



AFRICA CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

WEST AFRICA PARLIAMENTARIANS FORUM 2023: STRENGTHENING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PARLIAMENT AND THE SECURITY SECTOR

ACADEMIC PROGRAM BIOGRAPHIES

Leadership

Ms. Amanda Dory is the Director of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, located at the National Defense University in Washington, DC. Prior to this appointment, she held the position of Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs. Ms. Dory is a career member of the Senior Executive Service.

Ms. Dory has served in multiple leadership roles in the Office of the Secretary of Defense for Policy, including Acting Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for African Affairs, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy, and acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Plans and Posture. She also served on the National War College faculty and as associate dean for outreach.

She is an alumna of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and received a master's degree with concentrations in international economics and African studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Dr. Catherine Lena Kelly is Associate Academic Dean and 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

The Right Honorable Speaker Alban Sumana Kingsford Bagbin is a Ghanaian politician who is the current Speaker of the Parliament of Ghana. He was the Minister for Health in the Ghana government from January 2012 until February 2013 when Hanny-Sherry Ayittey took over the position. He served as the Member of Parliament for Nadowli West constituency in the Upper West Region of Ghana in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th parliaments of the 4th republic of Ghana. He contested for the presidential candidate slot of the National Democratic Congress in 2019 but subsequently lost to former President John Dramani Mahama. On 7 January 2021 Bagbin was elected Speaker of 8th Parliament of the Fourth Republic. Bagbin is a member of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). He was first elected into Parliament during the 1992 Ghanaian General Elections. He represented the Nadowli West Constituency in the Upper West Region. In 2006, Bagbin announced his intentions to run for president in 2008 on the NDC ticket, but he never stood for the primaries. He became the Majority Leader in the Ghanaian parliament in 2009.

Following a cabinet reshuffle in January 2010, he was appointed Minister for Water Resources, Works and Housing by President Mills. He was also the Majority Leader of Parliament under President Mahama's tenure of office, he succeeded Benjamin Kunbuor, who was appointed as the Minister of Defense. He also served as the Second Deputy Speaker of Parliament from January 2017 to January 2021.

Facilitators

Dr. Joel Amegboh is an Assistant Professor for African Security Studies, responsible for overseeing the Africa Center's academic programming on National Security Strategy Development and Youth, Peace, and Security and integrating these considerations into the Center's research and outreach.

Prior to joining the Africa Center for Security Studies, Dr. Amegboh worked for several agencies and departments under the United Nations. These include the Educational Outreach Division of the Department of Public Information (DPI) and the Mali Integrated Operational Team, located in the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs. His research interests include advocacy for, and paradigm shifts in peacebuilding in Africa, terrorism and counterterrorism efforts, human security, security-development-governance nexus, and the role of youth in peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

Dr. Amegboh holds a Ph.D. in Conflict Analysis and Resolution from the Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter School for Peace and Conflict Resolution at George Mason University, an M.A. in Global Development and Peace Studies, and a B.A. in International Political Economy and Diplomacy from the University of Bridgeport in Connecticut.

Brigadier General (Ret.) Saleh Bala is the Chief Executive Officer of White Ink Consult, a private defence and security research, strategic communications and training consultancy firm based in Abuja, Nigeria and founder of the White Ink Institute for Strategy Education and Research (WISER), Abuja, Nigeria, an institute focusing on capacity building at executive and middle cadre levels on security governance strategy and national security policy. He holds a Bachelor's Degree in Literature, from the University of Maiduguri, Nigeria (1982) and a Masters Degree in International Peace Studies, from the University for Peace, San Jose, Costa Rica (2006) and another Masters in National Security Strategy, from the National Defence University, National War College, Washington DC (2009). He is a Distinguished Honour Graduate of the US Special Forces Detachment Officers Qualification Course (1991), John F Kennedy, United States Special Warfare Centre, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and an alumnus of the International Institute of Humanitarian Law, Sanremo, Italy, International Refugee Law Course (2010) and also a member of the institute's Training Advisory Group. Bala is a resource person for the Africa Centre for Strategic Studies (ACSS), Washington DC. He has been working extensively with the ACSS in the areas of sensitization and capacity development for formulation of National Security Strategies for African nations, as well as for development of National Preventing/Counter Violent Strategies across Africa.

Bala was commissioned into the Nigerian Army on 15 December 1984. He served in various command, staff and training capacities, which included company commander, 72 Parachute Battalion (1987-88), instructor at the Nigerian Army Infantry School, Airborne, Tactics and Special Warfare Wings (1988-93). He also served as an instructor at the Nigerian Defence Academy (1993-95), as well as a Directing Staff at the Nigerian Armed Forces Command and Staff College (2002-2004) and the National Defence College (2009-2011). Bala had peacekeeping experience as a UN Military Observer at the United Nations Verification Mission in Angola II (1995-96) and was the Military Chief of Staff, United Nations Operations in Cote D'Ivoire (2011-2012). His last military assignment was as the Chief of Staff, Nigerian Army Infantry Corps Center (2012-13). He served in a consultant capacity as the Senior Special Adviser (Policy and Strategy Development) to the Honorable Minister of Interior, Federal Republic of Nigeria from Aug 2015- Dec 2017.

