

## **Todd J. Moss, PhD**

Washington DC

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### CURRENT FULL-TIME POSITION

**Founder and Executive Director**, *Energy for Growth Hub*, Washington DC, September 2018-present

- Created, incubated, and launched a new network of researchers and advocates working to promote energy systems for job creation and productive uses in emerging and frontier markets
- Nonprofit start-up, spun-off from the Center for Global Development
- Built from scratch a global network of fellows and advisors at leading US universities (Stanford, MIT, Chicago, Columbia, Berkeley, Colorado School of Mines, etc.) and think tanks in Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, India, and Thailand
- Raised \$1m+ for the Hub from foundations (Rockefeller Foundation, Pritzker Innovation Fund, Spitzer Charitable Trust, Harmon Family Foundation) and corporations (GE, Chevron)
- Launched website [energyforgrowth.org](http://energyforgrowth.org)
- Co-chair working groups on *The US Build Act and the future of infrastructure finance* (jointly with CSIS, November 2018-April 2019) and *Creating a new energy metric for productive uses* (forthcoming March-August 2019)
- Frequent public speaking for policy, corporate, philanthropic, and academic audiences
- Active blogger and Twitter [@toddjmoss](https://twitter.com/toddjmoss)

### OTHER CURRENT PART-TIME POSITIONS

**Visiting Fellow**, *Center for Global Development*, Washington DC, March 2019-present

- Development finance, cash transfers, and US-Africa relations

**Nonresident Scholar**, *Center for Energy Studies, James Baker Institute, Rice University*, Houston, TX, 2016-present

**Nonresident Fellow**, *Payne Institute for Earth Resources, Colorado School of Mines*, Golden, CO, 2018-present

**Fiction Author**, thriller series for Penguin's Putnam Books featuring State Department crisis manager Judd Ryker

- *The Golden Hour* (2014) about a coup in West Africa
- *Minute Zero* (2015) about a violent election in Zimbabwe
- *Ghosts of Havana* (2016) about hostage diplomacy in Cuba
- *The Shadow List* (2017) about organized crime in Russia and Nigeria

### POLICY IMPACT HIGHLIGHTS

- Build Act and launch of US Development Finance Corporation, 2011-2018
- Power Africa and Electrify Africa Act, 2011-2015
- Nigerian debt buyback agreement with the Paris Club, 2004-2005

### PROFESSIONAL AND NONPROFIT AFFILIATIONS

- Board of Directors, *Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA)*, Accra, Ghana, 2012-present
- Steering Committee, *Project on Resources and Governance*, UCLA, Los Angeles, 2017-present
- Advisory Board, *Energy for Economic Growth Research Program*, UC-Berkeley, 2016-present
- Advisory Board, *Altree Capital Africa Fund*, Geneva, 2011-present
- Advisory Committee, *Nuclear Innovation Alliance*, Washington DC, 2018-present
- Advisory Board, *Responsible Emerging Markets Capital Management*, New York, 2016-present
- Life Member, *Council on Foreign Relations*, New York and Washington DC, 2014-present

## EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

**Senior Fellow**, *Center for Global Development*, Washington DC, July 2003-May 2007, Oct 2008-March 2019

- Energy policy, private investment, cash transfers, international financial institutions, and U.S.-Africa relations
- Lead on special initiatives on energy poverty, cash transfers in oil-rich countries (“Oil-to-Cash”), World Bank/IDA replenishments, African Development Bank, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe
- Working Groups on Zimbabwe (member, 2017-19), Energy Access (co-chair, 2015-16), the Future of IDA (co-chair, 2011-12), Africa’s Private Sector (co-chair, 2009-10), Preventing Odious Debt (member, 2009-10), IDA-15 (project director, 2006-07), AfDB (project director, 2006), U.S. Zimbabwe Policy, (project director, 2004-06)
- Raised funding of \$1m+ per year for energy, natural resources, policy research
- Guest speaker at Stanford, Rice, Yale, Tufts, Georgetown, Johns Hopkins, Texas A&M, Pomona, Harvard, Pepperdine, Columbia, Seton Hall, National Defense University, Foreign Service Institute, World Affairs Councils
- Active blogger on [www.cgdev.org](http://www.cgdev.org)
- Published op-eds in *Financial Times*, *Atlantic*, *USA Today*, *Daily Beast*, *Washington Post*, *Forbes*, *Miami Herald*, *US News*, *Fox News*, *Politico*, *The Hill*, *Al-Jazeera*, *Mail & Guardian*, *CNN*, *Foreign Policy*, *Foreign Affairs*; TV/Radio on *CNN*, *NPR*, *PBS*, *BBC*, *CBS*, *MSNBC*, *Fox*, *VOA*, *Al-Jazeera*; Quoted in *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Economist*, *New Yorker*, *LA Times*, *WSJ*, *Reuters*, *AP*, *USA Today*, *Atlantic*, *Daily Beast*, *Slate*, *Quartz*, *OZY*.

**Senior Executive**, *Center for Global Development*, Washington DC

**Chief Operating Officer**, Nov 2013-Dec 2016 and **Vice President for Programs**, Sept 2009-Nov 2013

- Ran independent think tank of 75 staff, \$14m annual budget
- Institutional responsibility for relations with government, corporate, foundation, and individual supporters
- Successfully led, negotiated, and managed partnerships with, among others, the Hewlett Foundation, Gates Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Omidyar Network, GoodVentures, UK DfID, Australia, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Denmark, Chevron, Goldman Sachs, Nestle, McKinsey, General Electric
- Oversaw fundraising (\$13-15 million per year) and the Center’s institutional advancement team
- Managed the nominating committee to identify and recruit new board members
- Led on \$18.5 million purchase and construction of new Center headquarters and conference facility in 2013
- **Board Secretary**, Apr 2013-June 2016
- **Acting President**, Aug-Dec 2012, Jan-May 2015, May-Oct 2016

**Senior Advisor**, *Fraym/Kupanda Capital*, McLean, VA, 2016-2018

- Support for geospatial data analytics start-up

**Adjunct Professor**, *McCourt School of Public Policy*, *Georgetown University*, Washington DC, 2006-2014

- Policy Options for Development Finance (PPOL829) and Economic Development in Africa (PPOL702)

**U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary**, *Department of State*, *Bureau of African Affairs*, Washington DC, May 2007-Oct 2008

- Senior policymaker and diplomat
- *Economic policy staff* (AF/EPS) portfolio, with responsibility for financial, development, and commercial issues, including initiatives such as AGOA, EITI, MCC, Safe Skies, and the Kimberley Process
- *West Africa* (AF/W) portfolio, with responsibility for bilateral relationships with 16 countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d’Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo)
- Focus on developing U.S. policy toward Nigeria, recovery in Liberia, Sahelian counter-terrorism cooperation
- Interagency representative for State Department
- Regular media and public speaking on U.S. policy

**Consultant**, *World Bank*, *Office of the Chief Economist*, *Africa Region*, Washington DC, May 2002-July 2003

- Fixed contract to be lead writer for new *Strategic Framework for IDA’s Assistance to Africa*
- Board presentation July 2003; Published Jan 2004

**Lecturer**, *London School of Economics*, *Development Studies Institute*, London, 2001/02 academic year

- Taught post-graduate seminars on Development Theory and Policy (DV400) and African Development (DV418)
- Advisor for 20+ M.Sc. students

**Economist/Editor**, *Economist Intelligence Unit* (EIU), London, May 1998-July 2000

- Analysis and forecasting of political and economic trends on a range of sub-Saharan African countries
- Country coverage included Zimbabwe, Uganda, Nigeria, Gabon, Ethiopia, Somalia, Malawi, Botswana, Namibia
- **Editor** for *EIU Country Reports*, **Analyst** for *EIU Risk Service*, **Author** of *Ghana Country Report*

