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DATE\PLACE OF BIRTH

12 December 1959, Cape Town

EDUCATION

2009 PhD, Historical Studies, University of Cape Town (UCT)
1988-1990 M.Phil, School of Peace Studies, Bradford University
1978-1983 B.Bus.Sci/LLB, UCT

EMPLOYMENT

2010- Senior Researcher, Department of Political Sciences, University of Pretoria
2005-2010 Research Fellow, Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics; co-ordinator of the Centre's research programme on regional security
2004-2005 Senior Research Associate, Centre for Conflict Resolution, UCT
1992-2003 Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS, BOARDS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

2011- Extraordinary Professor, University of Pretoria

- 2010- Visiting Professor, Cranfield University
- 2010- Honorary Research Associate, Department of Environmental and Geographical Sciences, UCT
- 2009- Book Reviews Advisory Committee, *International Affairs*
- 2007- International Advisory Board, MSc in Security Sector Management, Cranfield University
- 2007- Editorial Board, *Journal of Security Sector Management*, Cranfield University
- 2006-2010 Management Committee and Critical Advisory Review Group, Crisis States Research Centre, LSE
- 2006-2010 Research Fellow, Department of Environmental and Geographical Science, UCT
- 1995-2003 Policy Board, Defence Management Programme, University of the Witwatersrand
- 1993- Editorial Advisory Board, *South African Journal of International Affairs*, South African Institute of International Affairs
- 1993- Editorial Committee, *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria

POST-GRADUATE TEACHING

- 2011- Designer, convenor & teacher, module on Advanced Conflict Management & Negotiation Skills, South Sudan Executive Leadership Programme, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth
- 2011- Designer, convenor & teacher, module on Mediation in Africa, MDips, University of Pretoria
- 2010- Designer, convenor & teacher, module on Managing Intelligence Reform, MSc in Security Sector Management, Cranfield University in co-operation with the Ethiopian Defence Ministry, Addis Ababa

- 2009- Designer, convenor & teacher, module on Managing Intelligence Reform, MSc in Security Sector Management, Cranfield University, Shrivenham, United Kingdom
- 2006- Designer, convenor & teacher, Masters/Hons course on Understanding and Managing Conflict, University of Cape Town

POLICY APPOINTMENTS

- 2010 Member of the Security Working Group, United Nations-African Union mediation for Darfur
- 2010- Member of the UN Mediation Roster
- 2010- Member of the UN Roster of Security Sector Reform Experts
- 2009- Contracted by the UN Mediation Support Unit to assist the African Union build its mediation capacity
- 2008- Member of the International Reference Group for Security Sector Development in Burundi, Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- 2008-2010 Member of the International Advisory Group on Sustainable Security, Oxford Research Group
- 2007-8 Contracted to help SADC build its mediation capacity
- 2007 Contracted to help IGAD build its mediation capacity
- 2007 Participant in the UN Security Council's Arria-style meeting on security sector reform (16 February)
- 2006-8 Member of the Ministerial Review Commission on Intelligence, established by the South African Minister for Intelligence Services
- 2006-8 Member of the Expert Advisory Group of the UNDP Democratic Governance Practice Network
- 2006-8 Member of the Steering Committee and Technical Committee of the Civic Education Programme for the Intelligence Services, South Africa

- 2006 Member of the Critical Review Panel for the *Implementation Framework for Security Sector Reform*, OECD DAC Network on Conflict Prevention and Development Co-operation
- 2005-6 Member of the African Union mediation team for Darfur
- 2005 Adviser to the Palestinian security services and the Ward Mission on the preparation of a Palestinian White Paper on Safety and Security
- 2005 Commissioned by DFID to help ECOWAS strengthen its capacity for mediation and preventive diplomacy
- 2004-6 Member of the Board of Directors of Conciliation Resources
- 2004 Member of the team established to review the draft report of the Countries at Risk of Instability Project of the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, United Kingdom
- 2003 Member of a civic peace mission to Baghdad at the request of the President's Office, Republic of South Africa (RSA)
- 2001-4 Member of the Carter Centre's International Council for Conflict Resolution
- 2001-2 Commissioned by the parliamentary defence committee to redraft the National Conventional Arms Control Bill, RSA
- 2001 Commissioned by the RSA Department of Defence to redraft The Prohibition of Anti-Personnel Mines Bill
- 2000-1 Appointed by the Minister of Defence to the drafting committee for the new Armscor Act, RSA
- 2000 Mediator in the Western Cape transport conflict
- 1999-2000 Adviser to the Foreign Minister of Swaziland in his capacity as Chair of the Inter State Defence and Security Committee; and drafter of the *SADC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation*
- 1998-2002 Member of the Advisory Committee of the Arms Division of Human Rights Watch, Washington DC
- 1998-2000 Member of the RSA Department of Defence work group tasked with drafting a new Defence Act, a Military Discipline Code, Regulations on

