

## **PROF. GILBERT M. KHADIAGALA**



Subtribe: Isukha  
Clan: Omwitsende

310 N. Piedmont Street  
Apt. 4  
Arlington, VA 22203  
(703) 276-6637 (home)  
(571) 201-5453 (mobile)

E-mail: [GKhadiag@Hotmail.com](mailto:GKhadiag@Hotmail.com)

Nationality: Born 9/23/57 in Kenya, Naturalized U.S. citizen

### **CURRENT POSITION AND CONTRIBUTIONS FOR AFRICA**

Independent Scholar/Consultant: African Conflict Management, Post-Conflict Reconstruction, Regional Security, Early Warning Systems, Democracy and Governance, Leadership Training

Jan Smuts Professor of International Relations and Head of Department of International Relations, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa (From September 2007)

### **EDUCATION**

**Ph.D., May 1990.** The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), The Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC

Dissertation Topic: “The Frontline States in Southern African International Politics, 1975-1989.”

Areas of Concentration: Comparative Politics, Conflict Resolution, African Politics, and International Relations.

**Master of Arts, May 1982.** McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

Dissertation Topic: “Chinese Foreign Policy in the 1970s: A Decade of Change.”

**Bachelor of Arts (Hons.), May 1980.** University of Nairobi, Nairobi, Kenya.

## **GRANTS AND AWARDS**

MacArthur Foundation Dissertation Fellowship in International Peace and Security, 1987-1989

US Institute of Peace Research Fellowship, 1995-1996  
SAIS Faculty Summer Research Grant, Summer 2001

SAIS Excellence in Teaching Award, May 2003

Fulbright Senior Specialist Grant, The University of South Africa, Pretoria, June 2003

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Books and Monographs**

Meddlers or Mediators? African Interveners in Civil Conflicts in Eastern Africa. Amsterdam: Brill Educational Publishers, 2007, In Press.

Conflict Management and African Politics: Negotiation, Mediation, and Politics (co-edited with Terrence Lyons). London: Routledge, 2007, In Press.

Sudan: The Elusive Quest for Peace (co-authored with Ruth Iyob). Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2006.

Getting In: Mediator's Entry Into the Settlement of African Conflicts (co-authored with Mohammed Maundi, I. William Zartman, and Kwaku Nuamah). Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace, 2006.

Security Dynamics in Africa's Great Lakes Region (edited). Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2006.

African Foreign Policies: Power and Process (co-edited with Terrence Lyons). Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

Europe and Africa: Fading Memories, Fraying Ties? Kent, OH: Research Monograph for the Lyman L. Lemintzer Center for NATO and European Studies, Occasional Paper No. 5, 1996.

Allies in Adversity: The Frontline States in Southern African Security, 1975-1993. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1994 (Reprinted by the University of America Press, Lanham, MD: 2007).

### **Book Chapters**

“Western Views on African Responses to Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions of the Global Security Agenda.” In Makumi Mwagiru and Okello Oculi, eds., Rethinking Global Security: An African Perspective? Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2006, pp. 128-145.

“Toward Peace, Security, and Governance in the Great Lakes Region, An Introduction,” In Khadiagala, ed., Security Dynamics in Africa's Great Lakes Region. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2006, pp. 1-11.

“Conclusion: Building Security for Peoples, Societies, and States in the Great Lakes Region,” In Khadiagala ed., Security Dynamics in Africa's Great Lakes Region. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2006, pp. 187-197.

“Botswana: Bridging Tradition and Modernization,” In Francis M. Deng, ed., Dilemmas of Self-Determination: A Challenge to African Constitutionalism. Washington DC: The United States Institute of Peace, forthcoming.

“Improving Borders in The Greater Eastern Africa,” In I. William Zartman, ed., Improving African Boundaries. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, forthcoming.

“I. William Zartman's Contribution to Understanding Euro-African Relations,” In Khadiagala and Terrence Lyons, eds., Bridging Disciplinary Boundaries: Reflections on the Scholarship of I. William Zartman. Routledge, forthcoming.

“Managing Civil Conflicts in Eastern Africa,” In Robert Patman, ed., Globalization and Conflict. London: Routledge, 2006.

“Mediating the Ethiopia-Eritrea Border Conflict,” pp. 192-217. In Mohammed O.

Maundi, I. William Zartman, Gilbert M. Khadiagala, and Kwaku Nuamah, Getting In: Mediator's Entry Into the Settlement of African Conflicts. Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace, 2006.

