



AFRICA CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

AFRICAN PARLIAMENTARIAN SECURITY SECTOR FORUM
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BIOGRAPHIES

LEADERSHIP

Ms. Kate Almquist Knopf has served as director of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, an academic institution within the U.S. Department of Defense, since July 2014. Established by the U.S. Congress for the study of security issues relating to Africa, the Center serves as a forum for bilateral and multilateral research, communication, and the exchange of ideas. It aims to be an objective source of strategic analysis on contemporary and over-the-horizon security issues for African security sector professionals, policymakers, scholars, media, and civil society, as well as international partners.

Ms. Knopf has spent most of her career focused on the intersection of security and development in Africa. From 2001 to 2009, she held several senior positions at the U.S. Agency for International Development, including as assistant administrator for Africa, Sudan mission director, deputy assistant administrator for Africa, and special assistant and senior policy advisor to the administrator.

Ms. Knopf has also been a senior advisor for the Crisis Management Initiative, a conflict mediation organization founded by former Finnish President and Nobel Laureate Martti Ahtisaari, and a visiting policy fellow at the Center for Global Development. Prior to federal service, she was chief of staff for the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority and for the Executive Office for Administration and Finance of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. She began her career at World Vision, an international nongovernmental organization.

Ms. Knopf holds an M.A. in international relations with concentrations in African studies and conflict management from Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, DC, and a B.A. in international relations from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, MD.

Dr. Raymond Gilpin is the Academic Dean at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies. In this capacity he directs the design, development and implementation of the Center's programs, and provides leadership on all academic matters. Prior to joining the Africa Center he served as director of the Center for Sustainable Economies at the United States Institute of Peace (*in which capacity he also chaired the taskforce on business and peace, managed the web-based International Network for Economics and Conflict, and taught courses on economics and conflict at the USIP Academy*); academic chair for defense economics at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies; director for

international programs at Intellibridge Corporation (now part of Eurasia Group); senior economist at the African Development Bank Group; research director at the Central Bank of Sierra Leone; and economist at the World Bank.

Dr. Gilpin's research interests include Africa's security challenges, energy and security, resource management and conflict dynamics, financial management in Africa's security sector, and public-private partnerships and peace. Dr. Gilpin is a regular blogger and featured media commentator on African affairs, US-Africa policy, energy and security, and economic dimensions of peace. Recent publications include: "Economic Drivers of Conflict," in *Conflict Management and Global Governance in an Age of Awakening*, edited by Pamela Aall, Chester Crocker and Fen Hampson (forthcoming 2013); "Tackling Energy Infrastructure Vulnerability in Violence-Prone Zones" (2013); "Using Entrepreneurship to Promote Stability in Fragile Regions" (2012); "Trade and Resource Management: A Development Perspective," in *Nexus Between Security and Development*, edited by Joanna Spear and Paul Williams, (2012); "China in Africa," in *African Security and the African Command: Viewpoints on the US Role in Africa*, edited by Terry Buss, Joseph Adjaye, Donald Goldstein and Louis Picard (2011). Dr. Gilpin holds a doctorate in development economics from Cambridge University in the United Kingdom and an executive certificate in international finance and capital markets from Georgetown University.

Dr. Shannon Smith serves as a professor of practice and director of engagement at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies. In this capacity, she leads the Africa Center's efforts to develop its alumni network and to engage the broader policy community focused on African security issues. Her areas of expertise include U.S.-Africa policy, East Africa, global health and development policy, and the role of Congress in foreign relations.

Prior to joining the Africa Center, Dr. Smith served as deputy assistant secretary of state for Africa, where she oversaw U.S.-East Africa policy (and previously Southern Africa) and spearheaded Africa Bureau efforts on Sudan and South Sudan, global health, and the environment. She led diplomatic missions, developed bilateral and multilateral policies, engaged with key interlocutors, and represented the State Department in a variety of national and international forums, including before Congress.

Dr. Smith spent a number of years on Capitol Hill, where she was the senior policy adviser for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Africa for global health, peacekeeping, and conflict issues. She also served as the national security adviser for the assistant majority leader of the Senate. As a Senate staffer, she shepherded successful legislation on HIV/AIDS, war crimes, and global climate change, among other issues. She is a summa cum laude graduate of Texas A&M University and holds a Ph.D. from Cornell University where she was a Mellon Fellow in the Humanities.

FACILITATORS

Ms. Kemi Okenyodo, Executive Director, Partners West Africa-Nigeria: Rule of Law Empowerment, has over ten years' experience in security and governance issues in both Nigeria and West Africa. She also has over seven years' experience in NGO management and three years of experience in litigation practice.

