

## ABOUT THE MILITARY ACADEMY, SOUTH AFRICA

The Military Academy, situated in the West Coast town of Saldanha, is an educational unit of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and houses the Faculty of Military Science, Stellenbosch University. It provides university education and professional military development for young, career-orientated officers. This education equips them with knowledge, analytical skills and insight, thus enabling the South African National Defence Force not only to cope with a fast-changing environment, but also to meet the demands of the future. On successful completion of undergraduate studies, a student is awarded a B Mil degree from Stellenbosch University.

The Military Academy is also a training unit. Section Military Development ensures excellence by conducting and facilitating the continued military professional development of undergraduate students at the Military Academy. This section strives to continue the development of officers' military professional competencies. This they achieve through an Integrated Professional Development Programme. The essence of the programme is encapsulated by the activities conducted by all undergraduate students during three Military Weeks per year, which includes, war simulation exercises, sea and land adventure expeditions, a re-entry exercise for third-year students, as well as a leadership exercise called Trans Enduro.

## ABOUT THE ROYAL DANISH DEFENCE COLLEGE (RDDC)

The Royal Danish Defence College's core task is to prepare the future military leadership of the Danish Defence to meet tomorrow's challenges and conflicts. Activities are predominantly targeted towards other institutions within the Danish Defence and revolve around the military core disciplines such as military operations, military strategy and military leadership. The Royal Danish Defence College continuously monitors the requirements of the Danish Defence for new knowledge in military affairs, and it constantly strives to adapt its organisation and activities to meet these requirements.

The motto of the Royal Danish Defence College - "Sapientia et providentia" - translates to "Wisdom and providence". With this motto we aim to establish ourselves as an internationally recognised military institution in education and research and to create a greater understanding of military affairs in the Danish Defence and in the Danish society.

# BACKGROUND TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON STRATEGIC THEORY

This conference is the fourth in a series jointly planned and presented by the Faculty of the Royal Danish Defence College and the Faculty of Military Science, Stellenbosch University. The conference series selects a contemporary African security topic around which it builds a biennial conference event with selected speakers, followed by a workshop and a book publication. The 2009 event covered contemporary armed conflict in Africa; in 2011, it dealt with the military culture of African armed forces, and in 2013, with a post-piracy view on maritime security off East Africa. This fourth event on the African Standby Force (ASF) is planned to coincide with the 2015 focus on the ASF as a central aspect of Africa's security architecture by way of particular views on the progress and readiness of the different regional brigades where the core of the operational readiness of the ASF resides.

# WELCOMING BY THE ROYAL DANISH DEFENCE COLLEGE

Dear participant,

The Royal Danish Defence College (RDDC) is, in cooperation with the Faculty of Military Science, Stellenbosch University, proud to welcome all speakers, delegates and distinguished guests to the conference “The African Standby Force: Beyond 2015”. The conference is in my view important in several ways. It confirms the cooperation between our two institutions, while at the same time focusing specifically on strategic theory and the translation and implementation of strategy in an African context, by way of a topic that is highly relevant to Danish foreign policy. The RDDC’s involvement in the conference is at the same time part of the larger Danish involvement in military capacity building in Africa at large, and specifically assisting in setting up the African Standby Force together with our African partners both at the regional and continental level. I will, therefore, use this opportunity to express my appreciation to the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence for the economic and practical support, to make the conference possible. The RDDC’s hopes and ambitions for this conference are both that it will contribute to the development of a debate on Strategy and African security in general, and in particular contribute to the debate on how to move the African Standby Force to full operational capacity. What is being done and what could be done by regions and international actors to further this development? The RDDC hopes that we will have some fruitful and valuable discussions - shedding a new light on contemporary African strategic issues and open new and alternative analytical avenues. I am looking forward to meeting you in Stellenbosch 16-18 September 2015.

Nils Wang: Rear Admiral  
Commandant, Royal Danish Defence College

# WELCOMING BY THE FACULTY OF MILITARY SCIENCE, STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

Defence Academies, Colleges, members of academia, government and business; welcome to the 4th International 'On Strategy' Conference which creates an exciting intellectual platform to engage one another on each dimension of our core business. In this context the focus being the African Standby Force of the African Union and the concept of its post-2015 status will be at play. The South African Military Academy under the command of Brig Gen L.K. Mbatha houses the Faculty of Military Science headed by the Dean Prof M.S. Tshehla. On our behalf, a particular word of welcome to the speakers, co-hosts, sponsors, and delegates to the beautiful student town of Stellenbosch. The Faculty of Military Science is one of ten faculties of the internationally acclaimed Stellenbosch University and proud to be a co-host of this event. For the South African Military Academy it is wonderful that we have an international academic partnership with the Royal Danish Defence College to cooperate with in hosting this conference on a relevant and contemporary scholarly debate and envisaged instrument to protect and even defend the livelihood of African communities.

In line with our institution's vision, we strive for academic excellence through a triad based upon teaching, research and community interaction. The achievement of these goals would become possible through the knowledgeable presentations of our invited speakers who bring their expertise into this gathering over the next three days. In addition, the delegates, through their active participation, will enrich our learning experiences as members of academia, government, business and community at large. The debates, forthcoming publications and dissemination of information also tie in closely with research and community service in the triad of the faculty's vision. We are proud to be sharing this platform for a fourth time since 2009 with the Royal Danish Defence College and an esteemed audience.

So, let us all please enjoy the next three days as we look forward to vibrant and robust intellectual exchanges. We are hoping that the forging of new friendships and professional networks will be an added value for every delegate.

Sam Tshehla: Professor  
Dean, Faculty of Military Science, Stellenbosch University

# WELCOMING BY THE COMMANDANT, SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY ACADEMY

Dear participant,

Please receive my warmest greetings and welcome at the Fourth 'On Strategy' Conference in Stellenbosch, South Africa. The South African Military Academy houses the Faculty of Military Science of Stellenbosch University in a unique South African interdepartmental partnership to bring the worlds of Defence and Education into one institution. The Military Academy thus offers a setting for young officers, and increasingly also other members of the Department of Defence, to follow scholarly programmes that rank on par with what is on offer in the rest of Africa and beyond. Having developed this scholarly-military interface over the course of several decades, we firmly believe that it is a model to maintain and even refine where and if possible.

