

CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY

MANIFESTO 2008

NEW DAWN, NEW VISION.



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FOREWORD



“We shall measure our progress by the improvement in the health of our people; by the number of children in school, and electricity in our towns and villages and by the happiness which our people take in being able to manage their own affairs. The welfare of our people is our chief pride, and it is by this that my Government will ask to be judged.”

*Broadcast to the Nation, 24 December, 1957
By Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah,
First President of the Republic of Ghana*

It has been over half a century since Dr. Nkrumah made that statement, yet we are very far from achieving those objectives. The progress made by the CPP between 1951 and 1966 through an unprecedented expansion in social services like education, health, and housing as well massive infrastructure development has been steadily undermined by successive governments.

Today, nearly half of Ghana's labour force is illiterate; millions more are unemployed, homeless or victims of unscrupulous landlords who charge exorbitant rents and impoverish their tenants. We have uneven economic growth which benefits only a handful of people and companies. Growing inequality and diminishing economic opportunities have led to an unprecedented increase in crime, including armed robberies; lives have been lost and families destroyed as a result of this crime wave. Most businesses no longer operate at night.

As the State has abdicated its responsibility of ensuring social justice for all, the quality of life of our people has declined accordingly. In 1999, a new-born child in Ghana could expect to live to be 63.1 years, but by 2006 the figure had fallen to 58.5 years. The number of children who die before their first birthday has risen over the past 10 years as a result of poverty and poor nutrition. The number of women who die in childbirth has also increased from 186 per every 100,000 live births in 2004 to 244 deaths per 100,000 live births in 2007. We are in a health crisis.

On the infrastructure front, lack of investment and pervasive corruption have compromised quality and left us in another state of crisis, as reflected in the continuing problems in the energy sector and the poor state of our roads, even newly constructed ones.

Leadership is visionless and directionless, and we are the worse for it. The sense of purpose and urgency which the CPP brought to national development in the 1950s and early 60s is missing; it is time we restored it. Our people can wait no longer. This manifesto answers their cry for a **new dawn** and a **new vision** in Ghana. We believe that **the State** has a moral duty to use its power to promote high rates of economic growth and ensure that the wealth from that growth is shared equitable among Ghanaians – North and South, East and West.

**God Bless Our Homeland Ghana.
Forward Ever. Backward Never!**

Ladi Nylander, Chairman

July 22, 2008 - Accra

INTRODUCTION

This policy document reflects the views and intentions of the Convention People's Party (CPP) on various developmental issues of domestic and international importance. They cover **four broad development areas**, namely:

- (1) Social Policy**
- (2) Economic Policy**
- (3) Responsive Governance** and
- (4) International Relations**

Within these policy areas, the Party has identified **three short-term priority areas** that it will address *immediately* after it is re-elected into office. These areas are:

- 1. Public safety** (e.g., combating the armed robbery menace, the rise in sexual violence against women and children, and the fatalities on our roads)
- 2. Essential social services** such as water, electricity and sanitation
- 3. Job creation**, with the launching of the Ghana Emergency Employment Programme (GEEP) aimed primarily at the youth.

Our overall development policies are informed by the **Party's ideology of Nkrumaism**, whose three main principles are:

- 1. Self-determination:** (We must abandon our colonial mentality and inferiority complex and re-assert control over our natural resources and national interests for the sustainable and equitable development of our country).
- 2. Social Justice:** (The State has a moral and constitutional duty to promote equal opportunity and equitable rewards for all Ghanaians, irrespective of age, gender, ethnic, religious, political or other backgrounds), and
- 3. Pan-Africanism:** (We must work with Africans at home and abroad to find common solutions to our common problems of racism, poverty, exploitation and under-development).

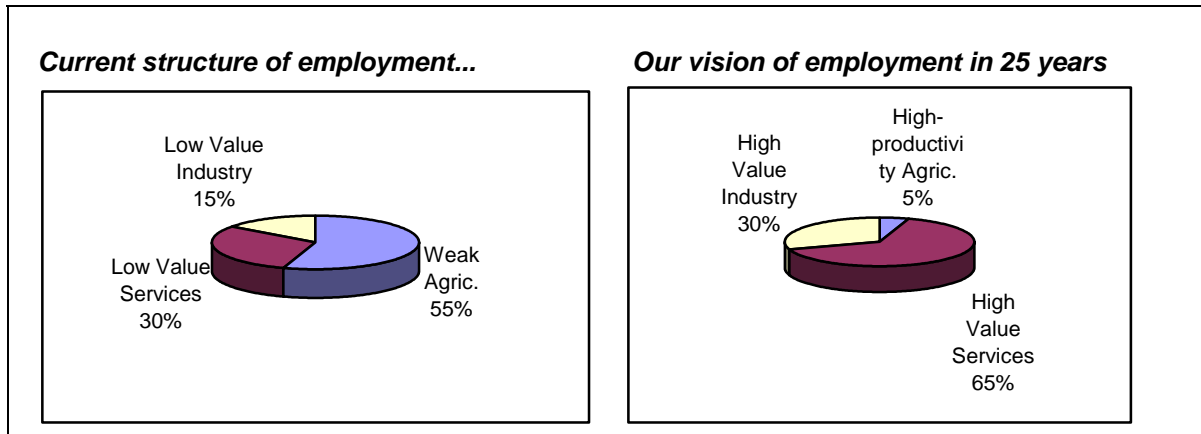
The implementation of the policies proposed herein will be based on a series of medium-term plans to be developed by a CPP government. These plans will reflect both the party's ideology and the *Directive Principles of State Policy*, which constitute a **national vision** agreed by all Ghanaians in the 1992 constitution. The long-term national development plan that will shape these plans would be known as ***Ghana @75: A Roadmap to High-Income Status***. This extended time horizon for national development reflects the CPP's time-honoured tradition of visionary leadership and bold decision making.

OUR VISION FOR GHANA

Every society must envision where it wants to be in the future and work towards it accordingly. The CPP's original vision of building a just and prosperous society on the basis of a strong and diversified economy in a democratic environment was cut short by the 1966 coup. The CPP aims to restore and pursue that vision as follows:

Economic transformation: Our desire to make Ghana a high-income country in one generation requires that we transform the economy on two fronts (1) From a dependence on primary commodities to a diversified and industrialised one that is globally competitive, and (2) From one of low-skills, low-productivity and low-income to a technology and knowledge-based economy characterised by high-skills, high productivity, and high incomes. Productivity in agriculture, for example, will be raised to a point where only 5.0% of labour in agriculture can feed all Ghanaians and export part of the surplus. The informal sector will give way to a formal sector of high social and legal protection, such as annual leave and fair treatment of all workers.

Figure 1. CPP’s proposed knowledge-based economy



Social Transformation: We aspire to work together with all Ghanaians to create a **prosperous, just, safe, caring and united society**, where there is adequate food and shelter for all and there are ample opportunities for every Ghanaian to develop their personal and social potential to its fullest. We shall instil in our people a **culture of excellence, respect for law and order, compassion towards one another**, and the idea that **we are one people with a common destiny**.

Political Transformation: We believe that unless political power is shifted from the national level to the local, where development actually takes place, the search for real and lasting solutions to our social problems will remain illusive. We will therefore accelerate plans to elect local government officials and restrict the national government to international affairs and the provision of overall policy direction for local and national development.

THE 150-DAY FAST TRACK AGENDA OF THE CPP

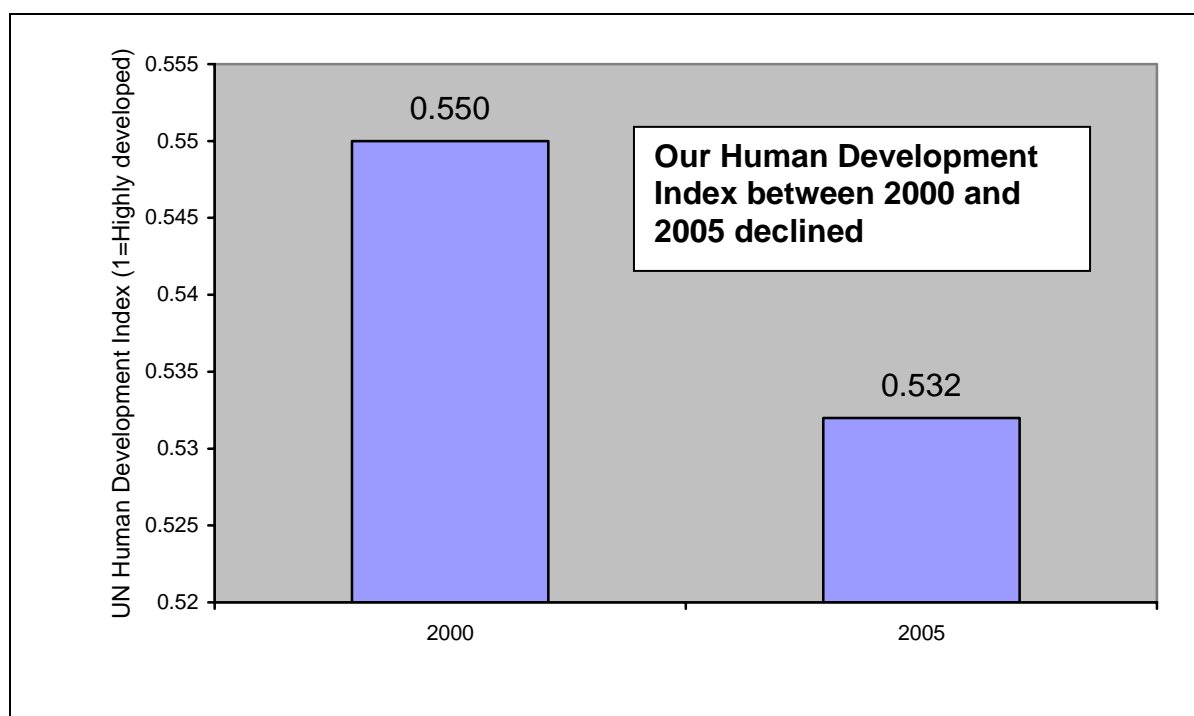
	OBJECTIVE/S	DELIVABLE/S	ACTION/S	PARTICIPANTS
1.	Improve personal and community safety	1. Reduced armed robberies 2. Resourced police, judiciary, prison service 3. Improved prosecution, sentencing & prison reforms 4. Institutional reforms against corruption and waste 5. Check road accidents.	Convene Executive-level meeting with stakeholders within one week of inauguration and discuss extent of problem and what must be done to address it	Office of the President; National Security Ministry; Security Agencies; Judiciary; other stakeholders
2.	Improve energy situation	1. Reduced interruption in services and electricity, 2. Better customer care	Convene task force with specific guidelines and deadlines to provide long-term solution to nation's energy needs.	Office of the President; PURC, ECG, VRA, Energy Foundation; Energy Commission; Sector Ministry; consumer advocates
3.	Improve sanitation throughout Ghana	1. Disputes with all sanitation providers resolved 2. Long-term solution initiated	Meet with all stakeholders in both state and private sectors	Office of the President; Ministry of Local Government; District Assemblies, MPs, others
4.	Improve water delivery	1. Measurable plan for reducing losses and increasing output 2. Better customer care	Convene task force with specific guidelines and deadlines to provide to deliver plan	Office of the President; technical experts; Ministry of Water Resources; consumer advocates, etc.
5.	Alleviate Youth Unemployment	Launch Ghana Emergency Employment Programme (GEEP)	National Employment Summit; Agenda for accelerated job creation	Office of the President; Ministry for Youth; youth groups; employers, etc.

	OBJECTIVES	DELIVERABLE/S	ACTION/S	PARTICIPANTS
6.	Improve our ability to finance infrastructure and development	National Infrastructure Financing Authority (NIFA) created	Form a technical team to draw up structure of NIFA	Office of the President; Ministry of Finance; financial institutions
7.	Rescue tenants and small businesses from greedy landlords	Rent Act revised and enforced to reduce rent advance, increase protection for tenants	Meet current consultants on Rent Act. Speed up completion and implementation	Office of the President; Ministry of Works and Housing; Ghana Real Estate Developers Association, etc.
8.	Improve Public Sector Financial Management System	Public Sector census launched; guideline for transparency and efficiency in public sector launched.	Convene an inter-sectoral team to review current programmes and offer advice	Office of the President; Ministry of Finance; Ministry of Public Sector Reforms and Innovation;
9.	Bridging the North-South Divide	Launch plan to increase investments and spur growth to bridge socio-economic gap between Northern Ghana and Southern parts.	Convene Northern Development Summit in Tamale	Office of the President; Ministry of Local Government; NDPC; Ministry of Finance; district and regional heads from 3 northern regions; NGOs; think tanks, etc.
10.	Accelerated Legislative Agenda: 1. Freedom of Information Act 2. Abolish tax exemption for president 3. Amend constitution to separate parliamentarians from ministers 4. Amend constitution to elect all local officials	Passage of relevant laws to improve quality of governance and achieve stated objectives	Meet with relevant stakeholders to accelerate proposed legislative reforms	Office of the President; Ministry of Justice; state and non-state stakeholders.

1. SOCIAL POLICY

There is currently no comprehensive framework for the conduct of social policy in Ghana, despite attempts by successive governments to introduce one. Social policies so far have been largely uncoordinated responses to donor demands to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and not a reflection of a genuine desire by our leaders to improve the living conditions of our people. We therefore have **policies of convenience, rather than policies of conviction**. As a result of this, the quality of life in Ghana has declined in recent years, as reported by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (See Figure 2 below). Indeed, Ghanaians are living shorter lives now than they did only a decade ago.

Figure 2. Human development in Ghana has declined, says UNDP



Source: UNDP Human Development Report 2007

One of the first acts of a CPP government will be to pass a **Social Development Policy** to guide our pursuit of **social justice** in all its forms, such as the following:

1.1 **Education Policy**

For the CPP, education serves a multiple purpose of aiding the individual to better understand society and nature, and to acquire the skills needed to earn a decent living while contributing to national development. Education, therefore, is as much for personal advancement as it is for social and economic progress, hence the need for the state to take a lead role in ensuring improved access, equity, and quality at all levels in every part of Ghana.

Where necessary, the on-going education reforms will be modified and expanded to conform to our education policy. Under our **Accelerated Education Sector Investment Programme (AESIP)**, educational facilities from kindergarten to the tertiary

level will be refurbished and expanded to meet the needs of a growing population and modernising society.

Supply of Education: Despite steady increases in teacher salaries in recent years, dissatisfaction with the general conditions of service in the teaching field has caused many teachers to leave this noble profession for “greener pastures”. The CPP will address these problems through the following:

- Continue to ensure that teachers are paid well and that those who need training receive them through every available and affordable means, including distance learning.
- Use tax incentives for the private sector, especially financial institutions, to build school infrastructure in particular areas of the country and lease that infrastructure to the state for a specified period, after which they become state property.
- **Reduce income taxes for teachers** (and health personnel), in addition to other incentives, who work in rural areas and places designated as “deprived”.
- Improve working conditions of teachers, including timely payment of salaries for new and current teachers and attractive home-ownership packages;
- Improve education content and administration as well as learning processes by strengthening decentralisation to give local administrators the authority to deal with local problems promptly without waiting for directives from Accra or the regions.
- Accelerate on-going programmes to increase the number of teachers in our classroom while training others already in the classrooms with the minimum disruption for teachers and students.
- Build an educational system that does not only provide academic and life skills but inculcates in our children a high degree of self-esteem, personal responsibility, civic duty, patriotism and community service (volunteerism)
- Introduce and/or strengthen **academic and career counselling** at all levels of the educational system
- Introduce electronic libraries to help address the current shortage of libraries which undermines the quality of learning at all levels of education
- At the tertiary level, introduce an **international distance learning scheme** that will allow Ghanaian lecturers abroad to teach some classes in Ghana by the internet or satellite.

