

**THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS - GHANA**

**PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL  
DEBATES  
2012**



**THE IEA PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 2012: UPHOLDING  
ELECTORAL ACCOUNTABILITY**

*Those who wish to govern must subject themselves to probing questions by the people, to ensure that they understand the concerns of the electorate, and have the capacity to address them.*

**This publication was made possible by the kind support of STAR-Ghana and its partners as well as the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy**

# CONTENTS

<b>Elections and the Concept of Presidential Debates</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>An Overview of the IEA’s Presidential Debates</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Towards the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections</b>	<b>11</b>
IEA 2012 Election Program of Activities	
The Structure of the 2012 Presidential Debates	
Programme - Presidential Debate, Tamale	
Programme - Vice- Presidential Debate, Takoradi	
Programme – Presidential Debate, Accra	
<b>Message from the IEA</b>	
<b>Message from the IEA Presidential Debates Committee</b>	
<b>Profiles and Messages of Presidential Candidates</b>	
<b>Profiles of Vice Presidential Candidates</b>	
<b>Country Context</b>	
The Republic of Ghana	
Ghana: A Political History	
Ghana: The Economy	
<b>The Institute of Economic Affairs</b>	
Profile	
Key Achievements	
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	

# **ELECTIONS AND THE CONCEPT OF PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES**

Ghana today is one of the most politically stable countries on the African continent, a condition that has been achieved largely through the repeated peaceful transitions from one civilian government to other over the past two decades. The result is the creation of a political climate that has in turn promoted relative political accommodation and citizen participation. The existence of an unfettered press has given voice to the ordinary voter and has empowered civil society groups and other non-state actors to engage the public policy formulation process and the management of the country's economy. The various organs and institutions of democratic governance are also active in the practice of good governance and in democracy consolidation in Ghana.

Yet beneath this relatively calm political atmosphere, are hidden tensions and a high level of polarisation along party political lines, a factor which has led to undue politicisation of mundane development challenges. As a result, election campaigns and political party interactions during Election years have become characteristically acrimonious and have compelled the electorate to assume fixed Political Party loyalties, without objectively analysing the visions and policies of those who seek political office. Some presidential candidates have cashed in on this and continue to make campaign promises that are not grounded in adequate evidence, data and projections.

On a free platform such as this, publicly held Presidential Debates provide a window of opportunity for a more nuanced voter assessment of the visions and policies of Presidential candidates as well as a forum for the candidates themselves to express their visions, policies and programmes with a bid to secure for voter endorsement. It also allows for peer review of the presidential capabilities of co-contestants in a controlled political environment. Most importantly, these Presidential Debates enable the voting public to hold these potential duty bearers to account.

It needs to be noted also, that Presidential Debates tend to shift campaign messages from personal attacks and conflict-promoting political rhetoric to issue-driven debates, which in turn, help participants to look away from the rhetoric and charisma of the Candidates and focus on the strength, logic and feasibility of policy prescriptions and approaches as well as capabilities to manage state affairs. The democratic pay offs of such debates travel across generations as they offer a political menu

of varied approaches to meeting development challenges. It is on account of this that The Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) commits to continue to work towards institutionalising the Presidential Debates as an integral part of our democratic culture.

# **AN OVERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES**

## **The First Presidential Debate**

The first ground-breaking Presidential Debate ever organised in Ghana was held in the year 2000 under the auspices of the Institute of Economic Affairs. All Presidential Candidates in the 2000 Election participated in the Debate, except the Presidential Candidate of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the late Professor John Atta-Mills. Those who participated in the Debate were:

- Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor of the New Patriotic Party(NPP)
- Dr. Edward Nasigri Mahama of the People’s National Convention (PNC)
- Professor George Hagan of the Convention People’s Party (CPP)
- Mr. Goosie Tanoh of the National Reform Party(NRP)
- Dr. Charles Yves Wereko-Brobby of the United Ghana Movement (UGM)
- Mr. Dan Lartey of the Great Consolidated People’s Party (GCPP)

Lessons learned from the historic event of 2000 provided the Institute with the knowhow to stage the second one in 2004.

## **The Presidential Debate of 2004**

The second Presidential Debate in 2004 was largely influenced by consensus achieved within the Ghana Political Parties Programme (GPPP) of the IEA. In a Joint Action Plan for peaceful election in 2004, General Secretaries of the four GPPP members; the NPP, NDC, PNC and CPP; “*resolved to end the spiral of political instability and authoritarianism and take a firm decision to deepen democracy*”. Consequently, General Secretaries and Policy Analysts of the four Political Parties agreed in March 2004 that a Presidential Debate should be organised as the highlight of the GPPP for that Election Year.

The Debate took place among the Presidential candidates of the NDC, PNC and CPP. This time around the then sitting President, H.E. John Agyekum Kufuor, who was seeking re-election in 2004, was unable to participate in the Debate. Presidential Candidates that took part in the Debate were:

- The late Professor John Evans Atta-Mills of the National Democratic Congress
- Dr. Edward Nasigri Mahama of the People National Convention and,

- Mr. George Aguddey of the Convention People’s Party



*The 2004 Presidential Candidates exchanging pleasantries*

The three Presidential Candidates answered questions on the economy, the social sector and governance which were solicited for ahead of the Debates from organised civil society groups such as the Trades Union Congress (TUC), Ghana Registered Nurses Association (GNRA), Ghana Bar Association (GBA), and the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS). The eloquence of the candidates, their demeanour and the subjects they debated on became the issues of public discourse long after the staging of the event.

The Chairman of the occasion, Reverend Dr. Fred Deegbe, General Secretary of the Christian Council of Ghana, and the moderator, Mr. Komla Dumor, brought their individual and collective skills and experiences into the conduct of the Debates, which were counted among the key ingredients for the success of the Debates. A local newspaper described it as “*a victory for democracy*”. The Debate was telecast live on two television stations with national reach and broadcast on twenty-two radio stations countrywide.

## **The Presidential and Vice – Presidential Debates of 2008**

The political climate in 2008 was different as the incumbent President and his Vice President had reached the constitutionally defined term limits and therefore was no longer eligible to contest again. This introduced a new dimension to the Presidential Debate. Thus in 2008, for the first time since 1992, neither the sitting President nor His Vice-President were contesting the elections. This provided a new playing field for presidential candidates eager to inherit political power from the outgoing President and His Vice. The incumbent party, the NPP elected Nana Akufo-Addo as Flagbearer to retain power for the Party.

The candidates who participated in the Debate were:

- Hon. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo of the New Patriotic Party
- Professor John Atta Mills of the National Democratic Congress
- Dr. Edward Nasigri Mahama of the People’s National Convention
- Hon. Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom of the Convention People’s Party



*The Presidential Candidates arriving at the venue for the 2008 Presidential Debates in Tamale*



A number of innovations were introduced by the IEA in the 2008 Debate. First, two Presidential Debates were held. Second, the IEA introduced a Vice-Presidential Debate to the debates series. The Vice-Presidential debate was introduced for the following reasons:

- i) The Vice President of the Republic of Ghana is the Second Citizen of the land. He or she is only a heartbeat away from the Presidency, and steps into the President's shoes in the absence of the President. The Vice-President must therefore manifest all the qualities of a President and demonstrate that he or she is capable of performing the role of President.
- ii) With the exception of the NDC's Hon. John Dramani Mahama, each of the Vice-Presidential Candidates in 2008 was an unknown political actor. The Debate would therefore enable them to introduce themselves to the Ghanaian electorate.



*2008 Vice Presidential Candidates responding to questions from the two moderators at The IEA 2008 Vice Presidential Debate.*

The third novelty was the decentralised nature of the Debate. The previous Debates were held in Accra only. In 2008 it was considered appropriate to hold some of the Debates out of Accra in order to deepen citizen's ownership of the process and to afford Ghanaians outside Accra the opportunity to engage directly with the Presidential candidates. Therefore, the Presidential Debate was held in Tamale representing the Northern sector of the country while the Vice-Presidential Debate was held in Cape Coast representing the Southern sector.

In addition, The IEA established a Presidential Debates Committee to guide the organization of the Debates. The Committee played its role under the Chairmanship of His Eminence Peter Cardinal Appiah Turkson, the President of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace at the Vatican.

The significance of the Debates was evidenced in Tamale when, at the end of the event, the Presidential Candidates held hands, and made verbal and symbolic pledges for peace before, during and after the elections. The clip of the candidates united in their stance for peace, was used by the State Broadcaster as an advertisement to promote peace throughout the country.



*The candidates holding hands in a symbolic gesture of peace*

This show of cordiality, tolerance and maturity by the Candidates sent a positive message to the Electorate, signifying that Elections were simply a contest of ideas and policies and need not be acrimonious. A picture of this gesture was also used by the National Commission for Civic Education on advertising bill boards to educate the public and promote peace and unity in the country. This initiative contributed immensely to the peace that the nation witnessed in the 2008 Elections.

# TOWARDS THE 2012 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

## IEA 2012 Election Program of Activities

To further support the consolidation of Ghana's democratic gains, the IEA carried out a number of Democracy-strengthening initiatives in the run up to the 2012 Elections as discussed in what follows.

**The IEA Evening Encounters:** The Evening Encounter series was initiated by The IEA in the lead-up to the 2008 Elections. The main objective of the Encounters is to provide a platform for Presidential Aspirants to educate the electorate on their visions and plans for governing the country. The "Evening Encounters" also provide the electorate an opportunity to ask probing questions of Presidential Aspirants, to enable them make informed choices on Election Day. The IEA carried out four Evening Encounters in the lead-up to the 2012 Elections, as indicated below:

Evening Encounter with CPP Presidential Aspirant, Dr. Abu Sakara; June 26, 2012

Evening Encounter with PNC Presidential Aspirant, Mr. Hassan Ayariga; July 17, 2012

Evening Encounter with NPP Presidential Aspirant, Nana Akufo-Addo; August 21, 2012

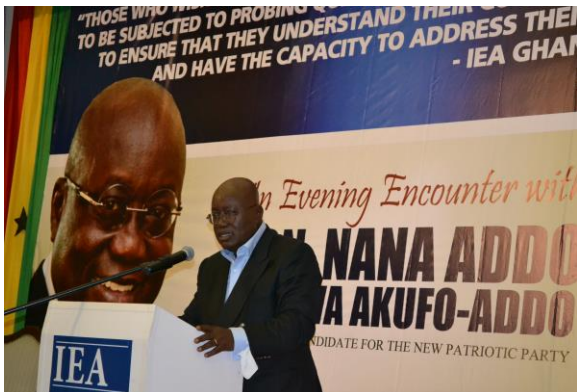
Evening Encounter with NDC Presidential Aspirant, President John Mahama; October 18, 2012



*Dr. Abu Sakara responding to questions from the audience at the Encounter*



*Mr. Hassan Ayariga of the PNC presenting his vision for the country*



*Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo presenting his vision for the country*



*His Excellency John Mahama presenting his vision for the country*



*(Left) Dr. Abu Sakara of the CPP sharing some thoughts with Mr. Hassan Ayariga of the PNC after the Evening Encounter with the CPP Candidate (Right) Nana Akufo-Addo interacting with guests after his Evening Encounter.*

**The Presidential Debates:** For the first time in the history of Presidential Debates in Ghana, a sitting President and a sitting Vice-President are participating in the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Debates. This is a positive development in the history of Ghana's electoral process, giving a boost to the continuing efforts at strengthening Ghana's democracy. The successful conduct of the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections will mark twenty years of uninterrupted democratic governance since Ghana's return to multiparty democracy in 1992.

