



AFRICA CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

AFRICAN PARLIAMENTARIANS FORUM 2022: Parliamentary Pathways to Democratic Security Sector Governance

1-23 March 2022

Virtual Academic Program

BIOGRAPHIES

LEADERSHIP

Colonel (Ret.) Daniel Hampton brings more than 25 years of experience developing and implementing U.S. defense policy and strategy in Africa. As Acting Director and professor of practice in security studies, he oversees curriculum and program management in the areas of defense institution building, national security strategy, and civil-military cooperation.

During the course of his military career, Col. Hampton served as the U.S. senior defense official to South Africa and defense attaché to Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe. Additionally, he was a senior policy adviser to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the Horn of Africa region.

Col. Hampton holds an M.A. in African studies from the University of Illinois; an M.A. in strategic studies from the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, PA; and a B.A. in history from Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, NC.

Dr. Luka Biong Deng Kuol is Dean of Academic Affairs and Professor of Practice for Security Studies. As Dean of Academic Affairs, Dr. Luka Kuol directs the Africa Center's academic programs, linking them with Center's Research, Outreach, and Alumni initiatives. In addition, he is the faculty lead of three academic programs: National Security Strategy Development, Managing Security Resources, and Emerging Security Sector Leaders. His work focuses on national security strategy, security sector budgets, social contracts, food security and resilience, and the security-development-governance nexus.

Dr. Kuol is also a Global Fellow at the Peace Research Institute Oslo, a Fellow at the Rift Valley Institute, and an Associate Professor of Economics (on leave) at the University of Juba in South Sudan. He also sits on the editorial board of the *Disasters Journal*, published by the Overseas Development Institute.

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 Bachelor of Science 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 in the United Kingdom.

Dr. Catherine Lena Kelly is Associate Professor of Justice and Rule of Law and faculty lead for the Africa Center's portfolios on rule of law/security sector governance, as well as countering transnational organized crime. Her work focuses on citizen security, party politics and democratization, the rule of law, and transnational organized crime. She is also a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Prior to joining the Africa Center, Dr. Kelly was an advisor at the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative, where her work took her to Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Republic of Congo, and Rwanda. She designed and taught courses on contemporary Africa and democracy as a postdoctoral fellow at Washington University in St. Louis. At the State Department's Foreign Service Institute, Dr. Kelly taught the West Africa course and co-taught the governance and religion modules in the Area Studies course. She has been awarded numerous fellowships and grants, including a Fulbright Fellowship, a Mellon/American Council of Learned Societies Public Fellowship, a West Africa Research Association grant, several Harvard University grants, and two U.S. Department of Education Foreign Language and Area Studies fellowship for the Wolof language and eighteen months of doctoral research in Senegal. Her work has been published extensively, both in book form and in policy and academic journals.

Dr. Kelly holds a Ph.D. and M.A. in government from Harvard University, a Graduate Certificate in international politics (Europe, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding) from the Université Libre de Bruxelles, and a B.A. summa cum laude from Washington University in St. Louis.

KEYNOTE

Ms. Chidi Blyden is the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for African Affairs.

Ms. Blyden is an expert and socio-cultural advisor on Africa's conflicts, security, and development issues. She comes to the role with policy, national security, and practitioner experience from her career in government, academia, and non-profit sectors. Her work focuses on the impact of culture in developing policy and community-centric approaches to security challenges in African nations, underscoring the role of women and youth in peace and security.

Ms. Blyden served in the Obama Administration as the Special Assistant to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for African Affairs from 2013-2017. She managed several functional and regional responsibilities including U.S.- Africa defense policy for East and Central Africa, served as the Africa Peacekeeping Advisor to the Stability and Humanitarian Affairs office, and was the department's lead on the President's Africa Peacekeeping Rapid Response Partnership (APRRP) initiative. She has received several awards for her time in public service, including the Office of

the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Public Service.

Ms. Blyden began her career in security studies at the National Defense University's Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS) as the Senior Academic Research Associate and Academic Operations Coordinator. From 2007-2013 she contributed to the academic curriculum and led the execution of over 30 programs on counterterrorism, defense economics, conflict management, security studies, and civil-military relations for Africa's security sector professionals. She was the first Africa Director at the Center for Civilians in Conflict (CIVIC) where she led the design and implementation of culture-specific training for the Nigerian Armed Forces on civilian harm.