Demand for Education: To meet the expanded education needs of a growing population, the CPP, in collaboration with the non-state sector, including religious organisations, will do the following:

- To improve access and quality at all levels throughout the country, **Secondary school will become part of basic education and will be made free** and boarding schools will be actively promoted as a way of reducing the cost of education and at the same time encouraging Ghanaians from all walks of life to live together and know each other before they enter the world of work. This is one of the surest ways of fighting ethnocentrism and creating a common sense of nationhood among our future leaders.
- **4-Year Secondary Education** The CPP supports various proposals in the current round of educational reforms, such as universal kindergarten education for all Ghanaian children; increased contact time between teachers and students; removal of education-quality supervision from the Ghana Education Service to an independent body; as well decentralisation in education administration. With time and proper implementation, these reforms should strengthen the quality of pre-

tertiary education in Ghana to international standards. We shall, therefore, review the continued relevance of the 4-year system and explore the possibility of reinstating the 3-year system and using the resources saved to improve access and quality.

- **Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE):** We shall consider abolishing the BECE, which prematurely condemns too many of our children to failure before they have had a chance to prove themselves in life. This should also ensure that every Ghanaian child gets at least a secondary school education, creating a wider and deeper pool of candidates to train the scientists, engineers, architects, and other professions that we require to build a 21st century society

- Make **vocational and technical education** mostly post-secondary to ensure that those going to vocational and technical schools are adequately prepared academically. All vocational and technical schools will be adequately resourced under the **Accelerated Education Sector Investment Programme** to be introduced by the CPP.

- Expand and improve the quality of facilities at all tertiary institutions under AESIP to world-class levels in order to gain a greater share of the international education market. This will do two things: Provide Ghanaians with world-class education at a fraction of the cost, and earn the country foreign exchange by charging international students premium rates, part of which will be used to subsidise Ghanaian students.

- **Tertiary Institutions:**

- **Public tertiary institutions** – Set up regional campuses for all state universities and other tertiary institutions to improve access and reduce the cost of higher education to households.

- Decentralise specialised training, such as teaching, for all universities with an established capacity to offer such training. This too will improve access and reduce the pressure on facilities and staff on the specialised institutions.

- Introduce professional managers, for example, with experience managing large private or public organisations, to head state universities. This will free academics to concentrate on teaching and research and improve the quality of leadership at these institutions

- Give students the opportunity to assess and rate their lecturers regularly in order to improve the quality of tertiary education.

- Enhance governance through quarterly publication of financial and management reports of tertiary institutions and the establishment of more transparent and pro-active mechanism to handle both staff and student grievances.

- **Private tertiary institutions** - Regulate the quality of private tertiary institutions and encourage them to collaborate with the state and the private sector to provide the manpower needs of the country.

1.2 Science and Technology Policy

For the CPP, **the poverty gap is a technology gap**. The richest nations in the world are also the most technologically advanced; the poorest nations have the lowest level of technological development. Unfortunately, Ghana's technology ministry was dissolved a few years ago, the first time in the nation's history that we have been without such a ministry. To place science and technology back at the centre of national development, the CPP will do the following:

- Immediately **re-establish the Ministry of Science and Technology** and protect it by law against tampering or dissolution by any future government.

- Upgrade science and technology facilities at all educational institutions and complete the Science and Technology Museum, which has been under construction for over 40 years.
- Adequately resource the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) to play a more active role in national development.
- Set up the **Ghana Global Science and Technology Consortium** (GGSTC) to foster cooperation between Ghanaian scientists at home and abroad.
- Provide tax incentives to businesses to apply scientific and technological knowledge to industry and the larger society.
- Elevate Ghana Telecom University College to full university status with international programmes.
- Expand and improve the quality of the University of Mines and Technology to attract a bigger share of the international student market while offering first class education to Ghanaians.
- Organise **Annual Science and Technology Awards** for students and practitioners, both at home and abroad, in addition to promoting pre-tertiary and tertiary science education.
- Set up an expert panel to review all scientific and social research conducted in Ghana over the years for use in policy making and national development.

1.3 Health Policy

A healthy people make a wealthy nation. Fewer illnesses means less absenteeism, higher productivity and an increase in national wealth. Previous governments have tried to increase access to quality health services for both preventive and curative care, with mixed results. The National Health Insurance System (NHIS) and ambulance services have been introduced; there has also been some improvement in the remuneration for health personnel. Yet, equity with regards to access to quality health services is generally limited. The inequitable distribution of health personnel and quality health services continues to pose serious problems to health administration in the country. The existing infrastructure cannot meet increased demand created by the NHIS. Environmental sanitation remains largely poor, especially in cities and towns, increasing patient visits and putting additional strain on the already limited facilities.

The CPP proposes a health policy that will be multi-sectoral, comprising the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Food and Agriculture (for nutrition), Ministry of Sports (for fitness) and the Ministry of Local Government (for sanitation), among others. Among specific policies would be to:

- Decentralize the management of health services to the districts
- Produce and enforce a comprehensive Public Health Law that will improve environmental sanitation, including sanitary inspectors
- Promote equity to quality health services through improved access to
 - Preventive and curative health services nationwide
 - Promotive health (through better nutrition and exercise)
 - Close collaboration between orthodox and traditional medical practitioners
 - Equitable distribution of health personnel nation-wide
 - Review of NHIS policy, legislation, and implementation
- Broaden emergencies services, including ambulance services, countrywide
- Increase the number of training institutions to produce all cadres of health personnel and provide continuing education for health personnel.
- Strengthen training institutions to provide supervision and monitor performance of health personnel to improve quality health services.

- Promote close collaboration between training institutions and health services personnel where trainers will practice what they teach and health personnel will teach what they practice.
- Establish health desks at key ministries, such as Food and Agriculture, Education, and Water Resources for promotive, preventive and curative services
- Expand and equip existing health services to meet increased demand created by the NHIS.
- Provide adequate resources for local research and development for both orthodox and traditional medicine.
- Establish inter-sectoral mechanism to support and coordinate equitable distribution of promotive, preventive and curative health services in Ghana.
- Crack down on corrupt practices, especially in procurement, in the health sector that deprive the state of millions of Ghana cedis every year
- Encourage Keep Fit Clubs in all communities throughout the country
- Provide additional incentives, such as the reduction in income taxes on allowances for medical personnel who work in rural or deprived areas, to increase access to health services in those areas. This would be part of a larger programme to improve management in the health sector.
- Intensify HIV-AIDS education, especially among the youth, and make treatment more affordable for those afflicted by this deadly disease.
- Expand facilities, under the Accelerated Capital Investment Programme, to train health personnel as a first step towards combating the brain-drain in the sector.

1.4 Human Resource Development and Labour Issues

Our human resource development (HRD) policy aims to **create a 21st Century Labour Force** made up of highly educated, highly motivated, highly industrious, and healthy workers in safe and modern work environments. To ensure that this labour force is available for national development at all times, our HRD policy will include a **migration policy** that promotes the equitable distribution of skilled labour across the country while providing the appropriate incentives for our trained professionals to stay at home and for those abroad to return home.

In this regard, we shall do the following, among others:

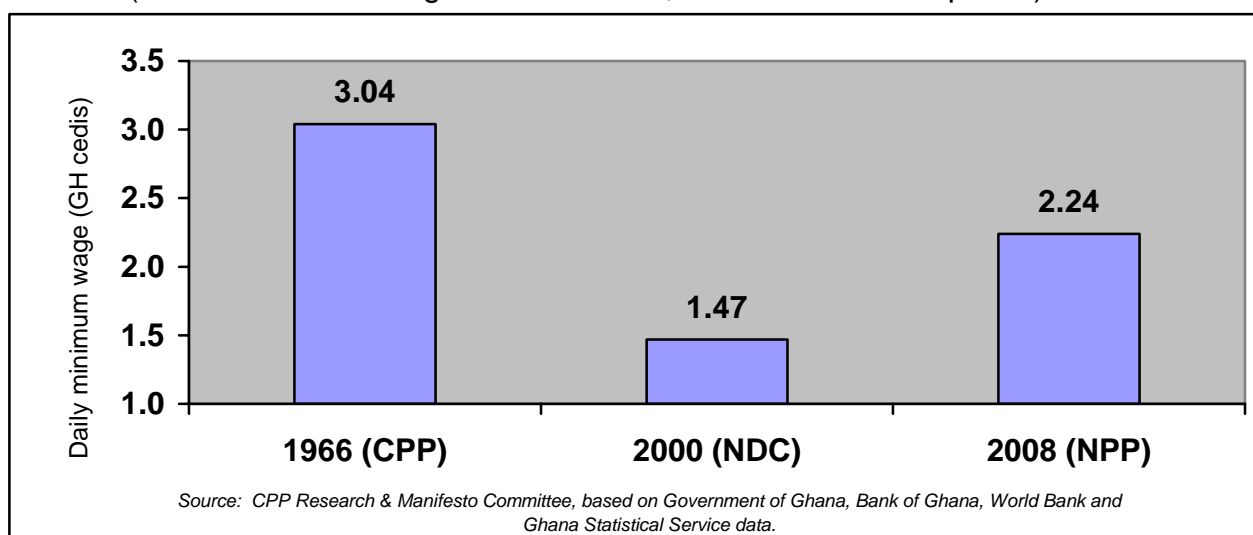
- **Employment and earnings:** Adopt a **National Labour Policy** comprising strategies for employment creation and policies to ensure decent wages nation-wide.
- **Benchmarking Productivity:** Work with the Management Development and Productivity Institute to develop economy-wide indicators for productivity that will serve as the benchmark for determining wages and addressing the concerns of both labour and management.
- **Labour Market Information System:** Accelerate the creation of a modern labour market system to facilitate job search nation-wide and improve the quality of employment and earnings, especially for the youth
- **Job Creation:** Launch the **Ghana Emergency Employment Programme** (GEEP) to directly create over 500,000 well-paying jobs across the country. Using the 22,000 polling stations as the “staging points”, the CPP will start planting over 7 million hectares of almond trees in selected areas of the country. Almond trees, which require less rain and have a shorter gestation period (2.5 years) than palm trees (5-6 years) and other tree crops, will form the basis of a **bio-fuel industry** with potential to create millions of jobs, earn the country billions of dollars in foreign exchange, and help us meet our energy requirements while contributing to the growth of other industries as follows:

- i. High protein almond “cake” to replace soya for the poultry industry. Feed being the highest cost component of the industry, this should make the industry competitive against imports and lead to production and employment expansion
- ii. With higher per ton price than palm oil (now in high demand on the world market), almond-based oil will fetch billions of dollars in exports and create a biomass industry of equal earning potential
- iii. Will create employment beyond planting to include: Cracking nuts, toasting kernels, extracting oil, processing oil and by-products (‘almond cake’), and export services

In addition to GEEP, we shall do the following:

1. Work with existing businesses to expand their operations through enhanced productivity and improved access to credit, markets, modern technology, and scientific management practices.
 2. Create conditions for rapid creation of new businesses through tax incentives, reduction in bureaucratic red tape, and increased market information.
- **Incomes Policy:** Replace the Fair Wages Commission, which focuses mostly on public sector wages, with a **National Incomes Commission**, whose work will cover both the state and non-state sectors as well as the formal and informal sectors. The new commission, among other things, will regularly report trends and undertake research into various types of incomes, such as wages and salaries in the various sectors; proprietor’s income; rental income; and farmers’ income, as well as the conditions that influence changes in these incomes. The Commission’s work will be the cornerstone of government policies to raise national income and fight poverty.

Figure 3. Minimum wage has been highest under the CPP
(Below: Minimum wage in Ghana cedi, measured in 2008 prices)



Labour quality improvement

To ensure that industry gets the required quantity and quality of workers, we shall pursue the following, among others:

1. Invest in skills training (by both state and private institutions) and align training with demands of the economy
2. Special emphasis on women, youth, and People with Disabilities (historically, the most marginalised groups in our society).
3. Improve access and quality of education/training for all Ghanaians.

Understanding Labour's challenges: Promote *labour studies* in Ghana by expanding and resourcing the existing **Labour College in Accra** to international standards for both Ghanaian and foreign students.

Combating Child Labour – Tackle the persistent problem of child labour within the context of existing laws and international conventions by attacking the cultural and economic factors that sustain the practice.

1.5 Housing Policy

Besides education and health, **affordable housing** (both in terms of ownership and rental) is one of the most important aspects of a responsive social policy. Yet, successive governments since the 1970s have failed to provide such housing. Landlords continue to exploit workers and small-business owners by charging rent advances far in excess of the 6 months stipulated by law. In a desperate effort to escape paying 3-4 years' rent advance, most people decide to build their own homes or "container shops" at whatever cost in whatever manner on whatever piece of land they can find. The result is a proliferation of land disputes (and violent land guards) and unplanned growth of our cities and towns, with their associated slums and high concentrations of poverty and crime.

The CPP promises to deal with these problems as follows:

- Pass **a revised Rent Act** to help alleviate the suffering of workers and small businesses around the country
- Work with the **Building and Road Research Institute**, the Ghana Real Estate Developers Association and other stakeholders in the housing industry to provide low-cost technologies for building high-quality and high-capacity homes and apartments across the country
- Promote the development of the **mortgage industry** to increase the rate of home ownership in the country
- Strengthen the role of the State Housing Corporation in the provision of affordable housing throughout the country, including rural areas.
- Work with the Ghana Institution of Engineers and other relevant private and public bodies to **improve standards and quality in the construction industry**
- Remove tax holidays for high-end housing markets and provide tax incentives for mass-occupancy affordable housing for workers.

1.6 Cultural Policy

For years, successive governments have paid only lip service to the development of a national cultural policy, with the result that we have no policy framework to guide the preservation and promotion of our culture beyond annual festivals. We are now a

nation adrift, culturally, in an age of globalisation where larger and stronger nations seek to mould the rest of us in their own cultural image.

A strong and forceful cultural policy, embedded in our national development efforts, will help us overcome the confidence crisis that today holds us down from achieving our fullest potential as an independent nation. Policy initiatives will include the following:

- Promote healthy lifestyles (under our health and nutritional security policies)
- Foster a spirit of volunteerism by requiring all students to undertake volunteer work in their communities as part of their education process
- Through various initiatives, encourage Ghanaians to celebrate the virtues of family and in particular the importance of parental responsibility at all stages of a child's life
- Teach the virtues of peaceful co-existence and the importance of resolving our difference through non-violence.
- Harmful cultural practices, especially against women and children, will be aggressively discouraged and eliminated.
- Promote Ghanaian and African literature, including plays
- Promote and improve the quality of the performing and visual arts.

1.7 Sports Policy

The CPP looks beyond the entertainment value of sports and considers it as an important factor in promoting **good health**, fostering a **spirit of competitiveness**, and celebrating **excellence** at home and abroad. Sports also brings us together, despite our varied ethnic and religious backgrounds. Following are highlights of our sports policy:

- **Football** – To address the current problem of excessive focus on football at the expense of other sports, we shall consider putting professional and amateur football under a separate administratively autonomous body
- **Non-football sports** - All non-football sports will remain under the Ministry of Sports to ensure that they get the attention that has been denied them over the years.
- Provide enough sporting facilities, at the local and national levels, to facilitate the development of sports at both amateur and professional levels. Appropriate laws will be enacted to ensure that such infrastructure is provided as an integral part of socio-economic development
- **Sports Studies** – Set up a tertiary institution of international standing to study and teach sports, in addition to specialised sports medicine.