Like the previous Debates, the 2012 Presidential Debates are intended to offer a single platform to Presidential candidates to answer critical questions on various aspects of the nation's development and to explain how they would address specific challenges if elected President. It is a form of policy

dialogue at which the Presidential Aspirants are enabled not only to present their own viewpoints and programmes but also to point out weaknesses in the policies of their co-contestants and present alternatives to those policies and programmes.



The Presidential Debates will take place as follows:

Presidential Debate, Tamale                      October 30, 2012

Presidential Debate, Accra                      November 20, 2012

**The Vice-Presidential Debate:** Recognising that the Vice-President is the Second Citizen of the country, the IEA has introduced the Vice-Presidential Debate, which enables the electorate to judge the capacity of Vice-Presidential Candidates of the four Parliamentary Political Parties to execute the functions of Vice-President.



The 2012 Vice-Presidential Debate will take place as follows;

Vice Presidential Debate, Takoradi      November 6, 2012

**Women’s Capacity Building programs:** As part of its 2012 Election Programme, The IEA carried out a number of interventions to strengthen the capacity of female parliamentary candidates contesting the December 2012 Elections. The Programmes sought to build the capacity of the aspiring female

candidates and equip them with the tools required for effective fund-raising, communication and policy advocacy/engagement.



**Participants of the capacity-building workshop for female parliamentary aspirants.**

**Enforcement Mechanism:** As part of its efforts to promote peaceful and violence-free elections, **The IEA worked with the Political Parties to review the 2008 Code of Conduct for Political Parties.** The outcome of the review was the publication of the 2012 Political Parties Code of Conduct which was assented to by the Political Parties. It was agreed that in most cases, well-defined electoral laws and codes of conduct lacked “teeth” to make them enforceable and effective.

To make the 2012 Political Parties Code of Conduct effective, The IEA established a National Enforcement Body and ten Regional Enforcement Bodies. Their functions are to:

- Ensure that Political Parties complied with the principles enshrined in the Code;
- Monitor the behaviour of the Electorate in general and supporters of Political Parties in particular;
- Monitor the behaviour of the Political Parties to ensure compliance with the Code

- Educate the electorate and the supporters of Political Parties to ensure broad compliance with the principles enshrined in the Code.



*The Chairman of The IEA National Enforcement Body, Most. Rev. Emmanuel Asante launching the 2012 Political Parties Code of Conduct.*



*The National Enforcement Body in a meeting at The IEA*



**Town Hall Meetings:** The IEA staged a number of Town Hall Meetings to provide a platform for aspiring Parliamentary Candidates in select constituencies to interact with the electorate in their constituencies. The Town Hall Meetings enabled the Candidates to outline their programmes and respond to questions from their constituents.

**Workshops and Seminars:** The IEA held workshops and seminars for key Stakeholders in the Electoral Process. Stakeholders included the Electoral Commission, National Commission for Civic Education, Security Agencies, The Youth, Women, Political Parties and The Media. The workshops and seminars enabled participants to reflect on the lapses of the 2008 General Elections and identify strategies for overcoming foreseeable challenges in the run up to the election in 2012. Participants were also educated on the electoral laws and codes to ensure that they were fully aware of the range of election-related offences.



*(Left) A cross-section of participants at a Security Services Workshop (Right) Resource Persons and Policy Analysts of the Parliamentary Political Parties discuss an innovative approach towards greater representation of women in national governance*



*Resource Persons at a Media Workshop.*



*Participants at a Youth Workshop*

# STRUCTURE OF THE 2012 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

There will be two Presidential Debates which take place in Tamale and Accra, and a Vice Presidential Debate which will be held in Takoradi.

## Thematic Areas

Thematic areas to be covered in the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Debates are as follows:

### First Presidential Debate

#### **1. The Economy**

National Development Plan

Job Creation/Employment

Economic Growth

National Debt

#### **2. The Social Sector**

Socio-Economic Infrastructure (including ICT)

Education

Health

Water/Sanitation

Food Security

Housing

Electricity and Power

#### **3. Private Sector Development**

#### **4. Foreign Policy**

### Second Presidential Debate

#### **1. Good Governance**

Peace and Security

Corruption/Bureaucracy

Rule of Law

Character and Leadership

#### **2. Natural Resource Management**

Oil and Gas

Mining

**3. Women and Gender Issues**

**4. Special Selected Groups**

Youth

Children

Persons with Disabilities

**5. Other**

Sports and Wellbeing

Arts and Culture

Vice-Presidential Debates

**1. The Economy**

National Development Plan

Job Creation/Employment

Economic Growth

National Debt

**2. Good Governance**

Peace and Security

Corruption/Bureaucracy

Rule of Law

Character and Leadership

National Development Planning

**3. The Social Sector**

Socio-Economic Infrastructure (including ICT)

Education

Health

Water/Sanitation

Food Security

Housing

Electricity and Power

#### **4. Private Sector Development/Industrialisation**

#### **5. Natural Resource Management**

Oil and Gas

Mining

#### Guidelines for the Debates

- A ballot was held on the 22<sup>nd</sup> October, 2012 to determine the sequence for the presentation and answering of questions.
- The Debate will be presided over by two Moderators
- All four Presidential Candidates will be on the same platform to answer questions from two Moderators.
- Moderators will be required to ask questions within thirty seconds and the Aspirants will be allowed two minutes to respond to each question.
- All Candidates will have the opportunity of answering the same questions. Each candidate will have the first opportunity of answering a new round of questions.
- After the question time, each Presidential Candidate will be given three minutes to make Closing Statements.
- The event is expected to last three hours.

#### The IEA Presidential Debate Committee



The 2012 Presidential Debate Committee was established in April 2012 to work with The IEA to ensure the smooth organisation and hosting of the 2012 Presidential Debates. The Committee's role

was to ensure and map out strategies that will shape the Debates. The Committee is made up of the following persons:

Rev. Dr. Mensah Otabil	General Overseer, ICGC; Chairman of the Committee
Prof. Ivan Addae Mensah	Former Vice Chancellor, University of Ghana, Legon
Prof. Stephen Adei	Professor of Economics & Leadership, Pentecost University College
Ambassador Kabral Blay Amihere	Chairman of the National Media Commission
Justice Emile Short	Former Commissioner, Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice
Ameer. Dr. Maulvi Wahab Adam	Head of Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission
Dr. Rose Mensah-Kutin	Executive Director, ABANTU
Mr. Kofi Asamoah	General Secretary, TUC
Mr. Tony Oteng Gyasi	Former President of AGI/ Managing Director, Tropical Cables
Professor Esi Sutherland-Addy	Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana
Mrs. Jean Mensa	Executive Director, IEA

### Consent

The IEA wrote to the leadership of the Political Parties in the Ghana Political Parties Programme to gain their consent for their participation in the Debates. After consent was obtained, organization of the Debates started in earnest.

### Questions

Through an advertisement in the print media, questions for the Debates were solicited from members of the general public, professional bodies and associations and grassroots organizations.

Questions were received from the Coalition of Concerned Floating Voters of Ghana, Association of Building and Civil Engineering Contractors of Ghana, Chartered Institute of Taxation, Ghana Integrity Initiative, Cocoa Marketing Company, Ghana Environmental Health Officers' Association, Ghana Real Estate Developers Association, the Chartered Institute of Logistics and Transport Ghana, the Ghana National Association of Teachers, Ghana Coalition of NGOs in the Water and Sanitation Sector, Third World Network-Ghana, Centre for Policy Analysis, Pharmaceutical Society of Ghana,

ABANTU for Development, UNICEF-Ghana, Human Rights Advocacy Centre, African Centre for Energy Policy, Ghana Medical Association.

### Moderators

The IEA Secretariat, in consultation with the 2012 Presidential Debates Committee, generated a list of fifteen distinguished persons drawn from academia and journalism to serve as possible Moderators. These names were forwarded to the Political Parties, with a ranking form, to get their feedback. The first five were selected as Moderators. They are:

Professor Jane Naana Opoku-Agyemang, former Vice-Chancellor, University of Cape Coast

Mr. Kojo Opong Nkrumah, Broadcast Journalist, JOY FM

Ms. Shamima Muslim, Broadcast Journalist, Citi FM

Mr. Kweku Sakyi Addo, C.E.O, Ghana Telecoms Chamber/Former Broadcaster

Ms. Esther Ofei-Aboagye, Director, Institute of Local Government Studies

However the last two declined due to personal reasons.

The Moderators were familiarized with the rules and procedures for the Debate. The Presidential Debates Committee met with the Campaign/Communications Directors of the participating Parties to fix dates, agree rules and set benchmarks for the Debates.

### Venues

The IEA sent out advance teams to scout for possible venues for the Debates. The venues were chosen with an eye on geographical region, fitness for purpose, security and proximity to technical support services.

### Security

To ensure the adequate security for the Debates, its august participants and invitees, The Secretariat wrote to the National Security and the Ghana Police requesting adequate security cover for the Debates. A meeting was held with the Security Agencies to ensure hitch-free security arrangements.

### Media

Arrangements were made with the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (the State Broadcaster), Metropolitan Entertainment Television and Multimedia Broadcasting to have the Debates broadcast live. Further arrangements were also made to have as many TV and Radio stations re-broadcast the Debates. Arrangements were made for sign language translation of the Debates.

### Balloting

The Committee, in conjunction with the representatives of the Political Parties, met on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of October, 2012, to carry out a ballot to determine the positions of the candidates on the Debate platform.