"Processes of Democratization and Political Transitions: The Case of Kenya," In Mario Camponi, ed., Legitimacy and Consensus, State Crisis and Political Transitions: Comparative Cases of Constitutional Change: Southern Europe, Africa, and Latin America. Bologna: University of Bologna Press, 2005.

"Intervention in Internal Conflict: The Case of Rwanda," pp. 67-88. In William Lahneman, eds., Military Intervention: Cases for the Twenty-First Century. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004.

"The Politics of Decentralization in Kenya," (with Winnie Mitullah), pp.190-207. In Phillip Oxon, Joseph S. Tulchin, and Andrew D. Seele, eds., Decentralization, Democratic Governance, and Civil Society in Comparative Perspective. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

"Major Trends Affecting Families in Sub-Saharan Africa," (with Betty Bigombe), pp. 164-187. In Major Trends Affecting Families: A Background Document. New York: United Nations, 2003.

"Burundi," pp. 215-49. In Jane Boulden and Thomas Weiss, eds., Changing Roles of the United Nations in African Conflicts. London: Palgrave, 2003.

"Nigeria," pp. 145-48. In Robert G. Herman and Theodore J. Piccone, eds., Defending Democracy: A Global Survey of Foreign Policy Trends 1992-2002 (Washington, DC: Democracy Coalition Project, 2002.

"South Africa," pp. 182-84. In Robert G. Herman and Theodore J. Piccone, eds., Defending Democracy: A Global Survey of Foreign Policy Trends 1992-2002 (Washington, DC: Democracy Coalition Project, 2002.

"Southern Africa," pp. 48-61. In I. William Zartman and Francis M. Deng, A Strategic Vision for Africa: The Kampala Movement. Brookings Institution Press, 2002.

"Implementing the Arusha Peace Agreement on Rwanda," pp. 463-98. In Stephen Stedman and others, eds., Implementing Peace Settlements. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002.

"Urban Governance and Health in East Africa," pp. 11-20. In James Oppolot, ed., Building Healthy Cities: Improving the Health of Urban Migrants and the Urban Poor in Africa. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2002.

"Foreign Policymaking in Southern Africa's Fading Frontline," pp. 131-158. In

Khadiagala and Lyons, African Foreign Policies: Power and Process. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

“Foreign Policymaking in Africa: An Introduction” (with Lyons), pp. 1-13. In Khadiagala and Lyons, eds., African Foreign Policies: Power and Process. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

“Conclusion: African Foreign Policymaking at the Millennium” (with Lyons), pp. 207-216. In Khadiagala and Lyons, eds., African Foreign Policies: Power and Process. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

“Regional Dimensions of Sanctions,” pp. 247-63. In Neta Crawford and Audie Klotz, eds., How Sanctions Work. London: Macmillan, 1999.

“Europe and Africa: Beyond Postcolonialism?” pp. 83-109. In John Haberson and Donald Rothchild, eds., Africa in World Politics: Globalization and the Changing State System (Third Edition). Boulder: Westview Press, 1999.

“Confidence-Building Measures in Sub-Saharan Africa,” pp. 131-168. In Michael Krepon and others, eds., Global Confidence Building Measures for Regional Security: New Tools for Troubled Regions. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999.

“Prospects for a Division of Labor: African Regional Organizations in Conflict Prevention,” pp. 131-48. In Klaas van Walraven, ed., Early Warning and Conflict Prevention: Limitations and Possibilities. The Hague: Kluwer Press, Nijhoff Law Specials, vol. 39, 1998.

“State Collapse and Reconstruction in Uganda,” pp. 33-47. In I. William Zartman, ed., Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Reconstruction of Legitimate Authority. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995.

“Southern Africa’s Transitions: Prospects for Regional Security,” pp. 167-79. In Stephen J. Stedman, ed., South Africa: The Political Economy of Transformation. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.

“The Frontline States, Institution Building, and Interstate Relations in Southern Africa,” pp. 131-61. In Harvey Glickman, ed., Toward Peace and Security in Southern Africa. New York: Gordon and Breach, 1990.

“The Kenyan Bourgeoisie, External Capital, and the State: An Introduction,” (with Michael G. Schatzberg) pp. 1-14. In Michael G. Schatzberg, ed., The Political Economy of Kenya. New York: Praeger, 1987.

“A Bibliography of Kenya,” pp. 203-236. In Michael G. Schatzberg, ed., The Political

Economy of Kenya. New York: Praeger, 1987.

## **Journal Articles**

“Negotiating Angola’s Independence Transition: The Alvor Accords,” International Negotiation, vol. 10, 2005, pp. 293-309.

“Negotiating African Independence: An Introduction,” (with Donald Rothchild), International Negotiation, vol. 10, 2005, pp. 207-210.