Ms. Blyden recently served in Congress on the House Armed Services Committee (HASC) Policy Team, advising on Africa and South America's defense equities. She is an adjunct professor at Georgetown University, in the Security Studies Program. She is a graduate of Texas A&M University (BSc, Sociology) and the Carter School for Peace and Conflict Resolution at George Mason University (MSc, Conflict, Analysis, and Resolution) and serves on the Leadership Council for Memunatu Magazine, a nonprofit social enterprise that promotes literacy, leadership, and empowerment for teen girls in Africa and the diaspora.

FACILITATORS

Dr. Sophia Moestrup is the Deputy Director for Central and West Africa at the National Democratic Institute (NDI). She has worked for NDI since 2005 on the design and implementation of democracy support programs in the region. Prior to joining NDI, Dr. Moestrup spent six years in Francophone Africa, working for the United Nations in Cameroon, and for the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) in Niger where she served as Country Representative. She has been a consultant for the World Bank on public expenditure management and social accountability issues, authoring a number of chapters for the World Bank's Social Accountability Sourcebook. Dr. Moestrup has coedited four books on semi-presidentialism. Dr. Moestrup holds B.A and M.A degrees in Economics from the University of Copenhagen, and a Ph.D. in political science from the George Washington University.

Ambassador David Bruce Wharton (Ret) works with the U.S. Army Joint Readiness Training Center (JRTC) at Fort Polk, Louisiana training U.S. and international military partners in transitions from combat to peacetime operations. Since 2017 he has also worked with U.S. research and policy institutes on U.S. relationships with Africa and is active on the boards of nonprofit organizations supporting education in Zimbabwe and Guatemala.

In his career with the U.S. Foreign Service, his last assignment was as the Acting Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, a position he held from December 2016 to October 2017. In this role, he provided global strategic leadership of all Department of State public diplomacy and public affairs engagement and oversaw 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.

PANELISTS

Dr. Joseph Asunka has served as CEO of Afrobarometer since April 2021. He was previously program officer in the Global Development and Population program at the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, where he managed a portfolio of grants that support efforts to increase transparency and accountability in fiscal governance and foster citizen participation to improve public services in developing countries.

Before joining Hewlett, Joseph was a lecturer in political science at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), where he taught courses on African politics, political economy of development, research methods, and data analysis. Prior to that, he was program officer at the Ghana Center for Democratic Development, a Core Partner of Afrobarometer. He served as data manager for Afrobarometer prior to his PhD studies at UCLA.

Joseph's research interests include distributive politics, elections and electoral processes, and migration. He has published in journals such as the *British Journal of Political Science*, *Research and Politics*, and *Population Research and Policy Review*. Born in Ghana, Joseph holds a PhD in political science from UCLA.

Mr. Neil Cole currently serves as the Executive Secretary of the Collaborative Africa Budget Reform Initiative (CABRI); an inter-governmental organisation that provides a platform for peer learning and exchange for approximately 30 African ministries of finance and planning. CABRI's work covers fiscal and budget policy; budget transparency and accountability; and public debt management. In addition to his role at CABRI, Neil Cole has been a co-faculty member of the Harvard PFM Executive Training Course. In 2016 he was invited to be a co-faculty member of the Harvard Ministerial Leadership Forum. He is also a part-time faculty member of the International Training Centre of the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

Between 2001 and 2013 he worked for the National Treasury of South Africa in senior management positions in the Budget Office and in the International Economic Policy divisions. His responsibilities included: policy advice and implementation of budget reforms; expenditure planning of national government; co-ordination of the national budget process; policy advice on South Africa's engagement with the rest of Africa; and served as a representative to several bilateral forums and multilateral development banks. Mr. Cole has participated in many global forums on development effectiveness and represented South Africa on the committees that drafted the Accra Agenda for Action and the Busan Partnership agreement.

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, Liberia, 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, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Liberia, Mali, Madagascar, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, 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 frequent 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 The 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 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 nonprofit organization interested in supporting democracy and humanitarian causes in Cameroon.