The following positions emerged from the ballot:

1. National Democratic Congress
2. Convention People's Party
3. People's National Convention
4. New Patriotic Party.

# THE IEA 2012 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES PROGRAM

## Tamale Presidential Debate

30<sup>th</sup> October 2012

### Programme

6:00pm – 6:55pm	Arrival of Invited Guests
6:55pm	Arrival of Presidential Candidates & Exchange of Pleasantries
7:00pm – 7:01pm	Opening prayer
7:01pm – 7:05pm	National Anthem
7:05pm -7:11pm	Welcome Address <i>Mrs Jean Mensa</i> <i>Executive Director, IEA</i>
7:11pm – 7:16pm	Statement by Chairman of the IEA Presidential Debates Committee <i>Rev. Dr. Mensa Otabil</i> <i>General Overseer, International Central Gospel Church</i>
7:16pm – 7:17pm	Introduction of Moderators for the Debate
7:17pm – 7:20pm	Explanation of Guidelines and Format for the Debate <i>Moderators</i>
7:20pm -8:10pm	Debate- 1 <sup>st</sup> Part
8:10pm - 8.20pm	<b>BREAK</b>
8.20pm - 9:10pm	Debate- 2 <sup>nd</sup> Part
9.10pm – 9.20pm	<b>BREAK</b>
9.20pm – 10.20pm	Debate– 3 <sup>rd</sup> Part
10:20pm-10:25pm	Closing Remarks <i>Dr. Michael Ofori-Mensah</i> <i>Policy Analyst, IEA</i>
10:25pm	Refreshments



# Takoradi Vice-Presidential Debate

6<sup>th</sup> November 2012

## Programme

6:00pm – 6:55pm	Arrival of Invited Guests
6:55pm	Arrival of Vice-Presidential Candidates & Exchange of Pleasantries
7:00pm – 7:01pm	Opening prayer
7:01pm – 7:05pm	National Anthem
7:05pm -7:11pm	Welcome Address <i>Dr. Michael Ofori-Mensah</i> <i>Policy Analyst, IEA</i>
7:11pm – 7:16pm	Statement by Chairman of the IEA Presidential Debates Committee <i>Rev. Dr. Mensa Otabil</i> <i>General Overseer, International Central Gospel Church</i>
7:16pm – 7:17pm	Introduction of Moderators for the Debate
7:17pm – 7:20pm	Explanation of Guidelines and Format for the Debate <i>Moderators</i>
7:20pm -8:10pm	Debate- 1 <sup>st</sup> Part
8:10pm - 8.20pm	<b>BREAK</b>
8.20pm - 9:10pm	Debate- 2 <sup>nd</sup> Part
9.10pm – 9.20pm	<b>BREAK</b>
9.20pm – 10.20pm	Debate – 3 <sup>rd</sup> Part
10:20pm-10:25pm	Closing Remarks <i>Dr. Michael Ofori-Mensah</i> <i>Policy Analyst, IEA</i>
10:25pm	Refreshments

# Accra Presidential Debate

20<sup>th</sup> November 2012

## Programme

6:00pm – 6:55pm	Arrival of Invited Guests
6:55pm	Arrival of Presidential Candidates & Exchange of Pleasantries
7:00pm – 7:01pm	Opening prayer
7:01pm – 7:05pm	National Anthem
7:05pm -7:11pm	Welcome Address <i>Mrs Jean Mensa</i> <i>Executive Director, IEA</i>
7:11pm – 7:16pm	Statement by Chairman of The IEA Presidential Debates Committee <i>Rev. Dr. Mensa Otabil</i> <i>General Overseer, International Central Gospel Church</i>
7:16pm – 7:17pm	Introduction of Moderators for the Debate
7:17pm – 7:20pm	Explanation of Guidelines and Format for the Debate <i>Moderators</i>
7:20pm -8:10pm	Debate- 1 <sup>st</sup> Part
8:10pm - 8.20pm	<b>BREAK</b>
8.20pm - 9:10pm	Debate- 2 <sup>nd</sup> Part
9.10pm – 9.20pm	<b>BREAK</b>
9.20pm – 10.20pm	DEBATE – 3 <sup>rd</sup> Part
10:20pm-10:25pm	Closing Remarks <i>Dr. Michael Ofori-Mensah</i> <i>Policy Analyst, IEA</i>
10:25pm	Refreshments

## Message from the IEA



Good evening ladies and gentlemen. The 2012 Presidential Elections are here with us. Let me take this opportunity to express my personal appreciation to all the presidential candidates for agreeing to be part of this process of consolidating democracy in Ghana. I wish to express my profound apologies to all of you for my inability to be present at the last Evening Encounter. My flight back from observing the US Presidential Debate was disrupted by a technical fault which forced the pilot to return us back to the airport. In spite of that, the lessons learned from the US Debate have enriched my understanding of how to promote democratic growth.

For the IEA and for the people of Ghana, the Presidential Debates have come to represent a unique platform for aspirants to the high office of the presidency, to convince a politically maturing Ghanaian voter population to endorse candidates' personal vision and the programmes of the parties they lead.

Permit me distinguished ladies and gentlemen, to remark on the historical nature of this year's presidential debates on account of the fact that for the first time since 2004, we have a sitting President agreeing to submit himself to questioning and volunteering to participate in this contest of ideas among presidential aspirants. This is a first and we laud it. We know that this is a risky business that incumbent Presidents in Africa will typically not take because it may expose them to a serious siege by political opponents who covet presidential seat. It is in this regard that we are happy that you have taken the risk to participate, Mr President. This will set the precedent, we hope, for future sitting presidents to also participate such as the Trades Union Congress (TUC), Ghana Registered Nurses Association (GRNA), Ghana Bar Association (GBA) and the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS). such as the Trades Union Congress (TUC), Ghana Registered Nurses Association (GRNA), Ghana Bar Association (GBA) and the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS). depending on how 'politically bruised or successful' you become after the debates. We believe however that no matter the outcome, the democratic dividends are high.

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, the debates are meant to serve a number of purposes. In the first place, they build bridges between the electorate and their presidential candidates. The Presidency is the highest office

in the land and the occupant of the ‘presidential stool’ must show to the electorate that he or she possesses the demeanor required of the position. His composure, grasp of issues, manner of articulating them and how he relates to his co-contestants will be observed live by those who have the power to install him as the president. It therefore imposes an obligation on each candidate to reach out to the voter population in a decorous manner.

As we said in 2008, this series of debates provides a platform for extracting accountability pledges from presidential candidates. It is logical that all public office holders must know that they will be held to account for their stewardship in time and these debates serve as a reminder of that fact.

The second value of the debates concerns responses to issues of public concern. Political campaigning has been and is still dominated by attacks on personalities, the use of intemperate language and the practice of inciting public disaffection towards political opponents. As a country, we need to grow out of this negative approach to seeking political power as it presents a risk to political stability and by extension, to our effort to build a strong democratic tradition. The Debates are meant to reverse this trend and put pressing national issues in the centre of political discourse. A presidential candidate must so well articulate his views on the common issues of concern to allow the electorate to make informed decisions about their abilities to solve the problems.

In our view, some of the issues raised in the 2008 debates are still topical. Among these are issues related to the management of oil revenues, agricultural production (food security), housing, education, health, jobs, social welfare and economic growth. Being the Chief Executive of the country requires at least an appreciation of the enormity of the challenges related to these issues. The electorate should be in a position to hear the different perspectives and different solutions to the problems related to the handling of these development concerns.

As we noted in 2008, Presidential debates also deepen good governance. The tenets of good governance include participation, transparency, accountability and equity. Political discussions after Presidential debates offer non-state actors and the state the opportunity to engage in lively conversations about the political viability of the candidates and what they represent. Civil societies and others put out both genuine and fake assessments of the chances of candidates. These are necessary elements of democratic gamesmanship. But more importantly, the electorate gains more knowledge on issues that they would otherwise know nothing about (issues which may be buried in Manifestos that they will never get to read). Post debate activities heighten political excitement and help to bring ordinary citizens into mainstream political discussions of their country.

We believe in the Institute that the Debates have contributed to the building of peace in Ghana, even if marginally. The lack of opportunity for popular voice in national debates has resulted in violent eruptions in neighbouring countries. Distinguished guests, that path is not what Ghana wants and we believe that the candidates will use this platform to preach peace as well.

There are other advantages of such high level political debates that time will not allow me to mention here, but suffice it to say that the Institute is pleased that it has once again been enabled to create this opportunity for the presidential candidates who have representation in Parliament. We expect this year’s debates to follow in the tradition of the previous ones of being conducted in a friendly manner and with the highest form of political decorum and mutual respect.

Ladies and Gentlemen before I close, let me acknowledge the contributions of STAR-Ghana, and to UNICEF for media coverage of the Debates. Accept also from myself and the Board and management of the IEA, warmest thanks for your presence and participation in these Debates.

Distinguished presidential candidates, we present your audience to you and we wish you the best in your attempt to climb the highest office in the land.

Thank you.

**Mrs. Jean Mensa, Executive Director, IEA Ghana**



## **Message from the 2012 Presidential Debates Committee**

Good evening fellow Ghanaians, ladies and gentlemen. On behalf of the Presidential Debates Committee of the Institute of Economic Affairs' Presidential Debates Series, I welcome you to the 2012 IEA Presidential Debates.

There will be three Debates this year, two featuring Presidential Candidates, and one featuring the running mates of the said Presidential Candidates.

These Debates were preceded by four separate IEA "Evening Encounters" with the four Presidential Candidates whose Political Parties are represented in Parliament. The Evening Encounters took place over the period June 26<sup>th</sup> to October 18<sup>th</sup>, 2012. They were covered live on national television and radio, reaching over 15 million Ghanaians within and outside of Ghana.

The Evening Encounters gave each Presidential Candidate a sole platform, upon which to interact with the Ghanaian Electorate, sharing the policy direction he would adopt as President, and responding to their questions and concerns.

The Presidential Debates, which follow the Evening Encounters, provide another forum for direct interaction between members of the Electorate and Presidential Candidates. They are however slightly different in their construct. The Debates are a shared platform, upon which Presidential Candidates stand together to present their visions to the Ghanaian Electorate, and then go on to engage each other

in a healthy debate regarding their visions, policy direction and strategies for advancing the growth and development of our nation.

The IEA has carried out three Presidential Debates and two Evening Encounter events since 2000, and today the IEA's Presidential Debates and Evening Encounters have become a familiar feature of the architecture surrounding our electoral process.

As a nation we look forward to these debates with the approaching of each Election year. We follow the Debates and the Encounters; analyze them, critique and question them against our sensibilities of what is fair, just, and equitable, and what is not. I believe I can say, with a substantial measure of confidence, that few other processes, beside of course the beautiful game of football, ever do capture as much national scrutiny and expert opinion as the IEA's Presidential Debates and Evening Encounters!

And this is as it should be! This is because these Debates and Encounters are about you and I; they are about our participation in governance of our nation. They are a building block in creating an informed and issues-focused Electorate. They are an expression of the principles of transparency, accountability and responsiveness upon which our democracy is founded and upon which it will flourish and mature.

