5+5 INITIATIVE. MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY: SHARED SECURITY

Abstract:
May marks the tenth anniversary of the Tripoli Conference, and a real resumption of Dialogue 5+5 since its inception in the early 1990s. During this time, Defence’s 5+5 Initiative, created in 2004, has revealed itself as a highly effective tool at the service of the interests of the common security of the Western Mediterranean. The joint military exercises, which are carried out annually, outline the effectiveness achieved in shared security in the area.

Keywords:
Western Mediterranean, Maghreb, 5+5 Dialogue, 5+5 Initiative, Seaborder, Circaeae.
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I.- SECURITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA

1.1.- Spain and the International Security

The strategic situation of the crisis theatres is characterized by its complexity, uncertainty and instability. Current and future conflicts are the result of an extremely complex configuration that makes its resolution impossible only with using political, diplomatic and economic means, or simply by using force.

Nowadays, the main threats to global security and instability come together with the crisis caused by failed, weak or close-to-disappearing states, terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, loss of control of those armaments in the areas that are suffering a crisis, weapons trafficking, organised crime, and the fight for basic resources. All of these are some of the most critical crises.

Spain, as well as the rest of the Western nations, is immersed in an international security context in which it develops its security and defence policies by powering peaceful and cooperation relations in multinational organizations, through shared security and the concept of collective defence.

1.2.- Defence Policy in the Mediterranean area:

The Mediterranean area is one of the major principles of action of the Spanish foreign policy. Our geographical proximity to Africa makes us, compared to other European countries, the main point of access to Europe for the whole African continent.

Spain is an important actor in the Mediterranean Basin and has always played a main role in the cooperation initiatives between Europe and the rest of the Mediterranean countries. In the last few decades, it has been agreed that the Mediterranean is not in a second plan against other emerging priorities —Central and Eastern Europe— and it has ended up being assumed as a relevant common interest matter.

Our foreign action in the area is mainly focused on the amplified Western Mediterranean, which includes Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia. The main objective of the Spanish policies is to contribute to the security and instability in the area.

According to this approach, the National Defence Directive 1/2008, established in paragraph 1 of its strategic approaches that "the security of Spain is also bound up with the security of the Mediterranean area, thus it is essential that this area be converted into a zone where peace, stability and shared prosperity prevail". In the development of this concept the relevance of "supporting, regarding defence, the security initiatives in the Mediterranean area, like the 5+5 sub-regional Initiative and the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue, as well as those that can be developed in the area of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)" is mentioned.

Generally, North-South links, and the regional nature of the Mediterranean security, especially, limited to the activity of the bilateral relations until the end of the 90', are being made more dynamic in recent years mainly because of the revitalization of the 5+5 Dialogue which, since 2004, has included the Defence initiative among its activities.
This shared security among several actors involved is reinforced by and based on the strategic plan of developing bilateral relations.

Spanish foreign policy in the area definitely combines both lines of action. On the one hand, it works as a regional body only, through the European Union, NATO and the 5+5 Initiative. On the other hand, it has maintained a strong bilateral relation with each country of the area.

The Mediterranean region is an area of big contrasts that are translated into many social and economic differences. These differences are due to the fact that the Mediterranean area is still a place of asymmetrical developments and a scenario of different lines of discontinuity: it constitutes a border area between the main monotheistic religions, previous metropolis and colonies and “North – South” continents.

To ensure that these inequalities do not accentuate possible conflicts, all the instruments, policies and necessary resources have to be more and better exploited in a strong step forward to the shared peace which the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership proposes.

The emergence of new risks for security, such as different types of illicit trafficking and, particularly, terrorism, which is becoming more and more lethal and is expanding towards the Western world (as is happening with Al Qaeda in the Sahel area), has motivated that various states, like Mauritania and Tunisia, to ask European partners, including Spain for help and cooperation.

Cooperation on defence between Spain, the Maghreb and the rest of the countries located in the Mediterranean Basin comes from a long tradition with countries like Morocco, while other relations have been developed and strengthened to varying degrees in recent decades.

The high commitment level assumed by Spain towards Mediterranean security can be seen with the presence of our military forces in many scenarios: in the Eastern Mediterranean, within the complex mission of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon\(^1\) (UNIFIL); through the help of our naval units in the “Active Endeavour”\(^2\) operation, led by NATO in the

\(^1\) The Spanish contingent in the Lebanon (UNIFIL) is 995 military. (updated, March 2012)
\(^2\) March 7, the “Álvaro de Bazán” frigate (F-101), joined the permanent group of frigates NATO SNMG-1 deployed at the Active Endeavour Operation .

Press release of the Armada:
http://www.armada.mde.es/ArmadaPortal/page/Portal/ArmadaEspannola/conocenos_noticias/00_noticias--2012--03--NT-042-ALVARO-DE-BAZAN_ES?_selectedNodeID=732568&_pageAction=selectItem

Press release of the NATO:
Mediterranean 3; and in the Eastern Mediterranean through the Spanish sponsorship of much of the activities developed in the scope of the 5+5 Initiative.

II.- 5+5 DIALOGUE

2.1.- Origin of the 5+5 Dialogue

The idea of grouping the countries of the Mediterranean Western Basin in a dialogue forum started to be planned at the end of the 80s and mainly became reality in 1990. This year the 5+5 Dialogue begins its activity as an informal sub regional forum, between the 5 member countries of the North side (Spain, France, Italy, Malta and Portugal) and the five member countries of the recently created Arab Maghreb Union (Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia), in the South side of the Western Mediterranean area.

With the new global order emerging after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the 5+5 Dialogue started assuming the new global reality and the interdependence in political, economic and structural issues between neighbouring countries. It was conceived as an informal and flexible dialogue forum, complementing the projected dialogue between the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) and the European Community that later materialized in the Barcelona Process, and then again, in the Union for the Mediterranean.

5+5 Dialogue provides member countries with a great flexibility of action, each state acting according to its aspiration and possibilities.