It is also encouraging that through the Faculty of Military Science, the Military Academy remains in touch with the Royal Danish Defence College in Copenhagen and in this way enjoys the benefit of an international partnership that serves the institution well. This partnership that was forged in 2008, and ratified in a memorandum of understanding in 2012, made possible three very successful international conferences and publications on African security in 2009, 2011 and 2013. For this I wish to thank our Danish friends and especially for their trust demonstrated in continuing with the relationship and the funding to engage in research and publication.

I look forward with much anticipation to this fourth event and the discussions on the future of the African Standby Force that remains the fundamental building block for African responses to threats emerging on our continent. Operational matters could only benefit from the intellectual and forward looking discussions during this event. The envisaged publications serve both our academic objectives of generating and disseminating knowledge, as well as the physical contribution of the South African National Defence Force to the African Standby Force and the emergent concept of ACIRC – a matter to be critically reviewed during the concluding session of this event.

Enjoy your stay with us here in South Africa.

Lawrence K. Mbatha: Brigadier General  
Commandant, South African Military Academy

# THE VENUE: THE STELLENBOSCH INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY (STIAS) AND WALLENBERG RESEARCH AND CONFERENCE CENTRE

The Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study (STIAS) was founded in 1999 by Stellenbosch University with the intention to develop it as an independent and national institute with an international reach and impact. During the initial stage (1999 to 2007) the Institute functioned as part of the University structure, reporting to the Vice-Rector: Research. In 2007 a not-for-profit (Section 21) company was established to prepare the ground for the staged transfer of functions and responsibilities to the Company as a separate legal entity. Stellenbosch University is a member of the Company, but as a national and independent institute, STIAS is governed by its own Board of Directors.

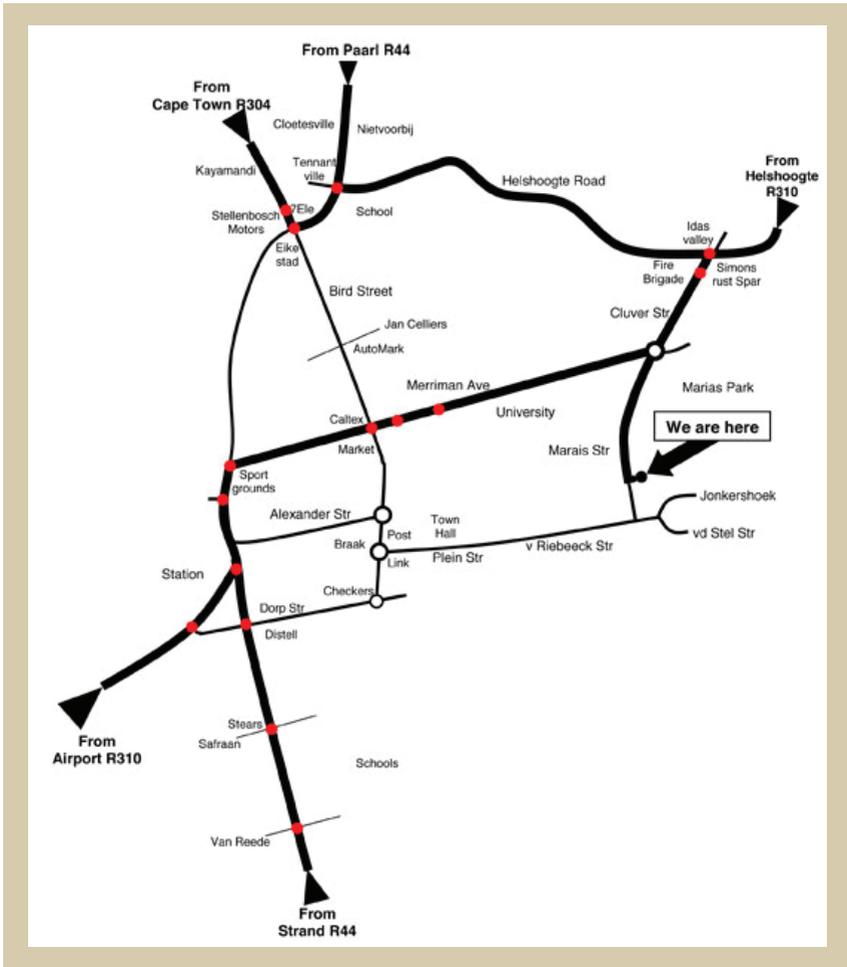
STIAS MANOR HOUSE, a venue of heritage and grandeur, provides a unique setting for business and entertaining and is the ideal venue for conferences, seminars, board meetings, workshops, book launches, presentations and business cocktails. Conveniently located on the Mostertsdrift farm in the historical and exclusive Mostertsdrift area, the heart of Stellenbosch, walking distance to the centre of town and Stellenbosch University, the house dates from 1820, the wine cellar from 1848, and lovingly restored antique furniture and old buildings on the site are protected by the South African Council for National Heritage.

Alongside the old Cape Victorian farmhouse stands the modern WALLENBERG RESEARCH AND CONFERENCE CENTRE's old and new in dialogue with each other.

Formally opened on 15 November 2007, the WALLENBERG RESEARCH CENTRE at STIAS provides modern facilities for Fellows, as well as multipurpose CONFERENCE VENUES that bring scholars, researchers, decision-makers and members of civil society together in a great variety of ways. The Centre provides venues and state-of-the art equipment for up to 300 conference guests at a time as well as breakaway rooms. The building's sound proof Auditorium 1 offer optimal situation for concentrated and undisturbed work, while its communal areas encourage optimal interaction for exchanging viewpoints and perspectives and to stimulate new thought. Air conditioning helps to make the building comfortable during all seasons, especially in the hot summer months,

but the emphasis is on low energy-consumption and low maintenance, with liberal use of double-glazing and solar heating.

The water-wise garden is filled with hardy plants, indigenous to the Western Cape. Wherever you are in the Centre, those who work and visit there are constantly aware of the Jonkershoek Valley and the natural beauty surrounding them. The spacious south terrace overlooks the vineyard and the mountains beyond, and if you take a walk to the old Cape Victorian farmhouse, you experience views of the magnificent gardens with The Pieke in the distance.