Labour Relations in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and the Military Discipline Supplementary Measures Act

- 1998-9 Drafter of the Code of Conduct for the SANDF
- 1998 Member of the team tasked by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the Government of the United Kingdom to undertake an 'early warning' training needs assessment at UN headquarters in New York
- 1997-8 Appointed by Minister Asmal to serve on the committee tasked with drafting the *White Paper on the Defence Industry*, RSA
- 1997 Adviser to General Sedibe, Chief Director Equal Opportunity, on equal opportunity and affirmative action
- 1996 Member of the Defence Review Work Group and drafter of the *Report on Defence Posture, Functions and Force Design*, Defence Review, Department of Defence, RSA
- 1995-2002 Appointed by the Defence Minister to serve on the Civic Education Monitoring and Advisory Committee, Department of Defence, RSA
- 1995-6 Drafter of the *White Paper on Defence*, RSA
- 1994-9 Adviser to Ronnie Kasrils, Deputy Minister of Defence, RSA
- 1994-9 Adviser to Tony Yengeni, Chairperson of the parliamentary defence committee, RSA
- 1994-7 Appointed by President Mandela as a Commissioner on the Cameron Commission of Inquiry into Arms Trade
- 1994-5 Adviser on regional security to the Foreign Minister of Mozambique
- 1994-5 Adviser on regional security to the Executive Secretary of SADC
- 1994 Co-ordinator of the Security Advisory Committee, Independent Electoral Committee, RSA
- 1994 Member of the Ministry of Defence Work Group, Subcouncil on Defence, Transitional Executive Council, RSA
- 1992 Member of the Expert Group commissioned to prepare the 1993 SADC Programme of Action

1991-1993 Senior adviser on security and defence, African National Congress

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Community of Insecurity: SADC's Struggle for Peace and Security in Southern Africa, 2012, Ashgate

No Ownership, No Commitment: A Guide to Local Ownership of Security Sector Reform, May 2007; second edition October 2007, Birmingham: University of Birmingham

The Changing of the Guard: Armed Forces and Defence Policy in a Democratic South Africa, 1994, Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council

Out of Step: War Resistance in South Africa, 1990, London: Catholic Institute for International Relations

War and Society: The Militarisation of South Africa (editor, with Jacklyn Cock), 1989, Cape Town: David Philip and New York: St Martins Press

Chapters in books

'Power, security and regional conflict management in Southern Africa and South Asia', in Harpviken, K. (ed), 2010, *Troubled Regions and Fragile States: The Clustering and Contagion of Armed Conflict*, Comparative Social Research, vol. 27, Bingley: Emerald, pp. 309-332

'Exploring the domestic intelligence mandate: the case of South Africa', in Africa, S. and Kwadjo, J. (eds), 2009, *Changing Intelligence Dynamics in Africa*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham, pp. 155-178

'Courting El Bashir: South Africa, Sudan and Darfur', in Shillinger, K. (ed), 2009, *Africa's Peacemaker? Lessons from South African Conflict Mediation*, Auckland Park: Jacana, pp. 81-91

'The challenge of local ownership of SSR: from donor rhetoric to practice', in Donais, T. (ed), 2008, *Local Ownership and Security Sector Reform*, Zurich: LIT Verlag, pp. 19-36

'The making and unmaking of the Darfur Peace Agreement', in De Waal, A. (ed), 2007, *War in Darfur and the Search for Peace*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, pp. 245-266

'Mediation and the African Union's Panel of the Wise', in Field, S. (ed), 2004, *Peace in Africa: Towards a Collaborative Security Regime*, Johannesburg: Institute for Global Dialogue, pp. 63-80. Republished as *Discussion Paper* No. 10, Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics, June 2005

'Organ failure: a review of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security', in Laakso, L. (ed), 2002, *Regional Integration for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building in Africa: Europe, SADC and ECOWAS*, Helsinki: Department of Political Science, University of Helsinki, pp. 62-102