**Lecturer**, *University of London (SOAS)*, London, 1999/2000 (part-time, concurrent with EIU)

- Development and Public Policy, weekly lecture for 70 students

**Assistant Director, US Policy Programs**, *Overseas Development Council (ODC)*, Washington DC, July 1995-Apr 1997

- Member of think tank research team examining emerging global trends and US policy

**Project Officer**, *Heal the Wounds*, Harare, Zimbabwe, June 1992-Apr 1993

- Project assessment for local NGO working with victims of cross-border attacks in Manicaland

**Emergency Medical Technician (EMT)**, *Cataldo Ambulance Service*, Somerville, MA, part-time 1990-1992

- EMT and ambulance driver in high-stress urban environment

## NONFICTION PUBLICATIONS

### Books

*African Development: Making Sense of the Issues and Actors*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 2018 (3<sup>rd</sup> edition), 2011 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), 2007 (1<sup>st</sup> edition). \*Award winner: “Outstanding Academic Title 2007,” *Choice*, Association of College and Research Libraries.

*Oil-to-Cash: Fighting the Resource Curse through Cash Transfers*, with Caroline Lambert and Stephanie Majerowicz, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, 2015.

*The Governor’s Solution: Alaska’s Oil Dividend and Iraq’s Last Window*, editor and author of introduction, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, 2012.

*African Emerging Markets: Contemporary Issues, Volume II*, co-edited with Sam Mensah, African Capital Markets Forum, Accra, 2004.

*Adventure Capitalism: Globalization and the Political Economy of Stock Markets in Africa*, Palgrave MacMillan Publishers, London/New York, 2003

### Testimony to the U.S. Congress

“US Policy Responses to Zimbabwe’s Illusory Reforms,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health, December 6, 2018.

“Energy in Africa Promotes U.S. Economic and Security Interests,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on International Economic, Energy, and Environmental Policy, November 1, 2017.

“Modernizing Development Finance to Promote Prosperity and Serve US Foreign Policy,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, July 7, 2016.

“Well-Targeted Sanctions Remain a Useful US Policy Tool: The Case of Zimbabwe,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health, June 8, 2016.

“U.S. Policy and Tradeoffs in Promoting International Access to Energy,” Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Energy and Power, February 27, 2014.

“A Robust and Nuanced US Policy Response to Zimbabwe’s Narrow Democratic Window,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs, June 18, 2013.

“Updating US Foreign Assistance Tools and Development Policy for the Post-Aid World,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on International Development and Foreign Operations, May 22, 2013.

“U.S. Interests in Nigeria’s Success with Financial Reform,” Testimony before the House Financial Services Subcommittee on International Monetary Policy and Trade, November 17, 2010.

“Targeted U.S. Support for Zimbabwe’s Recovery,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs, September 30, 2009.

“Extractive Industries and U.S. Policy,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs, September 24, 2008.

### **Selected Journals/Chapters/Articles**

“Scaling Power for Global Prosperity,” with Sheila Herrling, *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Mar 2019.

“Can Nigeria Solve its Energy Crisis?” with Judd Devermont, *Foreign Affairs*, Sept 2018.

“Zimbabwe’s Upcoming Election is a Political Charade,” with Michelle Gavin, *Foreign Affairs*, July 2018.

“Signaling, Governance, and Goals: Reorienting the United States Power Africa Initiative,” with Morgan Bazilian, *Energy Research & Social Science*, Volume 39, May 2018.

“Rethinking Energy Statecraft: United States Foreign Policy and the Changing Geopolitics of Energy,” with Morgan Bazilian and Benjamin Sovacool, *Global Policy*, Sept 2017.

“Gambia Stands Up,” with Jeffrey Smith, *Foreign Affairs*, Feb 2017.

“Reflections on Africa’s Rocky Love-Hate Relationship with International Capital,” in John Harbeson (ed.) *Africa in World Politics*, Westview Press, (5<sup>th</sup> edition 2013, 6<sup>th</sup> edition 2016).

“Two Steps Backwards for Zimbabwe,” with Jeffrey Smith, *Foreign Affairs*, Nov 2014.