# PROGRAMME

**DAY 1, WEDNESDAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 2015**

**Venue:** Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study (STIAS)<sup>1</sup>  
**Theme:** The Peace and Security Council of the African Union:  
Scope and Intent

Programme Director: Prof F. Vreÿ, Stellenbosch University

08:00 – Morning Coffee and Registration  
08:45

08:45 – **Welcoming and Administrative Arrangements**  
09:00 Programme Director: Prof F. Vreÿ

09:00-10:00 **Opening Address**  
HE Mrs Trine Rask Thygesen, Ambassador of Denmark to South Africa and  
Prof A. Schoonwinkel, Vice-Rector Learning and Teaching, Stellenbosch  
University

10:00 – Conference Photo and Tea  
10:30

10:30-11:30 **First Keynote: Security, Conflict Management and the African Union:  
Building the Will, Paying the Bill**  
Prof D.M. Anderson, University of Warwick

## Session 1

Chairperson: R Adm N. Wang, Royal Danish Defence College

11:30 – **Peace and Security Council of the African Union – Declaratory Optimism  
and Operational Decline?**  
12:00 Maj Gen R. Kibochi, Kenyan National Defence Force

12:00 – **Promoting the Blue Security: Enter Maritime Security and AIMS-2050**  
12:30 Dr. C. Bueger, Cardiff University

12:30 – Lunch  
13:30

<sup>1</sup> The Wallenberg Conference Centre at STIAS will be the venue for all sessions and events at this conference.

## Session 2

Chairperson: Col R. Rasmussen, Danish Defence Advisor

13:30 – **African Union vs UN Mandates – Symbolism or International Bedrock?**  
14:00 Prof T. Mandrup, Royal Danish Defence College

14:00 – **African Security Cooperation: From here to where?**  
14:30 Prof M. Schoeman, Pretoria University

## Session 3

Chairperson: Lt Col (Dr) M. Nel, Stellenbosch University

14:30 – **The Civilian Dimension of the African Standby Force and African Peace Support Operations**  
15:00 Dr C.H. de Coning, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

15:00 – Tea  
15:30

15:30-16:00 **Discussion**

16:00 – **Summary: Continental Peace and Security - What is in a name?**  
17:00 Dr A. Oloo, Nairobi University

17:30-20:00 Cocktail hosted by Lanzerac Wine Estate, at STIAS

## DAY 2, THURSDAY, 17 SEPTEMBER 2015

Venue: STIAS<sup>2</sup>

**Theme: Revisiting the Regional Building Blocks of the African Standby Force**

Programme Director: Prof T. Mandrup, Royal Danish Defence College

08:30 – Morning Coffee and Registration  
09:00

### Session 1

09:00 – **Second Keynote: Peace and Security for Africa – A View from the Top**  
10:00 Dr J.K. Cilliers, Institute for Security Studies

10:00 – Tea  
10:30

### Session 2

Chairperson: Mr M. Mkhize, Stellenbosch University

10:30 – **East African Standby Force: Diffused Asymmetries, Strategic Dilemmas and the Innovation of Constructing a Security Architecture**  
11:00 Dr M. Katumanga, University of Nairobi

11:00 – **The Economic Community of West African States – Facing the Acid Tests?**  
11:30 Mr Mustapha Abdallah, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre

11:30 – **Discussion**  
12:30

12:30 – Lunch  
13:30

### Session 3

Chairperson: Mr. L.C. Bailie, Stellenbosch University

13:30 – **The Southern African Development Community – SADC First?**  
14:00 Prof. A. van Nieuwkerk, University of the Witwatersrand

14:00 – **Economic Community of Central African States – An Identity Crisis?**  
14:30 Dr Hortense Nguema Okome, Head of African Union Liaison Office to ECCAS

<sup>2</sup> The Wallenberg Conference Centre at STIAS will be the venue for all sessions and events at this conference.

#### Session 4

Chairperson: Col P.F. Brits, Stellenbosch University

14:30 – **North African Regional Capability (NARC) in a Changing North Africa**  
15:00 Cllr M.H. Elatawy, Cairo Center for Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping in Africa

15:00 – Tea  
15:30

15:30-16:00 **Discussion**

16:00 – **Summary: Regional Cornerstones – Rhetoric or Substance?**  
17:00 Maj Gen L.R. Smith, Deputy Chief of the SA Army

17:00 – Leisure Time  
19:00

19:00-21:00 Conference Dinner, at STIAS

## DAY 3, FRIDAY, 18 SEPTEMBER 2015

**Venue: STIAS<sup>3</sup>**

### **Morning Workshop**

Programme Director: Prof D. Mukangara, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

08:30 – Morning Coffee  
09:00

#### **Discussion 1**

09:00-10:00 **Mutating the African Standby Force: Is ACIRC the Way Forward?**

10:15 – Tea  
10:30

#### **Discussion 2**

Coordinator: Maj H. Laugesen, Royal Danish Defence College

10:30-11:30 **The African Standby Force: A Dwindling Comfort Zone?**

11:30 – **Closing Remarks**  
11:50 Prof D. Mukangara, University of Dar es Salaam

11:50 – **Closing of the Conference**  
12:00 Brig Gen L.K. Mbatha, Commandant SA Military Academy

12:00 – Early Lunch  
13:00

<sup>3</sup> The Wallenberg Conference Centre at STIAS will be the venue for all sessions and events at this conference.

# SPEAKER RÉSUMÉS

## PROF F. VREÿ Stellenbosch University

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Francois Vreÿ is an associate professor in the Faculty of Military Science, Stellenbosch University. He holds a PhD in Futures Studies from the Institute for Futures Research, Stellenbosch University. He is a former editor of the scholarly journal *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal for Military Studies* and serves on the editorial boards of two other journals. His current research focus is maritime security off Africa on which he participates with national and international conference papers and publishes in journals nationally and abroad. As part of his lecturing spectrum, he also lectures to naval officers on asymmetric warfare at sea and on national security to staff courses of the South African National Defence Force.

## MAJ GEN R. KIBOCHI Kenyan National Defence Force

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Major General Robert Kibochi is the Assistant Chief of Kenya Defence Forces responsible for Strategic Policy and Plans, doctrine formulation, and oversight on operations and training functions. He has 35 years of military service and has been employed in both command and staff appointments at all levels of command. He has a wide peacekeeping experience both as a practitioner and a trainer. Between 2001 and 2002, he deployed with the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and has served for four years as the Director of the International Peace Support Training Centre in Nairobi.