2.2.- Development of the 5+5 Dialogue. The most important milestones

5+5 Dialogue was formally created in the Ministerial Conference of Foreign Affairs that took place in Rome in 1990. One year later, the II Ministerial Conference was held in Algiers. The issues that were initially discussed in this new dialogue forum were political agreement and cooperation.

Later, the second call of the third ministerial meeting was prepared in 1992, but the sanctions imposed on Libya by the UN Security Council, due to the participation of Gaddafi’s regime in the Lockerbie plane bombing (United Kingdom), practically broke the continuity of the Dialogue, except for the activities developed in the scope of work of the Ministries of Interior, which have been informally organized since 1995.

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3 The “Segura” mine-hunter is integrated in NATO SNMCMG-2 permanent group of mine-hunters since April 2012 and takes over her predecessor “Turia” mine-hunter that operates in the Mediterranean.

Press Releases of the Armada:


Press release of the NATO on the rotation of SNMCMG-2 mine-hunters.
It took almost ten years for Portugal and Italy to reactivate the Dialogue, with the coming Mediterranean context, after the suspension of the sanctions against Libya in 2001. This attempt to reactivate the Dialogue worked in the Conference of Foreign Ministers in Lisbon, held on January 25 and 26, 2001.

The conference was held with the aim of restarting the Euro-Maghreb dialogue at the same time as the Barcelona Process, started in November 1995, and with the collaboration of the presence of Libya. So the global integration of the Eastern Mediterranean area could be promoted.

In 2001, after 11-S, the Libyan regime completely changed its foreign policy with a visible approach to the United States. –something unthinkable until that moment– and with an increasing implication in international and local politics, even leading the following Foreign Ministers' Conference of the 5+5 Dialogue, held in Tripoli on May 29 and 30, 2002.

The holding of this meeting revalidated the efforts of the re-launching of the previous year and finally consolidated the 5+5 Dialogue with the elements that could make possible the process in the future: through common security, economic cooperation and human and cultural exchange.

Since 2002, it can be said that the 5+5 Dialogue has been constituted as a real forum of brainstorming and debate of common interest topics in the Western Mediterranean area. As the years have passed, this process has used its informal structure as well as its flexibility of action to progressively explore not only political and economic fields but also new and different areas. This flexibility of action has been revealed as one of the main development tools that characterizes the 5+5 Dialogue; Thanks to this tool, a close operative and pragmatic cooperation between the member countries has been fostered, with whose participation it has been possible to advance from political approaches to practical actions.

The different sectors in which the undertaken initiatives have been forged with the years in the 5+5 framework have been, chronologically, as it follows: Foreign Affairs, Interior (since 1995), Migration, Labour and Social Affairs (since 2002), Parliamentary Relations (in 2003), Defence (2004), Tourism (2006), Transport (2007), Education (2009) and Environment and Renewable Energies (since April 2010).

2.3.- 5+5 Structure and Coordination

The 5+5 Dialogue, per se, is led by the Heads of State or Government and the Foreign Ministers at political level.

So far, only a Summit of Heads of State or Government has been held in 2003. A second Summit was established for the middle of 2011, but it was postponed sine die due to the Libyan crisis. In September 2010 an Informal Summit in Tripoli took place. The representatives of the 5+5 forum attended it. In the summit, the important role of this Dialogue framework to cooperate in the Western Mediterranean area was highlighted and reassurance was given regarding the commitment of its members to promote the 5+5 Dialogue.
The Foreign Ministers’ Ministerial Conference meets annually. During the last meeting, that took place in Rome on February 20, 2012, the general willingness of its members to restart the Arab Maghreb Union as a common framework of the South Mediterranean Basin countries was affirmed and also discussed were the most relevant issues within the Dialogue: The Maghreb highway project, the water desalination station in Gaza, the solar energy plan and the relations between small and medium companies in the economic field, which are the real driver of development in the area.

On the other hand, the multidisciplinary character of the 5+5 Dialogue is reflected in holding regular meetings like the Sectorial Ministerial Conferences, in which the different cooperation and development projects and the plans and initiatives that are thought to be done in the short term are approved.

The ministerial relations are organized ad hoc although it is more common to hold them every two years.

Among the most recent meetings that have taken place, it is necessary to highlight: II Meeting of Ministers of Education held in Tunisia in 2010; VII Meeting of Immigration held in Tripoli in December 2010; the meeting of the Ministers of Defence of the 5+5 Initiative held in Nouakchott in November 2011 during the Mauritian presidency of the 5+5 Defence Initiative; and VII Meeting of Ministers of Transport of the Western Mediterranean area, (GTMO 5+5), developed March 13, 2012 in Algiers.

This intense and recent activity in the Western Mediterranean area shows the consolidation and utility of the 5+5 Dialogue as an important forum of local cooperation and multidisciplinary character.

2.4.- Spain in the 5+5 Dialogue

During these years of evolution of the 5+5 Dialogue, Spain has held two sectorial meetings at ministerial level: IV Transport Ministers’ Conference in Madrid in January 1997, without 5+5 format, and V Ministerial Conference on Migration in the Western Mediterranean, which was held in Algeciras in December 2006. Regarding the Foreign Affairs meetings, Spain was the host country, in co-chairing with Morocco, of the VII Foreign Ministers’ Conference held in Cordoba in April 2009.

Spain welcomes the 5+5 Dialogue as a useful and efficient flexible structure for multidisciplinary cooperation, whose good health can be observed through its intense activity developed in every single sector working group. Nowadays, it is considered necessary to foster it as a key tool to develop the regional integration process in the Maghreb. This idea for integration was the main aspect in the agenda of the Cordoba meeting and it is one of the main vectors of work within the 5+5, as has been seen in the last Foreign Ministers’ Meeting in Rome.

In the Cordoba meeting the constitution of the two last forum of sectorial cooperation which are part of the 5+5 Dialogue was fostered: the Franco-Tunisian initiative on education; and the Algerian proposal to create another forum on environment and sustainable development. Spain joined the Algerian initiative, adding the proposal of constituting a
The maturity of 5+5 Dialogue can be seen with the progressive amplification of the sectorial working tasks.