“Let There Be Light: Washington’s Ambitious Plan to Help Africa Generate Electricity,” with Benjamin Leo, *Foreign Affairs*, Sept 2014.

“Building a Think-and-Do Tank,” with Lawrence MacDonald, *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, July 2014.

“Energy Investments in Africa by the U.S., Europe and China,” with Giorgio Gualberti and Morgan Bazilian, *IAEE Energy Forum*, International Association for Energy Economics, 2014.

“Missing in Africa: How Obama Failed to Engage an Increasingly Important Continent,” *Foreign Affairs*, Oct 2012.

“Oil to Cash: Fighting the Resource Curse through Cash Transfers,” *Yale Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 6, Issue, 2, Sept 2011.

“An Aid-Institutions Paradox? Aid dependency and state building in sub-Saharan Africa,” with Nicolas van de Walle and Gunilla Pettersson, in William Easterly (ed.) *Reinventing Aid*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 2008.

“The Ghost of 0.7 %: Origins and Relevance of the International Aid Target,” with Michael Clemens, *International Journal of Development Issues*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2007.

“Zimbabwe’s Meltdown: Anatomy of a Peacetime Economic Collapse,” *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Vol. 31, No. 2, Summer 2007.

“The Trouble with the MDGs: Confronting Expectations of Aid and Development Success,” with Michael Clemens and Charles Kenny, *World Development*, Vol. 35, No. 5, May 2007.

“The G8’s Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative and Poverty Reduction in Sub-Saharan Africa,” *African Affairs*, Vol. 105, No. 419, Apr 2006.

“After Mugabe: Post-conflict lessons for Zimbabwe,” *Africa Policy Journal*, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Issue 1, Apr 2006.

“Le Mythe des 0.7%: Origines et pertinence pour l’aide internationale,” with Michael Clemens, *Afrique Contemporaine*, Vol. 219, No. 3, 2006.

“Compassionate Conservatives or Conservative Compassionates? US political parties and bilateral foreign assistance to Africa,” with Markus Goldstein, *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 7, Oct 2005.

“The Millennium Development Goals, Aid Targets, and the Costs of Over-Expectations,” with Michael Clemens and Charles Kenny, *Sustainable Development Law and Policy*, Washington College of Law, American University, Washington DC, Vol. VI, Issue I, Fall 2005.

“Is Africa’s Skepticism of Foreign Capital Justified? Preliminary Evidence from Firm Survey Data in East Africa,” with Vijaya Ramachandran and Manju Kedia Shah, in Magnus Blomstrom, Edward Graham, and Theodore Moran (eds.), *Does Foreign Direct Investment Promote Development?* Institute of International Economics, Washington DC, 2005.

- “Irrational Exuberance or Financial Foresight? The Political Logic of Stock Markets in Africa,” in Sam Mensah and Todd Moss (eds.), *African Emerging Markets: Contemporary Issues, Volume II*, African Capital Markets Forum, Accra, 2004.
- “Africa and the Growing Battle over Global Agriculture,” with Alicia Bannon, *World Policy Journal*, Summer 2004.
- “Stock Markets in Africa: Emerging Lions or White Elephants?” with Charles Kenny, *World Development*, Vol. 26, No. 5, May 1998.
- “Africa Policy Adrift,” with David Gordon, *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 3, Summer 1996.
- “US Policy and Democratisation in Africa: The Limits of Liberal Universalism,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 2, June 1995.