Dr. Willene A. Johnson serves as a consultant advising institutions, national governments, and international organizations on issues related to finance and development. Her current assignments focus on peacebuilding and strengthening capacity in the security sectors of African countries. To that end, she facilitates workshops for practitioners engaged in strategic planning and budgeting, as well as in peacekeeping and economic reconstruction. Dr. Johnson was previously the U.S. Executive Director at the African Development Bank, a member of the UN Committee for Development Policy, co-chair of the African Regional Committee of the Grameen Foundation and chair of the sub-Saharan Africa Advisory Committee of the U.S. Export-Import Bank. Dr. Johnson's work on Africa benefits from her global experience with economics and finance, gained from twenty years in the Federal Reserve System, where her assignments included research and operational responsibilities in foreign exchange and international financial markets. Dr. Johnson served as adjunct faculty at the United States Institute of Peace and Columbia and Cornell Universities and recently served as a member of the Board of Trustees of Tuskegee University. She holds degrees in social studies (Radcliffe College, Harvard University) and African history (St. John's University) as well as a doctorate in development economics (Columbia University). In recognition of her expertise in governance and public administration, Dr. Johnson was recently elected as a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration.

Hon. Jefferson S. Kanmoh is a Liberian politician (formerly a student activist and a teacher). He holds a bachelor degree from the University of Liberia, where he read on matters of public affairs and economics. He served as a member of the House of Representatives of Liberia from 2006 - 2018. During this period, he was a ranking member of the Committees on National Security and Intelligence; Foreign Affairs; and Ways, Means and Finance. He also served as member of ECOWAS Parliament (2006-2018). At the ECOWAS Parliament, he served as 3rd Deputy Speaker (2016-2018). He is currently the National Security Advisor to the President of Liberia since 2018

Dr. Michael Ofori-Mensah is Head of Research at Transparency International - Defence & Security (TI-DS) where he leads the design and delivery of TI-DS's global research agenda. He previously managed the production of the Government Defence Integrity Index (GDI) 2020. Prior to joining TI-DS, Michael was Director of Research at the Institute of Economic Affairs (Ghana) where he spent 8 years leading research and coordinating a broad range of national and international projects. He has contributed to several public policy reform initiatives in the area of governance and constitution review. Michael has also provided technical support to key institutions, including Ghana's Parliament, which he has advised on legislation such as the Presidential (Transition) Act. He has authored several publications on institutional reform, anti-corruption and public financial management. Michael holds a PhD from the University of Edinburgh, an MSc (Econ) in Political Economy from the London School of Economics (LSE) and a BA (Hons) in Economics and Politics from the University of Kent.

Professor Boubacar N'Diaye holds a Ph.D. in Political Science (Comparative Politics, International Relations & Public Administration) from Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, USA. Dr. N'Diaye is a professor *Emeritus* at The College of Wooster in Ohio (United States) where he was a member of the Departments of Political Science and Pan-African Studies. He has also been an international consultant in the fields of political and security governance, civil-military relations, and institutional capacity building in many African countries. He has thus contributed to the training of hundreds of parliamentarians, high-ranking officers, and leaders of civil society organizations throughout the world.

Professor N'Diaye is a founding member of the African Security Sector Network (ASSN) which he chaired from 2012 to 2017. He led or was part of missions, processes, or programs, facilitated or participated in many activities that have contributed to the Reform of the Security Sector, the construction of peace and the rule of law in many African countries. He has advised governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and is member of several international advisory boards.

Professor N'Diaye is the author, co-author or co-editor of numerous publications including: *The Challenge of Institutionalizing Civilian Control* (Lexington Books, 2001); *Mauritania's Colonels: Leadership, Civil-Military Relations, and Democratization* (Routledge, 2017); *Security Sector Reform in French-speaking West Africa* (Lit, 2010); *Elections in West Africa, 1990-2009* (Africa World Press, 2011); *Guide for ECOWAS parliamentarians* (DCAF, 2011); *Not Yet Democracy: West Africa's Slow Farewell to Authoritarianism* (Carolina Academic Press, 2005); "Francophone Africa and Security Sector Transformation: Plus Ça Change ..." (African Security Review, 2009); "Still Getting Away with It: France's Defense and Security Policy" (2014).

Ms. 'Kemi Okenyodo is the Executive Director of the Rule of Law and Empowerment Initiative also known as Partners West Africa Nigeria (PWAN), a non-governmental organization dedicated to enhancing citizens' participation and improving security governance in Nigeria and West Africa broadly.