For Spain, two main points which constituted relevant progress in the development of the Dialogue were the inclusion of new actors (employers and territorial authorities) and the presence of the Secretary General of the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) in the VIII Foreign Ministers' Conference (held in 2010).

2.5.- The Maghreb in the 5+5 Dialogue

2.5.1- Algeria

After the difficult years of counter-terrorism war, Algeria has normalized and stabilized its political situation. Partly thanks to the economic openness reached after the agreement of association with the European Union, in the last decade.

With regard to defence, a progressive openness to the collaboration with Western countries in the framework of the bilateral relations has been verified. The relationship between Spain and Algeria has been more dynamic since the signature of a Cooperation Agreement on Defence matters, which has permitted intensifying the collaboration between both countries since 2003. This improvement in the bilateral relations has also been materialized in the coordination of the fight against irregular immigration through their respective Ministries of Interior. In this field, the Spanish Civil Guard maintains close contacts with the Algerian National Gendarmerie, with whom it develops a joint working plan analogous to the activities maintained with the gendarmeries in Morocco and Mauritania.

In the framework of the multilateral relations, the incorporation of Algeria to NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue in 2000 is noted. This fact meant a change in its Defence policy orientation, focused until that moment almost exclusively in its relations with Russia. The progressive rapprochement of Algeria towards the Western Defence policy is confirmed by the contracts signed with France in 2008 and Italy in 2011 for the acquisition of about 20 fast patrol boats and a logistical support amphibious ship respectively. It is additionally confirmed by the recent contract for the acquisition of four MEKO 200 type frigates, signed with Germany by the end of March 2012. On the other hand, Algeria has recently undertaken relevant investments in both the modernization and improvement of its Russian defence capabilities.
Since 2010, the Algerian Air Force has 16 new Shukoi SU-30MKA fighters, adding to the already existing ones in its combat aircraft inventory, which also has other important fighters, like the Mig-29 and the Mig-25. At the beginning of April 2012, a contract related to the modernization of several naval units has been signed. These upgrades will be carried out throughout the year in Russian shipyards.

The participation of the Algerian A.F. in joint exercises with Western forces is quite recent. In April 2007, the Algerian National navy performed one of its first international participations throughout the “Phoenix Express 07” exercise, developed in the Gulf of Cádiz waters and led by the US Sixth Fleet. Last year, the Algerian Air Force took part in the multinational air security exercise “Circaete 11”, led by Spain in the framework of the 5+5 Initiative.

Together with Spain and Portugal, Algeria will organize the “Seaborder 12” maritime security exercise in 2012. This openness towards the West shows a noticeable change in the Algerian geopolitical alignment, due to the disassociation from its relations with Russia, and assumes a growing involvement of Algeria as an important actor in the Mediterranean context.

2.5.2.- Morocco

Permanently in internal tension between the links with its most ancestral roots and its strong openness towards the West, Morocco has experienced noticeable changes in economic, social and political matters during recent years.

Regarding multilateral relations, Morocco has a preferential status for the U.S. and NATO, through the Mediterranean Dialogue. This positive cooperation climate can be found in the regular collaboration of the Alouite kingdom with the U.S. navy in Mediterranean waters and with NATO through its participation in and support of the Operation Active Endeavour.

The chapter concerning security and defence has a long tradition in the bilateral relations with Morocco. Since the middle of last year, Morocco has efficiently involved itself in the collaboration with Spain and the EU for the difficult joint management of the serious migratory problem, which affects more or less all countries in the Dialogue 5+5. This collaboration has been taking place since 2004 through the joint sea patrols of the Spanish Civil Guard and the Royal Moroccan Gendarmerie for irregular immigration control, and the fight against drugs and terrorism.

The three services in both countries periodically carry out a wide range of exercises and exchanges; thanks to this, a progressive degree in knowledge and mutual trust between their respective commands has been achieved. Furthermore, it is necessary to add the joint work carried out by both countries in UN Peace Operations in Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Haiti.
On the other hand, Spain—as well as France—has been one of the traditional suppliers of the Moroccan AF through several acquisitions programs. However, Morocco has extended in the last years its suppliers’ spectrum and has made important investments in acquisition and modernization of new material. The Royal Moroccan Air Forces has noticed a significant improvement in its capacity in air combat thanks to the recent acquisition of 24 new F-16 fighters from the U.S., which began to be delivered last year and it will be extended until 2013, and the deep accomplished modernization at the Ben Guerir base, which will house these new fighter units.

The Royal Navy of Morocco has also been strengthened thanks to the acquisition of three new light SIGMA class frigates, built in Dutch shipyards, two of them already in service in the Ksar Sghir naval base recently modernized, and thanks to the program of acquisition of four fast patrol boats in France, that will be in service before 2014.

Apart from this boost given to the Moroccan navy capacities, there is also the recent signing of the contract with France to build a FREMM (a European multipurpose frigate type), which is expected to be supplied in 2013 and which will join the two Flóreal type frigates in service in the Moroccan navy since 2002. These frigates, Mohammed V and Hassan II, are the ones usually involved in the “Seaborder” maritime security exercises of the 5+5 Initiative.

The great effort made by the Moroccan authorities concerning the modernization of it’s A.F. will permit the extension of the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force capacities in order to develop operations together with the NATO forces and the 5+5 Initiative. This recent investment in defence could be considered not only as an ambitious modernization program of its A.F., but also as an arms race against Algeria, its great competitor in the area, which, as reviewed, is also immersed in a strong program of acquisition and renovation of its defence capacities.

Regarding the bilateral relations with Algeria, the thorny Sahara issue threatens from time to time with making the zone stability blow. The Sahara is actually a backdrop against which a lot of differences between both countries are outlined: at the political level, the clandestine trade, the Sahel migration control, the antiterrorist fight and the attitude towards Islamism; and in the strategic level, the energy policy.
In the field of the always tense relations between Algeria and Morocco, the two main actors in Maghreb, the framework of cooperation and understanding offered by the 5+5 Dialogue in general and particularly the 5+5 Defence Initiative has to be promoted to the highest level in order to work on the development of a global policy in the region.