They provide a structure and a process within which we, the Electorate may actually hear out the policy direction and plans, which aspiring leaders have for our nation, without being distracted by the trappings that go with political competitions. They enable us to place Presidential Candidates upon a level playing field and assess them through the clear lens of ideologies and ideas, capacities and competencies, plans and policies. Perhaps most importantly, they offer us a refreshing opportunity to observe our presidential aspirants engaging, as statesmen and women, in vigorous, vibrant political debate, without rancour or acrimony.

And therefore we have every reason and right to expect of the IEA's Debates, the highest standard of equity and fairness for each participating candidate, and the fullest reflection of the voice and mandate of the citizens of this Republic. I would like to assure you that as with past Debates, every effort has

been made by the IEA to ensure that fairness for participating candidates, and the reflection of the people's voice, is achieved in the 2012 Presidential Debates.

I will now take a few moments to share with you, some of the backstage structures and processes that have gone into the organization of these Debates.

Key structures within the Debates are the Presidential Candidates whose Political Parties have representation in Parliament, a Presidential Debates Committee, a team of Moderators and you the citizens of Ghana.

A Presidential Debates Committee is set up by the IEA, drawing from leaders of the broad cross-section of interest groups that form the Ghanaian society. You will find the names of the members of this year's Committee in your Brochure. The Committee compiles a list of possible Moderators and forwards this to the Campaign Teams of the participating Political Parties to rank in order of preference. The two highest ranking persons are selected by the Committee for the role of Moderator.

The questions posed by the Moderators to the Presidential Candidates are not formulated either by the IEA, the Presidential Debates Committee or the Moderators. The Presidential Debates Committee invites questions from a broad range of civil society groups and associations. The IEA also invites questions from the general public through adverts in the national newspapers.

The Presidential Debates Committee collates the questions received, clusters them under the thematic sub-headings that the Presidential Candidates will speak to, and forwards them to the Moderator. The Moderator then selects 15 questions that best voice the concerns of the people as reflected in the range of questions received.

Presidential Candidates' positions on the debating podium are balloted for, by representatives of their Political Parties in a transparent process moderated by the Presidential Debates Committee.

Attendance at the Debates is strictly by invitation. However every effort is made to include a broad representation of our society on the guest list, including senior statesmen and women, members of the



business community, the Media, Development Partners, members of the Academia and the Youth. In addition, these events are covered live on all major television and radio networks, with televised sign language translation. They are also streamed live on the Internet.

And so this is how the high standards that have become the tradition of the IEA's Presidential Debates are achieved. Speaking of traditions, I must mention that this year's Evening Encounters and Debates have the added novelty of the participation of a sitting President and Vice-President. We, the Presidential Debates Committee, trust that the participation of sitting presidents and vice-presidents will from here on become another feature of the tradition that we may expect of Ghana's electoral cycle. This would further deepen and consolidate our growing democracy.

I invite you now to take your place in this forum and to engage with the IEA, the Presidential Debates Committee and the Presidential Candidates who will soon rise before us in another significant process towards building a culture of accountability and responsiveness in our democracy.

Thank you.

**Rev. Dr. Mensa Otabil, General Overseer, ICGC; Chairman of the Committee**

## 5.0 PROFILES AND MESSAGES OF PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE CANDIDATES



### **President John Dramani Mahama, NDC**

Date of Birth: November 21, 1958

Place of Birth: Damango, Damango-Daboya constituency

Family: Married to Lordina Dramani Mahama, with 7 children

#### **Education**

- Achimota Primary School, Achimota
- Ghana Secondary School, Tamale
- University of Ghana, BA in History, 1981
- University of Ghana, Post Graduate in Communication, 1986
- Post Graduate Diploma in Social Psychology, Institute of Social Sciences, Moscow

#### **Work Experience**

- International Relations, Sponsorship, Communication and Grants Manager, PLAN International Country office, Accra
- Information, Culture and Research Officer, Embassy of Japan, Accra

### **Special Appointments**

- Chairman of the National Communication Authority
- Member of National Economic Management Team
- Founding member of the Ghana AIDS Commission
- Member of the Implementation Committee, 2000 National Population Census
- Deputy Chairman, Publicity Committee for the re-introduction of the Value Added Tax

### **Political Career**

- President of the Republic of Ghana, July 24<sup>th</sup>, 2012 to date
- Vice-President of the Republic of Ghana, 2009- 2012
- Minority Spokesman for Foreign Affairs, 2005
- Director of Communications for National office of the NDC, 2002
- Member of Parliament, Bole/Bamboi Constituency, 1996 – 2009
- Minority Spokesman for Communications, 2001 - 2004
- Minister for Communications, 1998 – 2001
- Deputy Minister of Communications, 1997

## **MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA**

The last few months of our collective national history have been eventful and I daresay unprecedented. Almost four years ago now we began our quest to build a “Better Ghana” under the leadership of our late President, His Excellency Professor John Evans Atta-Mills, a man who was my elder brother, leader, and friend. Over this period the Government of the National Democratic Congress, which I now have the privilege to lead, has kept faith with the people of Ghana and has supported them to work hard to produce the nation’s wealth. We have also committed ourselves to the equitable distribution of the benefits of our collective endeavors for the greater social and economic wellbeing of all Ghanaians.

Since we resumed office in 2009 our country has made significant progress, attaining and sustaining middle income status for the first time in our history, achieving the highest GDP growth rate in our country’s history and reducing inflation to single digit for the longest sustained period in recent times.

We have committed ourselves to the development and implementation of policies that have built the foundation for the sustained prosperity that we promised our people. We have actively targeted the development of social and economic infrastructure that impacts positively on the lives of many and not just a few. This is a solid foundation that has to be advanced in a manner that ensures that our rapid growth trajectory is sustained and even further accelerated, and our social and welfare initiatives for our citizens are expanded.

The next NDC administration will focus on providing “energy for all” in order to ensure our economic and social transformation by expanding the generation of energy, rehabilitating the transmission networks and ensuring efficient distribution to transform the lives of the people of Ghana all across the length and breadth of this country. We believe that the investments that we have started to make in the energy sector, and are committed to extend over the next four years will create the platform for wealth creation, and our collective prosperity.

We will also ensure the provision of free, compulsory basic education to all our children in a manner that ensures that basic education is not only totally free for each child but also provides them with a good education and the right start to their future development. We want to ensure quality and universal access at all levels of basic, junior high and secondary education, and will make sure that kindergarten, primary and junior high school education is completely free in the next term of the NDC administration. We will also make secondary education progressively free in line with our national aspirations that have been enshrined in our Constitution.

The next NDC administration seeks to advance the better Ghana agenda even further than was the case in this term, and commit ourselves to working for you the good people of Ghana.

I would like to thank the Institute of Economic Affairs and all Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen who have worked to make the 2012 Presidential Debates possible. I would also like to acknowledge and appreciate the good people of Ghana who have given us the opportunity to serve them for his period of time.

I trust that the debates which will ensue between some of the Presidential, and Vice-Presidential Candidates for the 2012 election at this forum will both inform and enlighten you all on our respective

parties programs and priorities for the next four years. I look forward to the opportunity to present the National Democratic Congress and our plans to advance the better Ghana agenda. I also want to assure you, that if given the opportunity, for the next four years my team and I will be working for you.

**John Dramani Mahama**  
**Flagbearer, National Democratic Congress**



**Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, NPP**

Date of Birth: 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1944  
Place of Birth: Swalaba, Greater Accra Region  
Family: Married to Rebecca Akufo-Addo with 5 children

**Education**

- Lancing College, Sussex, England
- University of Ghana, Legon, 1966 – 1967: B.Sc. Econs.
- English Bar (Middle Temple): July, 1971
- Ghanaian Bar: July 1975

**Work Experience**

- Senior Partner & Co-Founder of Akufo-Addo, Prempeh & Co. Law Firm: 1979 – 2000
- Junior Member of the Chambers of U.V. Campbell Law Firm, Ghana: 1975 – 1979
- Associate Counsel, Coudert Frees Law Firm, Paris, France, 1971 – 1975

**Special Appointments**

- Member, Judicial Council: 2001 – 2003
- Member, General Legal Council: 1991 – 1996; 2001 – 2003
- President, Greater Accra Branch of Ghana Bar Association: 1991 – 1996
- Vice-President, Greater Accra Regional Branch of Ghana Bar Association: 1989 – 1991

## **Political Career**

- Minister of Foreign Affairs: 2003 - 2007
- Attorney-General and Minister of Justice: 2001 – 2003
- NPP Member of Parliament for Abuakwa Constituency: 1997 – 2005
- NPP Member of Parliament for Abuakwa South Constituency: 1996 - 2004

## **Message from Nana Addo-Dankwa Akufo-Addo, Presidential Candidate of the NPP**

The New Patriotic Party is approaching the 2012 General Election with a lot of optimism. We are optimistic about the chances of a peaceful election and we will play a very responsible role in supporting that outcome. We are optimistic about our chances of victory because we know our message to restore hope and transform Ghana is going down well with the broad masses of this country. Most of all, we are optimistic about the future of Ghana and, if given the mandate in this December race, the next NPP government, under my leadership, will capitalize on this air of optimism to serve the interest of the people of Ghana in ways that will be meaningful and transformational.

What an Akufo-Addo presidency will offer is a leadership that is effective, incorruptible, compassionate, confident and transformational. My goal is to help build here in Ghana, a prosperous society which has the capacity to create opportunities for all its citizens; a society which rewards creativity and enterprise, honesty and hard work; a society where there is discipline and fairness, where people go about their lives in a free and responsible manner and a society where there are safety nets for the vulnerable and decent retirement for the elderly. The security, welfare and wellbeing of the Ghanaian will be paramount under my leadership.

Accountability and transparency are the hallmarks of good governance. I will bring to the presidency a can-do leadership which is honest, patriotic and determined to deliver. I will protect the public purse and will do so, not only by personal example, but, more importantly, by establishing a culture of integrity and value for money in the application of public funds across board. I am determined to fight corruption aggressively, and I can do so, because I am not corrupt, have never been corrupt, and will demand the same of my team.

Today, the vast majority of our people are facing a sad life of uncertainties, joblessness and arrested opportunities. Businesses are struggling, confidence in the economy is low and government is not responding. The nation is drowning under an avalanche of national debt with very little to show for all the loans and spending. We need to bring back accountability, competence and selfless service at the top of our governance system.

Our message for this election is about economic transformation, jobs, education, health and leadership. The quality of tuition a child receives before the age of 18 can make or break his or her future. NPP's education policy is, therefore, about access to free, quality education for every Ghanaian child, regardless of his or her background. This means that at the heart of our education policy will be what we call, 'Teacher First'. We are determined to put the needs of the teacher and, hence, the quality of tuition for our children first. We are also determined to reduce significantly the financial burden on parents in the education of their children. That is why my government will, from September 2013, introduce free secondary education in all public schools and do more, at the same time, to expand access and enhance quality at all levels. Further, we will collaborate with schools in the private sector to deepen the delivery of quality education to our youth.