From December 2015 till date, she has held a consultancy position with the British High Commission, in which capacity she provides support to the Head- West Africa Conflict Security & Stabilization Unit on Transition from Military Operations to a Stabilized Community Policing Approach in the North East.

She graduated with an LLB (Hons.) from the Faculty of Law, University of Lagos, Nigeria, in September 1997. She also attended the Nigeria Law School Abuja where she graduated as Barrister at Law (LB) in September, 1999. In June 2004, he obtained a Master's Degree in Humanitarian and Refugee Studies from the Faculty of Law, University of Lagos, Nigeria. She further obtained a Certificate in Defence and Security Management in January 2010 from National Defence College, Nigeria. In August 2010, she obtained a Professional Postgraduate Diploma in Development Policy (Monitoring and Evaluation) from Institute of Development Administration of Nigeria. In October, 2010, she participated in a course on Policy Advocacy at the West Africa Civil Society Institute. Furthermore, in November 2011 she attended a course on Sexual Exploration and Abuse in Fragile, Conflict Situations at Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre.

She is a member of Nigeria Bar Association and African Security Network, respectively.

Dr. Emile Ouedraogo (retired Burkina Faso Army Colonel) is an Independent International Consultant. He works on issues related to security in general, and on the African security sector reform and governance in particular. In this capacity, he was involved in more than 20 activities and events with the Washington DC-based National Defense University (NDU/USA) Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS) and is currently working with US AFRICOM (United States), Partners for Democratic Change (United States), the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (Germany), Friedrich Erbet Stiftung (FES, Germany), the ECOWAS Parliament and the Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa (AWEPA, European Union). He is a Member of the African Security Sector Network (ASSN) and founding President of the Fondation pour la Sécurité du Citoyen au Burkina Faso (Burkina Faso Citizen' Security Foundation – FOSEC).

Dr. E. Ouedraogo left Burkina Faso Army active duty in 2012, after thirty (30) years of service. He served as Aide to the Prime Minister, Commanding Officer, Chief Military Intelligence Division at the Army General Staff before being appointed Minister of Security of Burkina Faso from 2008 to 2011. As a Minister of Security, he initiated and developed a Homeland Security Strategy for Burkina Faso and operationalized the concept of community policing and community participation in the management of security issues.

Dr. E. Ouedraogo was also a parliamentarian in the National Assembly of Burkina Faso and ECOWAS Parliament where he sat on the Political Affairs, Peace, Defense and Security Committees. In this capacity, he carried out informative and investigative missions in most ECOWAS countries and is therefore fully conversant with security issues which affect the subregion.

Dr. E. Ouedraogo earned a PhD with honors from the Center for Diplomatic and Strategic Studies, Paris, France on "Security Sector Reform and Governance in the ECOWAS Region: Issues and

Prospects” (CEDDS, 2011-2014) and published a research paper with the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS/NDU/Washington DC) in July 2014 entitled « Advancing Military Professionalism in Africa ». He conducted two surveys in 2016, including “Security Dialog in the Sahel-Sahara Region (FES, Germany) and “The State of Intelligence Services in West Africa: A Case Study on Burkina Faso” (FKA, Germany)

Mr. Michael Phelan has served as the senior foreign policy advisor to the Chairman/Ranking Member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations with responsibility for United States policy and program oversight for the African continent, as well as Afghanistan and Pakistan.

As a senior foreign policy advisor, Michael leads Committee oversight of U.S. foreign policy in these regions, including current diplomacy, development, defense, crisis response and trade activities and their impact. The Chairman, and other Senators across the political spectrum, have come to rely on Michael to help distill events and associated U.S. interests, and offer informed and timely recommendations for action, to include legislation, public hearings, correspondence, public statements and use of a range of media or travel for the purpose of elevating issues in the national interest. These responsibilities involve direct engagement not only with U.S. officials, but foreign government, civil society, multi-lateral organization, and NGO/CSO personnel, as well the private sector. The goal of such work is to provide a nuanced consideration of the historical context and geo-political environment, to inform U.S. legislation, budgets and policy.

Prior to his Senate career, Michael served on active duty as an aviator in the United States Navy for over 14 years, and concluded 22 years of military service as a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy Reserve. Michael has managed a range of units and budgets for from 10 to 200 personnel, as well as leading multi-aircraft missions over extended deployments to foreign countries and at sea. He has made over 200 carrier landings and flown over 2000 flight hours around the world.