1.8 Media and Society

Within the context of the 1992 constitution, we pledge to uphold all the freedoms granted to the media in this country. But we also realise that with freedoms must come responsibilities and the assurance that media work conforms to the values of the society. In this regard, we shall do the following, among others:

- **Raising broadcast standards:** Create a **Broadcast Standards Board (BSB)** to ensure that the nation's airwaves are freed of images and messages that undermine our social and moral values, such as the **glorification of violence** and the **degradation of women in movies and music**
- **Advertising in Ghana:**

- Outlaw the use of foreign-made commercials on Ghanaian airwaves as a way to help local media houses build their capacity and create employment while promoting a Ghanaian view of social and economic reality
- Regulate the quality of advertisements to strike a balance between commercial interests and social values
- **Building media capacity:** Work with various professional organisations to help raise the quality of media practice in Ghana to world standards

1.9 Combating Violent Crime

The recent increase in violent crime, especially armed robberies, around the country has resulted in loss of many lives, loss of property, and a decline in economic activities that take place mostly at night. Indeed, some commercial vehicles have stopped working at night due to **the menace of armed robbery**. Market women complain about being robbed at dawn. **Something must be done.** Among actions to be taken by a CPP government are:

1. Provide police with adequate resources, including walkie-talkies, vehicles, and intelligence-gathering logistics, to fight crime in general and violent crime in particular
2. Resource the judiciary to expedite the dispensation of justice, and strengthen existing laws to make penalties for violent crime stiffer
3. Launch public education on the social cost of crime and encourage the public through various rewards to help the police, such as reporting illegal manufacturers or sellers of firearms
4. Reform the prison system to equip inmates with employable skills and thus reduce the incidence of repeat crime by ex-prisoners
5. Create more employment opportunities nation-wide, raise incomes and help reduce the kind of social inequities that create the conditions for all kinds of crimes

1.10 Confronting the Narcotics Menace

Ghana is now known as a “narco-state” as we have become a haven for drug trafficking. Drug abuse has also become rampant among the youth and is partly responsible for the crime wave sweeping the country as drug addicts rob and kill to support their expensive habit. The number of young people in the nation’s mental hospitals for drug abuse is also on the rise. In short, we are in the midst of narcotics crisis with serious implications for family stability, public safety and national security (as key members of the security agencies get corrupted by drug dealers). The CPP’s first act would be to rid the security and related agencies of corrupt officials, implement existing recommendations for reforms, and then launch an anti-narcotics policy based on **Interception, Prosecution, Treatment, and Education.**

(1) Interception: Provide adequate resources to the **Narcotics Control Board** and other agencies to improve intelligence and interception as well as collaborate with international organisations to stem the flow of drugs

(2) Prosecution: Resource police, judiciary and other state agencies to prosecute and punish drug-related offenders, particularly traffickers. Re-introduce stricter laws on the seizure of properties acquired from drug proceeds directly or indirectly.

(iii) Treatment: Provide resources for existing institutions and create new ones, if necessary, to provide treatment for drug abusers, particularly the youth. We shall encourage civil society organisations to do the same.

(iv) Public Education: Introduce drug-abuse education in schools as well as launch a national public awareness programme on radio, TV and other media on the harmful effects of drug abuse to individuals, families and society

1.11 Fighting General Indiscipline and lawlessness

In recent years, there has been public outcry over growing indiscipline in society, ranging from bureaucratic and political corruption to lawlessness among the general population such as indiscriminate construction of residential and commercial structures; careless driving; littering; drug abuse by the youth; and teenage pregnancy, to name but a few. To deal with this lawlessness, the CPP advocates the following:

- **Rebuild national and local institutions:** Accelerate the pace of decentralisation and reform local-level institutions to ensure that the district, municipal and metropolitan assemblies can enforce their by-laws with speed and efficiency.
- **Law enforcement:** Revisit proposals to “localise” the police service by having regional and district police services to make law enforcement more responsive to local problems.
- **Judiciary:** Work with the chief justice to facilitate the speedy creation of adjudicative structures at the local level.
- **Public education:** Sponsor periodic public education on the need to be law-abiding and publicise the consequences of breaking the law, such as jail sentences and fines.

1.12 Combating Social Exclusion:

The CPP views “social exclusion” as the limitation of sections of society in participating in the political and economic life of the country. Both dimensions of social exclusion have their roots in the early stages of life, where gender roles and responsibilities are formed among boys and girls. Our attack on social exclusion therefore will deal with the root causes while pursuing policies to address current inequities against particular social groups.

1.12.1 Empowering Women: Beyond Gender Tokenism

The CPP’s record on combating political exclusion of women has not been matched by any political party in our history, as shown in the Table below. As the only political party with a female national organiser and a woman as a regional chairman, we pledge to continue this tradition of ensuring political space for all women in the struggle to liberate the country from poverty.

Table 1. Women's presence in Parliament was highest under CPP

	1960	1965	1969	1979	1992	1996	2000	2004
Total seats	104	140	140	140	200	200	200	230
Total women	10	19	1	5	16	18	19	25
% women	9.6	13.6	0.7	3.6	8.0	9.0	9.5	10.9

Source: Ghana Human Development Report 2007

However, we are also aware that the mere increase in the number of women in political life does not automatically translate into improved socio-economic conditions for *all* women, nor does it address the underlying causes of discrimination against women. **In**

other words, we do not believe in ‘gender tokenism’ for political expediency. We believe instead in real improvements in the living standards of all women in all aspects of national life. There must be a clear link between increased political participation for women and better living conditions for women. Our agenda for gender equity will, therefore, be pursued on two fronts: (1) Aggressively tackle the root causes of discrimination against women from childhood (**inter-generational gender discrimination**), and (2) Use affirmative action policies to address current discrimination against women in all spheres of national life.

Table 2. Tackling root causes of discrimination against women

More girls than boys start school, but more boys make it to tertiary institutions

(Below: % enrolled at each stage of the education ladder)

	Pre-tertiary				Tertiary	
	Pre-school	Primary	JSS	SSS	Polytech	University
Male	49.96	51.43	53.53	56.94	69.60	65.30
Female	50.04	48.57	46.47	43.06	30.40	34.70
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.00	100.0	100.0

*Compiled by CPP Research Committee, based on data from Ghana Education Service;
National Council for Tertiary Education*

Among CPP policies to pursue gender equality would be the following:

- Intensify efforts to remove discrimination against girls (and by extension women) at all levels of the educational system through adequate resources of the relevant public and non-public institutions.
- Launch a sustained public education campaign against harmful social practices against girls and women
- Declare the **growing incidence of teenage pregnancy** (especially statutory rape against young girls, many of them still in basic school) as a national epidemic and set up a task force to investigate the causes and propose lasting solutions.
- Encourage girls to develop interest in “non-traditional” vocations, such as auto-mechanics, as a means of uprooting entrenched stereo-types while empowering themselves through employment and other economic opportunities.
- Adopt an **Affirmative Action Policy** to deal with current discrimination against women in various aspects of national life.
- As part of our broader cultural policy to clean our airwaves of morally offensive broadcasts, we shall **outlaw the creation and propagation of films and other media that denigrate women and reduce them to sexual objects**. Our mothers deserve better than that.

1.12.2 Protecting our Children

The Ghanaian child remains vulnerable as indicated by the high infant and child mortality rates, the half-a-million children who are still out school (despite the introduction of the capitation grant) and the thousands more who continue to be trafficked across the country to work as slaves.

The CPP, in honouring the United Nation’s Convention on the Child as well as various national laws, such as the Children’s Act of 1998, the Juvenile Justice Act

of 2003, and the Human Trafficking Act of 2005, will consolidate all programmes, including ***The Child Cannot Wait*** action programme, that are designed to improve the welfare of the Ghanaian child and ensure that they are implemented fully.

Among specific actions to be taken to protect the Ghanaian child are:

- **Family Hours on Television** to ensure that adult programmes that can corrupt the morals of children are shown only late at night
- Enact appropriate laws to protect children against sexual and other predators, including child pornographers on the internet
- Educate parents and traditional authorities about the law and children, so that heinous crimes such as rape of children are always prosecuted fully according to the law instead of being treated as private family matters. Crimes such as rape as also crimes against society.
- Aggressively work to abolish traditional practices, such as early marriage, that impede the smooth growth and development of the child
- Introduce a **Children's Budget** to track public resources devoted to the welfare of the Ghanaian child, including education and recreation.

1.12.3 Caring for the Aged

Article 37 (2) (b) of the 1992 constitution enjoins government to take measures to protect various social groups, including the aged. In addition, Ghana is a signatory to the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (MIPAA) and was a participant as far back as 1982 in the First World Assembly on Ageing. Yet, there is no coherent national policy to guide care for the aged. A draft policy initiated in 1997 and eventually completed in 2002 (and is yet to be adopted by government) seeks, among other things, to “promote employment of older persons” and “promote community care facilities such as day care centres for older persons.”

The CPP considers this inadequate, even inappropriate. We need, first, aggressive cultural reforms to restore dignity to the aged, especially old women, who are subjected to all manner of indignities, such as false accusations of witchcraft. A CPP government will establish the necessary state institutions to ensure that all sectors, including civil society organisations, participate adequately in caring for the aged in Ghana. (Our agricultural policy deals with income security for farmers and fishermen in old age).

1.12.4 Enabling the Disabled

Despite the passage of the Disability Act, the Disabled in Ghana continue to face serious discrimination and institutional impediments to their efforts to contribute to national development. Physical access to buildings, including government ones, remains limited. The organisational structure to ensure that the Act is implemented is yet to be put in place. On the basis of this disappointment towards fellow Ghanaians, the CPP pledges to do the following:

- Set up the National Disability Council to ensure the smooth implementation of the Act.
- Ensure that all district assemblies fulfil the Parliamentary mandate to allocate 2.0% of the District Assemblies Common Fund to activities that will benefit people with disability in their districts.
- Establish community-based rehabilitation and employment support centres for the disabled.

- Establish, in line with Act 715, Assessment Centres, to aid people with disabilities.
- Decentralise the activities of the National Council of Persons with Disability to improve service access and quality at the local level.
- Create public awareness and understanding of the challenges faced by people with disabilities

1.12.5 Developing our Youth

The CPP values the youth because they are the ones who will run this country when the current generation of leaders retire. The quality of education, training and general upbringing that we give to the youth, therefore, determines the quality of leadership and living standards that Ghana will have in the future. Our youth development strategy thus is both comprehensive and forward-looking, as outlined below:

1. Sound academic and moral education – free and compulsory up to secondary school, with various opportunities for tertiary education
2. Opportunities and facilities for civic, moral and social development and
3. Provision of technical, vocation and other forms of tertiary education.
4. Employment opportunities in both the state and private sectors.

To attain the foregoing, the following are some of our intended policy initiatives:

- Enact a **National Youth Policy**, if at the time of our election government has still not fulfilled its pledge to produce one.
- Create opportunities for young people to channel their youthful energies into creative and socially desirable ends by requiring every district to provide **Youth Activities Centres (YACs)**. These centres will contain facilities for sports, ICT centres, libraries, and counselling services designed to prevent the youth from falling victim to socially harmful activities, such as drug abuse, alcoholism, and pre-marital sex, all of which have been on the rise in recent times.
- Launch Ghana’s first **State of the Youth Report** to serve as a guide for implementation of youth development programmes. The report will be produced every two years with the active participation of the youth and other stakeholders.
- Other youth development initiatives are embedded in our social policies, such as education, sports, and human resource development

1.13 Bridging the North-South Divide

We cannot continue to speak of “national development” when the northern half of the country continues to suffer from deprivations of all kinds. Apart from the CPP, which implemented massive infrastructure development in the north, governments since 1966 have paid only lip service to bridging the developmental gap between the north and the south. It is not enough to provide “free education” in the North. We must also provide economic opportunities for those who get that free education. Within our national development programme, therefore, we shall launch a special development agenda, under the Office of the President, to put forward time-bound strategies and initiatives for creating employment and other economic opportunities in the North in line with similar opportunities in the South.

Table 3. North-South Divide: (% of population with access to selected services)

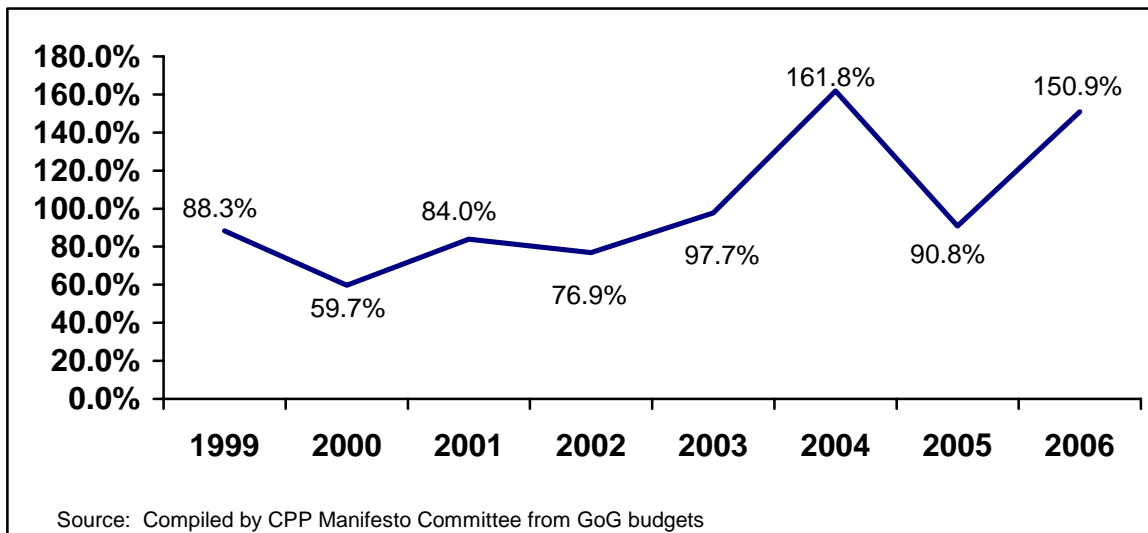
	National	AR	BA	CR	ER	GA	NR	UE	UW	VR	WR
Safe sanitation	55.0	65.6	47.1	56.5	60.3	82.7	23.5	10.7	23.3	37.5	52.8
Has electricity	50.6	59.0	43.2	49.4	42.1	83.1	28.8	14.7	18.0	36.0	50.6
Improved waste disposal	65.8	89.2	76.1	73.4	64	79.5	18.4	8.7	19.6	44.9	71.4
Access to school (living within 30 minutes of educational facilities)											
Primary school	85.4	92.7	83.7	90.9	88.4	90.2	80.1	61.9	67.1	83.9	85.3
Secondary school	43.4	56.1	34.2	52.1	47.1	63.4	21.5	7.9	17.2	39.4	35.1
School enrolment (Gross Enrolment Ratio)											
Primary school	69.9	78.9	69.3	72.6	75.6	80.9	49.9	56.0	51.0	64.7	74.9
Secondary school	38.0	44.9	33.3	40.9	40.3	54.6	16.2	19.5	21.4	33.8	39.5

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, Core Welfare Indicators 2003.

2. ECONOMIC POLICY

There is currently no coherent approach to economic policy and economic management in Ghana. The result has been a disconnect between policy and performance. Indeed, had it not been for increased donor resources over the past 7-8 years, Ghana's economy would be in serious crisis today (see Figure 2 below).

Figure 4. Donor grants increased from 59.7% to 150.9% in 7 years



In order to manage the economy well, the CPP will do the following:

2.1 National Development Planning:

Produce and have Parliament adopt the constitutionally mandated **Coordinated Programme for the Social and Economic Development of Ghana**. All development frameworks, such as the Millennium Development Goals, GPRS, and NEPAD will be pursued within this Programme as the first step towards introducing focus and consistency into the management of our economy. The National Development Planning Commission will be strengthened to play this important constitutional role effectively.

2.2 Managing an Oil and Gas Economy:

Revenue accruing from the large reserves of oil that have recently been found in Ghana poses a major challenge for the managers of the economy in terms of **efficiency** (avoiding waste and corruption), **equity** (sharing the revenue fairly among communities and economic sectors), and **development** (how to grow the oil industry without ignoring the non-oil sector). Managing the oil revenue will form part of a larger programme to improve **overall public financial management**. It is

important that we manage both oil and non-oil revenue efficiently and transparently to create public confidence in the managers of the economy. In terms of equity, government will hold consultations with all stakeholders to ensure that every community's needs and aspirations are adequately met. With respect to development, we shall introduce a strategic plan to carefully develop all other industries associated with the oil industry. We will make Ghana the petroleum refining hub of the West Africa sub-region, with large-scale petroleum refining capacity providing the region's gasoline, jet/aviation fuel, diesel fuel and lubricating oils. There are at least 10 products of industrial and domestic use, including nitrogen-based fertilisers, that the CPP intends to develop to derive the maximum benefit from the oil and gas industry (see Table 4).

