



ROYAL DANISH DEFENCE COLLEGE



## **SPEAKERS AND ABSTRACTS**

### **Webinar**

#### **Sixth International Conference on Strategic Theory**

#### ***Security governance in African ungoverned spaces: Emergent thought, new spaces, and responses***

**17-18 September 2020**

**Jointly presented by SIGLA, Stellenbosch University and the Royal Danish Defence College  
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#### **Keynote 1**

#### **Re-thinking Africa's ungoverned spaces: past and new notions within the context of West African realities**

Prof Kwesi Aning

Director - Faculty of Academic Affairs & Research  
Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre  
Ghana

In discussing notions around Africa's ungoverned spaces, the fundamental discursive issue relates to 'what kinds and what degrees of governance mechanisms are desirable in any given landscape' (Mallet, 2010); or 'why and how these spaces are differently governed [and by extension] how do these areas function?' (Keister, 2014). Even more importantly, what analytical tools are available for understanding the reality of these spaces. In this presentation, I argue that what is important, is to understand the types of political and security governance and alternative systems that are prevalent in these areas and engage with them. The arguments to be presented engages both old, new and emerging notions about ungoverned spaces and located within West Africa's realities. I argue that, West Africa's supposedly ungoverned spaces are both more governed and more efficient than they look on the surface.

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**Professor Dries Velthuisen**

Thabo Mbeki African School for Public and International Affairs  
University of South Africa  
South Africa

**From broken edifice to knowledge network: Towards new peace and security models for the prevention of violent conflict in Africa.**

The presentation/book chapter departs from the ambitious objectives of the Peace and Security Council of the UN to establish world peace, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the aspirations of Agenda 2063 of the AU, focusing on the quest for ‘silencing the guns’ by 2020. In my work, I challenge the abilities of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) to deal with complex problems such as violent conflict in Africa. After briefly presenting the philosophical and theoretical framework of my research, I present the findings of my research that is guided by the research question: How can broader participation of knowledge holders in Africa contribute to an integrated peace and security architecture that will end violent conflict in Africa? The main argument of my presentation is that there is a need for new grounded, engaged theory and practice for peace and security in Africa. A new theory should recognise the broader participation of knowledge holders in Africa to form a new paradigm for security management that is grounded in the varying epistemologies/ways of knowing in Africa and in engagement with social communities and/or communities of practice in Africa. I foresee not one prescriptive “model” but an integrative, non-hierarchical security management network that allows adaptive redesign for different situations where solutions are knowledge driven not pre-prescribed, accommodating different perspectives/knowledge claims. In this network, social communities who dwell in ill-governed spaces should be equal if not leading partners in finding solutions to security challenges such as violent conflict.

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**War, Opportunism and Ungoverned Spaces:  
A Case Study of the Rehoboth Rebellion, 1915**

Dr Evert Kleynhans  
Military History Department  
Faculty of Military Science, Stellenbosch University  
South Africa

Traditionally ungoverned spaces comprise physical, social, political, and economic areas where state control in its broadest sense are either absent, weak, or contested. During such instances, state control over a particular area, which includes the ability to provide safety, security and the provision of basic services, are surrendered to non-state actors. Once a non-state actor takes control of an ungoverned space, parallel government structures would often be established to ensure the provision of safety, security and basic services. As a result, states often view ungoverned spaces as holding a direct threat to their sovereignty, largely because such areas could provide safe havens for organised crime, and terrorist and insurgent movements to name a few. The Rehoboth Rebellion that broke out in German South-West Africa in April 1915, provides a unique lens through which to explore a case of a temporary ungoverned space in southern Africa during the First World War. The ungoverned space created by the Rehoboth Rebellion was largely the result of mounting pressure from the South African forces

converging on Windhoek, as well as the punitive expedition launched by the German *Schutztruppen* to curb the internal revolt. This paper broadly investigates the ungoverned space created in the Rehoboth *Gebiet* during April 1915, by critically reflecting on key issues such as the absence of power, violence and counter-violence, self-determination, and criminal opportunism.

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### **Peace-missions in a non-permissive environment – the case of Somalia**

Professor Thomas Mandrup  
SIGLA/RDDC  
Denmark

The mandate of the African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) was in May 2020 extended for nine months until February 2021. The big question arising is – then what? Somalia is scheduled to organise its first democratic elections by end November 2020, but it is unclear if that deadline will be met. The elections have been described as the litmus test for the international community's engagement and effort in Somalia. The future and nature of AMISOM and the two UN missions after February 2021 will to some extent be dependent on the outcome and success of the electoral and political process in Somalia. Will the Somali security institutions be able to take over the responsibilities for the security provision in Somalia as envisioned in the Somali Transition Plan (STP), which is a requirement for AMISOM to be able to disengage its forces and continue the drawdown of the military and police presence in Somalia. AMISOM has since its deployment in 2007 achieved noticeable results, but security remains a challenge. The insurgent movement the Al-Shabaab has been forced to change its operational tactics but is still present in all sectors of South Central Somalia. At the same time, it has managed to infiltrate government at all levels. The sentiment is that if the international military forces were pulled out, Al-Shabaab would regain control with large sections of the territory. The partnership model between AMISOM and the UN missions has led to frustration on both sides. At this stage, it is not likely that the Somali model of cooperation and distribution of labour will be copied elsewhere. AMISOM has been operating in a non-permissive environment, which has constituted a challenge as well, and negatively affected operations. The military contingents illustrate the problems of using neighbouring countries as the core TCC in the missions. These states tend to have national interests that could work counter to the objective of the mission. Finally, the mission, especially after 2013, is highlighting the problems of undertaking COIN and Counter-Terrorism Operations on a UN PSO mandate. This raises the question of what should and must happen after February 2021?