### **Working Papers**

- “How do African firms respond to unreliable power? Exploring firm heterogeneity using K-means clustering,” with Vijaya Ramachandran and Maju Kedia Shah, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Aug 2018.
- “What Can We Learn about Energy Access and Demand from Mobile-Phone Surveys? Nine Findings from Twelve African Countries” with Benjamin Leo and Jared Kalow, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, and Center for Energy Studies, Baker Institute, Rice University, Houston, Feb 2018.
- “When Do Subsidy Reforms Stick? Lessons from Iran, Nigeria, and India,” with Priscilla Atansah, Masoomeh Khandan, Anit Mukherjee & Jennifer Richmond, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Nov 2017.
- “The Digital Transformation and Disruptive Technologies: Challenges and Solutions for the Electricity Sector in African Markets,” with Ijeoma Onyeji-Nwogu and Morgan Bazilian, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, and Center for Energy Studies, Baker Institute, Rice University, Houston, May 2017.
- “Grading Power Africa: A preliminary report card on President Obama’s signature electrification initiative,” Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Oct 2016.
- “How Does OPIC Balance Risks, Additionality, and Development? Proposals for Greater Transparency and Stoplight Filters,” with Benjamin Leo, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, May 2016.
- “Inside the Portfolio of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation,” with Benjamin Leo, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Apr 2016.
- “Alternatives to HIPC for African Debt-Distressed Countries: Lessons from Myanmar, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe,” with Tendai Biti, Ben Leo, and Scott Morris, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Feb 2016.
- “Bringing US Development Finance into the 21st Century: Proposal for a Self-Sustaining, Full-Service US Development Finance Corporation,” with Benjamin Leo, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Mar 2015.
- “Balancing Energy Access and Global Climate Goals: The Case of the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation,” with Morgan Bazilian and Roger Pielke, Jr., Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Apr 2014.
- “Maximizing Access to Energy: Estimates of Access and Generation for the Overseas Private Investment Corporation’s Portfolio,” with Benjamin Leo, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Jan 2014.
- “Building a Think-and-Do Tank: A Dozen Lessons from the First Dozen Years of the Center for Global Development,” with Lawrence MacDonald, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Jan 2014.
- “OPIC Unleashed: Strengthening US Tools to Promote Private-Sector Development Overseas,” with Benjamin Leo and Beth Schwanke, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Aug 2013.
- “Oil-to-Cash Won't Work Here! Ten Common Objections,” with Stephanie Majerowicz, Policy Paper 24, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, June 2013.
- “Nowhere Left to Hide? Stock Market Correlation, Regional Diversification, and the Case for Investing in Africa,” with Ross Thuotte, Working Paper 316, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Mar 2013.
- “No Longer Poor: Ghana’s New Income Status and Implications of Graduation from IDA, with Stephanie Majerowicz, Working Paper 300, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, July 2012.
- “IDA at 65: Heading Toward Retirement or a Fragile Lease on Life?” with Benjamin Leo, Working Paper 246, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Mar 2011.

- “Oil to Cash: Fighting the Resource Curse through Cash Transfers,” Working Paper 237, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Jan 2011.
- “Moving Mugabe’s Mountain: Zimbabwe’s strategy for arrears clearance and path to debt relief,” with Benjamin Leo, Working Paper 190, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Nov 2009.
- “Saving Ghana from Its Oil: The case for direct cash distribution,” with Lauren Young, Working Paper 186, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Oct 2009.
- “Why Doesn’t Africa Get More Equity Investment? Frontier Markets, Firm Size, and Asset Allocations of Global Emerging Market Funds,” with Vijaya Ramachandran and Scott Standley, presented at AERC research conference in Nairobi, December 2006; also issued as World Bank working paper and CGD working paper in Feb 2007.
- “Aversion to Targetry: Why Washington has never embraced the MDGs and the 0.7% aid target,” with Michael Clemens, working paper presented at WIDER Conference on Aid Principles, Policies and Performance, Helsinki, June 2006.
- “Will Debt Relief Make a Difference? Impact and Expectations of the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative,” Working Paper 88, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, May 2006.
- “An Aid-Institutions Paradox? Aid dependency and state building in sub-Saharan Africa,” with Nicolas van de Walle and Gunilla Pettersson, Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, November 2005 and Working Paper 74, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Jan 2006.
- “The Day After Comrade Bob: Applying post-conflict reconstruction lessons to Zimbabwe,” with Stewart Patrick, Working Paper 72, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Dec 2005.
- “After the Big Push? Fiscal and institutional implications of large aid increases,” with Arvind Subramanian, Working Paper 71, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Oct 2005.
- “Ghost of 0.7%: Origins and relevance of the international aid target,” with Michael Clemens, Working Paper 68, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Sept 2005.
- “The Global War on Terror and U.S. Development Assistance: USAID allocation by country, 1998-2005,” with David Roodman and Scott Standley, Working Paper Number 62, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, July 2005.
- “Ten Myths of the International Finance Facility,” Working Paper Number 60, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, May 2005.
- “Double Standards and Debt Relief: The case for Nigerian IDA reclassification,” with Scott Standley and Nancy Birdsall, Working Paper Number 45, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Sept 2004.
- “Is Africa’s Skepticism of Foreign Capital Justified? Preliminary Evidence from Firm Survey Data in East Africa,” with Vijaya Ramachandran and Manju Kedia Shah, Working Paper 41, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, June 2004.
- “The Trouble with the MDGs: Confronting Expectations of Aid and Development Success,” with Michael Clemens and Charles Kenny, Working Paper 40, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, May 2004.
- “The Other Costs of High Debt in Poor Countries: Growth, Policy Dynamics, and Institutions,” with Hanley Chiang, Issue Paper on Debt Sustainability, HIPC Unit, World Bank, Washington DC, Aug 2003.
- “The Surprise Party: An Analysis of US ODA Flows to Africa,” with Markus Goldstein, Working Paper 30, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, July 2003.