Table 4. Beyond oil and gas: 10 industries to be developed by CPP

<p>Petroleum Refining Liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) Petrol (gasoline) Diesel fuels Aviation/jet fuel Lubricating oil Petroleum jelly Bitumen/asphalt Carbon black Wax</p> <p>2. Petrochemical feedstocks Ethylene, propylene, butanes, butenes, naphthalenes, benzenes toluene and xylenes</p> <p>3. Vinyl chloride and PVC and plastics and Synthetic Rubber (e.g., for tyres and rubber compounds)</p> <p>4. Inks and paints, varnish, and anti-rust chemicals</p> <p>5. Industrial solvents (e.g., Turpentine as varnish/paint thinner)</p> <p>6. Detergents</p>	<p>7. Insecticides, fungicides and sprays 8. Leather and textile oils 9. Fuel and metallurgical coke 10. Fertiliser from natural gas which is mainly methane with relatively small amounts of the following: Ethane Propane Butane</p>
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Source: Research and Manifesto Committee, CPP

To be able to take full advantage of these associated industries, however, we will establish an **advanced machine tools industry**, with highly trained and skilled technicians and machinists from our polytechnics, technical colleges and universities.

2.3 Monetary Policy:

We will work with the Bank of Ghana to strengthen Ghana's monetary policy and to continue reforms in the financial sector, including improved oversight of financial institutions and the passage and implementation of laws to **protect the welfare of consumer**.

- o **Consumer credit:** We shall work with the Bank of Ghana to induce our banks to bring down interest rates to reasonable and realistic levels for workers in both the formal and informal sectors. As consumer credit increases, households will expand their assets;

banks and businesses will earn more and pay more taxes; they will employ more people (which will lead to still more taxes for national development) and thus raise national income.

- **Long-term funds for industry:** We shall accelerate insurance reforms as part of a broader strategy to make available long-term funds for Ghanaian businesses. Most of the loans currently being given by banks are for the short term, and this makes it virtually impossible for existing and new businesses to make long-term investments to grow the economy and create jobs.
- **Lowering interest rates:** While interest rates have come down somewhat over the past few years, they remain very high, compared to other countries. This is mainly due to risks and inefficiencies within the banks which they pass on to customers in the form of high interest rates. We shall not determine interest rates for the banks but we shall take action, including legislation, to ensure that interest rates are reasonable and internationally competitive.
- **Single-digit inflation:** The failure of the Central Bank to attain single digit inflation over the years shows that “**inflation targeting**” is inappropriate for Ghana. **The CPP will not practice inflation targeting.** We shall focus instead on **economic growth and job creation** and allow **the inflation rate** to find its own level in line with the pace of overall economic activity.
- **State-owned banks:** We shall reform state-owned banks, including listing them on the Ghana Stock Exchange, to deepen their capacity to finance national development and make them internationally competitive. Where possible, we shall encourage them to venture into foreign markets, just as others are venturing into the Ghanaian financial market.
- **Rural banks:** We shall work with the central bank to strengthen the capacity of rural banks to finance rural agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Among other things, this calls for increased governance and transparency in the management and supervision of rural banks.

2.4 Fiscal Policy:

Fiscal policy involves **taxation, spending of the revenue from taxation, and management of the public debt.** Current fiscal policies have been influenced by the conditionalities of HIPC and a network of donor demands that do not reflect our development-financing needs; indeed, in some cases, they restrict our ability to finance our own development. They thus increase our dependence on donors. We shall reverse that and do more for ourselves through the following:

- **An efficient and equitable tax regime:** Despite many years of reform, the tax system in Ghana remains susceptible to abuse, especially by large companies which evade taxes through many means. This situation is compounded by big tax concessions often given to foreign investors without similar concessions to Ghanaian businesses. All these practices deprive the state of hundreds of millions of Ghana cedis every year, more than what we receive in foreign aid. By plugging these loopholes, we can reduce our dependence on donors while improving our ability to finance our development and grow our economy.

- **Spreading the tax net:** Government's attempts to spread the tax net have been hampered in part by lack of adequate space in key areas around the country for the tax authorities. To address this problem, we shall explore the possibility of **Rent-A-Space** for tax agencies to locate some of their offices in financial institutions, including rural banks, around the country. This approach to office space for the tax authorities will reduce accommodation cost for the government, spread their reach nation-wide, and improve the security of collected taxes.
- **Improving public expenditure.** Hard as it is to believe, nobody knows exactly how many people are on government's payroll at any given time. The result has been massive waste and theft in public expenditure. An estimated 25.0% of salary expenditures and 50.0% of non-salary expenditures in the education sector alone do not reach their intended beneficiaries. The CPP will first undertake a comprehensive census of the public sector and introduce systems and benchmarks to deal with this problem.
- **Managing oil revenue:** Managing the anticipated revenue from Ghana's oil will be situated within a larger programme to improve the management of government revenue from *all* sources. Indeed, our ability to manage the oil revenue well will depend on our ability to manage other revenues well. This has been the experience elsewhere and Ghana would be no exception.
- **Debt policy and management:** Our debt policy will be driven by our developmental needs and our capacity to repay through high economic growth and improved tax administration. Our debt policy will not be driven by donor benchmarks that ignore our developmental needs and undermine our ability to finance our development. We shall also improve our capacity for debt analysis and management, a deficiency which impedes our ability to raise funds both locally and externally to finance our development.
- **Transparency & Accountability:** We shall require timely and consistent monthly and quarterly publication of public finances by national and local government tax agencies

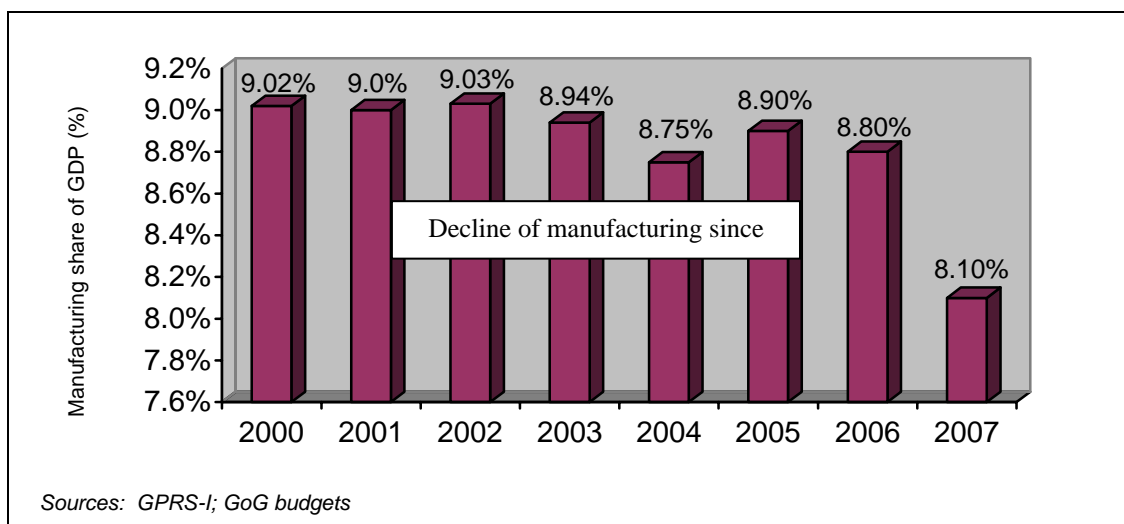
2.5 Industrial Policy

Our industrial policy will embrace both the productive sector and the services sector (such as ICT and technical services like engineering and architecture) as a mutually beneficial strategy for the effective development of the two sectors. We shall focus on improved domestic and global competitiveness to achieve this aim. This will be done through a skillful combination of state assistance and innovations in the private sector to enhance productivity and boost production. Among our initiatives to pursue our industrial policy would be:

- Reverse the current decline in manufacturing by improving the policy environment (such as reducing the cost of business and consumer credit) and providing targeted state assistance to Ghanaian businesses.
- **Industrial competitiveness:** Improve domestic and international competitiveness of Ghanaian industry through benchmarks to be jointly developed by industry and government.
- **High-value industrial employment.** In the short-term, this will entail a focus on industrial activities that depend on local raw materials and are labour intensive.

- **Incentives from the state:** Provide incentives to industry, such as discriminatory pricing for electricity as well as land reforms, to ensure easy acquisition and development of land for business. This will be accomplished through active collaboration between the state and the private sector, with appropriate state assistance to those sectors, such as communications, energy and finance, that we deem to be of strategic importance to our survival and development as a nation.
- **Industrial capacity:** Assemble experts to initiate the building of a **machine tools industry** for Ghana in the shortest time possible, along with the revival of strategic industries like Black Star Line, the Tema Steel Works, and the Tema Drydocks, all of which are critical to a modern industrial economy. The highly trained and skilled technicians and machinists from our polytechnics and technical colleges, who occupy the middle ground between engineers (responsible for the design, calculations etc), and the physical construction and repair of equipment, will be given the recognition they deserve to attract the best and most talented into this profession to ensure the success of our drive to industrialize Ghana.
- **Technical services** Work with relevant stakeholders, including professional associations, to develop technical services such as engineering, architecture, and ICT, to support activities in the domestic productive sectors and foreign clients.

Figure 5. Ghana’s economy has been de-industrialised since 2000



○

2.6 Private Sector Development

Under the current government, “private sector development” has meant nothing more than selling off pieces of Ghana to the highest bidder, mostly foreign “strategic investors,” and opening up the Ghanaian economy to unfair foreign competition. **Meanwhile, since 2000, the manufacturing sector’s share of business credit has fallen by 50.0% along with a decline in the sector’s share of economic output from 9.02% to 8.1%.** The government’s Golden Age of Business has proven to be a mirage. The CPP’s approach to private sector development is three-dimensional and more comprehensive than anything proposed by the other parties. It involves business development, labour protection, and consumer welfare:

1. Business development:

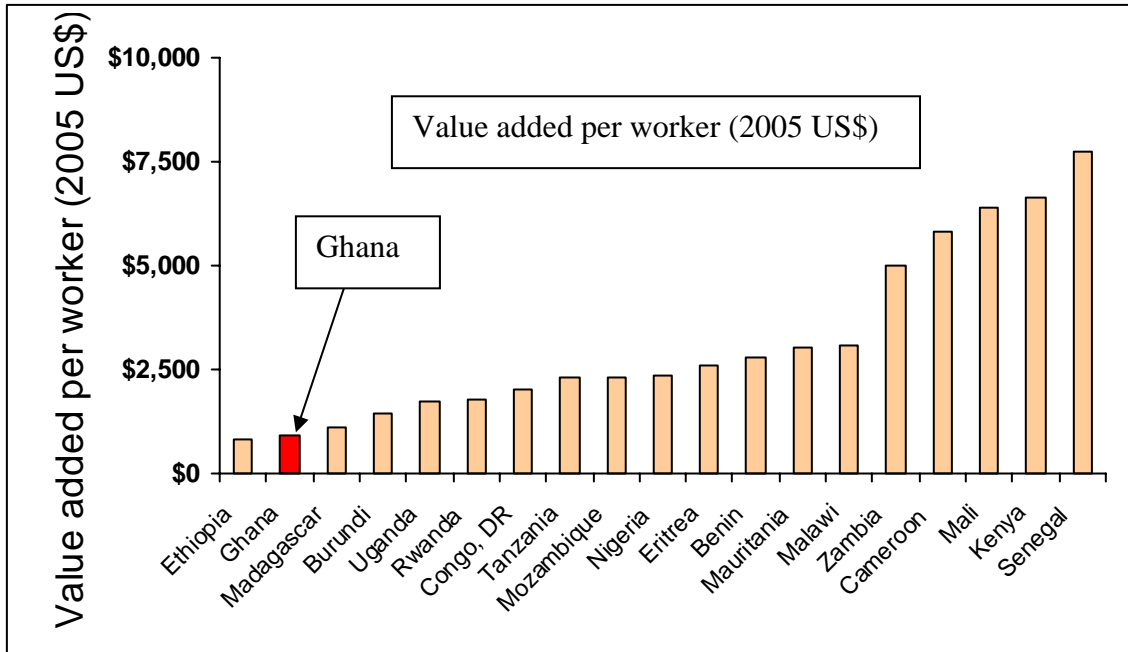
- a. In collaboration with the Private Enterprise Foundation (PEF) and the Management Development and Productivity Institute, we shall work to ***improve the productivity of Ghanaian industry and make it competitive against imports and in foreign markets.*** We shall strengthen the Ministry of Trade and Industry to provide Ghanaian industry with adequate and timely market intelligence for major economies around the world
- b. Provide subsidies and other forms of state assistance to Ghanaian industry and agriculture in their fight against unfair trading practices by foreign firms subsidised by their governments
- c. Enhance credit and market access for Ghanaian businesses, especially small and medium-scale enterprises, at home and abroad.
- d. Collaborate with the private sector to provide basic business services to Ghanaian firms, especially newly formed ones and small-medium scale enterprises. Information on such services as financial management for SMEs; how to apply for loans; and accessing domestic and foreign markets will be made available at points of registration, banks, post offices, etc. for Ghanaian businesses.
- e. Reduce and/or abolish pre-production taxes for businesses to allow them more working capital, which will enhance profits and thus increased taxes to government.
- f. Strengthen existing programmes for small and medium scale industries (SMEs) to make them more effective.
- g. Diversify our export markets and products to protect Ghanaian firms against instability in world markets.

2. **Consumer welfare:**

- a. The consumer is as important to the private sector as businesses are to the consumer; without consumers, there will be no businesses. Yet consumer welfare receives no attention in current private sector policies. We shall pass a **Consumer Protection Law (CPL)** to ensure that consumers get their money's worth at all times.
- b. A decentralised system of **consumer advocacy and adjudication at the district level** will be established as part of the implementation of the CPL.

3. **Labour issues:** Our private sector development policy will be linked to our labour policy in the belief that both industry and labour have a mutual interest in ensuring the welfare of each other. Workers will be expected to work hard to raise productivity, and industry would be expected to reward workers accordingly. A World Bank study of 19 countries in Africa ranked Ghana as last-but-one in labour productivity. Only Ethiopia performed worse. (See Figure 3 below).

Figure 6. Labour productivity in Ghana is unacceptably low

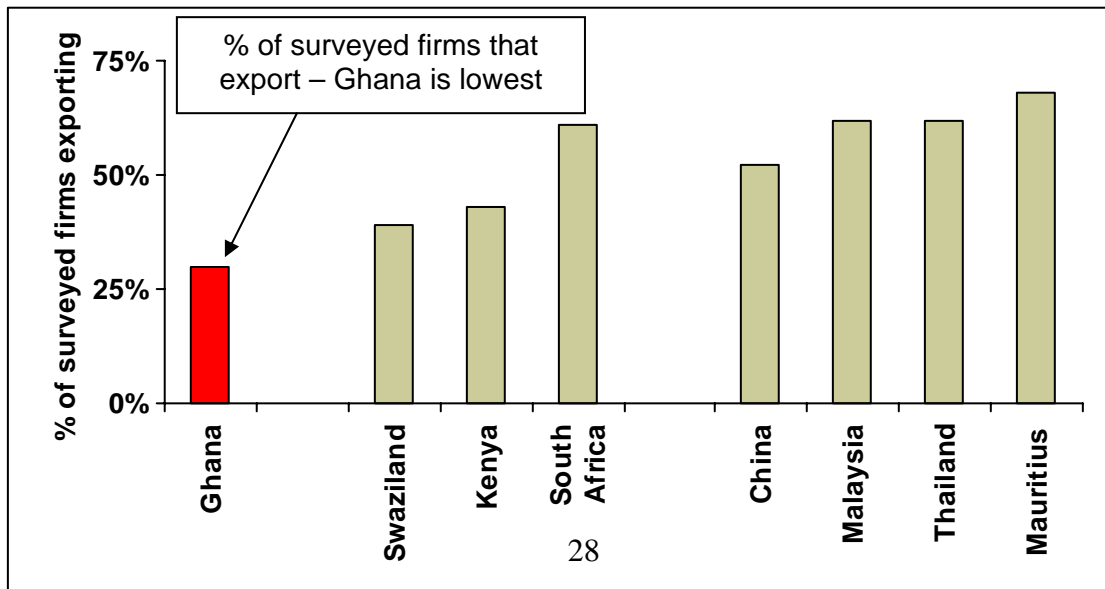


Source: World Bank, September 2007

2.7 Global Competitiveness of Ghanaian Industry

Despite recent praise from certain international organisations about an improving business environment in Ghana, we believe that we can do much better to raise our international competitiveness. As shown in Figure 4 below, the proportion of Ghanaian companies in the export market is very low, compared with those in countries like Swaziland, Kenya, Malaysia and Thailand. We will work with the Private Enterprise Foundation (PEF) to raise the global competitiveness of Ghanaian industry by developing a set of indicators which together we shall work to attain.