She was the Team Lead of the Policing Component of the Security Justice Reform Program supported by the UK Government Conflict, Stability and Security Fund (CSSF) where she provides technical, strategic and programmatic leadership for the Nigeria Policing Programme (NPP), a program working with policing providers, government and civil society for accountable policing services in Nigeria, and where applicable programme partners. From August 2015 to December 2016 she provided 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 has also previously served as the Team Lead of the Component Intervention Program 'Police Accountability' of the Justice 4 All (J4A) Program- a justice sector programme, funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and implemented by the British Council.

Ms. Okenyodo has over 15 years' experience in justice / security sector and governance issues in Nigeria and West Africa, and NGO management. She is particularly interested in police accountability, citizens engagement with security institutions, evolution of non-state actors and their contributions to improving public safety and security environment, gender and policing, criminal justice system reforms- in particular judicial reforms and legal defence of indigent persons, mainstreaming women's participation both in security and governance issues, and election security management.

Ms. Okenyodo a graduate of the Faculty of Law, University of Lagos, a member of the Nigeria Bar Association, the Africa Security Sector Network and an alumni of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS) and the Secretary General of the Nigeria Chapter Alumni Chapter.

Dr. Ken Opalo is an Assistant Professor in the School of Foreign Service. His research interests include the political economy of development, legislative development, electoral accountability under decentralized government, and the politics of education policy. Ken's first book, *Legislative Development in Africa: Politics and Postcolonial Legacies* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), examines the evolution of legislatures in emerging democracies, with a focus on explaining the observed variation in the institutionalization and strength of legislatures in African states. Ken's work has been published or is forthcoming in the *British Journal of Political Science*, *World Development*, *Governance*, *Journal of Legislative Studies*, *Journal of Democracy*, and the *Journal of Historical Political Economy*, among others.

Dr. Émile Ouédraogo is an adjunct professor of practice at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, specializing in issues related to national security strategy development and security sector governance. Since 2007, he has worked with the Africa Center on more than 25 activities as a speaker, facilitator, and author. He also works with AFRICOM, Partners Global, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Friedrich Erbet Stiftung, and the ECOWAS Parliament. He is a member of the African Security Sector Network and founding President of the Fondation pour la Sécurité du Citoyen of Burkina Faso.

Prior to joining the Africa Center, in 2017-18, Dr. Ouédraogo completed a six-month mission with the African Union as a security sector reform and governance expert for Madagascar. As Minister of Security of Burkina Faso from 2008 to 2011, he initiated and developed a Homeland Security Strategy and operationalized the concept of community policing and community participation in the management of security issues. After 30 years of service with the Burkina Faso Army, he retired from active duty in 2012 as a Colonel, having served in positions including Aide to the Prime Minister, Support Regiment Commanding Officer, and Chief of the Military Intelligence Division at the Army General Staff.

Dr. Ouédraogo was a parliamentarian in the National Assembly of Burkina Faso and the 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 of ECOWAS' 15 countries.

He earned a Ph.D. with honors from the Center for Diplomatic and Strategic Studies in Paris, France, on security sector reform and governance in the ECOWAS Region.

Ms. Kimberly Smiddy is the Program Manager for southern Africa at the International Republican Institute and a democracy and governance specialist with expertise in parliamentary development and legislative strengthening in Africa, including 19 years on the continent. Formerly the Co-Executive Director of the Institute for Parliamentary Support in Africa (IPSA) which she also co-founded, Kimberly has conducted trainings and managed capacity-building projects on subjects including parliamentary outreach and civic education, best practices for holding public hearings, and enhancing formal systems of accountability. She was Chief of Party for the Malawi Parliamentary Oversight Systems Initiative that involved supporting committee chairpersons and staff in documenting best practices, including on vertical accountability to constituents. She has also been a parliamentary consultant to the National Assembly of Botswana in the Committee Section, providing technical assistance on best parliamentary practices in the region. She also assisted the SADC Parliamentary Forum in documenting their benchmarks for legislatures in the region and for self-evaluation.

Kimberly has worked extensively with USAID (on legislative strengthening in Malawi), UNDP, Afrobarometer (managing Afrobarometer surveys), University of Cape Town (managing the African Legislatures Project surveys with parliamentarians), and others to support and strengthen a range of African parliaments. She has worked in 17 countries in Africa in project design, implementation, and M&E. Kimberly holds an MA in Political Science from Michigan State University, and a BA in Political Science from the University of Tennessee.