On the economy, the NPP will introduce a comprehensive programme for economic transformation. This will put Ghana onto a clear path towards a high income economy and turn more Ghanaians into high income earners. We cannot continue travelling the worn path of limited success of being exporters of raw materials. Ghana should be at the forefront of the industrialization of West Africa. I will work towards a West Africa that is working together to create jobs for its people; and providing decent lives for its population. I want to see Ghana in the driving seat of that regional project.

I believe we, the people of Ghana, are being presented with a great opportunity with this election and we must assume the responsibility of uniting behind the common goal of building a modern society of opportunities in Ghana. We stand united in our conviction that God did not put us on this rich land to be poor and that this generation has what it takes to change our destiny and move Ghana forward forever.



I am inviting all Ghanaians to join the NPP and I to make this happen. We have the plan, we have the people and we have the leadership to make it happen for all of us. God bless us all. God bless Ghana.

**Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo**

**Flagbearer, New Patriotic Party**



### **Mr. Hassan Ayariga, PNC**

Date of Birth: 4th September 1971  
Place of Birth: Bawku, Upper East Region  
Family: Married to Anita Ayariga, with 3 children

#### **Education**

- Ghana Secondary School
- Barewa College, Zaria, Nigeria
- London School of Accountancy

#### **Work Experience**

- Entrepreneur
- Accountant, Waffenschmidt GmbH, Germany
- Quality Control manager, Peter Huppertz Ford Motors, Germany
- Chairman and CEO, Hassan Ayariga & Co. Haulage Company
- Owner, Hallo Pizza, a Restaurant chain
- Owner. Clean Us Ghana, a waste management company.

#### **Political Career**

- Contested for Vice-Chairmanship of the PNC, in 2004. Withdrew from the contest to support Hon. John Ndeugri.

### **Message from Mr Hassan Ayariga, Presidential Candidate of the People's National Convention**

Our main theme shall be **rehabilitation, redirection, youth empowerment and economic growth** in all sectors of the national Economy.

Leadership is about taking responsibilities and solving the fundamental problems of the people. No one can deny the fact that elections are about the qualities of trust and leadership style of the presidential candidate and his political party. If elections should be based on a comparison of the records of the various political parties and their candidates, then we in the PNC have no problems with this because of the clean records of good governance and corruption free administration of Dr **Hilla Limann** from the year 1979 to 1981.

PNC will bring to the table, leadership of hard work, passionate patriotism, truth, honesty and love. PNC will lead a system of governance that will promote transparency in Government business, the rule of law and justice, a listening ear, and be tolerant to dissenting views.

Ghanaians have lost hope in our political system of governance, because politicians say one thing and do another. We will rehabilitate the broken structures of our economy, re-orientate the political mind set of our people and mend the suspicions of mistrust that have existed between the political leadership and the good people of our dear country. Those who represent us in government shall render accountability to us to uphold our trust, and we shall render accountability to those who hold us in trust.

Our administration will avoid the mistakes of partisanship in our country's political system. In short, the days where one is discriminated against in the award of Government Contracts and appointments because you do not belong to the ruling Party are over. Our Flag bearer will be a Father of all and a President of Ghana, who will serve the people of Ghana free and fair irrespective of political affiliations

A government of the PNC will make sure that we tap the talents of our growing youth and bring together experts from all political shades and opinions. Political parties will come and go but Ghana

our dear Country will always remain Ghana. We should practice politics of love and respect for one another and not politics of hatred and violence

Good governance means honesty and transparency, the problems of underdevelopment in Africa can be traced to the problems of lack of transparency and selfless dedicated leadership. In Ghana, planning is as serious a problem as implementation and monitoring. As the saying goes 'he who fails to plan, plans to fail. And if you don't know where you are going you will never know when you get there.

The PNC will introduce a LONG TERM NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR GHANA (LTDP), which will be for the next twenty to thirty years period; it will include a development policy document that contains the national vision. It will be a document that will focus on rehabilitation of the various sectors of the economy, growth and a new direction for our Country.

The significance of such a plan for the Ghanaian is that it will encourage long term planning for all and it's going to be non-partisan development policy and would be drafted professionally with empirical facts on projections in all sectors of the economy in the long term.

Individuals, particularly students, could therefore use information in the LTDP as a guide in planning for skills acquisition, also business people would have relevant information for prudent decision making with their businesses and for investors, the LTDP would provide the appropriate guide in investment decisions.

**Mr. Hassan Ayariga**  
**Flagbearer, People's National Convention**



**Dr. Michael Abu Sakara Forster, CPP**

Date of Birth: 1958

Place of Birth: Damongo, Northern Region

Family: Married to Mary-Lily Kafela Sakara, with 4 children

**Education**

- Kpembe Primary School, East Gonja
- Sawla Primary School
- Yendi Secondary School, 1972
- Bachelor's Degree in Soil Science, University of Reading, UK
- Masters Degree, London University, UK
- PhD, Reading University of Reading, UK

**Work Experience**

- Country Director, Sasakawa Global 2000, Zambia
- Liaison between World Bank and Sasakawa Global 2000 Programme
- Executive Director of Rural and Agricultural Development Associates.
- Research Scholar, International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, Nigeria.
- Associate Scientist, International Center for Maize and Wheat Improvement, Mexico
- Consultant for regional and country assistance programs, including World Bank and FAO.

**Political Career**

- Running-mate for the CPP's Presidential candidate in 2008
- First National Vice Chairperson of the CPP

### **Message from Dr. Abu Sakara, Presidential Candidate of the Convention People's Party**

There comes a time in the life of a nation, when a decision has to be made regarding its future and destiny. In this election 2012, Ghana is at a turning point in her history that requires every man and woman to make a choice, and that choice is about what kind of person will lead this country and which path he will lead us on?

As a Presidential candidate seeking to lead our nation, I call on all Ghanaians to use this upcoming election to send a clear message about the kind of change we want to see in our society. Let us use this election as a means to assess our true situation and then to redefine the destiny of this nation. We must bring into focus the vision that drove Ghana on the pathway for Independence and Self reliance. We need this in order to make our systems and institutions work for all us. Yes indeed, Ghana must work again!

Self-government, self-management, self-reliance and true Independence should be the yardstick by which we can be able to measure the criteria for leadership and governance. If Ghana works again then we shall all have access to the basic amenities and services that provide water, food, education, health facilities and sufficient reliable energy supply for our communities.

By making the choice to vote for a CPP Presidential candidate, Ghanaians will be reaffirming their commitment to a new pathway towards national development. Our pathway will once again include the implementation of agricultural policies that would ensure lasting food security and economic freedom for all Ghanaians. The enhanced capacity it brings will enable us deliver on our pursuit of justices for all. Consequently the choice of a CPP candidate would mean a choice for the best educational policy to deliver free and relevant secondary cycle education now. We will leave no child behind because we will phase out the discriminating effect of the BECE system.

Your choice of Dr. Abu Sakara will also mean the best course for advancing the industrial and entrepreneurial development of Ghana. The CPP will implement policies that will provide jobs to alleviate unemployment. My administration will undertake a massive retraining program of unemployed graduates, SHS leavers and youth to advance the national plan for skill development in order to fulfill the promise of economic independence.

A CPP administration under my leadership will harness Ghana's resources in the interest of developing the rural and urban communities on a national scale. We will make rural communities the place to be.

As we approach the final days toward this historic election we must all be aware that Ghana is at a new crossroads in history. We must collectively make the decision to choose a leader who has the capacity, the vision and the international experience to lead Ghana to a place of peace with prosperity for all of us.

CPP can deliver on the promise of independence, through the social and economic transformation of our human and national resources into wealth. Fellow compatriots make the choice for change by giving me the mandate in this election to lead this nation towards its true destiny. If there is any moment in our history that we must prove to ourselves and to the world that we are capable of managing our own affairs, then this is the moment! Yes, this is the moment to elect visionary leadership as the means of credible governance that will make Ghana work again. Yes, Ghana must work again!

The Convention's People's Party is ready to take on the task of leading this nation once again. We will seek to transform the fortunes of our beloved Ghana to make it a place where all the opportunities of social, economic and professional advancement can become a political reality in our life time.

Ghana must work again to free the country from the hardships that now confine the lives of the broad masses of the people to a state of penury and desperation. I appeal to you to vote with a sense of wisdom, this is the moment where the future is more important than the past. Together you and me can make our future brighter. Together we can make Ghana work again when the cockerel crows to mark the opportunity for the beginning of a new dawn on December 7, 2012.

Vote for the Dr. Abu Sakara, Vote for the CPP. When the CPP wins Ghana wins!

**Dr. Michael Abu Sakara Foster**

**Flagbearer, Convention People's Party**

## PROFILES OF VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES



### **Mr. Kwesi Amissah-Arthur, NDC**

Date of Birth: 29<sup>th</sup> April 1951

Place of Birth: Cape Coast

Family: Married, with two children

### **Education**

- GCE O Levels, Mfantshipim School, 1964 - 1971
- BSc Economics, University of Ghana, 1974
- Masters in Economics, 1980

### **Work Experience**

- Governor of the Bank of Ghana; October 2009 – August 2012
- World Bank Consultant.
- Senior Economist, Sigma One Corporation, Ghana, 1998 to 2000 he
- Deputy Secretary of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, February 1986 to March 1993
- Lecturer, Anambra State College of Education, Awka Anambra State, Nigeria
- Research Assistant, ISSER, University of Ghana, Legon, 1974 - 1975



## **Special Appointments**

- Member of Economic Management Team that designed and implemented Economic Recovery Programme.
- Consultant at all stages of the Netherlands' Government – funded Technical/Vocational Education project for the Ministry of Education
- Helped design and implement “Ghana Policy Dialogue Project” and “Trade and Investment Reform Project”,
- Direct responsibility for preparation of annual Public Investment Programme, management of national budget and management of bilateral and multilateral assistance to the country.
- Co-author of a review of Ghana’s public financial management system, titled: “Guidance Note: Financial Integration into Relevant Ghanaian Structures”
- Member of team of technocrats who managed Ghana’s structural adjustment programme since 1980 that helped in reviving the collapsing Ghanaian economy.
- Has served on Boards of the Bank of Ghana, Ghana Commercial Bank, Ghana National Petroleum Corporation, Ghana National Procurement Agency, Ghana Supply Commission, and the Academic Board and Finance Committee of the University of Ghana.