“Mediating Civil Conflicts in Eastern Africa,” Politeia: Journal for Political Science and Public Administration, vol. 24, no. 3, 2005, pp. 295-314.

“Kenya: Haven or Helpless Victim of Terrorism?” pp. 2-4. In Terrorism in the Horn of Africa. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, Special Report no. 113, January 2004.

“Limited Leverage for Elder Statesmen,” E-Africa: The Electronic Journal of Governance and Innovation, vol. 1, July 2003, p. 14.

“Geopolitics in Africa’s Great Lakes Region,” The Journal of African Policy Studies vol. 7, no. 1, 2001, pp. 13-30.

“The United States and Africa: Beyond The Clinton Administration,” SAIS Review vol. 21, no. 1, Winter-Spring 2001, pp. 259-73.

“Reflections on the Ethiopia-Eritrea Border Conflict,” Fletcher Forum of World Affairs vol. 23, no. 2, Fall 1999, pp. 39-56.

“Regionalism and Leadership in African Security,” Lesotho Social Science Review vol. 3, no. 2, June 1997, pp. 46-69.

“The New South Africa in Southern Africa,” 21st Century Afro-Review vol. 2, no. 1, 1996, pp. 57-111.

“The Military in Africa’s Democratic Transitions: Regional Dimensions,” Africa Today vol. 42, nos. 1-2, Fall 1995, pp. 61-74.

“Kenya: Intractable Authoritarianism,” SAIS Review vol. 14, no. 2, Summer/Fall 1995, pp. 53-73.

“Uganda’s Domestic and Regional Security since the 1970s,” Journal of Modern African Studies vol. 31, no. 2, June 1993, pp. 231-55.

“Thoughts on Africa and the New World Order,” The Round Table vol. 324, no. 3, October 1992, pp. 431-50.

“Security in Southern Africa: Cross-National Learning,” Jerusalem Journal of International Relations vol. 14, no. 3, September 1992, pp. 82-97.

“Reflections on Development Theory and Political Practice in Africa,” Current Bibliography on African affairs vol. 22, no. 4, 1990, pp. 343-370.

“Decolonizing Namibia: The Frontline States, SWAPO, and the International Community,” Without Prejudice vol. 3, no. 1, December 1990, pp. 7-44.

### **Magazine Articles**

“The Challenges of Leadership in Post-Conflict Transitions: Lessons from Africa” (With Terrence Lyons), Conflict Trends, Volume 4, December 2006, pp. 9-15.

“Africa in 2005,” (In Chinese), Caijing Magazine, Special Issue on The World And China 2005, December 2005, pp. 145-8.

“Seeking the ‘Grand Compromise’ in Africa,” SAISPHERE, 2004, pp. 24-7.

“Africa’s Post-Colonial Leaders,” SAISPHERE, 2002, pp. 27-31.

### **Consultancy Reports**

“Mediation Efforts in Africa’s Great Lakes Region” Background Paper for African Mediator’s Retreat, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Geneva, Switzerland, and the Nyerere Foundation, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, February 2007

“Brief Notes on the Politics of Budget Reforms in Kenya.” Discussion Paper for a World Bank Workshop on Kenya-Political Economy in Sectors, Nairobi, June 29, 2006.

“Leadership in State Reconstruction: Comparative Themes and Perspectives.” Paper Commissioned for a World Bank Seminar on Somalia-Leadership in Public Management (PFM), Panari Hotel, Nairobi, June 26-28, 2006.

Democracy and Governance Assessment: Republic of Uganda (Multiple Authors). Washington, DC: Report Submitted to the USAID by Associates in Rural Development (ARD), October 2005.

“Legal, Human, and Accountability Challenges to Combating Terrorism in Africa.” Paper Commissioned by the African Center for Security and Strategic Studies (ACSS), National Defense University, Washington DC, June 2005.

“The Challenges of Leadership in Post-Conflict Transitions” (With Terrence Lyons). Paper Commissioned for the Project on Post-Conflict Leadership: Transition from War to Capacity for Development, The World Bank, Washington DC, April 2005.

“Towards Peace and Security in the Great Lakes Region: Framework for a Regional Plan of Action,” Non-Paper Prepared for the Peace and Security Component of the International Conference for Peace, Security, Democracy, and Development in the Great Lakes Region. Nairobi: Office of the United Nations Special Representative for the Great Lakes (UNOSRGL), August 2004.

Democracy and Governance Assessment of Liberia: Transition from a Failed State? (Lead Author). Washington, DC: Report Submitted to the USAID by Management Systems International (MSI), July 2004.