### **Selected Policy Reports**

*More than a Lightbulb: Report of the Energy Access Targets Working Group*, with Mimi Alemayehou, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Apr 2016.

*Our High Energy Planet*, with Mark Caine, et al., Breakthrough Institute, Oakland, CA, Mar 2014.

*Soft Lending without Poor Countries: Recommendations for a new IDA: Report of the Future of IDA Working Group*, with Jean-Michel Severino, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Oct 2012.

*A Doing Business Facility: A proposal for enhancing business climate assistance*, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Apr 2010.

*The World Bank's Work in the Poorest Countries: Five Recommendations for a New IDA*, with Dennis de Tray, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, June 2007.

*Building Africa's Development Bank: Six Recommendations for the AfDB and its Shareholders*, with Dennis de Tray, Center for Global Development, Washington DC, Sept 2006.

*Strategic Framework for Assistance to Africa: IDA and the Emerging Partnership Model*, with Alan Gelb, et al., Africa Region, World Bank, Washington DC, Jan 2004.

*The Partnership Imperative: Maintaining American Leadership in a New Era*, with Catherine Gwin et al., Overseas Development Council and the Henry Stimson Center, Washington DC, 1997.

### **Selected Media/Op-eds on Policy Issues**

“More affordable electricity would transform Africa. Here’s how to get there,” *CNN Business*, Oct 2018

“The United States should push for a genuine democratic transition in Zimbabwe,” *Washington Post*, Aug 2018

“Even before the vote, Zimbabwe's election is not credible,” *Mail & Guardian*, July 2018

“Congress gives US energy diplomacy a turbocharge,” *Forbes*, July 2018

“Development finance is good for American taxpayers, national security, and the world's poorest,” *Devex*, Feb 2018

“Don't whitewash Mugabe's henchman,” *Washington Post*, Feb 2018

“Mugabe Is a Goner, But His Looting Machine Is Here to Stay,” *Foreign Policy*, Nov 2017

“The Meaning of Robert Mugabe's Stunning Non-Resignation,” *The Atlantic*, Nov 2017

“After Mugabe, the last thing Zimbabwe needs is another dictator,” *Washington Post*, Nov 2017

“Robert Mugabe's Inner Circle Implodes,” *The Atlantic*, Nov 2017

“It’s time for international election monitors to start doing their job,” *Washington Post*, November 15, 2017

“The Warlord and the Ambassador: A review of Dante Paradiso’s “The Embassy,” *Huffington Post*, Feb 2017

“What does Trump Mean for Power Africa?” *Forbes*, Jan 2017

“Why bond notes can’t save Zimbabwe,” with Tendai Biti, *Daily Maverick*, Dec 2016

“Rapid Cuba thaw doesn’t spell end of the embargo,” *USA Today*, Oct 2016

“Cuba Stole Americans’ Property; Will the U.S. Sell them Out?” *Miami Herald*, Aug 2016.