His academic credentials include a Bachelor of Arts in English from Boston College; a Master of Arts in Foreign Relations from the University of San Diego; a Master of Science equivalent in Security Studies from the German Armed Forces Command and General Staff College; and a Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy from The Fletcher School at Tufts University. Michael has lived and worked in Asia and Europe as well as traveled extensively across 5 continents and 3 oceans. He is fluent in French and German.

Hon. Brownie J. Samukai, Jr., served as Minister of National Defense of the Republic of Liberia for 12 years (2006 – 2018) under H.E. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. As Minister, he led efforts to rebuild from scratch, a new Armed Forces of Liberia that was professionally trained, regimented, disciplined, accountable and subservient to civilian rule. Between 2001 and 2004, Mr. Samukai served as Deputy Minister of Defense for Operations, where he formulated appropriate strategies to reestablish civilian control of the Armed Forces of Liberia, and coordinated the Interim Government’s security/military assistance to the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) against insurgents.

He has served in high level portfolios within the Liberian Government including Deputy Minister for Administration at the Ministry of State for Presidential Affairs (1995 – 1997); Director (or IGP) of Liberia National Police (1994-1995) during the civil conflict, where he spearheaded efforts to

restore public confidence in law enforcement, initiated institutional and structural reforms and strengthened community policing and countering related armed violence.

Minister Samukai is a 1986 graduate of the United States Defense Language Institute in San Antonio, Texas, and a graduate of the U.S. Army Quartermaster Officer Basic Course at Fort Lee, Virginia (Class 86-10, Outstanding Achievement Award). Hon. Samukai is a Fulbright Scholar with a Master of Science Degree (1990) in Applied Economics from The American University in Washington, DC. He obtained his Bachelor of Science Degree in Economics (Class of 1984) from the University of Liberia. He is a graduate of the Economics Institute (Class of 1988) at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado USA.

Dr. Shannon Smith – please see biography in leadership section

Ambassador David Bruce Wharton was designated as Acting Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs on December 8, 2016. In this role, he provides global strategic leadership of all Department of State public diplomacy and public affairs engagement and oversees the bureaus of Educational and Cultural Affairs, International Information Programs, and Public Affairs, and the Global Engagement Center.

Ambassador Wharton served as the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of African Affairs from 2015-2016. Prior to that he served as the U.S. Ambassador to Zimbabwe from September 2012 to November 2015. He has also served as the Bureau of African Affairs Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Diplomacy, African Affairs Director of the Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, and Deputy Coordinator of the Department of State's Bureau of International Information Programs. From 2003 to 2006 he was the Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala.

Bruce Wharton entered the Foreign Service in 1985 and has served at U.S. embassies in Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. In Africa, he has also had temporary duty in Tanzania, Nigeria, Kenya, and Ghana. From 1992 to 1995 he worked in Washington, D.C. on Andean Affairs and Western Hemisphere policy issues. He has received Superior and Meritorious Honor Awards from the Department of State and the U.S. Information Agency, and was the 2011 recipient of the Edward R. Murrow Award for Excellence in Public Diplomacy.

He is a graduate of the University of Texas in Austin and speaks Spanish and German.

SPEAKERS

Dr. Menna Demessie is the Vice President of Policy Analysis and Research at the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc. She leads the foundation's research and policy initiatives that affect African Americans and the global black community in areas including education, criminal justice, economic opportunity, voting and environmental sustainability, among many others. In her capacity, Dr. Demessie has spearheaded several partnerships with the White House, Congress, the Annie E. Casey Foundation, and other nonprofit stakeholders to advance strategic efforts to influence and inform public policy. Prior to joining the CBCF, Dr. Demessie was one of five scholars in the United States to receive the prestigious American Political Science

Congressional Fellowship. For the fellowship, she joined Congresswoman Barbara Lee's team to work on federal unemployment legislation, antipoverty initiatives, and foreign affairs in the 112th Congress.

She received her joint Ph.D. in political science and public policy from the University of Michigan where she conducted the first and only empirical and qualitative study of African congressional caucuses in the U.S. House of Representatives, and the significance of the Congressional Black Caucus' influence on U.S.-Africa foreign policy. She earned a Master of Arts in political science, and a certificate in African American, African, and Black Transnational Studies from the University of Michigan. She earned a Bachelor of Arts in Economics and Law and Society with honors from Oberlin College.

Dr. Demessie received the highly competitive Congressional Research Award from the Dirksen Congressional Center and is an adjunct professor for the University of Michigan and the University of California Washington Center.