## **Political Career**

Vice-President of the Republic of Ghana, August 2012 to date



**Dr. Mahamadu Bawumia, NPP**

Date of Birth: October 7, 1963

Place of Birth: Tamale

Family: Married to Samira Bawumia, with two children

**Education**

- Sakasaka Primary School, Tamale
- Tamale Secondary School, 1975
- Chartered Institute of Bankers Diploma (ACIB), UK
- BSc Economics, Buckingham University, 1987
- Masters in Economics, Lincoln College, Oxford University
- PhD in Economics, Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada,

**Working Experience**

- Resident Representative of the African Development Bank Group to Zimbabwe, January 2011 – March 2012
- Deputy Governor, Bank of Ghana, June 2006
- Head of Department, Bank of Ghana
- Special Assistant to the Governor of the Bank
- Visiting Senior Research Associate, Centre for the Study of African Economies, University of Oxford, October 2009 to October 2010.

- Visiting Scholar, University of British Columbia, Liu Centre for Global Studies and Fisheries Centre, April 2009 to October 2009
- Senior Economist, Bank of Ghana, 2000
- Economist, Research Department of the International Monetary Fund in Washington, DC, USA, 1996 - 2000
- Lecturer, Emile Woolf College of Accountancy, London, 1988 – 1990
- Assistant Professor of Economics, Hankamer School of Business, Baylor University, Texas

### **Special Appointments**

- Special Assistant to the Governor of the Bank
- Deputy Governor, Bank of Ghana, June 2006
- Consultant, Economic Commission for Africa

### **Political Career**

- Running mate to Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, 2008 Elections

# COUNTRY CONTEXT

## THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA

**Official Name:** Republic of Ghana

**Capital City:** Accra

**Official Language:** English

**Other Languages:** Asante, Dagbani, Ewe, Fante, Ga, Hausa

**Ethnic Groups:** Ghana is currently inhabited by 52 ethnic groups. The largest ethnic group is Akan making up 45% of the total population (which includes the Fante, Akyem, Asante, Kwahu, Akuapem, Nzema, Bono, Akwamu, Ahanta and others). Other key ethnic groups in Ghana include: Ewe, Guan, Ga-Adangbe (comprising the Ga, Adangbe, Ada, Krobo, and others) Gurma, Dagaaba, Frafra, Dagomba, Mossi, Hausa, Gurunsi, Bissa, Fulani.

**Religions:** Christianity, Islam, African Traditional Religion

**Population:** 24, 658,823 (2010 Population Census)

### **Regional Population Breakdown**

Ashanti Region---	4,780,380
Brong Ahafo-----	2, 310983
Central Region-----	2,201,863
Eastern Region-----	2,633,154
Greater Accra-----	4,010,054
Northern Region----	2,479,461
Upper East-----	1,046,545
Upper West-----	702,110

**Area**

Total: 238,540 sq km

Land: 230,020 sq km

Water: 8,520 sq km

**Climate:** Tropical

**Gross Domestic Product (GDP):** Ghana officially became a Lower Middle-Income Country (LMIC) in November 2010 after the Ghana Statistical Service re-based the economy due to additional data gathered. According to the World Bank, the MICs are the group of countries with per capita incomes of US\$1,006 to US\$3,975. Total GDP as at 2011 stood at Gh¢56,282 million.

**Natural Resources**

Ghana is rich in natural resources. Apart from lands and territorial waters, Ghana is a major mineral producer in Africa, producing gold, bauxite, diamonds, manganese, and iron ore. There are also deposits of tin, titanium and impure graphite. Additionally, Ghana has significant forest and wildlife resources, water resources and has currently added oil and gas to its list of natural resources.

**Inflation Rate for 2012 (%)**

January – 8.70

February – 8.60

March – 8.80

April – 9.10

May – 9.30

June – 9.40

July – 9.50

**Principal Exports:** Cocoa, Coffee, Gold, Timber

**Principal Imports:** Crude Oil, Equipment and Machinery, Trucks and Automobiles

**Principal Trading Partners:** UK, Germany, USA, Canada, Nigeria, China

## **GHANA'S POLITICAL SYSTEM**

Ghana is a Republic with 10 regions and 212 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies. The regions are:

- Ashanti
- Brong Ahafo
- Central
- Eastern
- Greater Accra
- Northern
- Upper East
- Upper West
- Volta
- Western

Since 1992, Ghana has held five successive Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. Elections are held every four years. Ghana is governed by the terms of the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana (1992) which was approved in a Referendum by the people of Ghana and came into force on 7<sup>th</sup> January 1993. The President is the Head of State, Head of Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Ghana Armed Forces. He takes precedence over all other persons in Ghana. The Vice-President, the Speaker of Parliament and the Chief Justice, in descending order, follow the President in precedence.

The Constitution provides for a Cabinet which consists of the President, the Vice President and not less than 10 and not more than 19 Ministers of State. Other Ministers of State may also be appointed. The Constitution also provides that the Judiciary shall administer justice in the name of the Republic. It is headed by the Chief Justice and is constitutionally required to be independent, subject only to the Constitution. Neither the President nor Parliament nor any organ or agency of the President or Parliament shall have or be given final judicial power.

There is a decentralized system of local government made up of Regional Coordinating Councils, Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies, Sub-Metropolitan District Councils, Urban, Zonal, Town and Area Councils and Unit Committees. Members of the Assemblies are elected on a non-partisan basis and 30 per cent of the membership is appointed by the President in consultation with the chiefs and traditional authorities and other interest groups in the Metropolis, Municipality or District.

## **THE PRESIDENT**

The President is elected by a 50% + 1 majority of Ghanaians qualified to vote. He must be a citizen of Ghana by birth and not less than 40 years old. He must have been ordinarily resident in Ghana for a period of 5 out of the 10 years immediately preceding the election. He holds office for a term of 4 years and for a maximum of 2 terms. The executive authority of state is vested in the President exercised in accordance with the Constitution.

The President is not liable to proceedings in any court for the performance of his functions or for any act done or omitted to be done by him while in office. Civil or criminal proceedings may however be instituted against him within 3 years after ceasing to be President in respect of acts or omissions by him in his personal capacity before or during his term of office.

## **PARLIAMENT**



The Parliament of Ghana currently consists of 230 members each representing a constituency. The average minimum number of registered voters resident in a constituency is about 30,000.

Multi-party Parliamentary Elections are held every 4 years. At the dawn of the Fourth Republic, the first Presidential and Parliamentary Elections were held on separate days in December 1992. Since

then, both the Presidential and Parliamentary elections have been held simultaneously in order to avoid a situation where the outcome of the first Elections influences the outcome of the second, or provides the winning party or President with strong impetus for the subsequent elections. Successful candidates represent their political parties and constituencies as Members of Parliament (MPs) for a four-year term. The system of declaration of winners is the “first-past-the-post” system.

A Parliamentary candidate must be a citizen of Ghana, owe no allegiance to another country, be of sound mind, not bankrupt, not less than 21 years old and a registered voter. He/she must hail from the constituency he/she seeks to represent or must have been ordinarily resident in that constituency for a total period of not less than 5 years out of the 10 years immediately preceding the election.

## **THE JUDICIARY**



The Chief Justice is the Head of the Judiciary which consists of the Superior Courts of Judicature comprising the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal, the High Courts and the Regional Tribunals. The Lower courts consist principally of the Circuit Courts and the Magistrate's Courts.

## **DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS**

Every Ghanaian is entitled to the fundamental human rights enshrined in the Constitution, including the following:

- Right to life
- Right to personal liberty
- Respect for human dignity



- Equality and freedom from discrimination
- Fair trial.

The Constitution also provides for the following general fundamental freedoms:

- Freedom of speech and expression
- Freedom of thought, conscience and beliefs
- Freedom of assembly
- Freedom of association
- Freedom of movement.

## **POLITICAL PARTIES**

All citizens have the right to form or join a Political Party and to participate in political activities.

There are currently 23 registered Political Parties in Ghana. They are:

1. Convention Peoples' Party (CPP)
2. Democratic Freedom Party (DFP)
3. Democratic Peoples' Party (DPP)
4. Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere (EGLE)
5. Ghana Democratic Republican Party (GDRP)
6. Ghana Freedom Party (GFP)
7. Ghana National Party (GNP)
8. Great Consolidated Peoples' Party (GCPP)
9. Independent People's Party (IPP)
10. National Democratic Congress (NDC)
11. National Democratic Party (NDP)
12. National Reform Party (NRP)
13. New Patriotic Party (NPP)
14. New Vision Party (NVP)
15. Peoples' National Convention (PNC)

16. Progressive People's Party (PPP)
17. Reformed Patriotic Democrats (RPD)
18. United Development System Party
19. United Front Party (UFP)
20. United Ghana Movement(UGM)
21. United Love Party (ULP)
22. United Renaissance Party (URP)
23. Yes People Party (YPP)

## **POLITICAL PARTIES WITH REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT**

Of the 23 Political Parties, 4 are represented in Parliament. These are the following:

Of the 23 Political Parties, 4 are represented in Parliament. These are the following:

### **The National Democratic Congress**



The National Democratic Congress (NDC) is a social democratic political party. It was formed in 1992 out of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) Government. Its Presidential candidate, Ft. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, who had been the Chairman of the PNDC, won the 1992 and 1996 Elections and was in power from 1993 to 2001. Under the flagbearership of John Evans Atta Mills, who served as Vice-President to President Jerry John Rawlings, the NDC lost to the NPP in the 2000 and 2004 elections.

On December 21, 2006, John Evans Atta Mills was elected by the NDC as candidate for the 2008 Presidential Election. In April 2008, John Mahama was chosen as the NDC's vice-presidential candidate. John Evans Atta Mills and John Mahama contested the 2008 Elections and won in the run-off election, held on 28<sup>th</sup> December, 2008.

The NDC is a blend of people, belonging to the Nkrumaist and Danquah-Busia traditions, as well as people whose loyalty derive from the AFRC and PNDC regimes led by Jerry Rawlings.

The NDC's symbol is the umbrella and its colours are black, red, white and green. Its motto is "*Unity, Stability and Development*".

## The New Patriotic Party



The New Patriotic Party (NPP) is a liberal democratic party. In the Second Republic, the NPP operated as the Progress Party (PP) led by Professor Kofi Abrefa Busia. The PP won the Elections in the Second Republic and formed a Government. The PP was removed from office through a coup d'état in January 1972. In the Third Republic, the PP split into the Popular Front Party (PFP) under Mr. Victor Owusu and the United National Convention (UNC) under Mr. William Eugene Ofori-Atta. The party lost the Elections to Dr. Hilla Limann's People's National Party (PNP). The party emerged as the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in 1992 when the ban on political parties was lifted.

The NPP has contested five elections since 1992. Under the flagbearership of Professor Albert Adu-Boahen and Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor in 1992 and 1996 respectively, the party lost both Elections to the NDC's Jerry John Rawlings. Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor and the NPP however won both the 2000 and 2004 Presidential Elections and formed the Third and Fourth Governments of the Fourth Republic. The party is currently the largest opposition party in the country.

The NPP's colours are red, white and blue with an elephant in the middle. The NPP carries the motto, "*Development in Freedom*".