“The Good Lobbyist,” *Huffington Post*, June 2016.

“Saudi Arabia Can Cash In,” *U.S. News & World Report*, May 2016.

“Cruise ship diplomacy is not helping ordinary Cubans,” *Washington Examiner*, May 2016.

“Cuba’s charming, tragic time warp,” *USA Today*, Mar 2016.

“Five tough questions before Obama’s historic trip to Cuba,” *FoxNews.com*, Mar 2016.

“When a Dictator Falls,” *Huffington Post*, Oct 2015.

“Robert Mugabe is again driving Zimbabwe over the cliff,” *Africa Times*, Sept 2015.

“Obama’s Missed Africa Opportunity,” *CNN*, July 2015.

“Ominous Warning Signs Resurface in Zimbabwe,” *Foreign Policy*, June 2015.

“Mugabe’s New Best Friends in Brussels,” *Foreign Policy*, Mar 2015.

“The Africa I Know Isn’t the Africa in the Headlines Today,” *NPR’s Goats and Soda*, Dec 2014.

“Closing Africa’s Energy Poverty Gap,” *GE Ideas Lab*, Aug 2014.

“Africa More Important than Ever,” *USA Today*, July 2014.

“Obama should embrace Africa’s democratic standard-bearers,” *Al-Jazeera*, July 2014.

“Seven Graphics that Explain Energy Poverty and How the US Can Do Much More,” *ONE Campaign*, July 2014.

“Electrifying Africa now up to Chairman Menendez,” *The Hill*, May 2014.

“Don’t Let Robert Mugabe Win,” *Politico*, July 2013.

“The Final Frontier,” *Foreign Policy*, Mar 2013

“The Second Obama Administration Must Close Africa's Energy Poverty Gap,” *Brookings Foresight Africa*, Jan 2013.

“Send Salads to Ethiopia, and Solar Panels to Senegal,” *Policy Innovations*, Carnegie Council for Ethics, Dec 2012.

“Why Obama Should Keep Control of the World Bank,” *Bloomberg Businessweek*, Apr 2012.

“How to turn citizens into Owners of National Wealth,” *This is Africa*, January 2012, republished in *Oil*, Apr 2012.

“The ABCs of the IFI General Capital Increases,” *CGD Brief*, Sept 2011.

“In Praise of Debt: Why Greece’s Mistakes Shouldn’t Hurt Emerging Borrowers,” *Bloomberg Businessweek*, Aug 2011.

“Billions More for International Institutions? The ABCs of the General Capital Increases,” *CGD Brief*, June 2010.

“A New and Improved African Development Bank?” *CGD Brief*, May 2010.

“Where does Africa fit in the globalization puzzle?” *Yale Insights*, June 2009

“How the Economic Crisis Is Hurting Africa--And What to Do About It,” *CGD Essay*, May 2009.

“Dambisa Moyo's (Serious) Challenge to the Development Business,” *CGD Essay*, Apr 2009.

“Three Steps to Restore Democracy to Zimbabwe,” *CGD Memo*, Jan 2009.

“U.S. Aid to Africa After the Midterm Elections? A ‘Surprise Party’ Update,” *CGD Note*, Jan 2007.

“Freetown to Hollywood: The Kimberley Process Takes on Africa's 'Blood Diamonds',” *CGD Note*, Dec 2006.

“China's Export-Import Bank and Africa: New Lending, New Challenges,” *CGD Note*, Nov 2006.

“Fixing International Financial Institutions: How Africa Can Lead the Way,” *CGD Note*, Sept 2006.

“The Investment Climate Facility for Africa: Does it Deserve U.S. Support?” *CGD Note*, Aug 2006.