His engagement with the African Standby Force (ASF) started at its inception and he participated in the development of the ASF foundation documents while deployed as the Chief of Staff of the Eastern ASF. Robert has deep insight in the development of the ASF and has participated in its review during ASF AMANI 1 Validation Exercise and as a member of the "Gambari ASF assessment Panel". Most recently, he participated in the assessment study of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).

He is a graduate of the National Defence College (Kenya) and has earned academic degrees at masters level in computing and International Studies from Sunderland University and the University of Nairobi respectively.

**DR C. BUEGER**  
**Cardiff University, United Kingdom**

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Christian Bueger is Reader in International Relations in the Department of Politics and International Relations, Cardiff University. He joined Cardiff as a Lecturer in 2012. He has held several visiting fellow positions including at the University College London (2015), Centre for International Law, National University of Singapore (2015), and Copenhagen University (2013, 2014). He obtained his PhD in Political and Social Sciences from the European University Institute, Florence, Italy (2010). During his PhD studies he was a visiting researcher at Cornell University, Ithaca, USA and a research assistant to the European Report on Development 2009. Prior he graduated as a Diplom-Politologe from the Goethe University Frankfurt am Main, Germany, and worked at the Institute for Social Research, Frankfurt am Main and the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt.

His fields of research are Maritime Security Studies, International Political Sociology and African International Relations. He is currently the principal investigator of a research project funded by the UK's Economic and Social Research Council titled "Counter-Piracy Governance – A Praxiographic Analysis". The project compares different institutional responses to maritime piracy and their effect on security governance. He is also one of the lead investigators of the Lessons Learned Consortium of the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia. He is an associate editor of the forthcoming European Journal of International Security (Cambridge UP, 2016). Further information including publications is available at <http://bueger.info>

**PROF T. MANDRUP**  
**Royal Danish Defence College**

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Thomas Mandrup is an Associate Professor at the Royal Danish Defence College, Denmark, and an external lecturer at the Centre for African Studies, University of Copenhagen, Denmark. He has published articles and book chapters, and co-edited several books on issues related to African security governance and South African foreign policy. His three latest co-edited books were entitled *Towards good order at Sea – African Experiences* was published by Sun Media in February 2015 and *The Brics and Coexistence – an alternative vision of world order* was published by Routledge in October 2014, and *On Military Culture: Theory, Practice and African Armed Forces* was published by Cape Town University Press 1st October 2013, whilst his latest book chapter,

Denmark: How not if to Outsource Military Services was published in Commercialising Security in Europe Anna Leander (Eds) Routledge/PRIO March 2013. He received his PhD in International Relations (2007) from the University Copenhagen, Denmark for a dissertation entitled: 'Africa: Salvation or Despair? A study of the post-apartheid South African government's use of the military tool in its foreign policy conduct from 1994 to 2006'. Dr. Mandrup was as a Doctoral Candidate attached to the Danish Institute of International Studies (DIIS) in the Department for Development Studies, in Copenhagen Denmark. He has previously worked as a consultant on South African foreign policy for Chatham House in London as part of a FCO/MOD commissioned project on South Africa, and has in two periods worked as an analyst on African issues in the Danish Defence Intelligence Service. Currently he is an Editorial Advisory Board member of the *Scientia Militaria*, South African Journal of Military Studies.

**PROF M. SCHOEMAN**  
**Pretoria University, South Africa**

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Maxi Schoeman is professor and head of the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria (UP), chair of the Core Social Sciences cluster in the Faculty of Humanities and academic representative on the Council of the University of Pretoria. She holds a PhD from the University of Wales (Aberystwyth). Her research focuses on South African foreign policy and African peace and security with a strong focus on peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction and development. She is currently leading the Faculty of Humanities research theme on Peace and Conflict in Africa and is involved in the UP project on Ubuntu, funded by the Templeton Foundation. She is also responsible for the Centre for Mediation in Africa. Prof Schoeman is deputy chair of the South African Council on International Relations (SACOIR) and of the Board of the Institute for Global Dialogue, a trustee of the Institute for Security Studies and a member of the advisory board of the African Peacebuilding Network of the Social Sciences Research Council in the US. She was the 2014 Claude Ake visiting chair at the Nordic Africa Institute and Uppsala University. Her most recent publications, co-authored with Chris Alden, are 'South Africa's symbolic hegemony in Africa', *International Politics*, 52; 'South Africa's foreign policy: challenges and constraints', *Welt Trends* 92 and 'South Africa in the company of giants: the search for leadership in a transformed global order', *International Affairs* 89 (1).

**DR C.H. DE CONING**  
**Norwegian Institute of International Affairs**

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Cedric de Coning (South Africa) is a Senior Research Fellow in the Peace Operations and Peacebuilding Research Group at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). He is also a Senior Advisor on Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding for the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) in South Africa. He serves on the editorial boards of the journals *Global Governance* and *Peacebuilding*. Cedric has a PhD from the Department of Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch. Recent publications include: "Rising Powers and the Future of Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding" (2013), "Understanding Peacebuilding as Essentially Local" (2013), and "The BRICS and Coexistence: An Alternative Vision of World Order" (2014).

**DR A. OLOO**  
**Nairobi University, Kenya**

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Dr. Adams Oloo has a B.A and M.A in Political Science from the University of Nairobi and an M.A and PhD in Political Science from the University of Delaware (U.S.A.). He also has a Bachelors of Law Degree from the University of Nairobi. He has taught at the University of Nairobi from 1996 and is currently the Chairman of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the same university. His areas of specialisation are in International Relations and comparative politics of which security as a subject matter is one of his specialisation. Dr. Oloo is also an adjunct lecturer at the National Defence College in Kenya and the National Intelligence Academy also in Kenya and is consulted by various organisations including the Kenya government on governance issues. He was a member of the team of experts nominated by the government of Kenya to advise the East African heads of state on the way forward on Political Federation and is currently a member of the Scientific Committee of the African Union's African Integration and Development Journal.