Figure 7. Ghana firms must export more to create jobs at home



Source: World Bank, 2007

2.8 Infrastructure Services

The CPP offers the only integrated approach to infrastructure development and services. By emphasising the services we obtain from infrastructure like roads, school buildings, medical facilities, etc, we ensure that we get the maximum economic and social benefits from the investments we make in infrastructure. We shall ensure that drivers and pedestrians, for example, get the full benefits roads instead of allowing those roads to be turned into markets and other social nuisances. Our integrated infrastructure approach, outlined in the table below, has the following key elements:

Table 5. CPP's Comprehensive Approach to Infrastructure Services

Broad Infrastructure Type	Sub-Infrastructure Type	Description
PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES	I. Economic	May have dual use for both firms and households. Comprises industrial, financial, commercial and ICT infrastructure.
	<i>(i) Industrial</i>	<i>Includes energy (electricity and petroleum); water and sanitation; transportation (road, rail, air, water.). Directly facilitates production and distribution of goods and services.</i>
	<i>(ii) Financial</i>	<i>Includes banks, insurance firms and forex bureaus. Indirectly supports production by channelling funds from savers to borrowers/firms. Through insurance schemes, it helps to minimize various risks, such as fire, in doing business. It also provides funds for long-term financing of development by both the state and private sectors</i>
	<i>(iii) Commercial</i>	<i>Includes lorry parks, open markets, and economic facilities like cold storage facilities in fishing communities.</i>
	<i>(iii) Information & Communication Technology</i>	<i>Includes both hardware and software for the collection, storage, management, and transmission of information either in text or voice for social and economic uses within a strong regulatory framework.</i>
	II. Social	Caters primarily for household and community needs and ultimately facilitates the development of the human resource base required for national development
	<i>(i) Household services</i>	<i>Includes educational, health, and housing services. These constitute the core of human resources required for a sound and strong economy.</i>
	<i>(ii) Civic services</i>	<i>Comprises such things as services from parks, zoos, museums, theatres, and historical monuments (either natural or man-made). They enhance the quality of life ("cultural development"), which indirectly affect economic growth and development through positive attitudes towards life and work. Directly, civic infrastructure may contribute to economic growth through tourism and its associated employment.</i>
	<i>(iii) Sports</i>	<i>These include stadiums, gymnastic centres, and other sports facilities. They contribute to the health of the citizens through physical training; they also serve as entertainment for the citizens through sport events and contribute to economic growth through development of sportsmen and sportswomen and its associated employment</i>
INSTITUTIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE	<i>I. Human Capital Development Programs</i>	<i>They include curriculum development programs at the learning institutions that are relevant for the development and management of the physical infrastructures</i>
	<i>II. Management Structures</i>	<i>Encompasses a society's or community's organizational capacity to provide and, more important, manage physical infrastructures to ensure optimum use. Without a well-functioning management structures, physical infrastructure cannot facilitate optimal economic growth and social development</i>
	<i>III. R & D Structures</i>	<i>These are institutional structures responsible for the researching and bringing out modern, efficient, effective and competitive ways of physical infrastructural development and management</i>
	<i>IV. Regulatory Structures</i>	<i>They are responsible for standardization and monitoring of the physical infrastructural development and management</i>

2.8.1 Economic Infrastructure

a. *Industrial Infrastructure Services*

- i. **Energy** – Ensure regular and uninterrupted service through better management, reduction in illegal connections, and prosecution of those who connect illegally. Laws will be passed to ensure that individuals who facilitate illegal connection get stiffer penalties than the beneficiaries.
- ii. We shall launch a continuous public education on the virtues of conservation. For example, the reverse of all utility bills will contain tips for energy conservation and hotlines to call for any information
- iii. **Water**. In addition to investing in the water sector, improving distribution, cutting waste and improving management, we will encourage water conservation through the following:
 1. Approving the importation/manufacture of only water efficient cisterns
 2. Require commercial establishments, such as restaurants and hotels, to build underground water storage facilities for rain-water harvesting. This will reduce the amount of water these establishments require for watering their lawns, cleaning floors, etc.
 3. Encourage households, architects and stakeholders in the construction industry to incorporate rain-water harvesting facilities in new and existing buildings.
- iv. **Sanitation** –Develop a modern sanitation system that will focus on sustainable management of liquid and solid waste throughout the country. Local government bye-laws on community and household sanitation will be strictly enforced.
- v. **Transportation** – For industry, an efficient and diversified transport system is crucial for the timely distribution of goods and services as well as the movement of workers to and from work in an orderly and timely manner. This improves productivity and boosts the international competitiveness of Ghanaian industry. In this regard, the CPP will increase the **quality** and **diversity** of public transportation, comprising, land, air, rail, and water transport, including inland water canals to move heavy industrial material at minimum cost. The long-overdue National Transportation Policy will be launched.

b. Financial Infrastructure

- i. Improve access through lower interest rates, for both industry and consumers
- ii. Strengthen rural banks
- iii. Strengthen insurance sector to raise long-term funds for industry
- iv. Enforce existing laws on financial reforms/enact new ones as the need arises

c. Commercial Infrastructure

- i. Provide modern and healthy markets in all communities;
- ii. Require all district assemblies to publish monthly, quarterly and annual financial statements and management reports on how they utilise taxes collected from markets, lorry stations, etc.
- iii. Work with farmers and fishing communities to provide storage and processing facilities to reduce post-harvest losses and thus raises incomes of farming and fishing communities

d. Information and Communication Technology Policy

There is currently a strategic plan for the Information and Communication Technology (ICT) sector. However, progress in implementation has been slow, leaving Ghana at a disadvantage as countries like Rwanda proceed rapidly to create world-class ICT infrastructure for national development.

The CPP will accelerate the existing plan and programmes within a broad ICT policy framework to attain the following:

- i. **Innovation** - Encourage local research and application as well as appropriate international collaboration
- ii. **Accessibility** - Ensure national coverage to cover all institutions, administrative regions and districts, as well as socio-economic groups.
- iii. **Affordability** - Ensure continued reduction in cost through policy and developments in the technology sector
- iv. **Regulation** - Ensure the smooth and effective growth of the sector while enacting and applying appropriate laws to protect consumers, such as children, and combat various forms of electronic crimes.

Some ICT-related initiatives to be undertaken by the CPP are:

- a. Getting the National Communication Authority (NCA) to ensure that all operators connect to the Ghana Internet eXchange to ensure local traffic and keep cost down.
- b. Working with Ghana Telecom to reduce the cost of bandwidth for Internet Service Providers (ISPs) to internationally competitive levels. Currently, 1 Mega Byte of access costs US\$5,000, compared to only US\$150 in New York. This high cost differential has makes it virtually impossible for Ghana to attract the kind of offshore internet businesses that are going to India and elsewhere.
- c. Getting NCA to further reduce license cost and the cost on VSAT to internationally competitive levels.

2.8.2 Social Infrastructure

Household Services

Household services have been discussed under various policies above but are summarised below within the context of **infrastructure services**:

Educational services: Enhance the quality of education from the provider's perspectives, such as resourcing of schools and teaching and improving teaching methods, and intensify community involvement in the management of schools within the context of decentralisation.

Health services: Improve the quality of services by introducing and publicising a **Patients Bill of Rights**. Government will work with both state and private medical facilities to determine how best to implement this bill. Sanitation and related services will equally be improved.

Public transport services: For the CPP, an efficient and safe public transport system (by both the state and the private sector) is not only meant for the "poor" but for people of all backgrounds. To conserve energy, save the environment and promote good health, the CPP will build **smart roads** with special lanes to facilitate non-motorised transportation, such as biking, as well as wheel chairs for the disabled. Public transportation will be modernised to have specific routes and arrival times, which will be strictly enforced. This will improve the productive use of time for travellers and the nation.

To reduce accidents and fatalities on the nation's roads, we shall intensify driver and pedestrian education, law enforcement, and institutional reforms complete with publicised targets for accident and fatality reduction.

2.8.3 Civic Infrastructure Services

Parks, museums, zoos and other forms of civic infrastructures provide avenues for recreation (for families and social groups); knowledge acquisition, and the improvement of the quality of life of our people as they appreciate more the wonders of nature and the intricacies of society. Civic infrastructure also provides employment, especially for the youth, because they serve as tourist sites which provide a mix of permanent and party-time employment.

In this regard the CPP shall:

- Strengthen the Museums and Monuments and the National Archives to carry their duties effectively.
- Revive and strengthen the Department of Parks and Gardens
- Revive and strengthen community libraries and community centre
- Work with the private sector to improve the presence and quality of bookstores nationwide
- Improve the quality of and access to the nation's various zoos, game parks, water falls, etc.
- Require local governments to provide recreational sports facilities in districts and sub-metros as a matter of development policy.

2.8.4 Institutional Infrastructure

Institutional infrastructure constitutes the organisational arrangements and social practices that determine how effectively physical infrastructure is used for the economy and society. It includes modern facilities management practices, standardisation and monitoring of physical infrastructure use, as well as the availability of certain social services to ensure a generally efficient society. Our policies in this regard will include:

- Development and promotion of a maintenance culture
- Respect for public property (civic duty)
- National ID card
- Street naming and house numbering

2.9 Energy Policy

Within infrastructure development, the CPP singles out energy for special treatment because of its overwhelming importance to the economy and society. The Party's **energy policy** will comprise **electricity** (or **power**) from all sources as well as **fuel** of all types. The ultimate objective of our energy policy is to ensure **adequacy** and **security** of supply at all times.

The key elements of the CPP's energy policy will be as follows:

- **Capacity building:** Develop a modern and well-resourced **energy planning system** to ensure that we generate enough energy to keep pace with our economic and social needs. The **Energy Commission**, the **Energy Foundation**, **Public Utilities Regulatory Commission**, civil society organisations, and the relevant government ministries and agencies will play an active role in the development of this system. We will also fund the appropriate institutions to make a global leader in energy studies and research.
- **Energy security:** *Diversity the sources and location of energy production*, especially electricity, to minimise the risk of failure or disruptions in supply resulting from a disaster or a catastrophe in any part of the country.
- **Regulation and ownership:** Appropriate legislation will be passed to govern the production, distribution, and utilisation of fuel and electricity in the country. While we will welcome foreign partnerships in the generation and distribution of energy in Ghana, we shall ensure at all times that Ghanaians or their government have strategic ownership to preserve our control over strategic national assets
- **Financing:** All our energy plans will be accompanied with comprehensive and credible financing schemes to ensure that they are implemented and the resulting projects managed efficiently
- **Access and affordability:** (1) Structure production and distribution of energy to ensure adequate access for households and businesses at rates that are affordable and internationally competitive, and (2) Improve management of utilities by setting efficiency benchmarks and requiring utility companies to publish financial and management reports periodically.
- **Conservation:** Use legislation, public education, and fiscal policy, in combination with a *Transportation Policy*, to promote the efficient use by households, government, and businesses of the energy that we produce.

In terms of sectoral implementation, the policy will cover the following areas:

- (1) **Electricity generation:** We shall explore, subject to cost, technical feasibility, and environmental considerations, wind, hydro, gas, solar, nuclear, and bio-mass sources for the generation of adequate electricity for households and businesses. We shall add between 100 and 150 MW of power every year until we reach sufficiency. In the short-term, we expect substantial state financing for the sector, following in the medium-to-long term with considerable private sector investment, while maintaining quality and security as well as consumer access and affordability.

(2) **Petroleum products:** We shall concentrate on production, refining, and exports as part of the development of a petro-chemical industry (as discussed in detail under Section 2.2 above).

2.10 Environment and Natural Resources

The CPP's policy on the environment will be based on a Clean and Green Strategy of meeting present social and economic needs without depriving future generations of the right to the same environment and resources. In pursuing this strategy, we shall emphasise conservation at all levels of society. With respect to the environment, we shall do the following, among others:

- **Natural Environment –**

- Aggressively enforce laws against deforestation
- Enforce noise pollution laws in cities and towns
- Keep the atmosphere clean and healthy by outlawing the open burning of garbage in communities and residential areas. This will help reduce the incidence of disease and thus reduce the national health bill.
- Encourage community gardening and tree planting

- **The Built Environment -**

The transformation of the physical environment for human habitation requires a lot of discipline that, unfortunately, we have lacked over the years. The result is shoddy construction works, unplanned development, and overcrowded cities and towns that lack adequate amenities like water and sanitation. To ensure that Ghana has 21st - century cities and towns, the CPP will do the following to ensure a more coherent and disciplined approach to development and the process of urbanisation.

- Develop a comprehensive urban development policy
- Establish an **Urban Development Institute** to study trends and factors in urban development, such as water provision and sanitation management, and advise national and local governments accordingly. The Institute will share its facilities and services with sister African countries as part of our efforts to promote African and continental cooperation.
- Set and rigorously enforce standards in the construction industry to ensure quality and safety.

- **Natural Resources**

Our natural resources range from fish stocks to forests to minerals in the ground. Our very existence depends on them. We shall therefore spare no effort to ensure their efficient, equitable and sustainable use. The Navy, for example, will be enlisted to patrol our shores to combat illegal fishing by foreign trawlers. At the same time, when outside investors are required to exploit any of these resources, we shall insist upon ownership of strategic share while ensuring that appropriate taxes are always paid to the state.

- **Waste Management**

Sound waste management is essential to maintaining a safe and healthy environment – both built and natural. For example, improperly treated solid waste can leach into rivers and pollute drinking water sources, or pollute the air in affected communities. The CPP's policy on waste management will be multi-sectoral, involving the Ministries of Local Government and Health, among others, and will focus on waste minimisation initiatives, that deal with industry and households, as well waste-as-wealth initiatives

that emphasise re-cycling. Where some of these initiatives are already in place, the CPP will accelerate and intensify them, in view of the waste-management crisis currently facing the country.

2.11 Agriculture and Rural Transformation

As with industry, government's attitude towards agriculture has been one of neglect and continued decline. Between 1997 and September 2007, agriculture's share of domestic business credit fell from 12.8% to 4.2% as banks shied away from the sector because of government's failure to provide a conducive environment for financing and marketing in the sector. Despite the many water bodies and long coastal line of Ghana, we import US\$200 million of fish every year. In 2008, 63.0% of the budget for the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA) is expected to come from donors.

The **CPP's agricultural policy** will focus on *attaining food security and nutritional for the nation, income security for farmers and fishermen*, and self-sufficiency in industrial sectors that depend on forest and agricultural produce for their work. The emphasis will be on the use of science and technology to revolutionize agriculture.

Specific policy initiatives will include the following:

2.11.1 Produce, Fisheries and Livestock

- Facilitate easy acquisition and utilisation of land for agricultural purposes, including fish farming and ranching.
- Provide appropriate state assistance, such as subsidised inputs, technical assistance and price support to farmers and fishermen, etc.
- Provide adequate resources to various agricultural colleges and research institutes, such as the Food Research Institute, the Crop Research Institute and Soil Research Institute to enhance their support activities for the sector.
- The University of Development Studies will be encouraged and resourced to expand **specialist studies of rural economies and societies** to shape public policy.
- Introduce crop insurance schemes as part of a broad programme to improve farmers' access to credit
- Restructure the agricultural sector to include a **Food Distribution Board** and **Agricultural Marketing Agency**. The board will focus on post-harvest issues such as *preservation, processing, and distribution* to secure national food and nutritional security, while the Agency will deal with income security for farmers, fishermen and allied workers like fishmongers by finding domestic and international markets for their produce. MoFA will continue to support production through extension and technical services
- Support the development and strengthening of **Farmer-Based Organisations** as well as co-operatives to give farmers easy access to affordable credit and offer them other forms of capacity-building assistance, such as subsidised literacy and numeracy classes as well as basic business management skills.
- Develop, in collaboration with farmers, **agricultural infrastructure**, such as irrigation systems; fish preservation and processing facilities; silos;

kilns, as well as standard infrastructure like electricity, telephones, water, roads, and affordable housing.