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### **Peacekeeping on a Knife's Edge: Unmasking the Realities of Violent Extremism in United Nations Missions**

Dr Fiifi Edu-Afful  
Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre  
Ghana

United Nations peacekeeping has changed significantly since 1948 when the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) was first deployed to the Middle East. In many of the peacekeeping settings

today, the spread of violent extremism and terrorism, overlaid onto long-simmering local or regional conflicts has presented a major challenge to governments and the international community to maintain peace and stability. In Mali and Somalia especially, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO) and Al Shabaab have continued to wage guerrilla campaigns against peacekeepers and security forces. However, in spite of the frustration of the peace efforts and the frequent attacks against peacekeepers, the UN missions lack specific mandate needed to deal with the challenges posed by violent extremist groups. Given the changing strategic context of peacekeeping, this paper seeks to examine how violent extremism is impacting on the activities of UN missions and more significantly, interrogate the question of whether or not UN missions should be given specific mandate to engage in the fight against violent extremism using United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) as a case study.

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### **Negotiating Governance in Ungoverned Spaces: The Agency of Peace Support Operations**

Linda Darkwa

Senior Research Fellow, Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy, University of Ghana  
Ghana

The absence of state authority in the peripheral parts of countries often results in neglect, under-development, and a lack of opportunities. This, in turn, feed into nepotism, corruption, and clientelism as limited opportunities are instrumentalized for personal gain. The cocktail of issues deepens grievances and fertilizes the ground for the mobilization of discontent resulting in a cycle of violence and worsening fragility in affected countries. Peace support operations (PSOs) offer opportunities for the transformation and reimagining of societies. Even though peace support operations are relatively short term, the provision of quick impact projects, support for institutional rebuilding and renewal, and infrastructural development offer immense potential for laying the foundations for the promotion of governance in the long term, in hitherto ungoverned spaces of affected countries. Drawing from lessons learned from research in Somalia and Mali, this paper offers insights on the recalibration of the socio-political and humanitarian aspects of PSOs to support long-term governance in ungoverned spaces.

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### **The role of technology and cyber matters in assisting with governance**

#### **Panel discussion**

#### **Participants**

Mr Zane Cleophas (ARETA Consulting)

Ms Noelle Cowling (Stellenbosch University)

Mr Neill Goslett (CSIR South Africa)

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**Keynote 2**  
**Regional Reconciliation in Africa's Ungoverned Spaces**

Professor Tim Murithi  
Head Peacebuilding Interventions Programme  
Institute for Justice and Reconciliation  
Kenya

Africa has endured the debilitating effects of cyclical violent regional conflict systems which expose the vulnerabilities of its border regions. This paper argues that since Africa's crises demonstrate that conflicts have a tendency to spill across borders, affecting communities in more than one country, they require a "regional reconciliation" approach in order to stabilize them. The continent's ungoverned spaces have become a source of threats, vulnerabilities and catalysts for extremism and terrorism. The African Union Transitional Justice Policy (AUTJP) outlines the provisions that are required to address the effects of intractable conflicts through addressing the grievances and violations of the past, as a means to establish the foundations for more inclusive, democratic and reconciled societies. Transitional justice is a key component of peacebuilding and through processes of truth-recovery, restorative and retributive justice, reparations, and institutional reform. This paper posits that in order to stabilize Africa's ungoverned spaces, it is necessary to pursue cross-border transitional justice through a regional reconciliation framework. This paper also argues that regional reconciliation is a preventative pathway for vulnerable governments to avoid costly military-based counter-strategies, particularly with regards to long-standing and recurring conflicts. These recurring crises persist in a number of regional conflict systems including the eastern DRC-Burundi-Rwanda axis, as well as the Somalia-Kenya-Ethiopia-Uganda axis, in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa regions, respectively. This paper will also assess whether regional economic communities (RECs) have the capacity to coordinate regional reconciliation processes, or whether there is a case for enhancing their capabilities through the engagement with governments and civic actors. Ultimately, this paper contends that regional reconciliation is the elusive dimension of consolidating peace and security in Africa's ungoverned spaces.