**DR J.K. CILLIERS**  
**Institute for Security Studies, South Africa**

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Dr Jacobus Kamfer (Jakkie) Cilliers is the Executive Director of the Institute for Security Studies and Head of the African Futures and Innovation Section. He has a B. Mil (B.A.) from the University of Stellenbosch and a Hons. B.A.,

M.A. (cum laude) and DLitt et Phil from the University of South Africa (UNISA). Awards include the Bronze Medal from the South African Society for the Advancement of Science and the H Bradlow Research Bursary. He was born in Stellenbosch, South Africa on 16th April 1956. Dr Cilliers co-founded the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in 1990 and played an important role in the transformation of the South African armed forces and the institution of civilian control over the military in the period 1990 to 1996. At present most of Dr Cilliers` interests relate to the emerging security architecture in Africa as reflected in the developments under the banner of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union as well as issues around African long-term future. Dr Cilliers has presented numerous papers at conferences and seminars and published a number of books on various matters relating to peace and security in Africa and serves on the editorial boards of the *African Security Review* and the *South African Journal of International Affairs*. He is a regular commentator on local and international radio and television and has attended a large number of international conferences. He is an Extraordinary Professor in the Centre of Human Rights and the Department of Political Sciences, Faculty Humanities at the University of Pretoria. He also serves on the International Advisory Board of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP) in Switzerland, on the board of advisers of the Center on International Conflict Resolution, Columbia University, New York and on the World Economic Forum`s Think Tank Leaders Forum.

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**DR MUSAMBAYI KATUMANGA**  
**University of Nairobi, Kenya**

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Dr Katumanga is a political scientist. He is currently a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the University of Nairobi and at the National Defense College where he lectures in Political Theory, Security and Strategic Studies.

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**MR MUSTAPHA ABDALLAH**

**Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, Ghana**

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Mustapha Abdallah is a Research Fellow with the Conflict Management Programme, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research (FAAR), Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), Ghana. Focusing on institutions such as the AU and ECOWAS, his research interests include: radicalisation and violent extremism, conflict prevention, peacekeeping, and

peace infrastructures. His recent publications include: Kwesi Aning & Mustapha Abdallah (2013): 'Islamic radicalization and violence in Ghana', *Conflict, Security & Development*, 13:2, 149-167; Kwesi Aning & Mustapha Abdallah (2012) 'Exploring the Benefits and Disadvantages of Hybrid and other Support Models for Peace Operations in Africa' in Gelot, Linear et al, (eds.) '*Supporting African Peace Operations*', Nordic Africa Institute; *Confronting Hybrid Threats in Africa: Improving Multi-dimensional Responses* forthcoming with Dr. Kwesi Aning.

**PROF A. VAN NIEUWKERK**  
**University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa**

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Professor Anthoni van Nieuwkerk holds an MA in political science from the University of Johannesburg and a PhD in international relations from Wits University, Johannesburg. He has been research-active from the early 1990s and has pursued an academic career in teaching, training and policy analysis from 2000. He developed extensive management skills as research director at the Institute for Global Dialogue and the Wits School of Governance (previously known as the Graduate School of Public and Management Development) at Wits University, where he is currently based, and from where he leads the school as Academic Director as well as the Centre for Defence and Security Management. In 2013 he received recognition by the National Research Foundation and until 2014, held the position as Assistant Dean (Research) for the Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management at Wits. In 2015, he was appointed by the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation as a member of the South African Council on International Relations (SACOIR). Anthoni publishes widely on foreign and security policy, has participated in several scenarios development exercises, and has broad experience with advising African policymakers on foreign and national security policy processes and frameworks. He is a visiting lecturer and external examiner at academic and training institutions in South Africa and elsewhere on the continent, and serves as editorial board member of the accredited journals *African Security*, *Administratio Publica* and *European Journal of International Studies*.

## DR HORTENSE NGUEMA OKOME

### Head of the African Union Liaison Office to ECCAS, Gabon

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Dr Hortense Nguema Okome holds a PhD in Public Law from Kobe University in Japan. She currently serves as the Head of the African Union Liaison Office to ECCAS in Libreville, Gabon. Prior to this, she was an Expert Consultant to the African Union for the Assessment of the Operationalisation of the African Peace and Security Architecture. Before working for the African Union, she was a Professor of Public Law (Head of the Diplomacy Department), at the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration*, in Strasbourg, France. She had also served as Legal Advisor to the Deputy Prime Minister of Gabon and as an official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## CLLR M.H. ELATAWY

### Cairo Center for Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping in Africa (CCCPA), Egypt

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Mohamed Hatem (Hatem) Elatawy is an expert in security issues (particularly disarmament and conflict resolution especially over water resources, peacekeeping and peacebuilding), United States politics and Egyptian-European relations. Hatem is currently on secondment to CCCPA from the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (EMFA), where he spent the past 17 years in the diplomatic service. He has served in the Egyptian litigations to the United States, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and most recently to the European Office of the United Nations Organisation. Prior to joining EMFA, Hatem worked in television journalism and marketing. Hatem holds a BSc. in Mechanical Engineering from the American University in Cairo (1991) and two Master of Arts degrees in Political Science and International Relations from the American University in Cairo (1995) and University of Durham-UK (1996). Among Hatem's publications are "Nilopolitics: A Hydrological Regime 1870-1990": *Cairo Papers in Social Science*, Vol 19 No. 1, 1997; and "ICoC: Recommendations for Further Elaboration" in *Awaiting Launch: Perspectives on the Draft ICOC for Outer Space Activities*. Rajagoplan, Rajeswari Pillai and Daniel Porras eds. Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, 2014.

**MAJ GEN L.R. SMITH**  
**Deputy Chief of the South African Army**

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Maj Gen Lawrence R. Smith started his career in the armour. His operational experience includes exposure at all command levels up to brigade in conventional operations, counterinsurgency operations and peace support operations. He participated at command level during the SADC Standby Force and the ASF's combat readiness exercises over the period 2008 to 2010. More recently he has been involved in the readiness preparations of ACIRC. His professional education includes studies at the SA Army College, the US Army Command and General Staff College as well as the National Defence University of China. He is currently the Deputy Chief of the South African Army.

**PROF D. MUKANGARA**  
**University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania**

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Education: B.A. and M.A. in Political Science, University of Dar es Salaam. Graduate diplomas in Law and Conflict Studies, UDSM and Uppsala, Sweden. PhD in Political Economy, Australian National University. Has taught at university for 38 years in the fields of his qualifications. Worked in Government for the AU's African Peer Review Mechanism for two years. Researcher, Decentralisation in Government Project, UDSM, 1975–80. Senior Researcher, Democratisation and Elections in Tanzania, 1995–2011. Principal Researcher: UNECA, EISA and SAlIA Governance and Parliamentary Democracy Research, 2001–07.