Dr. Fairlie Chappuis is an independent expert in conflict and security with fourteen years' experience in research, policy development, and operations, especially in Africa. She is a rostered expert for the International Security Sector Advisory Team and has completed projects for the European Union, the Danish Refugee Council, the Small Arms Survey, and the NYU Center for International Cooperation, among others. Previously, she worked at DCAF Geneva and the Freie Universität Berlin and was also a visiting scholar at the Kofi Annan Institute for Conflict Transformation at the University of Liberia, the Stimson Center in Washington DC, and swisspeace in Bern. She holds a Masters from the Geneva Graduate Institute and a doctorate from the Otto Suhr Institute of Political Science at the Freie Universität Berlin.

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.

'Kemi 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.

She's 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. 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 reform and governance. Since 2007, he has worked with the Africa Center on more than 60 activities as a speaker, facilitator, and author. He also works with UN, AU, ECOWAS, Just Future (Netherlands), Partners Global (USA), Konrad Adenauer Foundation (Germany), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Germany). He is a member of the Executive committee of the African Security Sector Network and founding President of the « Fondation pour la Sécurité du Citoyen » of Burkina Faso (FOSEC).

Prior to joining the Africa Center, Dr. Ouédraogo completed a six-month mission with the African Union in 2017 as a security sector reform and governance expert for Madagascar. He is currently Senior Expert consultant for the UN in Mali and also international expert in DRC for the Dutch project "Just Future". 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 32 years of service with the Burkina Faso Army, he retired from active duty in 2012 as a Colonel, having served in positions including Aide de Camp to the Prime Minister, Support Regiment Commanding Officer, Infantry Commando Regiment Commanding Officer and Chief of the Military Intelligence. 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. from the Center for Diplomatic and Strategic Studies in Paris, France, on security sector reform and governance in the ECOWAS Region and a Master's Degree in Strategic Studies from the University of Ibadan in Nigeria.

After the first democratic elections in 1994, **Honorable Annelizé van Wyk** served as a Member of the Gauteng Legislature. In 1999 she was elected as a Member of the National Parliament of South Africa where she served until her retirement from active politics in 2014.

In the Gauteng Legislature she served on the Arts and Culture Committee and the Community Safety Committee. During her period in the National Assembly she served in various leadership capacities in the institution as Whip and later as Chairperson of the Portfolio Committee of Police. She also served in various Ad Hoc Committees dealing with various contentious issues and legislation. Her other Committees were in the Security Cluster; the Joint Committee on Defence and The Home Affairs Committee. She was also a Member of the Rules and Joint Rules Committee and the Committee of Chairpersons. She was also a founding Member of the Members Powers and Privileges Committee.

During her time in the National Assembly she played a leading role in various pieces of legislation. Amongst those were the Firearms Control Act, The Independent Police Investigative

Directorate, The Counter Terrorism Act, The DNA Act, The Prohibition of Mercenary Activities and Regulation of Certain Activities in Country of Armed Conflict.

Annelizé served as Special Advisor to the Minister of Police and Political advisor to the Minister of Public Enterprises. In 2016 she was appointed by the Minister of housing to serve on the Lwandle Commission. The Commission investigated the forceful eviction by the City of Cape Town of homeless people, from state owned land. In 2019 the Minister of Sport, Arts and Culture appointed her as part of an Administration team to a state owned entity to investigate a whistleblower report on Corruption in the entity.

Currently she serves as a Trustee and Deputy Chairperson of APCOF (African Policing Civilian Oversight Forum). She has taken a leading role in promoting issues of police accountability and oversight in her post-Parliamentary career. This includes as an independent expert providing advice, support and training at both the African Union level (through the African Security Sector Network, and in her involvement in the development of a Model Police Law for the Pan African Parliament), the Southern Africa Development Community, most recently in Zambia and Tanzania, with training for parliamentarians on police oversight. Recently she addressed in Accra, a meeting of Bar Associations in Anglophone West Africa, on the role that the Model Law for Policing can play in the Decriminalisation of Petty Offences.

Annelize has written and published various Newspaper Articles and Papers on issues relating to the Security Sector and human rights, Policing Accountability in a Democratic Society and Civilian, including Parliament, oversight of the Security Sector. She is a certified Political Advisor in Conflict Areas from the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, Accra Ghana. She is an Alumni of the American Council of Young Political Leaders, as well as the Africa Center for Strategic Studies. Honorable van Wyk has also completed a Project Management Diploma from from the Stellenbosch University Business School and several other leadership and management courses throughout her career. She studied BA (Communications) at the North West University and UNISA with Communications IV, Journalism IV and Public Relations IV, Biblical Studies III, Psychology III.