'The absent sentry: sanctions and the problem of weak border control', in Brzoska, M. (ed), 2001, *Smart Sanctions: The Next Steps*, BICC Disarmament and Conversion Studies, No. 6. Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden: Bonn International Centre for Conversion, pp. 101-114

'The 1996 Defence White Paper: an agenda for state demilitarisation', in Cock, J. and McKenzie, P. (eds), 1998, *From Defence to Development: Redirecting Military Resources in South Africa*, Cape Town: David Philip, pp. 41-59

'Civil-military relations in the new South Africa', in Gutteridge, W. (ed), 1996, *South Africa's Defence and Security into the 21st Century*, Aldershot: Dartmouth, pp. 87-109

'Revisiting security', in Minnaar, A., Liebenberg, I. and Schutte, C. (eds), 1994, *The Hidden Hand: Covert Operations in South Africa*, Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, pp. 375-389

'From a police force to a police service: the new Namibian police', in Mathews, M., Heymann, P. and Mathews, A. (eds), 1993, *Policing the Conflict in South Africa*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, pp. 121-130

'Cross-currents: security developments under FW de Klerk' (with Mark Philips), in Moss, G. and Obery, I. (eds), 1992, *South African Review 6: From 'Red Friday' to Codesa*, Johannesburg: Ravan, pp. 112-127

'Human rights, reconciliation and conflict in independent Namibia: the formation of the Namibian army and police force', in Rupesinghe, K. (ed), 1992, *Internal Conflicts and Governance*, London: MacMillan, pp. 152-168

'Troops in the townships', in Cock and Nathan, *War and Society*, 1989, *op cit*, pp. 67-78

'Marching to a different beat: the history of the End Conscription Campaign', in Cock and Nathan, *War and Society*, 1989, *op cit*, pp. 308-323

'Resistance to militarisation: three years of the End Conscription Campaign', in Moss, G. and Obery, I. (eds), 1988, *South African Review* 4, Johannesburg: Ravan, pp. 104-116

Articles in refereed and accredited journals

'Interests, ideas and ideology: South Africa's policy on Darfur', *African Affairs*, 2011, 110(438): 55-74

'The African Union and regional organisations in Africa: communities of insecurity', *African Security Review*, 2010, 19(2): 106-113

'Intelligence bound: the South African Constitution and intelligence services', *International Affairs*, 2010, 86(1): 195-210

'AFRICOM: a threat to Africa's security', *Contemporary Security Policy*, 2009, 30(1): 58-61

'Lighting up the intelligence community: an agenda for intelligence reform in South Africa', *African Security Review*, 2009, 18(1): 91-104

'The causes of civil war: the false logic of Collier and Hoeffler', *South African Review of Sociology*, 2008, 39(2): 262-275

'The failure of the Darfur mediation', *Journal of Ethnopolitics*, 2007, 6(4): 495-511

'Africa's early warning system: an emperor with no clothes?', *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 2007, 14(1): 49-60

'Domestic instability and security communities', *European Journal of International Relations*, 2006, 12(2): 275-299

'SADC's uncommon approach to common security, 1992-2003', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2006, 32(3): 605-622. Co-winner of the *Journal of Southern African Studies* best article prize for 2006.

'Consistencies and inconsistencies in South Africa's foreign policy in Africa', *International Affairs*, 2005, 81(2): 361-372

'Obstacles to security sector reform in new democracies', *Journal of Security Sector Management*, 2004, 2(3). Also published in C. McCartney, M. Fischer and O. Wils (eds), *Security Sector Reform: Potentials and Challenges for Conflict Transformation*, Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series, 2004, 2: 29-33; and in *Mirador de Seguridad*, Instituto de Estudios Estrategicos y Politicas Publicas, Managua, February 2005, pp. 1-5

'Up in arms: a critique of the Conventional Arms Control Bill', *South African Journal on Human Rights*, 2000, 16(4): 703-713

'Who guards the guardians? An agenda for civil-military relations and military professionalism in South Africa', *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 1995, 17(1): 47-74

'With open arms: confidence- and security-building measures in Southern Africa', *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 1994, 1(2): 110-126. Also published in *Disarmament: Topical Papers*, 1993, 14, United Nations, pp. 118-134

'Towards a post-apartheid threat analysis', *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 1993, 15(1): 43-71

'Towards a Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa', *Africa Insight*, 1992, 22(3): 212-217

'South African security policy and security forces in transition' (with Mark Philips), *Social Justice*, 1991, 18(1-2). Republished in *African Peace Research Journal*, 1991, 6(3): 6-13