That will permit a rapprochement of both countries, as well as avoid the cyclical frictions suffered in the region, generally because of the multiple factors involved in relation to Sahara conflict.

The 5+5 framework permits, at least in its posing, the use of bilateral relations in aid of balanced strategies for the Dialogue altogether. In this sense, it should be pointed out the bilateral meeting held by the Foreign ministers of Algeria and Morocco during the Seventh Foreign Ministers Conference from the 5+5 Dialogue held in Cordoba in April 2009.

2.5.3.- Libya

The sanctions imposed in 1992 by the UN Security Council on Libya as a result of the Lockerbie terrorist attack, subjugated this country to international isolation and interrupted the continuity of the 5+5 Dialogue, which would not be re-launched until the two-year period 2001-2003. In this time, the Dialogue was strengthened as a proposition from Portugal and Italy, with Lisbon, Tripoli, Sainte Maxime and Château d’Esclimont Foreign Ministers Conferences, in the light of the new Mediterranean context marked by the suspension of the international sanctions against Gaddafi’s regime.

The 5+5 Dialogue is the only Euro-Mediterranean forum where Libya participates with full membership. That is why this country has been one of the most interested in promoting activities within it. In fact, Libya contributed greatly to the revival of this forum, with the organization of Tripoli Foreign Ministers Conference in May 2002 and the first meeting of Presidents of Parliament of the 5+5, also in Tripoli, in February 2003.

Libya is one of the main defenders of the biggest institutionalization of this forum and of its geographic extension towards the East, in the framework of its strategy to convert 5+5 into a competitor of the Barcelona process, to which it does not belong. However, the 5+5 Dialogue benefits from the homogeneity derived from its geographic field, circumscribed in the Western Mediterranean, that is why it results refractory to issues like the Arab-Israeli conflict, capable of contaminating any initiative including the Eastern Mediterranean. Additionally to all this, the Greco-Turkish conflict would be added, as well as migratory problems from the Balkan countries towards Italy, among others, which would also change the North-South direction of the Dialogue.

This is one of the main reasons why up to now there has been no prosperity in the Libyan proposals concerning the extension of the forum towards the future "6+6 Dialogue", which would include Egypt and Greece.

Libya did not keep out of the wave of irregular immigration in the middle of last decade. Even though this country is not characterized for having labour surpluses —“exportable” by the clandestine immigration networks— it is in fact permeable to the sub-Saharan irregular migratory flows.
In November 2006, this fact made Libya the host country of the Ministers Conference on migrations between the European Union and the African Union, just a few months after another similar summit held in Rabat.

The non-existent bilateral relations between Libya and the countries in the Mediterranean area began on the Spanish side in February 2006, with a guided visit to Tripoli of the Spanish Defence Minister. The objective of that visit was to promote the ongoing work in the framework of the recently created 5+5 Defence Initiative at that moment, and weigh up a possible bilateral Spanish-Libyan cooperation. These incipient bilateral relations of Libya with the Western countries were only productive with Italy and France, states more linked traditionally to Libya, and, to a lesser extent, with Spain. In July 2007, an exclusive agreement in cooperation of the military-industrial sector between the French and Libyan Foreign Ministers was signed.

Throughout the civil war, which devastated the country in 2011, the already bettered material of the Libyan A.F. has been destroyed or seriously damaged. Given the chaotic situation in the country during the post-war period, and given the current disintegration of the A.F., it is foreseeable that in the short and medium-term the Libyan authorities will not be able to get involved in practical activities within the 5+5 Defence Initiative.

Nevertheless, Libya returned to the activities in the 5+5 Initiative immediately after the end of the civil war, by the presence of its Defence legation at the Annual meeting of the Ministers of Defence in the Initiative held in Nuakchott in November 2011.

2.5.4.- Mauritania

In the middle of the past decade and in view of the growing human tragedy originated by the emergence of irregular immigration, the Spanish Government strengthened its collaboration with Mauritania, setting up specific measures agreed in their bilateral relations since 2006 and in the EU framework through the European Border Agency (FRONTEX). In 2006, the Spanish Civil Guard started to patrol in Mauritanian waters with mixed crew, including members of the Mauritanian Gendarmerie. By the end of that year, the land-based activities and the air surveillance began on the part of the Spanish Civil Guard in order to fight against the clandestine illegal emigration networks. The Spanish Civil Guard donated five patrol boats to the Mauritanian authorities in the ‘Cabo Blanco’ Operation framework, following the precedent of the delivery of ship combat divers of the Spanish navy’s (Armada) "Poseidón" to the Mauritanian navy for using it as a patrol boat in 2000. In October 2006, the Authority for the Coordination against irregular immigration was created within the Spanish Ministry of Interior and the deployment of maritime surveillance aircrafts to operate in Senegal and Mauritania. The cooperation with these countries was increased subsequently as the flow of illegal immigrants augmented.

In the Defence field, the Armada has collaborated on several occasions with the Mauritanian navy for joint training. These navy exercises have been intensified since the completion in 2006 of the SAREX06 Search and Rescue Exercise. Nowadays, the Spanish Navy carries out the maritime security exercises from the “Obangame Express” and “Saharan Express”  

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4 Exercise “Saharan Express 12”. Press releases of the Armada:
series, among others, with Mauritania, countries in Western and sub-Saharan Africa and the Gulf of Guinea, supporting the “Africa Plan” of the Spanish Government collaboration in the area.

Mauritania currently suffers a worrying insecurity situation. The Government must make serious efforts in order to guarantee the country’s security from the destabilizing threats of diverse terrorist and banditry groups, especially with those of Salafist origin from the south of Algeria, Mali and Niger, where the links to Al Qaeda are increasingly evident.