“Foreign Investment and Economic Development: Evidence from Private Firms in East Africa,” *CGD Brief*, Dec 2005.

“After Mugabe, Zimbabwe Will Need Post-Conflict Response,” *CGD Note*, Dec 2005.

“The impact of the G8 debt relief plan for Africa,” *Sub-Saharan Africa Forecast*, EIU, Nov 2005.

“The Debt Relief Divide,” *IDM Magazine*, Oct 2005.

“What’s Wrong with the MDGs?” *CGD Brief*, Sept 2005.

“Costs and Causes of Zimbabwe’s Crisis,” *CGD Note*, July 2005.

“Capital markets: Opening the doors of perception,” *The Africa Report, Jeune Afrique*, May 2005.

“Resolving Nigeria’s Debt through a Discounted Buyback,” *CGD Note*, Apr 2005.

“Is Wealthier Really Healthier?” *Foreign Policy*, Mar/Apr 2005.

“Current Issues in Development Assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa,” *Sub-Saharan Africa Forecast*, EIU, Feb 2005.

“The politics of aid: A Marshall Plan is not what Africa needs,” *New York Times*, Dec 2004.

“African Stock Markets,” *African Investment Handbook 2001*, Commonwealth Business Council, Oct 2000.

“Markets on the Margin: Africa’s newest stock markets,” *Institutional Investor*, Euromoney, Mar 2000.

“Conflict in the Horn: cross-border linkages,” *Sub-Saharan Africa Forecast*, EIU, Q4 1999.

“Impact of the Asian Financial Crisis on Equity Markets in Sub-Saharan Africa,” *SSA Forecast*, EIU, Q4 1998.

“Africa in 1998-2002: A Political Renaissance?” *Sub-Saharan Africa Forecast*, EIU, Q3 1998.

“Ghana: Fiscal Discipline Restored?” *Emerging Markets Africa*, EMBI, Mar 1998.

“Africa’s Emerging Stock Markets,” *CSIS Africa Notes*, No. 190, Nov 1996.

“Can Ghana’s Economic Reform Survive the 1996 Elections?” *CSIS Africa Notes*, No. 175, Aug 1995.

### **Selected Articles on Writing Fiction**

“Where Should Your Thriller Hero Go Next?” *Writer’s Digest*, Sept 2016.

“A Warning About Writing Novels that Chase the News Cycle,” *JaneFriedman.com*, Mar 2016.

“A Long Strange Trip,” *Murder is Everywhere*, Nov 2015.

“How to Write a Novel and Keep Your Day Job,” *Medium*, October 2015.

“Calling George Clooney: Here’s a role with a social scientist as the action hero!” *Washington Post*, Sept 2015

“What Marketing Support Looks Like at a Big 5 Publisher,” *JaneFriedman.com*, May 2015.

“What happens on a debut book tour?” *Hey, There’s a Dead Guy in the Living Room*, Sept 2014.

“How I Got Addicted to Africa (and Wrote a Thriller About It),” *The Daily Beast*, Sept 2014.

“A Thriller Writer’s Challenge: Make U.S. policy in Africa a page turner,” *Washington Post*, Sept 2014.

### **EDUCATION**

**Ph.D., Political Economy**, *University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)*, 2000  
Africa and the political economy of global portfolio investment and financial sector development  
Research conducted in Ghana, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia and London.  
Primary case study: Ghana Stock Exchange  
Recipient of SOAS Research Fellowship (1997-2000) and British Council Link (Accra, 1998)

**M.Sc., International Politics**, *University of London, SOAS*, 1994  
Concentration on the politics of development and public policy

**B.A., Political Science** with minor in African Studies, *Tufts University*, Medford, Massachusetts, 1992  
Study abroad semesters at *School for International Training*, Harare, Zimbabwe and SOAS, London

### **OTHER**

- Extensive work/travel experience throughout Africa, Europe, Southeast Asia and North America
- Previous work/residence in Zimbabwe and UK
- US citizenship
- Top Secret/SCI security clearance