Panelists

The Honorable Dr. Zanetor Agyeman-Rawlings is the Member of Parliament for the Klotte Korley constituency. Currently serving in her second term, Honorable Agyeman-Rawlings is the Deputy Ranking Member on the Parliamentary Select Committee on Defense and Interior and a Member of the Business Committee. In addition to her service in Ghanaian Parliament, Honorable Agyeman-Rawlings is also a Member of the Climate Parliament, and the African Parliamentary Union.

Prior to her election, Honorable Agyeman-Rawlings was a medical doctor, with ten years working experience in General Practice and Family Medicine. A passionate environmental activist and advocate of inclusivity and empowerment of women and youth, she has served as a panelist for numerous international events and conferences, and organized and sponsored dozens of impactful outreach programs in her constituency. Honorable Agyeman-Rawlings is a graduate of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, and holds a Masters in Conflict, Peace, and Security from the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping and Training Center.

The Honorable Hama Assah is the former Principal Advisor to the President of the National Assembly in Niger, advising primarily on matters related to national security. In this role, he has worked extensively with international partners including DCAF, the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS), ECOWAS, and USAID. Honorable Assah was elected deputy to the National Assembly three (3) times in 1996, 1999, and 2016 and has held various committee positions including Vice President of the Rural Development and Environment Committee, Vice President of the Parliamentary Network on Nutrition, member of the G5 Sahel committee, and President of the Defense and Security Committee. He has also head local administrative offices, including Deputy Assistant Prefect in Bouza and Head of Station in Torodi.

Honorable Assah holds several academic certificates from academic institutions around the world, including the Afro-Asiatic Institute in Tel-Aviv, Israel; the National Center for Agricultural Training in Theza, France; the Panafrican Training Center in Cotonou, Benin; and the Practical Institute for Rural Development in Kollo, Niger. Honorable Assah is also a recipient of the Niger Order of Merit.

Dr. Kojo Asante was appointed Director of Advocacy and Policy Engagement at the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) on February 1, 2018. He was previously Senior Research Fellow and also once served as Head of Research and Programs at CDD-Ghana. For the last 18 years as a legal policy and governance specialist, Kojo has worked and led advocacy on a diverse range of issues including anti-corruption, social accountability, local government, human rights, natural resource governance, and the politics of development. A champion of youth causes, Dr. Asante pioneered the Democracy and Governance Bootcamp in 2018 and the West African Youth Leaders Fellowship in 2019 with OSIWA. He is also the Co-Coordinator of the Citizens Coalition and the Director and the West Africa Democracy Solidarity Network (WADEMOS).

Previously, Dr. Asante was a Researcher at the Effective States and Inclusive Development Center at the University of Manchester and a Hewlett Fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. He has consulted for several international development agencies on issues of politics, governance and development.

Kojo holds a Ph.D. in Development Policy and Management from the University of Manchester (U.K.), a Master of Arts degree in Africana Studies from the State University of New York, Albany, NY, a Degree of Utter Barrister from the Inns of Court, School of Law and an LLB from the University of Buckingham, both in the U.K. He is a member of the Ghana Bar Association, the Bar of England and Wales, and the Honorable Society of Gray's Inn, England.

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.

The Honorable Ophelia Mensah Hayford is the Member of Parliament for the Mfantseman Constituency. A member of the New Patriotic Party, she is currently the Vice Chairperson for the Parliamentary Select Committee on Defense and Interior and a Member of the House Committee. Prior to her election in 2020, Honorable Hayford served in the Ghana police for 27 years, including as Assistant Superintendent of Police as well as Chief Inspector of the Police Service. She also served with the Interpol Unit at CID Headquarters. Honorable Mensah holds a bachelor's degree in political science and linguistics, and an LLB in Criminal law, International Human Rights Law, and Administrative Law.

Brigadier General Mohammed Mustapha was commissioned into the Engineer Corps of the Ghana Armed Forces in August 1990. He has served in various capacities at both home and abroad. He has undergone all professional and military career courses commensurate with his field of specialty. He facilitates KAIPTC Courses including CIMIC, Counter Terrorism and Multi Dimension Peace Operations (MDPO). He is also a regular lecturer at the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College on Conflict Resolution and UN Peace Operations. Gen Mustapha also has ten UN, AU, and ECOWAS peacekeeping mission to his credit in various Engineering, Operations and Command Appointments. He was the Commanding Officer of the Ghanaian Contingent on two of such missions in Liberia and Lebanon. Mohammed holds a MA degree (Defence Studies) from Kings College London and a PG Dip in Public Administration from Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration. Mohamed is member of the Royal College of Defence Studies, UK. Mohammed is currently the Inspector General of the Ghana Armed Forces. Prior to his appointment he was the Deputy Director General at the Department of Defence Intelligence of the Ghana Armed Forces. Mohammed is also a recipient of several certificates in relevant fields to him. He is married with three grown up children. He enjoys reading and gardening.