The recent coup d’état in neighbouring Mali on 22nd March 2012, together with the subsequent self-proclamation of independence in the province of Anzawad, held by Islamists and Tuareg rebels, and also the conflict extension threat to other Sahel areas, Mauritania included, is just the most recent sample of the critical situation present in the area.

2.5.5.- Tunisia

Tunisia is living a moment of relative calm after the revolutions suffered in the country last year during the Arab Spring, which meant the end of the dictatorship and the change to a new stage which is not exempt from difficulties.

In the last few years the Tunisian society has moved forward considerably, as proven by the social achievements gained after a period of certain stability, for example the improvements in Education, the economic modernization, through a well-organised and developing tourism; and the emancipation of women, are the main lines of revitalization of a country interested and involved with the stability of the region.

This degree of involvement of Tunisia in the development of the western African Mediterranean area and the spirit of unity with its Moroccan and Algerian neighbours, was well demonstrated when, as host nation, it held the Summit of Heads of State and Government of the 5+5 Dialogue in December 2003, which meant the definitive backing to the 5+5 Dialogue as a multilateral cooperation forum in the region.

The bilateral collaboration with Tunisia has been gradually getting stronger. In December 2004, Spain gave Tunisia a patrol boat as support, in view of the worrying irregular emigration situation which devastated the Mediterranean Basin. Since then, Spain has been collaborating with the Tunisian authorities in the bilateral relations framework, not only in Navy actions but also through several measures put into practice by the Spanish Civil Guard in the fight against irregular immigration.

It is expected that Tunisia will consolidate its new situation after the Arab Spring and, in the mid-term —eager for development— will play a major role and one that will become increasingly evident in the economic stability and security policies in the region.

III. - DEFENCE’S SCOPE IN 5+5: “5+5 INITIATIVE”
3.1. - Origin and structure of 5+5 Initiative of Defence

In July 2004, France proposed a new Security Initiative for the Western Mediterranean area with a 4+3 initial format (Portugal, Spain, France and Italy plus Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia), soon extended to a 5+5 format with the adhesions of Malta, Libya and Mauritania, balancing North and South coast members. In Paris on 21st December 2004, Ministers of Defence of these ten countries signed a declaration of intent that created the new “5+5 Initiative” for security in the Western Mediterranean area. In the declaration of intent, presented by Spain, the mechanisms that rule the initiative were established; the goals of its ideology are: to favour a mutual knowledge among member countries, strengthen the understanding and trust between them and develop multilateral cooperation in order to promote security on Western Mediterranean.

Three months after the 5+5 Initiative was launched, on 15th March 2005, the first Directors’ Committee meeting was held in Argil. The meeting was a notable success for Spain as all its proposals were accepted. It was possible to see an excellent predisposition of the South partners to this Defence forum, especially from Libya and Algeria, as they considered it an excellent opportunity to make progress in military cooperation matters.

The Defence’s multilateral cooperation is debated and approved at the heart of the Director committee and it is shaped through an annual plan of action. This plan embraces different lines of joint action designed to favour mutual understanding and knowledge by tightening its members’ trust, which leads to dealing with the problems of the region from compatible points of view and allows putting common work proceedings into practice.

The committee is formed by two representatives of the Defence Ministers of each country who meet twice a year. Spanish representatives are: General Director of Defence Policy (DIGENPOL) and the Chief of Joint General Staff (JEMACON), who as their peers of the other countries of the initiative are responsible for the management and supervision of the annual plans of action. Rotating in accordance with alphabetical order of their names in English, each participant nation held the committee’s chairmanship for one year, during which it hosts the meetings, in the plan of action and it organizes in its country the necessary meetings to develop it. This cycle culminates with the annual Ministers of Defence meeting, in which the activities carried out along that period are evaluated and the plan of action for the following year is approved.

In addition to the annual meetings of the Ministers of Defence of the 5+5 Initiative countries, the General Staff for Defence and General Staff of the three services’ meetings are also established with the same regularity.

These meetings have become essential consulting forums, that permit the development of a high level relationship between the Armed Forces (A.F.) of the member countries, Relations that did not exist previously and that nevertheless respond to a real need for cooperation.

3.2.- 5+5 Initiative activities

In the declaration of intent of December 2004, Ministers of Defence endorsed the work along three major lines: maritime security, air security and cooperation for civil protection in case of natural disasters or humanitarian crisis. Later on a fourth chapter was included regarding the training of civilians and military in the abovementioned aspects.

Apart from the annual Plan of Action, six projects were developed at the heart of the initiative:

- Regional Virtual Centre for Maritime Traffic control (V-RMTC 5+5). This is an Italian proposal, agreed during the expert’s meeting celebrated in May 2007.
- 5+5 Defence School. French proposal for the joint training of staff at three levels. It started running in October 2008, in France.
- Euro-Maghreb Centre for Strategic Researches and Studies for Western Mediterranean, with headquarters in Tunisia.
- Training Centre for humanitarian demining. Proposed by Libya, and that is being studied by the Initiative.
- Contribution of Armed Forces to the protection of Civilians in disasters, Project proposed by Algeria developed in collaboration with Spain.
- Cooperation in Search and Rescue issues (SAR).

The number of activities that the countries of the initiative offer and organize has multiplied its number considerably since the very start.

Spain shows a high compromise level, reflected in its constant implication in the activities proposed by successive plans of action.

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5 The Italian “Marina Militare” led the Virtual Regional Maritime Traffic Centre “5+5 Network” (V-RMTC 5+5 NET):

For the 2012 Plan of Action, Spain has offered:

- Maritime security exercise SEABORDER 12. Jointly organized with Algeria and Portugal. It will take form in September 2012
- Seminar on maritime security for sea disasters, in June
- In the field of training at 5+5 School, the following units will take place in Spain:
  - Introduction to “air and airport security”, in June
  - First module of top level training (addressed to colonels, major generals and officers) in November
- Two meetings on research by the Euro-Maghreb Centre for Strategic Researches and Studies (CEMRES), in both January and June.