- Develop a **National Nutrition Policy** based on common foodstuffs in Ghana as a way of promoting healthy lifestyles while raising the incomes of our farmers and fishermen. The Food Research Institute will be tasked to improve food preparation methods to make preparation of Ghanaian cuisine less time-consuming.
- Develop a **Farmers and Fishermen Income Security Scheme (FFISSH)** to protect them against old-age poverty, especially in the rural and coastal areas.
- Adopt a fisheries policy to guide the development of sector.
- The **Forest Products Research Institute** will be funded to enable the establishment of a pulp and paper industry using local raw materials to satisfy the country's pulp and paper needs and for export, while the Industrial Research Institute and Food Research Institute will be adequately funded to undertake research up to the pilot plant scale to (i) replace the use of imported barley malt and malt adjuncts such as flaked rice, oats and corn using locally produced sorghum and corn, (ii) produce corn/cassava syrup for our soft drink industries, and (iii) pharmaceutical grade starch.

2.11.2 Cocoa Sector

We shall undertake a comprehensive assessment of the entire value chain in the cocoa sector, including production, purchasing, quality control, transportation, shipping and administration, to guarantee the continued viability of the sector and ensure that all stakeholders in the sector, especially farmers, get their fair share of returns from cocoa sale.

2.11.3 Forestry and Tree Crops Sector

We shall intensify current programmes to preserve our forests, such as replanting and the provision of alternative sources, such as livestock breeding, to rural dwellers to preserve our forests. However, we will go beyond that to introduce a nation-wide tree planting exercise geared as much towards saving the environment as it is towards creating employment, providing alternative energy sources, and raising incomes for a large section of the population, especially the youth, in a relatively short period. Assemblies will be required to enact or implement bye-laws on deforestation.

2.11.4 Agro-industry

Value addition to primary produce like cashew, shea nuts, coconut, oranges, pineapples, and other fruits will be aggressively promoted by ensuring that existing and new manufacturing firms develop relationships with out-growers that ensure steady supply of raw materials for their firms.

2.11.5 Rural Transformation

Rather than viewing the rural areas as a permanent source of cheap labour for the cities, we shall guide the transformation of those areas from deprived communities to well-developed ones by providing them with a wide array of infrastructure, such as modern roads, electricity, irrigation systems, and medical facilities, to facilitate both agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Rural industries will be encouraged with government assistance. Factories for making door and floor mats, bamboo factories to manufacture bamboo cups and trays, rattan factories and wood factories will be

encouraged. This strategy will stem the current flow of rural-to-urban labour and lead to balanced development of the country.

2.12 Services Sector

At 30.6%, the services sector is second only to agriculture (34.7%) as a share of the total economy. As with agriculture, however, the services sector is dominated by low-skilled labour in a largely informal economy, resulting in low productivity, low incomes, and a disproportionately high incidence of poverty.

The CPP's long-term objective for the sector is to create high-value-added service jobs, such as the following:

- **Telecommunications and ICT services** for local and foreign markets. This will facilitate the growth of the industrial sector while providing an opportunity for Ghanaian firms to gain a foothold in the global economy
- **Construction, architectural and engineering services** for local and foreign markets. While the domestic component of these services will improve the quality of infrastructure development, the foreign component will yield possibly billions of dollars in foreign exchange.
- **Educational and health services** for local and foreign markets through increased enrolment of foreign students in our higher institutions of learning and world class medical services for clients in the sub-region and beyond. Both will yield foreign exchange while spurring us to maintain our educational and medical facilities at international standards.
- **Tourism:** We shall continue to develop the tourism industry as an instrument of national development (job creation and income growth), while combating the undesirable aspects of tourism, such as the sex trade and other social vices. As respect for the memory of our ancestors, we shall grant free access to the nation's slave castles to the descendants of slaves from the America's and elsewhere. They will however be given the opportunity to contribute to the general upkeep of these castles that hold so many unpleasant memories of our history.
- **Hospitality industry:** Work with various stakeholders to make hotel rates internationally competitive while raising the quality of restaurant and other hospitality services to world-class standards.

2.13 Productivity Revolution

Our limited resources and our growing developmental needs require that we use those resources wisely and efficiently. So far, we have failed to do so. In this regard, the CPP will restructure the **Management Development and Productivity Institute** as the centrepiece for a national productivity revolution. To ensure that this productivity revolution is broad-based and successful, we shall solicit the opinions of the public on various socio-economic problems and how **they** believe we can solve them at the least cost possible. The resulting combination of expert knowledge and popular opinion will serve as **the bedrock of our productivity revolution**. Examples of basic everyday day problems that the productivity revolution would seek to address are:

- How long it takes on average to be served at a bank
- How to increase farm yield and thus raise rural incomes
- Duration of courses in our schools
- How long it takes to get a building permit
- How long it takes to obtain a passport
- How long it takes to go through the airport
- How long it takes for students to obtain their examination results

- How long it takes to obtain telephone services, water supply, and electricity for home or business
- How long it takes to register a business
- How long it takes to pay one's taxes

We are sure that a **national productivity dialogue** involving Ghanaians from all walks of life will yield an even longer and more impressive list. By working together to improve the way we do things, we will save scarce resources, including time, and thus raise productivity and national income. This is the first step towards **making Ghana a high-income country**.

2.14 Financing Development

- Set up a **National Infrastructure Financing Authority (NIFA)** to source funds through **municipal, national, and international bonds** and other means to finance capital projects, such as modern highways, under-ground and above-ground rail systems, ports, waterways, and other forms of public transport.
- Reform our budgeting process and introduce **Inter-generational financing**, based on NIFA, to replace the present **pay-as-you-go** system, which is non-sustainable and is responsible for the massive under-investment in our development.
- Promote **public-private partnership in infrastructure development**, by giving financial institutions tax incentives to build schools and other facilities, which national and local governments will then lease over a specified period, after which they become public property.
- Weed out waste in the public sector (part of the **productivity revolution**) by introducing transparency in public expenditures by asking all ministries, departments and agencies to publish financial and management reports in the media every three months.
- **Increase revenue by cracking down on tax evaders**, tackling corruption in tax administration, and imposing stiff penalties.
- **Customer care**: Simplify tax paying procedures and thus reduce the cost and inconvenience of compliance to businesses and individuals.

3. RESPONSIVE GOVERNANCE

3.1 Beyond Good Governance

Through donor conditionalities, the term “**good governance**” has become popular in Ghanaian public life, but no one seems to know what it means. When national assets are sold off on the cheap to “strategic investors”, we are hailed for “good governance”. And when we undertake judicial reforms, we are again hailed for good governance. This is a contradiction we must deal with. The CPP will introduce **responsive governance** with policies that respond to the needs of the people, not the demands of donors.

3.2 Fighting Corruption

Corruption in high and low places and the lack of political will to fight it has undermined public confidence in government and cost the nation billions of Ghana cedis through fraudulent practices in government procurement and government projects. Long before “development partners” made the fight against corruption a condition for foreign aid, the CPP, on its own, began to fight corruption in the 1960s, forcing some government officials to hand over to the state properties that were deemed to have been improperly acquired. Today, public officials and their relatives acquire properties far in excess of

their known income; key sections of the bureaucracy, such as CEPS, the police, and the judiciary have repeatedly been shown in surveys to be mired in corruption. This further undermines governance and impedes development.

The CPP will fight corruption by adequately resourcing public institutions, such as CHRAJ and the Serious Fraud office. We shall also implement the Whistle Blower law, which encourages the public to report corrupt practices, as well as pass the Freedom of Information Bill as part of a broad legislative agenda to improve governance and fight corruption.

3.3 Decentralisation and Popular Participation

We believe that “no decentralisation” means “no development”. After nearly 16 years of democracy at the national level, it is time to bring democracy to the doorsteps of the people, too. People must have a direct say about who collects their garbage in their local communities; the quality of the roads they use; or the schools their children attend. At the moment, decisions on these issues are made by a few bureaucrats in Accra for distance communities around the country. All local officials must be elected by the people they govern so that they can answer to these people the same way national leaders respond to their national constituents. “Self-determination” must be taken to the grassroots.

We propose to amend the 1992 Constitution to allow all local government officials to be elected. This will have, among others, the following benefits:

- Force district chief executives and other local officials to address the needs of the people they serve instead of working to please the appointing authorities in Accra
- Make it possible to insist that all district assemblies should publish on a monthly basis the taxes they collect from lorry parks, markets, households and businesses in their districts and how they spend those taxes

3.4 Role of Traditional Leaders

The CPP shall adhere to the provisions of the Constitution pertaining to the institution of chieftaincy by ensuring that it becomes a vital part of the new democratic culture of the country as well as play its part in national development. A CPP government will encourage the review of outmoded chieftaincy practices which inhibit democratic expression and impede socio-economic development.

3.5 Public Sector Reforms and Innovation

Public sector reforms and innovation will be our counter-part to private sector development. We shall go beyond “reforms” and ensure that the public sector keeps pace with the latest technologies and practices to enable it respond effectively, efficiently and speedily to the needs of the public.

To address the problems of the public sector, the CPP will do the following:

- Immediately launch a **public sector census** to determine the exact size of the government in order to resolve the age-old problem of “ghost names” and annual budget over-runs
- Incorporate “innovation” into public sector management to ensure that the sector applies the latest scientific and technological innovations in the management of public resources
- Improve the sector’s capacity for policy analysis, budgeting, and management to make it effective and efficient in the discharge of its duties.

3.6 National Security

Our defence policy is first and foremost to secure Ghana's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity in all areas - land, sea and air. Recent lapses in national security, such as the sudden appearance in Accra of refugees from the Sudan and the influx of alien herdsmen on the nation's streets, are evidence of the vulnerability of our national security and the need to take decisive action.

To do this and expand the role of the security forces in national development, the CPP will pursue the following:

- Resource the Ghana Immigration Service to perform its functions well
- Maintain a well-trained, well-equipped, and well-motivated Army
- Provide a national framework to formally engage the Armed Forces in the provision and maintenance of infrastructure of all kinds for public use – at home and abroad.
- Enhance the capabilities of specialist units in the Armed Forces to support industry and research.
- Work with the armed forces to secure their participation in disaster prevention and management and in combating threats such as terrorism and narco-trafficking
- Consider a compulsory national military service that will both help in creating a disciplined citizenry and facilitating the mobilization of every capable adult in national emergencies.
- Work with ECOWAS and the AU to ensure peace and stability in Africa

3.7 Civil Defence and Public Safety

For more than half a century, Ghana has been spared the trauma of natural disasters like earthquakes or tragedies like large scale industrial or transportation accidents. Despite this providence, it is important that we remain alert and prepared at all times to deal with any misfortune, man-made or otherwise. In this regard, we shall do the following in the area of civil defence:

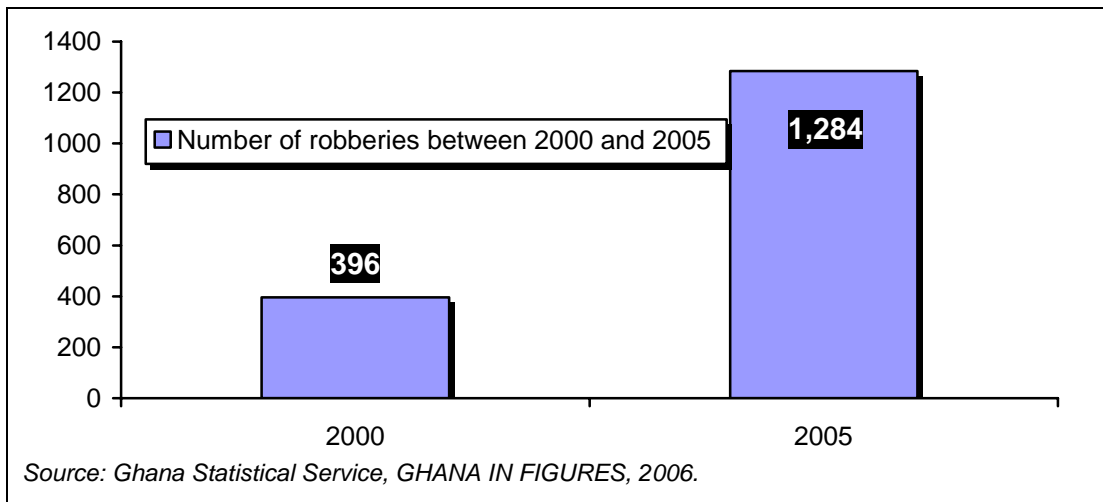
- Reconstitute the National Disaster Management Organisation (NADMO) as the **National Disaster Prevention and Management Agency (NDPMA)** to emphasise the importance of preventing natural and man-made disasters
- Set up a **National Emergency Fund (NEF)**, separate from the annual budgets of NDPMA, to ensure that the nation maintains the financial and material capacity to deal with disasters at all times.
- Enhance the technical and managerial capacity of the NDPMA by, among other things, appointing professional managers, through competitive hiring practices, to manage its affairs; the era of making a national disaster organisation an avenue for political rewards will be over under the CPP
- Under the supervision of NDPMA, ensure that relevant ministries, such as Aviation, Ports and Harbours as well as district assemblies conduct periodic drills of all types for potential disasters, including fire, plane crash, floods, and earthquakes.
- First aid skills will be introduced in all basic schools and propagated to the general public through appropriate public education programmes.

In the area of public safety, there is little doubt that crimes of all kinds have been on the increase in recent times. According to the Ghana Police Service, robberies alone increased by 224.0% between 2000 and 2005. Motor accidents are claiming lives on an unprecedented scale due to lack of law enforcement. Lawlessness also finds

expression in the illegal erection of structures in cities and towns across the country. The following are among the initiatives we shall consider in dealing with these problems:

- Equip the police, improve the quality of their training, and pass appropriate laws to make them efficient and responsive at the national and local levels
- Hold anyone, including police officers and port officials, criminally liable for auto accidents, such as overloading, that result from their negligence
- Introduce computerised ticketing system for traffic violation to facilitate efficient enforcement of the law. The current practice where police officers take away keys, driver's licence, deflate tyres, or even enter the vehicles of offenders under the pretext of arresting them is outmoded and inappropriate in a constitutional era where human rights are sacred.
- Intensify community policing by the police

Figure 8. Robberies have increased by 224% since 2000



3.8 Judicial Reforms

Democracy thrives on freedom and justice. Freedom releases the natural energy of citizens to engage in enterprise and productive activities. It makes them more able to respect the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

Justice is what underpins law and order. Justice makes it possible for a system of government to thrive; but it is absolutely necessary that those given the responsibility

for ensuring freedom and justice understand that they do so for the protection of all and that no one is above the law.

We also understand that 'justice delayed is justice denied'. We will therefore:

- ensure effective resource allocation into the judicial system to enhance efficiency and speed in its administration.
- ensure the total independence of the Judiciary
- uphold the rule of law.
- ensure transparency in the administration of justice
- encourage alternative dispute settlement (ADS) to ensure swift and equitable administration of justice.
- commit to the establishment of the Office of the Independent Prosecutor.
- promote education among the population on the rights and responsibilities of citizens.