Selected Publications: With A. Buchongkul et al, "Conflict Theory and Peace Research", in G. Lindgren et al, *Peace Processes in the Third World*, Uppsala, 1991. "Industrialization Policies and Development With Reference to Tanzania" *AFRICAN REVIEW*, Vol. 20, Nos. 1 & 2, 1993. With R.S. Mukandala, *Siasa Katika Tanzania Baada ya Uchaguzi Mkuu wa 1995*, REDET, DSM, 1998. *Strengthening Parliamentary Democracy in SADC Countries: Tanzania Country Report*, South African Institute of International Affairs, 2005. (With Susan Palmer and John Larvie), *Independent Evaluation of the 2005 Elections Basket*, UNDP Tanzania Country Office, Dar es Salaam, 2006. *The Nature of Curriculum in a National Defence College*, National Defence College, Dar es Salaam.

# ABSTRACTS

## **Security, Conflict Management and the African Union: Building the will, Paying the Bill**

PROF D.M. ANDERSON

The success of the African Union in advancing a security agenda for the continent has been widely acknowledged. Through the Peace and Security Council, supplemented by other institutional developments, the AU has been able to evolve and nurture a range of responses to the security challenges facing the continent. This paper reviews the progress made to date, and identifies the critical decisions that lie ahead – principally the character of and funding for any permanent crisis response mechanism to be administered under the auspices of the AU. What steps need to be taken to secure the political will within the AU for such an initiative? And can the AU take responsibility for the funding of any such force? These challenges remain formidable, and the paper will identify the obstructions that need to be removed if the AU is to realise the aspiration of full African ownership of conflict management on the continent.

## **Peace and Security Council of the African Union – Declaratory Optimism and Operational Decline?**

MAJ GEN R. KIBOCHI

The subject of peace and security in Africa and the role of the AU Peace and security institutions in response to complex security situations is a recurring theme in any discourse on African security. The establishment of such peace and security structures was spearheaded by the creation of the mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) post-Cold War in 1993 when Africa experienced some of the most atrocious conflicts. The mechanism's mandate was to act as the central coordinating organ for continental peace and security. Its efficacy was, however, found wanting in 1994 during the Rwandan genocide and subsequently thereafter during the atrocious conflict in Sierra-Leone.

The adoption of the Constitutive Act of the African Union in July 2000 reinvigorated a new hope for the African continent arising from its shift from the non-interference philosophy which characterised the OAU to a more proactive approach enshrined in its articles which provide for intervention in situations of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. The subsequent adoption of the protocol establishing the AU Peace and Security Council in 2002 as a

standing decision making organ with the AU Commission, the Continental Early Warning System, the Panel of the Wise, the Peace Fund and the African Standby Force had provided the AU with a coherent mechanism for prevention, management and resolution of conflicts.

The paper tries to provide an analytical explanation on the performance of the AU PSC since inception to establish the extent to which the optimism that followed its establishment has been met. The background of the paper analyses the complexity of the environment that the PSC has operated to anchor the assessment of its effectiveness thus far. This environment focuses on the conflict dynamics, institutional capacities, funding mechanisms and external partnerships. The paper finally makes an assessment of the PSC Authorised Missions to provide a measure of operational decline if any.

## **Promoting the Blue Security: Enter Maritime Security and AIMS-2050**

DR C. BUEGER

How are maritime security and the blue economy linked? And what are the consequences for African security and development? This talk addresses these questions in the light of the AIMS-2050 strategy and the upcoming November 2015 Lomé Summit on African Maritime Security and Development. The focus will be on challenges of implementation and how the complexity of maritime security and the blue economy can be managed.

## **African Union vs UN Mandates – Symbolism or International Bedrock?**

PROF T. MANDRUP

The African Union has from its birth in 2002 developed into an important continental conflict management tool. However, the organisation has also come to realise that the organisation, when deployed, is often confronted with a strategic asymmetric opponent, that requires another mandate and military tools than has characterised traditional UN led Peace Support Operations (PSOs). For that reason the AU is in the process of setting up robust rapid deployment military capabilities, and have already deployed robust military contingents to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Nigeria and Somalia. However, what is the consequence of the increased use of force to stop conflict, and what consequence may this have for the future mandates of UN PSOs?

## **African Security Cooperation: From here to where?**

PROF M. SCHOEMAN

The African Union's Agenda 2063 aspires to peace on the continent within the next five years: 'By 2020 all guns will be silent'. Against the background of old/intractable and new conflicts and current trends in peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding, this paper explores the viability of attaining Agenda 2063's Aspiration 4.31 by critically analysing a select number of challenges facing African cooperation and opportunities for building effective institutions and mechanisms to address these challenges.

## **The Civilian Dimension of the African Standby Force and African Peace Support Operations**

DR C.H. DE CONING

The African Standby Force (ASF) is due to achieve full operational capability by the end of 2015. The AU has also deployed several peace operations of its own since its first mission was deployed to Burundi in 2003. However, the civilian dimension of the ASF, and the civilian components of the peace operations deployed to date, have lagged behind. This paper explains what the civilian dimension entails and why it is important for African peace operations; it identifies the impediments to the operationalisation of the civilian dimension, and it offers recommendations for how these hindrances can be overcome.

## **Peace and Security for Africa – A View from the Top**

DR J.K. CILLIERS

This paper presents a review of drivers and levels of armed violence in Africa with specific focus on the contribution of jihadi terror.

The long-term trend in armed conflict in Africa follows the general global pattern of declining levels if measured in relation to its increasing population size. An important reason for these declines is the reduction in interstate conflict in line with the entrenchment of global norms against war between states. Most armed conflicts today are fought within rather than between states even as the nature of political violence is changing.

Much greater oscillations are observable when reviewing trends over a shorter time horizon. Globally armed violence declined after the collapse of the Berlin Wall and reached its lowest levels from 2002 to 2005. In recent years,

particularly since 2009/2010, armed conflict has increased in the Middle East and in Africa, a period roughly coinciding with the great global recession and the latter years of the War on Terror. This trend has reversed much (but not all) of the relative gains made immediately after the collapse of the Berlin Wall.