Apart from Defence activities on the field of air and maritime security, which are explained later on, there are two major projects that strengthen trust among partners; 5+5 Defence School and Euro-Maghreb Centre of Strategic Researches and Studies for Western Mediterranean.

### 3.2.1.-Training. 5+5 Defence School

In December 2005, the French Ministry of Defence proposed the creation of a school of security and defence for the 5+5 Initiative, inspired by the European Security and Defence College (ESDC).

At the fourth meeting of the Steering Committee it was agreed to form a working group in order to study the possibility of establishing a school in the scope of the initiative, virtual at the beginning, taking advantage of the academic infrastructure existing in the Member States.

This working group met for the first time in January 2007 and in October of that year was held a meeting of experts. The project was officially approved soon afterwards, in the Ministerial Declaration of Cagliari (Sardinia), on December 10, 2007.

The new institution was named "5+5 Defence School ". The School is led by France and is co-chaired by Italy for the 2011-12 two-year period.

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6 Press Release of the Armada: [http://www.armada.mde.es/ArmadaPortal/page/Portal/ArmadaEspannola/conocenos_noticias/00_noticias/2012/06/NT-109-SEMINARIO-5-5_es.jsp?sessionid=tg0pQpgf0l5sHtp5XMR06ks5T77b9vFck2Cc295TByHTqfThrTR12762741217_selectedNodeID=830186&_pageAction=selectItem](http://www.armada.mde.es/ArmadaPortal/page/Portal/ArmadaEspannola/conocenos_noticias/00_noticias/2012/06/NT-109-SEMINARIO-5-5_es.jsp?sessionid=tg0pQpgf0l5sHtp5XMR06ks5T77b9vFck2Cc295TByHTqfThrTR12762741217_selectedNodeID=830186&_pageAction=selectItem)


Although the School has no fixed venue, an Academic Committee headquartered in France ensures the educational objectives of the Centre and the coordination of the courses. The main objective of the School is the study of the security and defence issues common to the 10 partner countries, the exchange of experiences and the improvement of mutual knowledge.

According to the model of the ESDC, the “5+5 Defence School” has a virtual and flexible character and organizes the training of defence staff, both military and civilian, by using the existing national structures in the Member States.

This "virtual" approach reduces costs and accomplish with training and outreach needs, through educational activities taught in the national existing centres.

On the other hand, the School offers a wider range of perspectives as a result of the diversity of educational centres involved.

The training is performed at three levels:

- **Basic**, for lieutenants, captains and civil servants of equivalent level. It includes four modules of teaching: on defense, society, environment and exercises.
- **Intermediate**, for majors, lieutenant colonels, and civil servants of equivalent level, with three teaching modules aimed at a staff profile.
- **Top-level**, designed for colonels, one star-generals and defence officials, with two teaching modules. This teaching system includes the Maghreb and European perspectives of the same subjects.

The academic activities began in October 2008, when France organized at the naval base of Toulon the first cycle of intermediate level devoted to the fight against maritime pollution and the participation of the armed forces in the protection of the environment.

In February 2009 Mauritania took charge of the second module of the course focused on pest control. Italy gave the third module in May of the same year focused that time on the participation of the armed forces in civil protection. Libya, Morocco and Portugal organized the following cycle at this level.

The activities carried out by the College are distributed every year on a voluntary basis among the member countries. Spain participates in the “5+5 School Defence” via the School of High Studies of Defence of the Spanish Centre for National Defence Studies (EAELEDE/CESEDEN)”

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3.2.2. *Euro-Maghreb Centre for Strategic Researches and Studies*\(^{10}\)

In June 2008, Tunisia presented a project for the creation of the Euro-Maghreb Center for Research and Strategic Studies in the Western Mediterranean (CEMRES).

The Centre is headquartered in Tunisia and is directed by a Tunisian officer serving as the Secretariat-General of the Centre. In addition it is composed by an Academic Committee consisting of a representative of each Member Country, and an administrative and financial team.

The main fields of study which are dealt with at the Centre are those relating to terrorism, organized crime, illegal migration and environmental challenges. This Centre acts as a regional virtual research college, focused on the analysis and prospective serving the 5+5 Initiative. The objectives pursued at the Centre are:

- To provide the 5+5 Defense Ministers with an instrument of analysis and forecasting, allowing them to explore issues related to the Western Mediterranean, aiming at reinforcing the common action of the partners
- To facilitate the development of a new conception for regional security by providing the experts and researchers from Europe and the Maghreb with a space to exchange experiences and works looking for solutions to common security problems
- To contribute towards the strengthening of confidence-building measures by producing an objective research activity, highlighting key issues, the real causes of insecurity and strategic challenges facing the Western Mediterranean.

France led the first research work of this centre in 2010. This work was developed experimentally by researchers from eight countries and the issue studied was about the different perceptions on security and defence in the frame of the 5+5.

In 2011 the research focused on the causes and consequences of irregular migration and was led by Algeria with the collaboration of researchers from the rest of the countries.

The ongoing work carried out by the researchers in 2012 is about: “The constituent factors of a strategy to maintain a harmonious security in the Western Mediterranean basin”.

### 3.3.- 5+5 Initiative and the UE

Within the framework of “external relations” of the 5+5 initiative with other actors and multinational entities, it states out the informal meeting of the UE Ministers of Defence with the initiative’s Ministers of Defence celebrated in Évora (Portugal) on 28 and 29 of September 2007. At this meeting, Spain defended the 5+5 model as an instrument of maximum usefulness for the Western Mediterranean. However, taking into account the vital importance of the Mediterranean area as a whole, and that the 5+5 Dialogue did not cover all PESD needs, Spain proposed that PESD initiatives would complement those already existing on the 5+5.

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\(^{10}\) Euro-Maghreb Center For Strategic Researches and Studies: [http://www.cemres.org/cemres/](http://www.cemres.org/cemres/)

Later, during the V Meeting of the Initiative’s Ministers of Defence celebrated on May 17, 2009 in Tripoli, Spain proposed a reunion of 5+5 Initiative’s Ministers of Defence with their European Union peers to be held during EU Spanish chairmanship for the first semester of 2010; the reunion took place in Palma de Mallorca on February 24 of that same year.