3.9 Legislative Agenda

To achieve this objective, we shall review existing laws and expedite passage of others to facilitate the implementation of our development agenda. Among laws whose passage is to be expedited are:

- Election of all local officials
- Amend constitution to prevent parliamentarians from serving as ministers (this would reduce executive influence over the legislature)
- Forbid the executive from appointing parliamentarians to public boards
- Amend the constitution to compel the president to pay taxes like the rest of Ghanaians (leadership by example)
- Freedom of Information Law to fight corruption
- Seek legislation to separate the Minister of Justice from the Attorney General

- Enhance the capacity of government to perform its functions
- Enact any other laws that will enhance the quality of governance

4. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

4.1 Ghana and Globalisation

In the age of globalisation, where labour, capital and production move across national borders with relative ease, often at the expense of poor countries like Ghana, it is important that we adopt policies that protect us against the harmful effects of globalisation while also taking advantage of its benefits. This we will do through the following:

4.1.1 Ghanaian Diaspora and Political Participation

The most recent effort to incorporate Ghanaians living abroad into our national development agenda, ROPAA, is logistically impossible to implement. It also gives the Ghanaian Diaspora an opportunity to participate in national development only once every 4 years. The CPP offers a better option by proposing a law that would enable Ghanaians living abroad to have direct representation in Parliament through people that *they* would elect abroad at their own expense. We envisage a representative each from Ghanaian associations from 4 geographic areas like the Americas, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Each representative shall be given half a vote in Parliament but would otherwise enjoy the same privileges as other parliamentarians. This is a win-win proposition that would give our sisters and brothers abroad the opportunity to raise issues of interest to

them through their representatives in Ghana, while at the same time contributing to the development of the land of their birth.

4.1.2 International Professionals Forum of Ghana (IPFG)

The continued loss of Ghanaian professionals to the outside world remains a major challenge to our national development effort. While there has been some reverse migration in recent years, on average more skilled Ghanaians leave than do return. We shall set up the International Professionals Forum of Ghana (IPFG) to foster cooperation between Ghanaian professionals at home and abroad in areas such as education, health, economics and engineering as an important part of our human resource development and management agenda.

4.2 Relations with African Countries

Our relations with fellow African countries will be a continuation of the leadership role Ghana played in the continent's independence in the 1960s. Among specific activities of intra-continental cooperation will be the following:

- Increased cultural cooperation, such as exchange programmes in television and radio broadcasts, including documentaries from which we can learn and share common experiences
- Introduce an annual **African SoundSplash** lasting a week that will bring together some of the finest musicians on the continent. This will be rotated around the continent.
- Propose, and host the inaugural event, an annual **African Science and Technology Fair** for intellectual exploration of the field by Africans and dynamic discussions of the application of science and technology in Africa's development
- Aggressively support the **Pan-African Infrastructure Development Fund (PAIDF)**, which is financed by member states' public insurance funds, as part of a larger strategy to promote trade across the continent. Improved infrastructure will reduce transportation costs and create a more compelling case for increased trade among our countries.
- At the political level, **support efforts to attain African unity**. Continued lack of unity, with common political, economic and social institutions, leaves us vulnerable to political manipulation from abroad.

4.3 Relations with non-Ghanaian Diaspora

We remain mindful of the role played by many non-Ghanaian Diasporans, such as W.E.B., Dubois and George Padmore. As Pan-Africanists, we believe that Africans, no matter where they were born or live, share common problems (such as discrimination) and aspirations (to attain the highest of their potential). We will therefore continue to collaborate with the non-Ghanaian Diaspora in a wide variety of areas, ranging from science and technology to literature to commerce and sports.

4.4 Relations with Donors

We appreciate the assistance that Ghana has received from its donors over the years, especially in periods of severe economic and social difficulties. But we also acknowledge that excessive dependence on donors for our basic needs, such as food, education, and health services, diminishes our dignity as human beings and threatens our efforts to build a proud and successful society.

We will continue to cooperate with all nations and international organisations that wish us well, but in order to ensure that those who fought for our independence did not do so

in vain, we need to start a purposeful process of reducing and ultimately eliminating our dependence on donors. This is embedded in our strategy for national development.

4.5 Relations with Rest of the World

Our relations with the rest of the world will be driven by the desire to pursue the national interest at all times and will be governed by the principle of mutual respect, the protection of the sovereignty of the Republic of Ghana, as well as the projecting of Ghana onto the world stage as a leader in such fields as education, science and technology.

A Brief History of the CPP

- Following a break from the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), Kwame Nkrumah led the formation of the Convention People's Party (CPP) on 12th June, 1949, at Arena in Accra before a crowd of about 60,000. Nkrumah was made Chairman, with Komlah Gbedemah as Vice-Chairman and Kojo Botsio as secretary. Other members of the Central Committee included N.A Welbeck, Kwesi Plange, Kofi Baako, Krobo Edusei, Dzenkle Dzewu and Ashie Nikoi.
- The CPP established branches throughout the country, each with its own Branch Executive. The *Evening News* became the party's mouthpiece
- The success of the *Evening News* encouraged Nkrumah to launch the *Morning Telegraph* in Sekondi and the *Daily Mail* in Cape Coast
- The C.P.P accused the Colonial Government of delaying independence and stepped up political agitation through **Positive Action**, modelled on the non-violence approach of Mahatma Gandhi in India.
- The CPP and the Trades Union Congress organized a mass gathering which became known as the "Ghana Representative Assembly". The U.G.C.C and the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society were invited but they declined.
- The assembly passed the following resolution: "That the people of the Gold Coast be granted immediate self-government by the British Government, with full Dominion status within the British Commonwealth of Nations based on the statute of Westminster. That the assembly respectfully demands the immediate grant and sanction of full self-government for the chiefs and people of the Gold Coast."
- Nkrumah warned the colonial authorities that if they continued to ignore the genuine grievances of the people, they would be responsible for any violence that resulted. He sent a copy of the C.P.P.'s manifesto to the Colonial Secretary and offered to discuss the party's demands and find a way to avert mass civil disobedience.
- After several meetings with colonial authorities, it became clear that no progress was being made on the central demand for a constituent assembly. On 8th January 1950, in front of a large C.P.P. crowd in Accra, Nkrumah declared positive action. He travelled to Sekondi, Cape Coast and Takoradi to repeat the declaration.
- The colonial government declared a state of emergency, effective 12th January, 1950 and prohibited the holding of processions, imposed curfews, and disconnected public services in certain areas.
- C.P.P and T.U.C leaders were arrested. The Accra *Evening News* and the Cape Coast *Daily Mail* were banned and their editors arrested.
- On 19th January, at a meeting of the Legislative Council, the government passed three bills – the Sedition Bill, a newspaper registration bill, and a Bill to allow the Governor-in-council to impose curfew in any part of the country without having to resort to legislation.
- On 21st January 1950, Kwame Nkrumah was arrested and tried for inciting an illegal strike and for sedition for an article in the *Cape Coast Daily Mail*. He was sentenced to three years imprisonment.
- Gbedemah kept the party running and was in constant touch with Nkrumah who was held in James Fort prison from where messages were smuggled out on toilet paper to party headquarters.
- In the 1950 municipal elections held in the major cities - Accra (April), Cape Coast (June) and Kumasi (November) - the C.P.P posted stunning victories
- In the Kumasi municipal election, the C.P.P. won ALL seats. As a result of these victories, the colonial government began to revise its view of the CPP; they recognised that the CPP "was clearly more politically skilful than any mere hooligan element could have been". But

more importantly the CPP's local organisational ability was proving useful to the government as it prepared the country for its first general election. The CPP assisted with the registration process and the political education campaigns "designed to apprise the population of their rights and the importance and significance of exercising those rights as voters"

- As plans for the elections to the legislative assembly gathered pace, the CPP put up Kwame Nkrumah, who was still in jail, as the candidate for Accra Central – which now forms part of today's Odododiodoo constituency. This decision by the party generated enthusiasm throughout the country.
- The C.P.P once again achieved a stunning victory in the February 1951 elections. The party won the directly elected urban seats with ten times as many votes as those of the combined opposition, with Nkrumah polling a massive 22,780 out of the available 23,122 votes in his Accra Central constituency.
- In the 33 rural seats elected indirectly through electoral colleges, the C.P.P. obtained 29 seats and the U.G.C.C only three. In the two-member constituency of the Akim Abuakwa, Dr. J.B. Danquah and William Ofori Atta barely won their seats: 95-85 votes and 87-83 votes, respectively. Dr. K.A Busia, on the other hand, lost his seat and secured his seat in the Legislative Assembly through one of the seats reserved for the Ashanti Confederacy Council.
- Soon after the elections, the C.P.P wrote to the Governor asking for the release of Kwame Nkrumah. So that he did not appear to have been forced, the Governor delayed the decision until after the Territorial Council elections that weekend and then made arrangements for Nkrumah's release for 1 p.m. the following Monday, claiming it was "an act of grace".
- Aged only 42, Kwame Nkrumah became the Leader of Government Business of the first All-African Government whose other ministers included, Archie Casely-Hayford, K.A. Gbedemah, Kojo Botsio, Dr. A. Ansah Koi, Dr. E.O. Asafu-Adjaye, and Mr. J.A. Briamah.
- In February 1952, Nkrumah successfully persuaded the colonial administration to amend the 1951 constitution to change his title from Leader of Government Business to Prime Minister and the Executive Council recast as the Cabinet. From now on, the Prime Minister would rank second to the Governor in Cabinet and preside over the affairs of state in his absence and the first African government would begin to look just like one.

The First Development Plan (15th August 1951 – 30th June 1957)

- Nkrumah inherited a 10-year development plan from the colonial authorities, but ever the impatient visionary that he was, he squeezed the 10 years into 5 and increased the budget for the plan.
- By the end of 1955, the C.P. P. government had achieved the following:
 - Primary school enrollment doubled; Middle school enrollment increased by 50%
 - Nine new Teacher Training Colleges and 18 new secondary schools. Secondary and technical school enrolment increased from 5,359 to 19,143.
 - Four secondary schools added to the only secondary school offering the Higher School Certificate (A-level)
 - Kumasi College of Technology was established and also offered the Higher School Certificate
 - Kumasi (1954) and Sekondi (1955) Regional Libraries
 - 18 Agricultural stations; 11 cocoa stations; 4 Agricultural Training Centres; soil surveys over hundreds of square miles
 - 940 wells and 62 bore holes sunk; 7 new pipe-borne water supplies with additional 4 under construction
 - 38 miles of new railways; 15 miles re-directed railways with 50 miles under construction; 828 miles of major roads built or reconstructed; 730 miles resurfaced with bitumen; 2 major bridges completed and 60 smaller bridges built; 4 major bridges including Adomi bridge under construction

- Takoradi harbour expanded, and Tema harbour under construction
- Okomfo Anokye hospital construction started; extensions to 15 existing hospitals and 2 health centres near completion
- 270 miles of overhead telephone trunk routes; 140 miles of underground cable; 4,800 new telephones installed (3-fold increase in capacity); 13 new post office buildings completed and size of General Post Office doubled
- Construction of Ambassador Hotel started; 15,000 room units of housing for 40,000 people completed
- Increase in electricity output to 51,000 KW from 32,000 KW
- Formation of Regional Development Committees
- The Ghana Library in Accra (1956)

The 1954 elections

- Although the achievements of the first African government were considerable, there were growing tensions at the slow pace of the transition to independence.
- The critics of the government were both internal and external: while the official opposition taunted it for having abandoned its plans for self-government now, a number of high-profile C.P.P members protested at the rate of progress towards independence. Notable among these was Kwesi Lamptey, who resigned from the party. This was followed by a series of resignations and expulsions of the likes of Dzenkle Dzewu, Ashie Nikoi and H.P. Nyemetei, all members of the original party central committee.
- The issue did not, however, go away and there was more criticism, led this time by a radical wing consisting of Kurankyi Taylor, Cecil Forde (who later became party secretary), Eric Heyman (later editor of the *Evening News*), Anthony Woode, president of the T.U.C. who had played a key role in the Positive Action protests, among others. A committee of the radicals - Taylor, J.C. de Graft Johnson, J.E. Jantuah and the loyalists – Gbedemah, Botsio and Casely-Hayford – was setup to assist the party leader in drawing up proposals for independence.
- On the basis of various proposals, the CPP government introduced a bill in the Legislative Assembly on 10th July 1953, (famously dubbed by the *Evening News* as the 'Motion of Destiny') which debated and approved the proposals in Act of Independence. With the introduction of the 'motion of destiny', the C.P.P. took a decisive step towards honouring its key electoral promise in 1951 and set the country on a historic course to self-government.
- Preparations were made for another election in 1954. Some former C.P.P. members who had been de-selected registered as independents. Some in this disgruntled group were to form the vanguard of the opposition N.L.M in the ensuing two years.
- The first directly held elections in the country's history took place on 19th June 1954 and the CPP won 72 out of 104 seats, the GCP (the rump of the UGCC) secured only 1 seat. Dr. J.B. Danquah, and Mr. William Ofori-Atta all lost their seats and Dr. K.A Busia won his seat by 11 votes
- The euphoria surrounding this massive victory was soon to turn sour with a sudden turn in events that was to usher the country through a period of instability and violence, the likes of which had never been seen before or since.

Ghana at Risk: The rise of the NLM

- The reality of the 1954 election results was that the UGCC had effectively been reduced to only one seat in parliament. The process which some of the educated leadership had put so much faith in had delivered a result that was at variance with their aspirations and to a party they did not believe was deserving of such power. For the opposition, there was a moral and fundamental question: How can a system in which they had placed so much faith deliver power to a bunch of 'veranda boys' whose educational attainment was no where near those of the leadership of the nationalist movement?

- In March 1954, and before the June elections, the government fixed the price of cocoa at £3.12 shillings in response to the Seers and Ross “Report on Finance and Physical Problems of Development in the Gold Coast” to contain looming inflation.
- Contrary to some accounts, the C.P.P. did not promise in its manifesto to raise farm gate prices in its 1954 election. In August 1954, Gbedemah, the finance minister, introduced the Cocoa Duty and Development funds bill in parliament based on the cabinet’s decision in previous March.
- In his presentation to Parliament, Gbedemah also sought to deal with the ‘fragility’ of the Gold Coast economy highlighted by the Seers and Ross report stemming from an over-reliance on one commodity for nearly 60 percent of export revenue. As part of the diversification strategy to reduce the risk of over-dependence, any windfall would be used to expand other sectors of the economy.
- Naturally the farmers, who wanted a share of higher world prices, were unhappy with this and demanded a repeal of the bill. However, what started out as the natural response of an aggrieved sector of the country was hijacked by disgruntled political activists with a hidden agenda. They used the controversy to foment violence in which many people were maimed or killed. Out of this violence emerged a new group, the National Liberation Movement (N.L.M.), launched in September 1954, under the leadership of Baffour Osei Akoto, the chief linguist of the Ashantehene. The NLM raided CPP offices in Ashanti and fomented violence indiscriminately. For the first time, a group of nationalists in Ashanti declared ‘yeate ye ho’ (We have broken away).
- The CPP office in Ashanti was closed as was the local party newspaper the *Sentinel*. There was violence in Kumasi and Sunyani with most of it perpetrated by the NLM. 14 months after its closure the party decided to re-open its offices in Kumasi and it was met with violence by the N.L.M. . This time the C,P.P. responded and faced the N.L.M. squarely. By December 1955, over 850 cases of assault had been reported in Kumasi alone.
- In the end, Secretary of State for the Colonies decided that the only way to settle the matter was through the will of the people and felt it necessary to hold one last election in 1956. The NLM happily accepted this challenge hoping that the alliances they had built with the other opposition parties would enable them secure victory at the polls.

The 1956 elections

- Once again, Mr. K.A. Gbedemah led the C.P.P. campaign. In June 1956, the CPP recorded another impressive victory, winning 71 seats, including all 44 seats in the Colony and 8 out of the 21 in Ashanti. The NLM failed to win a single seat outside Ashanti. However, for all the antagonism they experienced in Ashanti, the CPP won 43.0% of the votes cast in Ashanti, proving once again that although the NLM was predominantly an Ashanti party, not all Ashantis were NLM supporters.
- Once again Dr. Danquah failed to win his seat but that was not the only familiar outcome: The NLM refused to accept the results of the elections.