“Strengthening Democratic Governance Programming in Post-Conflict Situations: The Case of Rwanda,” Joint UNDP-Chr. Michelsen Institute Seminar Paper, Bergen, Norway, May 2004 (<http://www.undp.org/oslocentre/achvmdg2.htm>).

Third Kenya Human Development Report: Participatory Governance for Human Development (Multiple Authors). Nairobi: United Nations Development Program, 2003.

Democracy and Governance Assessment of Tanzania: Transitions From the Single Party State (Multiple Authors). Washington, DC: Report Submitted to the USAID by ARD, August 2003.

Protection and Poverty: Community Weapons Collection Experiences in Northern Kenya. London: Oxfam GB, July 2003, pp. 36.

“The Role of Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) in Peace Building in Northern Uganda,” pp. 1-22. In Larry Beyna, Michael Lund and others. The Effectiveness of Civil Society Initiatives in Controlling Violent Conflicts and Building Peace: A Study of Three Approaches in the Greater Horn of Africa. Washington D.C.: USAID/MSI Greater Horn of Africa Peace Building Project, June 2001.

“Regional Security Issues: Strategic Development Approaches to Crisis and Security Issues, Desk Study for Issues Identification Report on the Conflicts in the Great Lakes Region, UNDP Regional Peace-Building Initiatives in Africa. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, August 2001.



## Book Reviews

“Review Essay: Africa: Between Hope and Despair,” African Studies Review, vol. 50, no. 2, September 2007.

Review of John S. Saul. Southern Africa. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2005. In Africa Today, vol., no., 2007, pp.

Review of Jacob Bercovitch, ed., Studies in International Mediation: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey Z. Rubin,” New York: Palgrave, 2002. In Perspectives on Politics, vol. 2, no. 2, June 2004, p. 417.

Review of Pierre du Toit, South Africa’s Brittle Peace: The Problem of Post-Settlement Violence, New York: Palgrave, 2001. In Africa Today vol. 49, no. 2, Summer 2002, pp. 155-56.

Review of African Geopolitics, Washington: Winter 2000/2001. In Foreign Policy, April-May 2001, pp. 131-32.

Review of Stephen Wright, ed., African Foreign Policies, Boulder: Westview Press, 1999. In American Political Science Review, vol. 93, no. 3, September 1999, pp. 767-68.

Review of Yoweri K. Museveni, Sowing the Mustard Seed: The Struggle for Freedom and Democracy in Uganda, London: Macmillan, 1997. In Foreign Policy, no. 111, Summer 1998, pp. 141-44.

Review of Paul B. Rich, ed., Reaction and Renewal in South Africa, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996. In International Journal of African Historical Studies vol. 30, no. 1, 1997, pp. 628-630.

Review of Raymond W. Copson. Africa’s Wars and Prospects for Peace, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994. In International Journal vol. 50, no. 2, Spring 1995, pp. 449-50.

Review of Korwa G. Adar. Kenya’s Foreign Policy Behavior Towards Somalia, 1963-1983, Lanham MD: University Press of America, 1994. In Africa Today vol. 41, no. 4, 1994, pp. 75-76.

## Unpublished Conference Papers

“UN Peacekeeping in the Great Lakes: The Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, and Rwanda,” Presented at a Conference organized by the Centre for Conflict Resolution

and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung on The United Nations and Africa, 1945-2005, Maputo, Mozambique, December 14-16, 2006

“Governance and Security in Southern Africa: An Interim Report,” Presented to the African Luncheon Lecture Series, the Swiss Chamber of Commerce, Zurich, Switzerland, May 2006

“African International Relations for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” Presented at the Inaugural Launch of the African International Studies Association (AISA), United States International University (USIU), Nairobi, Kenya, May 2006

“Western Views on African Responses to Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions of the Global Security Agenda,” Presented at a conference organized by the Heinrich Boll Foundation and the Institute of Diplomacy and International Relations, University of Nairobi, on Rethinking Global Security: An African Perspective, Nairobi, Kenya, February 22-24, 2006

“African Development as a Global Challenge: Myth or Reality?” Presented at the 35<sup>th</sup> ISC-Symposium on Liberty, Trust, and Responsibility, The University of St. Gallen, St. Gallen, Switzerland, May 19-21, 2005

“Contemporary Conflicts and Security issues in Africa,” Presented at the Africa-Week Symposium, The Rinkeby Community Center, Stockholm, Sweden, September 30, 2003

“Thoughts on Political Authority and Change in Kenya,” Presented at Public Discussions on Africa in the 1990s, Department of Political Science and International Development Studies, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada, 11 March 1999