## The Peoples' National Convention



The People's National Convention (PNC) was formed on 27<sup>th</sup> July 1992 as a Socialist Political Party that believes in the ideals of the founder and first president of Ghana Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The party espouses the Nkrumaist doctrine of self-reliance, industrialisation and Pan-Africanism.

PNC was formed by Dr. Hilla Limann in 1992 to replace the People's National Party (PNP) after the ban on Political Party activities was lifted.

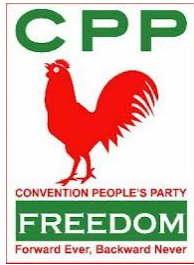
The founder of the Peoples National Convention Party, Dr. Hilla Limann was the democratically-elected president of Ghana in the 3rd Republic. He held the office of President from the 24th of September 1979 to the 31st December 1981, under the ticket of the People's National Party (PNP).

The PNC has participated in all General Elections, with the exception of the 1992 Parliamentary Election, which was boycotted by opposition parties.

In 1996, Dr. Edward Mahama became the Presidential Candidate of the party and remained so until 2012 when the Party's delegates selected Mr. Hassan Ayariga to contest the 2012 Presidential Election on the ticket of the PNC.

The party's colours are red, white and green. Its symbol is the coconut tree and its motto is '*Eye Kube*'

## The Convention Peoples' Party



The Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) was formed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in June 1949 after he broke away from the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) which had invited him home from London in 1947 to serve as the party's Secretary General in the struggle for independence.

The CPP won all pre-independence Elections in the Gold Coast and formed the Government under the watch of the British colonial masters. The leader of the CPP, Dr. Nkrumah, first served as Leader of Government and, later became the country's first Prime Minister and first President.

The CPP was the first party to rule Ghana after independence. It was socialist and Pan-Africanist. The CPP was removed from office through a coup d'état in February 1966. The use of the name CPP was banned by legislation.

The CPP has gone through many phases and split into different parties at different times. In the Third Republic of 1979-1981, the Nkrumaist tradition assumed power as the Peoples' National Party, under Dr. Hilla Limann. In the Fourth Republic, the NIP, PHP, NCP, PCP, PNC and GCPP have all variously laid claim to the Nkrumaist legacy.

The present CPP was formed after a High Court declared the ban on the use of the name, CPP, as illegal in the year 2000. Prohibition of the use of the name was consequently revoked through an amendment of the Political Parties Law.

The CPP's colours are red, white and green; its symbol is the cockerel and its motto is "*Save Ghana Now*".

## THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF GHANA



### ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF GHANA

Ghana's independent Elections management body is the Electoral Commission (EC). The EC is established by the Constitution and consists of a Chairman, two (2) Deputy Chairmen who are full-time members, and four other members. They are all appointed by the President in consultation with the Council of State.

The EC is subject only to the Constitution. It is not subject to the direction or control of any person or authority. The EC's functions are the following:

- Compilation of the Voters' Register;
- Demarcation of electoral boundaries for national and local government Elections;
- Demarcation of Parliamentary constituencies;
- Conduct and supervision of all public Elections and Referenda
- Registration of political parties and the regulation of their operations;
- Education of the people on Electoral processes;
- Undertaking programmes for the expansion of the Voters' Register.

The EC is responsible for the conduct and supervision of Parliamentary bye-elections and intra-party Elections, whether for the election of executive officers of the parties or for Presidential and Parliamentary candidates. The EC also has a duty to perform such other functions as may be prescribed by law.

## **THE ELECTORAL PROCESS**



Every Ghanaian of 18 years and above and of sound mind has a right to vote and is entitled to be registered as a voter. The EC is responsible both for the registration of voters and the conduct of elections. Elections in Ghana have the following features:

- Voting is by secret ballot
- Voting begins at 7.00 a.m. and ends at 5.00 p.m.
- Ballots cast are counted by the Presiding Officer, an official of the EC, in the presence of the candidates or their representatives if they are present.
- Candidates' representatives (called Polling Agents) sign the Declaration Form on which the results of the voting are written at each polling station.
- The Presiding Officer announces the results at the polling station before communicating them to the Returning Officer.
- The Returning Officer collates the Polling Station results at the constituency Collation Centre and submits them to the EC;
- The final results are authenticated and announced by the EC.

## **THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN**

Campaigns of Political Parties are vigorous. The Parties put forward their candidates and mount campaign platforms to persuade the electorate to vote for them. They produce Manifestoes detailing their visions and programmes for the nation if elected. Campaigning tools used by Political Parties are radio and television advertisements, banners, bill boards, T-shirts and party paraphernalia, and documentaries on their achievements.



## **ELECTION OBSERVERS**

Public policy institutions have contributed to the process of enhancing the integrity of Elections in Ghana through the engagement, training and deployment of Elections Observers during Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. The IEA has undertaken these activities since 1992. The Coalition of Domestic Elections Observers (CODEO) established through CDD-Ghana has also undertaken a number of elections observations since 2000. The EC trains a large number of observers and monitors who play a dynamic role in ensuring that Presidential and Parliamentary elections in Ghana are free and fair.

The IEA engaged a group of observers jointly trained by The IEA and the EC to monitor the elections. All the domestic election observers constituted themselves into a coalition known as the NADEO (National Association of Domestic Election Observers). These activities will be carried out throughout the 2012 Elections.

## OVERVIEW OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF GHANA



Agitation for political independence gained momentum in the Gold Coast in the post-World War II years. This period marked the birth of the two political traditions that subsequently dominated politics in Ghana and that have become known as the Danquah-Busia neo-liberal tradition and the socialist Nkrumaist tradition.

On 4<sup>th</sup> August 1947, the General-Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), Kwame Nkrumah, resigned from his position, following disagreements with the leadership of the UGCC over the approach to attaining political independence and the form of government (Federalism or Unitarianism) for the Gold Coast.

Kwame Nkrumah founded the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) on 12<sup>th</sup> June 1949, with a mission to fight for "Self Government Now". The older UGCC had sought to win power from the British colonial government "*within the shortest possible time*". Formed at Saltpond on 29<sup>th</sup> December 1947 as the first political party in the Gold Coast colony, the UGCC had symbolized the aspirations of the people for "*freedom and justice*", but its leadership favoured a gradualist approach, which would ensure that, "*by all legitimate and constitutional means the control and direction of the Government shall within the shortest possible time pass into the hands of the people and the chiefs*" (Nkrumah, 1957:69).

By 1957, when the Gold Coast Colony gained independence from Britain, both traditions had developed strong social identities, drawing on different groups for their support. Nkrumah's CPP drew

its support from those who had not formerly been involved in national politics; the working classes, the rural people and the youth, the so-called “Veranda Boys”; while the UGCC appealed to the country’s professionals, the middle and merchant classes, and traditional rulers.

The organizational skills of Nkrumah, the mass appeal of the CPP, and the tenor of its decolonisation message accounted largely for the CPP’s series of victories over the UGCC and its various forms; notably the NLM and the UP; in the pre-independence Elections in 1951, 1954 and 1957. The CPP again won the Elections of 1960.

On February 24, 1966, the CPP government of President Nkrumah was overthrown by the Military and the Police, who formed the Government of the National Liberation Council (NLC).

The NLC handed over to the elected Government of the Progress Party led by Prime Minister Kofi Abrefa Busia, with Justice Edward Akufo-Addo as President, under a Westminster-style Government in August 1969. The return to civilian rule under Prime Minister Busia and his Progress Party (PP) was a short-lived experience in constitutional democracy.

The PP Government was overthrown in a coup d’etat led by Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong on 13<sup>th</sup> January 1972. Col. Acheampong abolished the 1969 Constitution. He dissolved Parliament, and formed the National Redemption Council (NRC) as the highest organ of executive and legislative power. In 1975, the young officers who had staged the 1972 coup with Colonel Acheampong were overthrown and replaced with the Service Commanders who reconstituted the Government and replaced the NRC with the Supreme Military Council (SMC).

The SMC continued to be headed by Colonel (now General) Ignatius Kutu Acheampong. The SMC Government held power until 5<sup>th</sup> July 1978 when a palace coup brought in Gen. F.W.K. Akuffo, the second-in-command to Col. Acheampong, as the new Head of State. The SMC was reorganized as SMC II in 1978 following the failure of General Acheampong’s efforts at establishing a “Union Government” system of non-partisan governance.

On 4<sup>th</sup> June 1979, young officers of the Ghana Armed Forces staged an uprising and overthrew the Government of the SMC, forming the Government of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council

(AFRC) headed by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings. The AFRC organized Elections on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June 1979. The Election was won by the Peoples' National Party (PNP) led by Dr. Hilla Limann.

Dr. Limann's Government was overthrown in a coup d'état led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings on 31<sup>st</sup> December 1981. Jerry John Rawlings formed the Government of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), which he headed till 6<sup>th</sup> January 1993.

Since 1993, the constitutional evolution of the country has stabilised at the Fourth Republic, which commenced on 7<sup>th</sup> January 1993. Ghana has since had five successful Presidential and Parliamentary elections. The sixth election under the Fourth Republic is scheduled for 7<sup>th</sup> December, 2012.

A brief history of the post-independence political and constitutional development of Ghana is presented in the table below:

#### **Post-Independence Political and Constitutional Development of Ghana: A Summary**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>Basic Law</b>	<b>Legislative Body</b>	<b>Executive Body</b>
1957	Independence (Convention Peoples' Party (CPP))	Independence Constitution	Parliament	Queen + Prime Minister + Cabinet
1960 (January- June)	Constituent Assembly (CPP Government)	Independence Constitution	Parliament/ Constituent Assembly	Queen + Prime Minister + Cabinet
1960 (1 <sup>st</sup> July)	1 <sup>st</sup> Republic (CPP Government)	1 <sup>st</sup> Republic Constitution	Parliament	President + Cabinet
1966 (24 <sup>th</sup> February)	1 <sup>st</sup> Coup d'Etat (NLC Government)	National Liberation Council (Establishment) Proclamation	NLC	NLC

1969 (August)	2 <sup>nd</sup> Republic (Progress Party (PP) Government)	2 <sup>nd</sup> Republic Constitution	Parliament	President + Prime Minister + Cabinet
1972 13 <sup>th</sup> January)	2 <sup>nd</sup> Coup d'Etat (NRC Government)	National Redemption Council (Establishment) Proclamation	NRC	NRC
1975	Revised composition and re-naming of the NRC	Supreme Military Council (Establishment) Proclamation	SMC	SMC
1978	“Palace Coup”	Supreme Military Council II (Establishment) Proclamation	SMCII	SMCII
1979 4 <sup>th</sup> June)	Military “Uprising” (3 <sup>rd</sup> Coup d'Etat) (AFRC Government)	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (Establishment) Proclamation	AFRC	AFRC
1979 (24 <sup>th</sup> September)	3 <sup>rd</sup> Republic (Peoples' National Party (PNP) Government)	3 <sup>rd</sup> Republic Constitution	Parliament	President + Cabinet