Threats of Partition and Independence

- After the election, the CPP on 3rd August 1956 tabled a motion for independence. The NLM members of the Assembly, including Dr. Busia, Joe Appiah and R.R, Amponsah, walked out in protest but the motion was passed 72-0.
- The British Government announced that “independence should come about on March 6th, 1957”. The opposition modified their position and demanded constitutional safeguards in the form of regional autonomy and a second chamber, among others.
- While the government accepted a measure of devolution, it limited the powers of Regional Assemblies and refused to accept the opposition’s call for an undertaking that Ashanti’s borders be untouchable.

- The “Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council” 1957 was agreed and on 6th March 1957, Ghana became the first British colony in Africa to achieve its independence. At independence, Ghana’s GDP per capita was £50 compared to about £300 for the UK, and was higher compared to India, Pakistan and Ceylon.
- Nkrumah declared two key tasks: (a):To demonstrate to the world that the Blackman was capable of running his own affairs, and (b) that Ghana’s ultimate success was inextricably linked to the liberation of the African continent.
- The CPP also asked the British government to pay back a £200 million “loan” that the British had arbitrarily taken from the Gold Coast by keeping part of our cocoa earnings in London to support the weak British pound. The repaid money was used for the development effort. For example, Ghana paid 50.0% of the £70 million pounds it cost to build the Akosombo Dam. Millions of pounds more were invested in schools, roads, hospitals, state farms and industries that became the hallmark of the CPP government.

The Consolidation Plan (1st July 1957 – 30th June 1959)

- Major achievements under the Plan included:
 - Bank of Ghana opened at the end of July, 1957
 - Black Star Shipping Line s.s *Volta River* welcomed to home port in December 1957
 - Broadcasting House of Radio Ghana opened early 1958

The Second Five-Year Development (1959 – March, 1964)

- Launched 1st July 1959, the Plan aimed at (a) achieving economic independence, (b) developing resources to produce a strong, healthy and balanced economy, and (c) reducing economic vulnerability by reducing dependence on cocoa
- The C.P.P. chose socialism as the means of achieving full employment, good housing and equal opportunity for education and cultural advancement for all Ghanaians. For the C.P.P. government this translated into:
 - Prices of goods must not exceed growth in wages;
 - House rentals must be within the means of all groups
 - Social welfare services must be open to all;
 - Educational and cultural amenities must be available to everyone
- To lay the foundations on which such a society would be built, Ghana’s economy was divided into five sectors:
 - State enterprises;
 - Enterprises of foreign ownership
 - Enterprises jointly owned by the State and foreign private interests;
 - Co-operatives; and
 - Small-scale Ghanaian private enterprise (reserved to Ghanaians to encourage and utilize personal initiative and skill among Ghanaians)
- Workers Brigade was formed to absorb 12,000 unemployed young men and women. They were trained in discipline, personal responsibility, and citizenship as well as employable skills.
- Ghana Academy of Sciences was formed in November 1959 to spearhead Research and Development in Ghana for modernization of agriculture and industrialization using the country’s local raw material
- Over 60 new factories were opened in 1961, including a distillery, a coconut oil factory, a brewery, a milk processing plant, and a lorry and bicycle assembly plant
- Agreements were signed for the establishment of an oil refinery, an iron and steel works, a flour mill, sugar factory, textile and cement factories in 1961
- The Volta River Scheme at Akosombo was launched in 1961
- Tema harbour opened and started to operate in 1961

- Valco was formed at £100 million to establish an aluminium smelter at Tema in 1962
- Opening of Unilever Soap Factory at Tema on 24th August, 1963
- The C.P.P. adopted a programme of “Work and Happiness” in 1962 to shape national development in the 7-year development Plan. The objectives were to build a socialist state devoted to the welfare of the masses and turning Ghana into the power house of the African revolution
- Despite these achievements, the NLM continued with violence in Kumasi and there was evidence of arms being smuggled from Ivory Coast to Western Asante. Over 5,000 Ghanaians in Ashanti were exiled to other parts of the country due to NLM violence
- With support from the NLM, the Togoland Congress embarked on similar agitation and violence. In Accra, a group of young men led by Attoh Quarshie formed the Ga Adangbe Shifomo Kpee ostensibly to defend the interests of the Ga but the group soon initiated NLM-type violence through its ‘Tokyo Joe Boys’, mostly unemployed school leavers. C.P.P supporters in Accra created a rival group, the Ga Ekomefeemo Kpee. The two groups clashed frequently, notably outside Parliament on 20th August 1957.
- Members of the Ga-Adangbe Shifimo Kpee circulated forged cabinet papers, designed to fan tribal hatred, purporting to show the government was deliberately acting against the interests of the North, Volta and Accra. Intelligence services reported discussions of assassination attempts and plans to kidnap senior members of the cabinet.

Emergency Powers and the Fight against Tribalism

- To quell the outbreak of violence and disorder along tribal lines, the Government introduced the Avoidance of Discrimination Act to prohibit the establishment of political parties based solely on ethnic, racial or religious grounds. The Act’s immediate impact was to trigger the merger of the NLM, the Northern People’s Party (NPP), Togoland Congress, and Ga Shifimo Kpee combined into in a single opposition, the United Party (UP).
- The Act is also credited with keeping Ghana together and sparing it the kind of tribal violence that has destroyed other African countries.
- In July 1958, the government introduced the Preventive Detention Act to curb continued violence in the country. Apart from R.R. Amponsah and Apaloo, none of the leading members of the opposition were detained under the Act for over three years.
- Following the introduction of tough economic measures in 1961, railway workers went on strike, which the government said was against the 1958 Industrial Relations Act. Two leading members of the strike - Ishmaila Annan and Atta Bordoh - were executive members of the United Party in the Western Region. On the basis of this and other events involving leaders of the strike and the opposition, including Dr. Danquah and Joe Appiah, the government concluded that the UP was not only financing the strike but were involved in an illegal activity that was politically subversive.
- Dr. Busia moved to Lome to provide support to the strikers and subversives. He was joined by number of opposition leaders, including Obetsebi-Lamptey and Ekow Richardson. Dr. Busia himself disclosed he had been offered £50,000 to fight the democratically elected government of his country.
- The government also discovered that among the plans of the Lome group was a series of bomb explosions to be launched from neighbouring Togo on national monuments and at the residences of prominent ministers. This was orchestrated by Victor Yaw de Grant Bempong, personal assistant to Gbedemah (who had become estranged from the CPP) .
- It became clear that as in 1954, when the defeated opposition took advantage of the grievances of farmers to re-launch itself on the political stage, the opposition once again, after having lost the 1960 elections, were taking advantage of the genuine grievances of working people to bring down the elected government of Ghana.
- This time the colonial government was not around to indulge them and the C.P.P took decisive action to preserve life, property, and the security of the state. A number of opposition politicians, including Dr. Danquah and Joe Appiah, were arrested under the Act for the first time in the three years since the Act’s introduction.

Tensions in the CPP: The assault on corruption

- While dealing with opposition subversion, the CPP also took steps to deal with internal problems, particularly corruption. The anti-corruption crusade was led by Tawiah-Adamafio, who by 1960 had risen to the position of General Secretary of the C.P.P. A committee composed of the Auditor General, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the Solicitor General was set up to look into the assets of Ministers, Party functionaries and Members of Parliament.
- Nkrumah denounced corruption in the Dawn Broadcast of 8th April, 1961. Ministers found by the Investigating Committee to have large amounts of property were asked to resign; some had their properties forfeited to the state.
- Kojo Botsio, Komla Gbedemah, Ayeh Kumi (Executive Secretary of the Development Secretariat), S.Y. Yeboah (Commissioner for the Brong Ahafo), E.K. Dadson and W.A. Wiafe (ministerial secretaries) were asked to resign. Krobo Edusei (Minister of Communications and Transport) was first asked to surrender property in excess of limit set by the party but was later asked to resign. The following were asked to surrender properties in excess of limits set by the Party:, E.K. Bensah (Minister of Works), A.E. Inkumsah (Minister of Interior), C. de Graft Dickson (Minister of Defence), E.H.T. Korboe (commissioner of the Eastern Region) and J.E. Hagan (Commissioner for the Central Region)
- By now there was a break in party unity with most early leaders of the Party being replaced with a new group led by Tawiah-Adamafio, intensely unpopular with the old CPP guard.
- The failure to publish the Investigating Committee's report on corruption, however, took a lot of the steam out of the fight against corruption.

5. The seven-year development plan (1964 - 1970).

- The plan embodied the C.P.P's Programme of ***Work and Happiness***. Under this plan, the following happened:
 - Foundation stone of the atomic reactor at Kwabenya laid on 25th November, 1964
 - Ground-breaking ceremony of the Aluminium Smelter at Tema on 5th December, 1964
 - Glass Manufacturing Corporation at Aboso
 - Cement works at Tema
 - Government Electronics Industry at Tema
 - Cocoa Processing Factories (Takoradi and Tema)
 - Ghana Publishing Corporation
 - Ghana Textile Corporation
 - Rattan Factory at Asamankese in operation in January 1966; five factories at Nkawkaw, Enyiresi, Oppon Valley, Asanwinso and Bobikuma planned to go into operation later in 1966
 - Two Fibre Factories with a total capacity each of 990,000 lb.
 - Production to start in 1966 in the following plants:
 - Corned beef factory at Bolgatanga
 - Sugar Factory at Akuse
 - Television Assembly Plant at Tema
 - Inauguration of completed Volta River Project at Akosombo on 23rd January, 1966
 - 52 State Enterprises in operation
- **Development of industries in all regions**
 - Silos For Food and crop preservation
 - Tomato Processing Factory, Wench
 - Match Factory Kade,

- Pwalugu Tomato Factory;
- Ghana Glass Factory, Aboso and Tarkwa;
- Akasanoma Radio Factory
- Gold Processing Factory, Prestea
- Meat Processing Factory, Bolgatanga
- Dairy Farm at Amrahia and Avatime
- Paper Processing Factory, Takoradi
- Pomadze Poultry Farm
- Ghana Cement Factory, Takoradi
- (Ghana Household Utilities Manufacture, Sekondi-Efiekuma
- Volta Aluminium Company (Valco)
- Tema Steel Company
- Nsawam Fruit Cannery)
- State Hotels (Star, Meridian, Ambassador),
- Continental, Atlantic, City Hotel Catering Rest Houses
- Black Star Line with 15 Ships.
- Ghana Distilleries, Accra
- Ghana Shoe Factory Kumasi
- Ghana Jute Factory, Kumasi
- Tema Food Complex, GIHOC
- **INFRASTRUCTURE**
 - Ghana Atomic Energy Commission
 - Tema Harbour and Tema Township
 - Akosombo Dam (Ghana paid half of the £70 million)
 - Accra -Tema Motorway (originally meant to go through Kumasi to Paga)
 - Accra International Airport -Refurbishment
 - Peduasi Lodge for retreat and conferences
 - Farmers Council
 - National Management and Productivity Institute
 - New Army Headquarters in Ho, Sunyani, Bolgatanga, and Takoradi
- **Industrial Development Record**
 - Ghana Film Industries Accra
 - Ghana Airways Corporation
 - Ghana National Trading Corporation
 - Cocoa Marketing Board
 - Bank of Ghana
 - National Investment Banks
 - Ghana Commercial Bank
 - Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Bank (later, Agricultural Development Bank)

1966 Coup and aftermath

- On February 24, 1966, in a CIA-backed military-police coup d'état, the CPP government was overthrown by a National Liberation Council, whose government was made up largely of operatives of the erstwhile National Liberation Movement. The CPP, along with images and anything relating to Nkrumah, was banned indefinitely.
- The NLC replaced the PDA with the Preventive Custody Decree, under which thousands, including former CPP officials and their relatives, were jailed without trial. Some people were caged and paraded like animals through the streets of Accra.
- Nkrumah, who at the time of the coup was outside of the country, took up residence in Conakry, Guinea, where he was made co-president by his bosom friend, Sekou Toure, who described him as the "Greatest African" – about half a century before Africans voted him African of the Millennium.
- In 1969, the NLC handed power to the Progress Party, led by Dr. Busia and other NLM activists, following an election from which the CPP was barred from participation, because it was still proscribed.
- The overthrow of Busia in 1972 by the National Redemption Council, led by I.K. Acheampong, plunged Ghana into nearly a decade of military dictatorship and economic mismanagement.
- On April 27, 1972, Kwame Nkrumah died in a hospital in Bucharest, Romania, following a long illness. After an official funeral in Guinea, his body was returned to Ghana on July 7, 1972 and taken to his home town of Nkroful two days later.

Nkrumaists back in power 1979-1991

- In 1979, with the CPP still banned, Alhaji Imoro Egala, a CPP stalwart, formed the People's National Party to contest elections meant to end military rule. However, the NLC's draconian decrees still forbade former CPP members from holding elective office. Dr. Hilla Limann, a diplomat, thus led the PNP to victory and subsequently formed a government made up largely of people with CPP links or sympathies.
- On December 31, 1981, the PNP – and with that the 3rd Republic – was overthrown by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) under Ft. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings.
- The PNDC was an eclectic mix of Sovietists, Nkrumaists, militarists, political adventurists of no particular ideological persuasion, as well as reformed separatists from the UP tradition. As with all revolutionary movements, the PNDC went through a period of turmoil and purging. Most of those who survived that period were Nkrumaists.
- Despite its "provisional" designation, the PNDC military dictatorship stayed in power for 11 years, during which all political party activities were banned. With assistance from the World Bank and other others, the PNDC brought about some measure of economic stability, but the lack of civil liberties and a democratically elected government contributed to political tensions in the country.

1992 to Present: CPP Revived

- By 1992, Ghana was preparing for a return to civilian rule, but with Egala dead and Limann presiding over a fragmentary Nkrumaist tradition, most of it co-opted into the PNDC, several splinter Nkrumaist parties emerged, including the People's National Convention (PNC), led by Limman; the National Independence Party (NIP) led by Botsio; People's Heritage Party (PHP), led by Gen. Erskine; Popular Party for Democracy and Development, led by Kwesi Pratt; the National Convention Party (NCP) led by Kow Nkensen Arkaah; and the Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP), led by Dan Lartey.
- On 1st July 1992, the Kwame Nkrumah Mausoleum, whose construction was originally scheduled to start in 1975 under the NRC, was finally completed by the PNDC. Nkrumah's body was exhumed from Nkroful and re-interred at the Mausoleum, where it has remained ever since.
- The PNDC was later transformed into the National Democratic Congress (NDC) for the 1992 elections. The NCP went into an "alliance" with the NDC and with Arkaah as his vice president Mr. Rawlings won the 1992 elections. All the other Nkrumaist parties that contested the elections lost heavily. The Rawlings-Arkaah alliance, however, proved unsustainable, characterised by public feuds and open disagreements over policy and ideology.

- The period 1994 to 1996 saw the merger of the NIP, PHP, the PPDD and some elements of the PNC into the People's Convention Party (PCP), led by Asumah Banda.
- By the 1996 elections, Mr. Arkaah and Mr. Rawlings had fallen out and the PCP turned its attention to another "alliance" (The "Great Alliance") – this time with the New Patriotic Party (NPP), descendent of the NLM, NLC and the Progress Party.
- Mr. Rawlings won re-election, with Prof. John Atta-Mills as his vice president.
- Agitation to reclaim the CPP name intensified. On 11th August 1998, the Convention Party (CP) was formed out of a merger of PCP and NCP and some elements of the PNC, with a White Cockerel as the symbol and "Forward Ever" as its motto. Interim officers steered the affairs of the party until June 1999, when a congress was held for substantive officers.
- In May 2000, the CPP was finally unbanned and allowed to once again use the Red Cockerel as its symbol and "Forward Ever, Backward Never" as its motto.
- In December 2000, the CPP contested the presidential and parliamentary elections under Prof. George Hagan and lost. A second try in 2004, under George O. Aggudey, also ended in a disastrous loss, with the party polling only 1.0% of total votes, down from 1.8% in 2000.
- On 17th December 2007, Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom was elected flagbearer at the CPP's Congress in Kumasi to lead the party into the 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections. The Kumasi Congress was held against the background of growing public dissatisfaction with the NPP government and unwillingness by the electorate to vote the Atta-Mills-led NDC back into office. The general consensus was that it was time for the CPP to reclaim power and finish the unfinished business of transforming Ghana into a prosperous, united and strong society.