Other academic articles

'Correspondence. A case for rebel victories? Reviewing the evidence and method', *International Security*, 2011, 36(1): 202-210

'The peacemaking effectiveness of regional organisations', *Working Paper*, 2010, series 2, no. 81, Crisis States Research Centre, LSE

'No ownership, no peace: the Darfur Peace Agreement', *Working Paper*, 2006, series 2, no. 5, Crisis States Research Centre, LSE

'The frightful inadequacy of most of the statistics: a critique of Collier and Hoeffler on causes of civil war', *Discussion Paper*, 2005, 11, Crisis States Research Centre. Republished as *Track Two Occasional Paper*, 2005, 12(5), Centre for Conflict Resolution

'Security communities and the problem of domestic instability', *Working Paper Series*, 2004, 1(55), Crisis States Programme, Development Research Centre, London School of Economics

'The absence of common values and failure of common security in Southern Africa, 1992-2003', *Working Paper*, 2004, 1(50), Crisis States Programme, Development Research Centre, LSE

'Accounting for South Africa's successful transition to democracy', *Discussion Paper*, 2004, 5, Crisis States Research Centre, LSE

'The four horsemen of the apocalypse: the structural causes of crisis and violence in Africa', *Peace and Change*, 2000, 25(2): 188-207. Republished under the same title as an Occasional Paper of *Track Two*, 2001, 10(2), Centre for Conflict Resolution; and in P. Batchelor and K. Kingma (eds), *Demilitarisation and Peace-Building in Southern Africa: Concepts and Processes*, Vol. 1, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, pp. 41-58. Sections of this article were reproduced in the *Reflection Paper* presented by Portugal and approved at the Informal Meeting of EU Development Ministers in Lisbon, 28-29 January 2000. In 2004 a summary of the article was posted on the DFID website of the Governance Resource Centre at the University of Birmingham. In 2005 the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights included the article in a distance learning course for national human rights institutions; and UNESCO requested permission to translate and republish the article for its "From Potential Conflict to Co-operation Potential" project in Latin America and the Caribbean. The article was included in the Reader on Human Security and Development, Department of Development Studies, University of South Africa, 2008-2011.

'When push comes to shove: the failure of international mediation in African civil wars', *Track Two Occasional Paper*, 1999, 8(2)

'After the storm: common security and conflict resolution in Southern Africa' (with Joao Honwana), *The Arusha Papers: A Working Series on Southern African Security*, 1995, 3, Centre for Southern African Studies, University of the Western Cape

'The joker in the pack: the South African security forces in transition', *Peace Review*, 1991, 3(4): 41-46

'Riding the tiger: the integration of armed forces and the post-apartheid military', *Southern African Perspectives*, 1991, 10: 1-21

'Marching to a different drum: a description and assessment of the formation of the Namibian police and defence force', *Southern African Perspectives*, 1991, 4

Official Reports

Ministerial Review Commission on Intelligence, 'Intelligence in a Constitutional Democracy. Final Report to the Minister for Intelligence Services, the Honourable Mr Ronnie Kasrils MP', September 2008, South Africa

Ministerial Review Commission on Intelligence, 'Submission on the Protection of Information Bill', submitted to the Ad-Hoc Committee on Intelligence in the National Assembly, March 2008

Ministerial Review Commission on Intelligence, 'Submission on the National Strategic Intelligence Amendment Bill', submitted to the Ad-Hoc Committee on Intelligence in the National Assembly, July 2008

SADC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation (Piggs Peak Draft, 26 May 2000)

Report on Defence Posture, Functions and Force Design, Defence Review, Department of Defence, April 1997

'Defence in a Democracy': White Paper on National Defence for the Republic of South Africa, May 1996

First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Alleged Arms Transactions between Armscor and one Eli Wazan and Other Related Matters (with Mr Justice E. Cameron), June 1995

Second Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Alleged Arms Transactions between Armscor and one Eli Wazan and Other Related Matters, November 1995

AWARDS AND RESEARCH GRANTS

Winner of the Nelson Mandela International Essay Competition, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (RUSI), London, 2007

Co-winner of the *Journal of Southern African Studies* best article prize, 2006

Research grant, Crisis States Programme, LSE, 2005-2010

Research grant, Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform, University of Birmingham, 2009

Research grants, Ford Foundation, 2004-5 and 2005-7

Research grant, Swiss Development Corporation, 2004-5

Research grant, Government of Finland, 2004-5

Ashoka Fellowship, 1992

February 2012