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**Abstract 2 For future discussion (For post conference discussion only)**

**Securing the Pan-African Aerospace: The Role of Academia in Analysing the US Navy's  
"Unidentified" Aerial Phenomena**

Tim Murithi, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation and University of Free State

An under-theorized ungoverned space, in terms of African academia, is the interstellar sphere. The establishment and "standing up" of a United States Space Force (USSF), in 2020, raises questions about how Africa can prepare itself to secure its aerospace in the future. Furthermore, on 27 April 2020, the US Navy's formally announced on its website that it had physical recorded video evidence of "unidentified" aerial phenomenon (UAP).<sup>1</sup> These two facts suggest that it is now necessary to apply some degree of academic rigour into analysing how to secure the Pan-African aerospace. In particular, this paper argues that it is necessary to invoke the provisions of the African Union's Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact, which came into force on 18 December 2009, in order to undertake the

necessary strategic planning to secure the Pan-African aerospace. In particular, the AU Pact identifies aggression as “the use, intentionally and knowingly, of armed force ... by any foreign or external entity, against the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and human security of a State Party.” In addition, the AU Pact outlines as one of its objectives the promotion of “cooperation among member states in areas of non-aggression and common defence” and it further stipulates that “any aggression or threat of aggression against any of the member states shall be deemed to constitute a threat or aggression against all member states of the Union (Article 2 (a) (b)). This paper argues that individually African countries are unable to establish a capability to secure the Pan-African aerospace. Consequently, it argues that Africa countries need to work collectively in order to develop a capacity to project themselves into the interstellar sphere as a pre-requisite to engaging any “unidentified” air craft that may traverse the Pan-African aerospace.

Email: [tkmurithi@hotmail.com](mailto:tkmurithi@hotmail.com); [tmurithi@ijr.org.za](mailto:tmurithi@ijr.org.za)

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### **Professional private security contractors: Stabilising ungoverned spaces in Africa**

Mr Eeben Barlow  
Chairman STTEP International  
South Africa

The term ‘ungoverned spaces’ is a contested term that generally refers to an area where governance is lacking. Large remote rural and urban areas barely touched by any state presence or any form of state control are viewed as ‘governance black holes’. These holes or ungoverned areas are not only found within so-called fragile/failed states. Africa boasts numerous large tracts of ungoverned spaces. This presentation, based on practical experience over several years, aims to show that African solutions to resolving Africa’s problems can be achieved by using professional African PMCs. But it cautions that resolving these areas, usually exploited by anti-government forces, requires more than just military will. Ungoverned spaces remain a political problem.

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### **The dilemmas of the hybrid security assemblage in Mali**

Dr Troels Burchall Henningsen  
Institute for Strategy, Royal Danish Defence College (RDDC)  
Denmark

A multi-layered security assemblage has come into being in the middle and northern regions of Mali. International organizations such as UN and the EU, the G5 Sahel regional cooperation, bilaterally agreed interventions, such as the French operation Barkhane and the US Juniper Shield, local ethnic militias, criminal groups as well as Islamic militant organizations all have a stake in providing security and insecurity at various points. Caught in this hybrid assemblage are the two categories that ideally negotiate security in governed spaces, namely the citizen and the state. Reality in these regions is far from any ideal model of human security or state sovereignty. This presentation will unpack the tensions, conflicts, and dilemmas of the current assemblage. By identifying difficult trade-offs

between efficiency and legitimacy, between local empowerment and state control, and between crime and the need for livelihood, this presentation will sketch possible solutions to reduce the complexity of the security assemblage by focusing on the concern for human security.

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**Governance and blue crime in the Gulf of Guinea**

Mr. Hüseyin Yücel

Head of Section in the Centre for Stabilisation, Institute for Strategy

Royal Danish Defence College (RDDC).

Denmark

To counter transnational organised crime on the sea, 25 West and Central African countries came together in 2013 and signed what is now known as the Yaoundé Code of Conduct, and with it, established the inter-regional Yaoundé structure. Seven years later, the structure continues to be a “promising” framework for transnational co-operation, but several issues persist. The lack of implementation, the need for continuous political attention, a lack of maritime law enforcement capacities, and lack of trust are among the main issues. The following presentation is based on a current research project and will present its preliminary findings, relating them to governance issues in the Gulf of Guinea.

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**From military stalemate to humanitarian drama: Learning from history and rethinking intervention in Cabo Delgado**

Dr João Feijó

Researcher in Observatory of Rural Areas (ORA)

Mozambique

Cabo Delgado province has seen an exponential increase in violence in recent weeks. I aim to describe the dynamics of the attacks, the relationships between armed groups and sectors of the population, as well as the counterinsurgency strategy used by defence and security forces. I argue that the advance of the insurgency is fuelled by historical feelings of exclusion from the central power, which structured local socio-political tensions. Distrust and violence of the national security forces towards local populations tend to increase resentments against the State, broaden the base of rebel recruiting and prolonging and intensifying the conflict. In a second step, I aim to explore the humanitarian drama triggered by the armed conflict, expressed in hundreds of deaths, mass graves, hundreds of thousands of displaced people, resettlement problems, food and health assistance. Finally, based on historical experience, I aim to reflect on the effectiveness of the ongoing counterinsurgency strategy, proposing public policies that favours economic inclusion and social justice.