Dr. Christopher Fomunyoh is currently senior associate and regional director for Central and West Africa at NDI. He has organized and advised international election observation missions to Benin, Cameroon, Central Africa Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Madagascar, Mali, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. He has also designed and supervised country specific democracy support programs with civic organizations, political parties and legislative bodies in Benin, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Liberia, Mali, Madagascar, Niger, Nigeria, The Gambia, Senegal and Togo. In the course of his work, Dr. Fomunyoh interacts regularly with heads of state and government, cabinet ministers, elected officials and political and civic leaders. He recently designed and helped launch the African Statesmen Initiative (ASI), a program aimed at facilitating political transitions in Africa by encouraging former democratic Heads of State to stay engaged in humanitarian issues, conflict mediation, public health and other key sectors of political, economic and human development on the continent.

As an expert on democratization in Africa, Dr. Fomunyoh makes frequently guest appearances on major radio and television networks including CNN, BBC, NewsHour, National Public Radio, Voice of America, and *Radio France Internationale*, and provides interviews for major national and international newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Washington Times*, *Le Monde* and *International Herald Tribune*. He has published a number of articles in academic journals on African politics and democratization. Dr. Fomunyoh has traveled extensively in Africa, Europe and North America, and is perfectly bilingual in English and French. He holds a *Licence en Droit* from Yaoundé University in Cameroon, a Master's Degree (LL.M.) in International Law from Harvard Law School; and a Ph.D. in Political Science from Boston University. Dr. Fomunyoh is an adjunct faculty at the African Center for Strategic Studies and a former adjunct professor of African Politics and Government at Georgetown University. He also is the founder of a non-profit organization www.tffcam.org interested in supporting democracy and humanitarian causes in Cameroon.

Dr. Raymond Gilpin - please see biography in leadership section

Dr. Luka Biong Deng Kuol is professor of practice for security studies at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies. Dr. Kuol supervises curriculum and program planning and specializes in national security strategy development, the security-development nexus, and security sector reforms. He is currently conducting research on the links between migration, food security, conflicts and youth in Africa; the link between military expenditure, military professionalism, human security, development and conflict in Africa; and the devolution of the security-development nexus to the national level in Africa. Dr. Kuol is a global fellow at Peace Research Institute Oslo and a fellow at Rift Valley Institute. He is also South Sudan Alumni Ambassador of the Institute of Development Studies in the United Kingdom.

Prior to joining the Africa Center, Dr. Kuol served as director of the Centre for Peace and Development Studies and associate professor of economics at the College of Social and Economic Studies at the University of Juba in South Sudan. He was also on the teaching staff of the Faculty of Economics and Rural Development at the University of Gezira in Sudan. He was a fellow at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard Kennedy School and a visiting fellow at the Institute of Development Studies in the United Kingdom. He served as Minister of Presidential Affairs for the Government of Southern Sudan and as National Minister of Cabinet Affairs for the Republic of Sudan. He has also worked as a senior economist for the World Bank in Southern Sudan.

He received his BSc with honors from the Faculty of Economics and Social Studies at the University of Khartoum, an M.A. in Economics, an M.B.A. from the Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium, and a Ph.D. from the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex.

Dr. Monde Muyangwa currently serves as the Director of the Africa Program at the Woodrow Wilson Center. Prior to this, she served as Academic Dean at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies from 2002 to 2013. In this capacity, she oversaw all curriculum and programs for the Africa Center, including in the areas of Security Studies, Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Threats, Civil-Military Relations, Defense Economics and Resource Management, and Conflict Management. From 2000 to 2003, she served as Professor of Civil Military Relations at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies. From 1997 to 2000, Monde worked as Director of Research and then Vice President for Research and Policy at the National Summit on Africa. In these capacities, she was responsible for developing and overseeing the organization's programs, research, and publications aimed at enhancing U.S.-Africa relations. Her work at the Summit culminated in a national summit on Africa, attended by President Clinton and more than 8000 people. The Summit resulted in the development and publication of The National Policy Plan of Action for US-Africa Relations in the 21st Century, a set of recommendations for improving and strengthening US-Africa relations. From 1996-1997, Monde worked as Director of International Education Programs at New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas, New Mexico.