An important factor in the associated increase is the relative contribution made by jihadi terrorism to political violence in Africa where three successive waves are discernible. The first followed the return of battle-hardened Algerians, Egyptians and others jihadi's from Afghanistan in the early nineteen-nineties, leading to particularly high levels of violence in Algeria. A second, more muted wave of terror would follow after the US invaded Iraq in 2003, an event that provided a recruiting bonanza for the jihadi's and facilitated the establishment and rise of the Islamic State which has also emboldened radical Islam in Africa. The impact of the Arab spring in weakening authoritarian control in many North African countries and, in particular, events in Libya that followed the ousting of Moammar Gaddafi in 2011 would unleash a third wave that spread much further to include large parts of the Maghreb.

The paper concludes by speculating on the potential future of peace and security on the continent.

## **East African Standby Force: Diffused Asymmetries, Strategic Dilemmas and the Innovation of Constructing a Security Architecture**

**DR MUSAMBAYI KATUMANGA**

About three divisions from the East African Standby Force (EASF) milieu are engaged in peacekeeping, and enforcement under multilateral and state-centric initiatives. The fact that none are deployed under the auspices of the subsystems' security architecture points to both challenge and potential for operationalising Full Operational Capability Status (FOC) attained by the EASF in December 2014. Undergirding these challenges are multiple diffused economic and military asymmetries. These animate multiple economic and security cooperation and by inference the prevailing immature anarchies. This paper recapitulates the same while contextualising its current geo-political, economic and strategic and security dilemmas. Contingent appreciations are anchored on the impact of the apparent military overstretch of the core states when it comes to the variables of force generation, readiness and financial sustenance in relation to FOC.

We seek to test the assertion that while the existence of diffused multiple economic and military asymmetries provide a challenge for a security

architecture, if innovatively exploited, they can conversely serve as an inverse platform for constructing a viable regional security architecture to the extent that the process is followed by efforts at state consolidation and a mutual defence pact that seeks to resolve immature anarchies.

## **The Economic Community of West African States – Facing the Acid Tests?**

**MR MUSTAPHA ABDALLAH**

Originally established as a regional integration scheme, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was transformed from an economic into political-security organisation to respond to multiple security challenges. Through its Peace and Security Architecture, ECOWAS is mandated to prevent, manage and restore peace and security through peace support operations and peacebuilding interventions. A critical component of the architecture is the ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF) created under Article 22 of the Mechanism to respond to crisis situations when fully operational. Although the architecture with its standby force in the current status is arguably the most developed among the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in Africa, it faces several challenges. In the 2012 Malian crisis, some of the challenges resulted in the intervention by French forces under “Operation Serval” before the subsequent deployment of ESF under AFISMA. West Africa’s security challenges poses a veritable ‘set of acid tests’ to ECOWAS security architecture characterised by growing threats such as violent extremism, terrorism, transnational organised crimes, youth bulge and health pandemics. In responding to these challenges, the ESF has failed to adapt to these changing dynamics. Beyond 2015, the critical questions that arise are: to what extent are ECOWAS structures, particularly its Standby Force ready and capable to respond to the issues raised above? What new reforms and strategies, if any, need to be adopted to respond to constantly evolving security challenges? How will the ESF re-define its operations or how will the AU and ECOWAS restructure and better coordinate to make the ASF more effective and responsive to crises on the continent?

## **The Southern African Development Community – SADC First?**

**PROF A. VAN NIEUWKERK**

In August 2015, the SADC Summit adopted a set of progress reports and policy documents that suggest a deepening of regional integration and in particular, development and security cooperation. Among these are the revised Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) and an accompanying

Industrialisation strategy. According to the media a counter-terrorism strategy was also adopted. The regional block's five-year old peace and security strategy – the revised Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ or SIPO II – was renewed for another year, given that SADC was unable (or unprepared) to review its implementation in time for the development of a replacement.

These dynamics – including the appointment of King Mswati of Swaziland as the incoming Chair of SADC – raise a number of questions regarding the nature of the integration project. The presentation will attempt to address these, including: Do SADC member states share norms and values to the extent that ceding of sovereignty becomes possible – nay, desirable? Can the SADC Secretariat be regarded as a decision-maker and rule enforcer – now or in the future? Can SADC escape its statist image and behaviour as an implementation mechanism of dominant ruling elites? How can this form of regional integration – where national interests determine cooperation – be reconciled with a human security – driven paradigm of cooperation and integration? Which form of integration is most compatible with the AU's AGA and APSA?

## **Economic Community of Central African States – An Identity Crisis?**

**DR HORTENSE NGUEMA OKOME AND MR M. MBAYE**

The ECCAS Standby Force, known as FOMAC, was established in 1999 at the ECCAS Yaoundé Summit. FOMAC is part of the ASF and constitutes one of the five brigades planned by the AU. A Regional Peacekeeping Brigade was set up at the Chiefs of Staff Meeting in Brazzaville, in October 2003. Since 2003, FOMAC has made progress in its operationalisation, especially, in terms of structures. Action Plans have been adopted, and three Exercises have been successfully conducted at the strategic, operational and tactical levels (Bar El Ghazal, Kwanza and Loango). The latest one, Exercise “Loango 2014” showed that FOMAC has already reached its Rapid Deployment Capability (RDC). ECCAS has courageously run two Peace Support Operations in Central Africa Republic (CAR), known as MICOPAX I and MICOPAX II. ECCAS has also conducted maritime exercises in the Gulf of Guinea, since September 2009. However, since its establishment, FOMAC is still facing several difficulties and challenges. This paper will pay attention to the next steps for ECCAS towards the full operationalisation of the APSA, beyond 2015.

# The North African Regional Capability in a Changing North Africa

CLLR M.H. ELATAWY AND CLLR A. SWELAM

With the establishment of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) that was firmly anchored in the five African regions, and in the absence of a Regional Economic Community (REC) in the north that includes all the countries of the region, the North African Regional Capability (NARC) of the African Standby Force was established with Tripoli, Libya as the headquarters. At the time, the NARC was considered to have strong potential given the economic and military capability of the North African states and the political backing it received particularly from the host state of its Secretariat. The reality, however, proved to be much different.

Since its inception, the NARC has been challenged by the political context and diplomatic dynamics marring cooperation in the North African region, especially regarding its composition reflecting membership in the African Union, rather than the universal membership of the UN. Later on, the upheaval in Libya had two profound impacts on the NARC. The direct impact was with the instability that engulfed Libya (including kidnapping of Arab Diplomats and citizens which lead many countries of North Africa to evacuate their official staff including officers at the NARC headquarters) and forced the legitimate Libyan Government out of the capital Tripoli, thus affecting the NARC operations at the headquarters. The indirect effect was the absence of one of the strongest proponents of NARC and levels of cooperation was negatively affected.