This meeting was dedicated to improving the cooperation in security matters in the Euro-Mediterranean area. Potential lines of joint actions were also studied to respond to common risks and threats in the area.

3.4.- Joint exercises

From an operative perspective, there is a more tight cooperation among the Armed Forces of the different countries of the initiative. Besides other activities, “Seaborder” and “Circaete” exercises, maritime and air security respectively, are periodically organized. In this area, countries like Algeria and Morocco are gaining more and more importance.

Such exercises are a visible\textsuperscript{11} part of the practical activities developed by 5+5 Initiative. Its background in this Defence forum can be founded on maritime security exercises of “Forefinger 07” and air security of “Air 07” and “Air 08”. The “Forefinger 07” Exercise, lead by France en 2007, helped to develop direct exchange among national centres of naval operations and to improve interoperability between tactic units. Likewise, “Air 07” and “Air 08” exercises, for the first time linked national centres of air operations commands. This established information exchange among the ten member countries through specific nets. These manoeuvres took place in 2007 and 2008 and were first led by France and then by Italy.

Before September 11, there were no multilateral or bilateral agreements in the field of air security ruling protocols of combine action aiming to neutralize threats to the airspace of different countries. In case of risk or aggression, each country acted according to its internal legislation and proceedings.

Today, various activities are taking place at the heart of 5+5 Initiatives. Activities designed to jointly train A.F. of member countries.

\textsuperscript{11} Videos of the exercises. Multimedia of the Office of Communication. (Spanish Ministry of Defence)

1.- Video (2:31 min) “Mediterranean Security” of the “Seaborder 11” and “Circaete 11” Exercises. This video was projected at the “Annual Conference of Ministers of Defence of the 5+5” in Nouakchott (November 2011): http://www.defensa.gob.es/gabinete/multimedia/ videoteca/2011/DGC_111115_Seg_Mediterranea.html

2.- Video (6:00 min) of the “Seaborder 09” Exercise (September 2009): http://www.defensa.gob.es/gabinete/multimedia/videoteca/2009/DGC_091015_Sea border.html
Such activities allow to member countries coordinate and cooperate to manage State’s actions designed to respect national and international laws in cases of illegal activities in the fields of air and maritime navigation within an international frame.

The continuous work of these exercises facilitates common knowledge and creates trust, a crucial aspect that benefits shared security searched by 5+5 Initiative. On 2011, Spain made the principal contribution to the organization, management and performance of air and maritime security exercises: 'Seaborder' and 'Circaete'.

3.4.1. ‘Seaborder’ maritime security exercises

Spain and Portugal jointly organized the ‘Seaborder’ exercises on maritime security, which since 2008 are carried out every year in the waters of both countries in an alternative way. In 2011, Morocco intervened for the first time in the organization of the exercise, together with Portugal and Spain. Three countries have contributed with participating forces in the joint manoeuvre executed in the waters of the Gulf of Cadiz on September 22.

‘Seaborder’ exercises are usually articulated in two phases. First, a Commanding Post Exercise (CPX), organized in the edition of 2011 by Morocco in the Casablanca Maritime Operation Centre. Throughout this phase, naval representatives of the countries of the 5+5 Initiative establish contact with their own national operative centres in order to jointly face any alleged threat against maritime security, focus in the transit of a simulate suspicious ship.

In the event of exercise CPX, it is sham that a suspicious ship sails through international waters, in an Eastern Mediterranean route, monitored in the centres of maritime control of the participant countries, thanks to the Tracking and detection data supposedly sent by patrol ships, maritime surveillance airplanes and intelligence sources. Then, on the second phase there is an exercise between maritime security and real forces (LIVEX), controlled and organized in 2011 by the Surveillance and Operation Centre of the Spanish Maritime Action (COVAM), located in Cartagena, Murcia.
This phase consists of activities of interdiction, visit and inspection, maritime police and humanitarian help on sea.

For the ‘Seaborder, 2011’ exercise, Portugal participated with the ‘Joao Roby’s’ corvette, with an embarked team of the Portuguese Marine Corps (Fuzileiros) and another one of the Maritime Police, as well as with a maritime patrol airplane ‘C-295’. Morocco contributed to the development of the army with the frigate ‘Hassán II’, an embarked helicopter, “AS 565MA Panther”, a unit of the Marine Corps and a medical team for medical care.

Spain contributed with the ‘Numancia’ (F-83) frigate running as the commanding ship with a SH-60B ‘Sea Hawk’ embarked helicopter and a snipers’ team from the Spanish Marine Corps (Infantería de Marina). They gave “cover fire” during the continuous inspection visits made by the visit units abovementioned.

The Spanish auxiliary ship 'Contramaestre Casado' (A 01) played the role of suspicious ship carrying out illegal activities.

A visiting and searching unit of the Infantería de Marina stormed the suspicious ship through “fast rope” from another helicopter, a ‘Sea Hawk’ of the 10th Squadron of the Naval Aviation Fleet that departed from the naval base of Rota, Cádiz.

The Spanish Air Force directed the air maritime surveillance tasks from the Spanish Rescue and Coordination Centre of Madrid (RCC), carried out by a patrol aircraft 'C-235' of the 801 Squadron, and the first mission of Search And Rescue “SAR”, carried out by a SAR helicopter, ‘Super Puma’ from the 803 Squadron with base in Getafe, Madrid.

On 2012 edition, the “Seaborder” exercise will be organized at the same time by Algeria, Spain and Portugal, with the CPX phase taking place in Algeria and the LIVEX phase, once more, in the waters of the Gulf of Cádiz.

3.4.2. - 'Circaete' air safety exercises:

Through the air safety exercises of 'Circaete' series, procedures of multinational collaboration are practised to address the alleged threats that may represent a civil aircraft out of control, flying over the air space of the Initiative’s member countries.