Monde possesses an extensive background in African studies and in U.S.-Africa relations. Over the years, she has served as a consultant on African governance, security, development, and culture; she has also participated in and contributed to a number of Africa-related programs including serving on the editorial review board of the Countering Terrorism Exchange Journal, and the editorial board of African Security. She also previously served on the Advisory Council

of the Ibrahim Index of African Governance, a project of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation. Monde has also worked as a development and gender consultant, and has worked on a wide range of development projects in southern Africa in the areas of education, housing, health, and nutrition. She has co-authored, with Margaret Vogt, a publication for the International Peace Academy titled *An Assessment of the Organization of African Unity's Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution*. Monde holds a Ph.D. in International Relations and a BA in Politics, Philosophy and Economics from the University of Oxford, as well as a BA in Public Administration and Economics from the University of Zambia. She was a Rhodes Scholar, a Wingate Scholar, and the University of Zambia Valedictory Speaker for her graduation class.

Dr. Boubacar N'diaye is a Professor of Pan-African Studies and Political Science at The College of Wooster, Ohio. He is a widely published author specializing in civil-military relations and security. His most recent work pertains to military affairs in African politics, Pan-Africanism, and the democratization project in Africa. He has been a consultant to African, US and international agencies and organizations such as SIPRI, the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU), the UN, the World Bank, and the SSRC's Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum, and is a member of a number of International Advisory Boards.

He is the author of *The Challenge of Institutionalizing Civilian Control: Botswana, Ivory Coast, and Kenya in Comparative Perspective* (2001) and edited a special issue of the *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* on military involvement in West African politics (Winter 2000). Professor N'Diaye is the co-author of *Not Yet Democracy: West Africa's Slow Farewell to Authoritarianism* (2005), and co-editor of *Security Sector Governance in West Africa* (2008), *Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector in West Africa* (2008), and *Elections in West Africa, 1990-2009* (2011). Professor N'Diaye has served as the Chair of the African Security Sector Network (ASSN), a pan-African think tank (2012-2017).

Ms. Kemi Okenyodo - please see biography in facilitators section

Dr. Emile Ouedraogo - please see biography in facilitators section

Hon. Brownie Samukai - please see biography in facilitators section

Mr. John Tomaszewski ("JT") is the International Republican Institute's Regional Director for Africa. In this capacity, he leads the overall strategic direction and management of IRI's multi-million-dollar project portfolio in Sub-Saharan Africa. Tomaszewski currently oversees active IRI democracy and governance projects in seventeen countries across the subcontinent as well as regional initiatives in The Sahel, Great Lakes and Southern Africa.

He has extensive experience implementing a range of projects throughout Africa focused on legislative and political party strengthening, public opinion research, youth and gender inclusion, civil society capacity building, campaign and public affairs management, and subnational governance among others. Tomaszewski was IRI's Nairobi-based country director from 2012-2015 leading projects in Kenya, South Sudan, and an IRI East Africa regional subnational governance initiative.

He started with IRI assisting with the management of the institute's political party strengthening programs in South Sudan (2009-2011), before eventually transferring to do the same in Egypt (2011-2012). He participated in IRI international election observation missions and election assessments in several African countries to include Egypt (2011/2012), Ghana (2016), Kenya (2013 & 2017), Nigeria (2015 & 2018), Somaliland (2010) and Zimbabwe (2018).

Amb. (ret.) Bruce Wharton - please see biography in facilitators section

Ms. Kathryn Wheelbarger is the Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. She performed the duties of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs from July 2017 to November 2017. She oversees policy issues related to the nations and international organizations of Europe (including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), Russia, the Middle East, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere.

Previously, Ms. Wheelbarger served as Vice President for Litigation and Chief Compliance Officer at CSRA Inc. In this position, Ms. Wheelbarger managed CSRA's litigation and investigations portfolio as well as oversaw the company's Ethics and Compliance Office.

From 2011 - 2017, Ms. Wheelbarger served within Congress as Policy Director and Counsel on the Senate Armed Services Committee, where she specifically handled the Committee's intelligence portfolio for Chairman John McCain; and as Deputy Staff Director and Senior Counsel on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, where she performed budget and policy reviews of IC programs, led investigations, and developed policy positions for Chairman Mike Rogers.

Prior to working in Congress, Ms. Wheelbarger served as Counsel to Vice President Richard Cheney and general counsel to the Vice President's 80-person staff from 2007 - 2009, and as Counselor to Secretary Chertoff and Associate General Counsel at the Department of Homeland Security from 2005 - 2007. Before entering the Executive Branch, Ms. Wheelbarger was a litigator with two law firms and served as a judicial clerk on the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in Boise, Idaho. Ms. Wheelbarger is a Summa Cum Laude graduate from UCLA and Cum Laude graduate from Harvard Law School.