Despite the many political and diplomatic challenges facing the NARC, there is still interest in the capability whether from the African Union or from Member States of the capability. Most recently in the AU 8th Ordinary Meeting of the Specialised Technical Committee on Defence, Safety and Security that was held in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe on 15th May 2015, the final declaration urged the “NARC to re-double their efforts to endure the full operationalisation of its standby force”. Indeed, not only is one member of the NARC (Egypt) one of the largest troop contributing countries in UN missions (most of them in Africa), but the North African regions may in fact benefit from the presence of an operationalised NARC. In fact, the parallel discussion on the establishment of an Arab Joint Force could benefit from the experience of a North African Capability.

To be able to do that, the NARC has to charter it’s course to overcome some issues including the issue of the headquarters of the NARC, the convening of the next meeting of the Chief of Staff of the capability, the signature and ratification of the NARC Agreement by the remaining states as well as bringing up the capability to full operationalisation. There seems to be a particular potential for Egypt to re-energise the NARC and such leadership may yet see this capability meeting its full potential.

# INFORMATION FOR DELEGATES

## Registration

Registration takes place in the foyer of the conference room at STIAS from 08:00 each morning. All speakers, invited guests and delegates are kindly requested to register on the morning of 16 September 2015.

## Dress

The dress code for the event is jacket and tie (or military equivalent) and for ladies - as they deem appropriate. Traditional dress is acknowledged according to own customs. The venue is air-conditioned. The same dress code is applicable to the cocktail and dinner - on the evenings of 16 and 17 September respectively. Please keep an umbrella at hand for possible rain. The dress for the workshop on the morning of 18 September is informal, thus, no jacket & tie required.

## Transport and Parking

Mr Andries Fokkens will attend to shuttle services for speakers and invited guests. Other delegates are requested to arrange own transport. Delegates are encouraged to walk to the venue and/or share vehicles, due to limited parking space at the venue.

## Cash Payments

Cash payments for the conference fee at the venue are not encouraged. Please liaise with Mr Andries Fokkens at the venue ([andries@sun.ac.za](mailto:andries@sun.ac.za)) about payments. Please keep some cash in South African currency at hand for the cocktail and dinner, should you wish to make use of the cash bar.

## Conference Cocktail and Dinner

Both events take place as indicated on the programme at the venue itself (STIAS). These events commence with a brief welcoming by a dignitary, after which the meals are served. Please select from the available dishes your dietary preference. If you wish to have a special meal prepared, please indicate this when registering on the morning of 16 September to Mr Andries Fokkens, at the registration desk. Bottled water, fruit juice and wine will be served at the functions. A cash bar will also be available.

## Special Diets

The conference venue caters for a variety of diets. The meals are set out in a way that guests can select their own preferences from what is available. In case of very special requests, please contact Mr Andries Fokkens at the registration desk.

## Medical

In case of a medical emergency, please report to reception. Reception will assist with a medical bag, or with phoning an ambulance. Each organiser, speaker, delegate and guest must please ensure that they have the necessary medical-cover documentation at hand. Emergency telephone numbers are listed on the last page of this programme. The contact details for local hospitals in Stellenbosch are the following:

Stellenbosch Medi-Clinic: Tel:  
**021 861-2000**, c/o Saffraan and Rokewood Avenue, Die Boord

Stellenbosch Provincial Hospital:  
Tel: **808-6100 / 6147/ 6148**, Merriman Street, Stellenbosch

# SPECIAL THANKS AND APPRECIATION

**Embassy of Denmark in South Africa**

**Royal Danish Defence College:** R Adm N. Wang and Prof T. Mandrup

**Stellenbosch University:** Prof E. Cloete, Vice-Rector Research for funding the postgraduate participation

**University of Dar es Salaam:** Prof D. Mukangara

**University of Namibia:** Dr V. Mwangi

**Dean, Faculty of Military Science, Stellenbosch University:** Prof M.S. Tshehla

**Commandant, South African Military Academy:** Brig Gen L.K. Mbatha

**Stellenbosch University:** Mr M. Viljoen for media liaison and publicity

**Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study (STIAS) and the Wallenberg Conference Centre:** Ms J. Venter

**Conference Website:** Ms L. Khosa, Faculty of Military Science

**Maties Travel:** Ms S. Du Toit and staff

**SunMedia, Stellenbosch:** Conference programmes

**Academic assistants of the Faculty of Military Science**

## **Coordinators, Session Chairs and Facilitators**

R Adm N. Wang, Commandant Royal Danish Defence College

Col R. Rasmussen, Danish Defence Advisor

Lt Col (Dr) M. Nel, Stellenbosch University

Dr A. Oloo, Nairobi University, Kenya

Mr M. Mkhize, Stellenbosch University

Mr L.C. Bailie, Stellenbosch University

Col P.F. Brits, Stellenbosch University

Maj Gen L.R. Smith, Deputy Chief of the South African Army

Prof D. Mukangara, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Maj H. Laugesen, Royal Danish Defence College

A special word of appreciation to:

Mr A.M. Fokkens: Administration and finances

Ms M. Prins: Administration of flight and shuttle services

Mr E. Jordaan: Coordination of conference programme

# EMERGENCY NUMBERS

## **Police**

10111 – National

021 809 5015 – Stellenbosch Police Station, Operational Room

## **Ambulance /Metro control room**

021 937 0500

## **Private Ambulance**

084 124 : ER24

082 911 : Netcare911

## **Stellenbosch Hospital**

021 808 6100

## **Medi-Clinic**

021 861 2000

## **Fire / Rescue / Emergency**

021 808 8888 – Fire Station

021 887 4446 – Winelands Emergency

021 888 5275 - Mountain Fires | Berg Fires | Rural Fires

## **Locksmiths**

021 887 6706 Neelsie Sleutels & Tekens

021 886 6785 – N & G Locksmiths

## **Vehicle Breakdown**

021 887 8596 – Tomson Motors

082 807 0901 - After Hours, GP Towing.

## **Municipal Helpline**

021 808 8111 - Stellenbosch

086 126 5263 - Cape Winelands District