The 'Circaete' exercises take their name from a migratory bird that flies over several countries in the Mediterranean basin. They have been held annually since 2009 and during the 2011 edition, entirely organized and run by Spain, the participating countries were Algeria, Spain, France, Morocco, Tunisia and Portugal, in addition to Mauritania, as observer.

On the Spanish side, the 'Circaete '11' is set by the Chief of Defence Staff, and directed by the adjutant general to the Headquarters Air Combat Command (MACOM).
Similar to the development of the "Seaborder" exercises, the "Circaete" exercises consist of two phases: the first one is a command post exercise (CPX) involving an exchange of information regarding the threat to aviation safety, which introduces the exercise scenario between representatives of the participating countries through established lines of communication with air traffic control centres in their respective countries. The 2011 edition took place on September 20th in the Spanish Air Operations Center (Torrejón Air Base).

The second phase of the exercise, using real forces (LIVEX), consists of two allegedly suspect planes—one of them is Spanish and the other one is French—flying independent circuits under the member countries of the 5+5 Initiative.

These countries cooperate in the information exchange about suspicious aircraft tracking and in the implementation of national and international procedures, to neutralize the suspected threat posed by these non-military flights which circulate out of control through their respective air spaces.

In the exercise developed on September 21st, 2011, the target aircrafts were a Spanish C-130 'Hercules' from Wing 31, based in Saragossa (Zaragoza), which flew the 'Mediterranean Western Circuit' and a 'C-235' of the French Air Force, which flew the 'Mediterranean Central Circuit'.

Each of the overflown countries used its own early-warning fighters for the interception, identification, control and escort of the suspicious aircraft that had violated the air space.

Two representatives from each participating country were involved in both phases of the exercise, from the premises of Air Combat Command (Torrejón). The air attachés from the participating countries in Madrid and Paris embarked on the respective target aircrafts to observe live interceptions and subsequent escorts.

In the 2012 edition, Morocco assumes full organization of the "Circaete" exercise.

The implementation of these joint exercises shows that the 5+5 Initiative is a practical framework, where the ability of the host and participating countries is tested in order to plan, direct and execute the required operations in the coordinated response of the 5+5 members, facing risks and threats that emerge within the Western Mediterranean.

The "Seaborder" and "Circaete" exercises are a definitive endorsement to the concept of "shared security" with a huge profitability on coordinated efficacy.

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12 France. “Armée de l’Air”. Exercise “Circaete 11” :
3.4.3. - Profitability of the security investment

The exercises described are programmed for a short duration—less than 24 hours—and developed with an intense activity due to the geographical proximity of the participating nations. Thus, several neighbouring countries are involved in low-budget exercises\(^\text{13}\), which use a very small amount of human and material resources\(^\text{14}\), with a very short duration,—only one day of CPX exercise and another one of LIVEX—, with a common goal: to jointly practise the security operations, and with a clear result: the creation of trust in the partnership between all actors involved in the 5+5 Initiative.

In short, the exercises are extremely positive from the point of view of the great profitability in Shared Security obtained by the low economic cost of investment and the high profit benefit in Generated Confidence, which is produced by the implementation of common procedures.

IV. – CONCLUSIONS

Late May marks the tenth anniversary of the Tripoli Conference, the real resumption of the 5+5 Dialogue. The forum was forced to suspend its activities for almost a decade because of the sanctions imposed on Libya by the Security Council.

Compared to other organizations that are more rigid in their approach, the 5+5 Dialogue stands out for its informal and flexible nature, with an eminently practical and operational guidance, and constitutes a privileged framework for the exchange of ideas and the launching of initiatives.

A key to the success of the 5+5 Dialogue as a whole lies in its scope. Its first triumph is to have brought together all the nations of the area, despite its ancient neighbourhood disputes. Secondly, as it is confined to the Western Mediterranean, the 5+5 Dialogue has a geographical homogeneity that makes the understanding of nations easier. Thirdly, membership to the same geographic area determines same common problems such as the need to address them together in order to reach a stable solution.

\(^{13}\) The financing of activities falls on the guest country that organises each one of them.

\(^{14}\) For the “Seaborder” exercises participated 4 ships and 5 airplanes, with a total of 700 military of different nations.
Therefore, the 5+5 Dialogue feels a certain reluctance to expand to the rest of the Mediterranean, which would mean admitting new members who would drag the frozen conflicts they have with their neighbours, which in turn would request its inclusion with the same right. This is one of the main reasons that explains why the proposal to extend this forum to a "6+6 Dialogue" including Egypt and Greece has not succeeded yet. This expansion would put on the table both the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the Greco-Turkish-Cypriot conflict, and would commit to the resolution of the Western Mediterranean problems that the Dialogue is trying to overcome. In any case, for the moment it would seem preferable to export the formula to the Eastern Mediterranean in order to try to form an analogue association, without letting the difficult problems faced dilute the commendable efforts and accomplishments observed in the present 5+5 Dialogue.

The 5+5 Defence Initiative has allowed participants to share working procedures between all member countries in order to effectively address the common challenges of security and defence, and it has shown that countries of the Initiative are able to exchange information and work together. Cooperation between the armed forces of the 5+5 Initiative, especially among the countries of the South Bank of the Mediterranean, is crucial to building trust, respect and transparency among states, which are key aspects to curb threats of conflict, especially civil wars in the heat of the "Arab Spring", so as to prevent the proliferation of terrorist groups and to ensure control of migration flows and natural resources of the countries.

The intense activities performed in recent years show that, in the Western Mediterranean, 5+5 Dialogue is definitively established and is a true model of regional cooperation and integration.

Miguel Ángel Romeo Núñez, june 2012

WO II (ESP A). Public Information Office (MoD)

*The author has worked on the coverage of the Multinational exercises of the "5+5 Initiative":
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*NOTE*: The ideas contained in the Framework Documents are the responsibility of their authors and do not necessarily reflect the thoughts of the IEEE or of the Ministry of Defence.