few of the projects embarked upon such as boreholes, generating plants and schools can be said to be mere window dressing. Cases in point as observed from a pilot study, can be seen in communities such as Yeye and Burutu communities, where in a Generating plant and a modern primary school with staff quarters provided by Shell Plc, have been abandoned. Reasons were that there are no wired electric poles to power the Generator. There is also abandoned Borehole as in the case of Burutu communities put there as mere window dressing without a drop of clean water.

To further buttress this point, a visit to these community will make even the hardest of hearts to melt. The brand new generating plant is lying in waste completely covered with grass. The beautiful school built with equipped staff quarters is near total extinction due to erosion brought about by strong waves from the sea. There is no Government Human Development presence in YeYe community which seriously needs dredging. In fact the writer was confronted with vicious and angry youths who refused to grant us entry into the community in the cause of a research work but for the plea and a promise to lend a voice to their plight. Their anger was the continuous neglect of the community by Government, federal and state, and politicians, who make empty promises during electioneering activities, cart away their votes and never come back.

The Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) a body set up by government to address the developmental needs of the Niger Delta communities has failed woefully to deliver. As attested to by President Good luck Ebele Jonathan he said "little progress has been made despite the billions expended on the Niger Deltahe said development in the region has not justified the quantum of funds allocated to the region, especially through the various intervention agencies over the years. (The Nation Newspaper: Fri Dec. 20, 2013 pg 40). An x-ray of the lack of infrastructural development in these communities is quite enormous all pointing to the fact that the political will and determination to embark on massive transformation of these communities through infrastructural development is lacking. In the absence of these the youths in these areas engage in illegal refineries, bunkering, pipe vandalisation and other illegal means of livelihood. These are indications of the none effectiveness of the Human Capital Development program me in these areas which no doubt is a pointer to the problems in the Maritime Industry.

Lastly, the representatives of the local communities are either lukewarm or non-chalant in ensuring that Government programs in their areas are properly implemented. Contractors abandon projects after collecting money without any form of protest from the people which of course can be traceable to the giving and receiving of kick backs. Also, It is a fact that besides the derivation fund paid to the oil producing communities, the Multinational Corporation operating in these areas pay some form of royalty as part of their social responsibility to these communities but the peoples representatives prefer to share the money and live lavishly in the urban centers rather than committing the multinational corporations into providing lasting infrastructure for the benefit of the people. This lukewarm attitude of the people is quite ironic when equated with the hue and cry of neglect and underdevelopment as portrayed by the militant agitations.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS.

The saying goes that an idle mind in the Devils workshop. It becomes pertinent to bring in Abraham Maslows theory on the hierarchy of needs into making recommendations into the problems of militancy in the Niger Delta communities and the role of Human Capital Development. According to Abraham Maslows, human needs are presented in a hierarchical order, which are the Psychological need, the safety need, followed by Belongingness or social Needs, The Esteem or Ego Need is next and the last on the hierarchy is self actualization. Based on this theory, it is recommended that the human capital development program of the present government should first address the psychological needs, problem of infrastructure i.e social and economic. Infrastructure as compensation for the huge financial benefit derived from the oil exploitation of these areas and also as a veritable tool in combating militancy in the maritime industry. Government should be pro-active and show sincere commitment into the development of these communities by direct utilization of the derivation fund in project execution and implementation instead of paying through the state which has led to the latter's diversion of this money into other activities that are of more financial benefit to them. Again, the Amnesty/ human development program of the state government should be redesigned to involved vocational training and such that can be put to practice within their locality. Majority of the militants are not gainfully employed and cannot engage in vocational ventures even when they are paid off at the end of their training due to lack of infrastructure. The resultant effect is frustration and hopelessness which has constantly led to the recurrent insurgence of militancy in the maritime industry.

In addition to this, the representatives of the people in their various communities should be sincere in their agitations by displaying a transparent show of national consciousness and patriotism. A situation where the leaders of the militants and local representatives collect compensation from the government and oil companies than use the money in developing the urban centers is deplorable. Majority of these people including their political representatives in government circles do not leave within the communities. They pride themselves in doting the urban centers with state-of- the-art buildings, poshes cars, luxurious life-style, while leaving their communities in abject poverty and squalor. Marginalisation of oil-bearing communities and corruption are two factors that have been identified as aiding maritime crime. Dr. Christian Bueger, a Cardiff University researcher and editor of Piracy-studies.org, an on-line research portal, in an interview with Africa Renewal, said: "Piracy tends to be conducted or supported by marginalised communities that have not been participating in economic development." Chatham house, a British research group, reported in September that," corruption and fraud are rampant in the country, s oil sector. Lines between legal and illegal supply of Nigerian oil can be blurry" (The Nation, Tuesday, December 17, 2013: pg No 3).

Oil bearing communities should be fully integrated in the scheme of things by the multinational corporations operating within their areas. There should be a synergy that can enhance the full support of the youths which will make them to safeguard the human and material resources of the oil companies because of the benefits they will derive rather than revolting against them. This can be done by issuing licenses to the operators of 'illegal' refineries. The Federal government and the oil companies should partner with the host communities in this aspect. Instead of site ting refineries far away from the reach of the oil communities and importing refined fuel back to us, these so called illegal refineries should be legalised. Once the host communities are integrated it is believed that the spate of piracy, bunker, hostage taking and other acts of militancy will be eliminated.

Finally, affected countries should share information on what's happening on their coastlines. Little say experts, is also done in the area of joint training activities to develop procedures and learn how to use technology. In Nigeria, there are no strong legislations to prosecute criminals, while money for capacity building is meagre compared to the challenge at hand. The country is yet to act on the recommendation of the UN Security council urging a reinforcement of domestic legislation and development of a comprehensive regional counter-piracy framework. (The Nation, Tuesday, December 17, 2013 p3) This should be acted upon immediately.

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