“Multiple Intermediaries in Conflict Resolution in Eastern Africa,” Presented at a Workshop on Local Governance and International Intervention in Africa, European University Institute, Florence, Italy, March 28-29 1998

“African Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” Public Lecture, National Defense University, National War College, Washington D.C., February 23, 1998

“A Tale of Two Policies: United States Foreign Policy Toward Kenya and Uganda,” Presented at a Council on Foreign Relations conference on New Perspectives on U.S. Policy Toward Africa, Washington, D.C., June 16, 1995

## **Academic Experience**

Associate Professor of Comparative Politics and African Studies, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), The Johns Hopkins University,

Washington DC, September 1997-June 2006

Acting Director of the African Studies Program, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), The Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC, July 2002-June 2006

Visiting Associate Professor of Comparative Politics, Department of International Health, The Bloomberg School of Hygiene and Public Health, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD, September 1998-June 2006

Tenured Associate Professor of African Politics, Department of Political Science, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, September 1996-May 1997

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, September 1991-May 1996

Assistant Lecture, Department of Government, University of Nairobi, June 1982-August 1984

Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, McMaster University, September 1980- May 1982

## **Consultancies**

The World Bank Institute (WBI), Project on Information Access, Transparency, and Public Service Delivery In Sectors, January-June 2007.

The World Bank Institute (WBI), Capacity Building Program for Economic Governance in Post-Conflict Sudan, December 2006-February 2007

The World Bank Institute (WBI), Training Programs in Project Management and Procurement in the Sudan, October 2006-Present

The World Bank, PREM, Training Programs for Leaders in Somalia, Puntland, and Somaliland on Public Finance Management, June-November 2006

United States Agency for International Development (USAID)-Associates in Rural Development (ARD), Democracy and Governance Assessment of Uganda, August 15-September 15, 2005

The World Bank, Washington DC, September 2004-April 2005, Project on Leadership in Post-Conflict Societies

United States Agency for International Development (USAID)-Management Systems

International (MSI), Project on Donor Programming in Closed Societies, March-April 2005

United States Agency for International Development (USAID)-Management Systems International (MSI), Democracy and Governance Assessment of Liberia, July-August 2000.

Office of the United Nations Special Representative for the Great Lakes (UNOSRGL), Nairobi, July-August 2004, Non-Paper for the International Conference on Peace, Security, and Development in the Great Lakes Region

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Oslo Governance Center, Project on the Bergen Seminar Series on Strengthening Democratic Governance in Post-Conflict Situations, Bergen, Norway, May 2004

United States Agency for International Development (USAID)-Associates in Rural Development (ARD), Democracy and Governance Assessment of Tanzania: Transition from a Single Party State, July-August 2003

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Project on the 2003 Kenya's Human Development Report, Regional Office, Nairobi, Kenya, May-July 2003

Oxfam GB Project on Weapons Collection and Small Arms in Northern Kenya, Nairobi Office, October 2002-December 2002

United States Agency for International Development (USAID)-Management Systems International (MSI) Project on the Greater Horn of Africa, Washington, D.C., June 2000-June 2001

Consulting Director, The Africa Project, The Woodrow Wilson Center International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, August 1999-August 2002

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Peace-Building Project in the Great Lakes Region, Addis Ababa, August 2001-August 2002

Vice President's Office, Africa Region, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., and October-December 1990

## **Professional Membership**

African Studies Association  
African Association of Political Science  
American Political Science Association

International Studies Association  
International Political Science Association

### **Editorial Board Membership**

Africa Contemporary Record (New York)  
Lynne Rienner Publisher's Challenge and Change in Africa Book Series  
Politikon (University of South Africa, Pretoria)

### **References**

Professor I. William Zartman  
Jacob Blaustein Professor of International Organizations and Conflict Resolution and  
Director, Conflict Management Program  
SAIS, The Johns Hopkins University  
1740 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
Phone: (202) 663-5681  
Fax: (202)-663-5683  
[Izartma1@Jhu.edu](mailto:Izartma1@Jhu.edu)

Professor Grace Goodell  
Professor of Social Change and Development  
SAIS, The Johns Hopkins University  
1740 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
Phone: (202) 663-5692  
Fax: (202)-663-7701

Professor John W. Harbeson  
Professor of Political Science  
City University of New York  
Convent Avenue and 138<sup>th</sup> Street  
New York, NY 10031  
Phone: 212-650-5246  
Fax: 914-271-7915  
[JwHarbeson@aol.com](mailto:JwHarbeson@aol.com)