1981 (31 <sup>st</sup> December)	“Revolution” 4 <sup>th</sup> Coup d’Etat (PNDC Government)	Provisional National Defence Council (Establishment) Proclamation	PNDC	PNDC
1993 (7 <sup>th</sup> January)	4 <sup>th</sup> Republic (NDC Government)	4 <sup>th</sup> Republic Constitution	1 <sup>st</sup> Parliament of the 4 <sup>th</sup> Republic	President + Cabinet
1997 (7 <sup>th</sup> January)	4 <sup>th</sup> Republic (NDC Government)	4 <sup>th</sup> Republic Constitution	2 <sup>nd</sup> Parliament of the 4 <sup>th</sup> Republic	President + Cabinet
2001 (7 <sup>th</sup> January)	4 <sup>th</sup> Republic (NPP Government)	4 <sup>th</sup> Republic Constitution	3 <sup>rd</sup> Parliament of the 4 <sup>th</sup> Republic	President + Cabinet
2005 (7 <sup>th</sup> January)	4 <sup>th</sup> Republic (NPP Government)	4 <sup>th</sup> Republic Constitution	4 <sup>th</sup> Parliament of the 4 <sup>th</sup> Republic	President + Cabinet
2009 (7 <sup>th</sup> January)	4 <sup>th</sup> Republic (NDC Government)	4 <sup>th</sup> Republic Constitution	5 <sup>th</sup> Parliament of the 4 <sup>th</sup> Republic	President + Cabinet

## DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE SINCE 1992

Following the lifting of the ban on party political activity in 1992, ten Political Parties registered with the then Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC). Candidates from five of the parties – Jerry John Rawlings (NDC), Professor Albert Adu-Boahen (NPP), Dr. Hilla Limann (PNC), Kwabena

Darko (NIP) and General Emmanuel Erskine, People's Heritage Party (PHP), contested the Presidential Election.

The Election was won by Jerry John Rawlings of the NDC with 60.7% of the votes. The major opposition parties then boycotted the ensuing Parliamentary elections. The first Parliament of the Fourth Republic had 200 seats which comprised 189 NDC seats, 8 NCP seats and 1 EGLE seat. There were 2 Independent MPs.

By the 1996 elections, the NIP and the PHP had merged to form the PCP and gone into a “Great Alliance” with the NPP. The former NCP leader, Kow Nkensen Arkaah, who had become Vice-President to Jerry John Rawlings of the NDC, was this time fielded as Vice Presidential candidate to the NPP Presidential candidate, Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor.

The 1996 Presidential Elections were contested between the NDC (Jerry John Rawlings), NPP (John Agyekum Kufuor) and PNC (Dr. E. A. Mahama). Jerry John Rawlings emerged the winner, defeating the NPP's John Agyekum Kufuor by 57.4% to 39.6%. The PNC's Dr. Edward Mahama came third with 3.0%.

The Parliamentary Elections were won by the NDC with 133 seats, followed by the NPP with 61 seats, PCP with 5 seats and PNC with 1 seat.

By all accounts the 2000 Elections was a watershed event in the political history of Ghana. President Jerry John Rawlings, having served his constitutional two 4-year terms, was no longer eligible to contest as a Presidential candidate. A radical wing of the NDC had broken away and formed the National Reform Party (NRP). A leading member of the NPP, Dr. Charles Yves Wereko-Brobby, had also broken away and formed the United Ghana Movement (UGM). Following a High Court ruling and an amendment to the Political Parties Law, the PCP re-gained into its old and previously prohibited CPP name, encompassing the PCP (made up of the previous NIP and PHP) in the process.

In the ensuing Presidential Elections, contested by John Evans Atta-Mills (NDC), John Agyekum Kufuor (NPP), Edward Mahama (PNC), George Hagan (CPP), Dan Lartey (GCPP), Goosie Tanoh

(NRP) and Charles Yves Wereko-Brobby (UGM), John Agyekum Kufuor led the NDC's John Evans Atta-Mills by 48.17% to 44.50% at the end of the first round.

In the ensuing run-off between the two, the NPP's John Agyekum Kufuor won with 56.9% of the votes against 43.1% by the NDC's John Evans Atta-Mills. The NPP also won the Parliamentary elections with 100 seats followed by the NDC with 92, PNC with 3 and CPP with 1 seat. There were 4 Independent MPs.

In 2004, the NPP's incumbent John Agyekum Kufuor won a first round victory with 52.4% of the votes. The NDC's John Evans Atta-Mills came second with 44.6% followed by PNC's Edward Mahama with 1.9% and the CPP's George Aggudey with 1.1%. With the Parliamentary Elections, as a result of the 2000 Population and Housing Census, which showed an increase in Ghana's population from about 12 million in 1984 to about 19 million, the EC increased the number of Parliamentary seats from 200 to 230. In the Parliamentary elections, the NPP had 128 seats, NDC had 94 seats, PNC 4 seats and CPP 3 seats. There was 1 Independent MP.

In the 2008 Elections, the ruling party's Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo won 4,159,439 votes, representing 49.13 percent of votes cast, and opposition leader John Atta Mills received 4,056,634 votes (47.92%). A gap of 102,000 votes separated the two candidates in an Election in which eight million people voted.

The other six candidates pulled less than 10 percent of the vote. Since none of the candidates in the 2008 Presidential elections had 50% plus one vote as required by the Constitution, there was a Presidential run-off which was a straight contest between Professor John Evans Atta Mills of the NDC and Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP on December 28th 2008. The run-off did not produce a clear winner. It was not until voting was subsequently carried out in the Tain Constituency, which had been unable to vote in the run-off, that a clear winner emerged. Professor Mills emerged as the President-elect with 4,521,032 votes as against Nana Akufo-Addo's 4,480,446 votes representing 50.23% and 49.77% respectively. With a difference of only 40,586 votes, this was the keenest Presidential contest and the narrowest margin in the history of Ghana's Elections.



The most outstanding landmarks of Ghana's democratic practice since 1992 have been the survival of the Constitution and the Government beyond the constitutionally prescribed first term, and the two historic transfers of power from the ruling NDC Government to the opposition NPP in 2001, back to the NDC in 2009, both events being first and second in the political history of the country.

In 2010, a Constitution Review Commission was set up to undertake a consultative review of the 1992 Constitution and come out with findings and recommendations. The report of the Constitution Review Commission has been submitted to the Government and a white paper has been issued on the report.

Recommendations from the review process captured issues such as limiting the appointing powers of the President, adopting legislations for ensuring gender equality and women's rights, capping the total number of parliamentary seats, instituting mechanisms for funding independent constitutional bodies, electing or appointing district, municipal and metropolitan chief executives, appointing Ministers from Parliament, adopting a National Development Plan that will be binding on successive governments.

## **GHANA: THE ECONOMY**



The profile of the Ghanaian economy has been changing in the past decade. Noted for its cocoa and gold, the discovery of petroleum in commercial quantities in 2007 coupled with its relatively stable political environment has contributed to the international interest in Ghana as one of the economies with a strong profile to grow in the medium-term. But for recent headwinds facing the Cedi and concern about electoral fiscal challenges, economic momentum for growth would have been slightly firmer.

### **Performance of the Economy**

The economy has achieved a new era of growth and made important macroeconomic stability gains for the past decade. Official inflation measure has fallen considerably, and until recently the Cedi has stabilized against the major currencies. After a decade of persistent near 5 percent growth, the value of the goods and services produced by the economy, according to the IMF, grew about 14 percent in 2011 and is projected to grow by 9 percent in 2012 according to budget estimates.

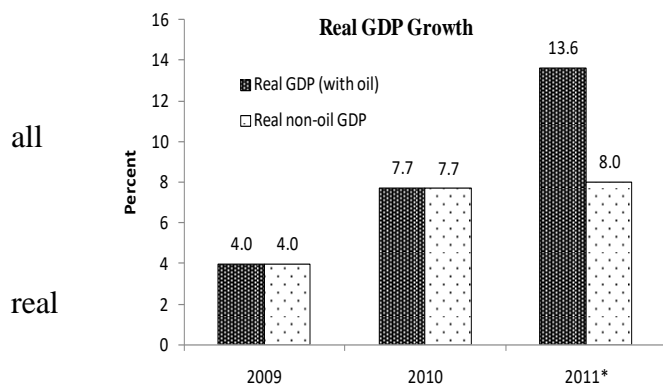
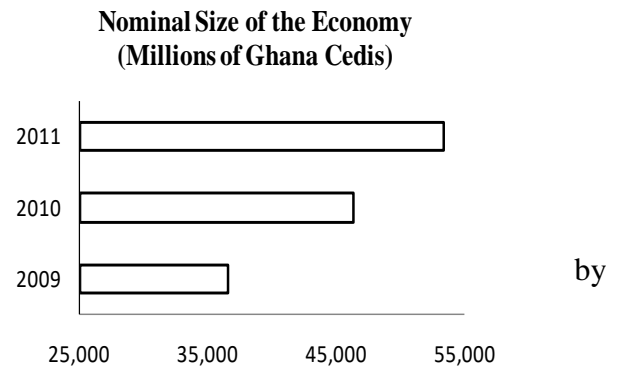
A revaluation of the national accounts in 2010 has raised Ghana's national income measures by some 65 percent, moving Ghana from a low income country to a lower-middle-status. The revaluation and rebasing of the national accounts has also revealed a gradual structural transformation of the economy marked by a decreasing share of agriculture and modest but increasing share of services and industry in the value of national output. The prospects for growth remain positive buoyed by the emerging petroleum industry and the spin-off to the non-oil sector.

Ghana’s financial market development has made remarkable progress, remains stable, including improvements in the banking sector, and increasing trade volumes in the stock exchange. Development success goes hand in hand with better mobilization of the country’s own resources. The domestic tax base is rising steadily as a result of both tax policy reform and improvements in revenue administration.

But despite an emerging petroleum sector, and promising growth, the avenues for jobs creation for broad-based poverty reduction remain limited with the attendant risk of rising inequalities and social discontent. The following provides a picture of recent Ghana’s recent economic performance and outlook.

### The Size and Growth of the Economy

Against the background of global economic slowdown, the Ghanaian economy has recently witnessed robust growth. The money value of the goods and services produced in Ghana (Nominal Gross Domestic Product, or simply, GDP) increased nearly 150 percent from 2009 to 2011.



Adjusted for inflation, the value of goods and services produced in the economy (real GDP) together grew by about 20 percent between 2009 and 2011, and by 26 percent with the additional stimulus from oil. Year-by-year GDP grew by 4 percent in 2009, sharply to 14 percent in 2011, and predicted to grow about percent in 2012.

9

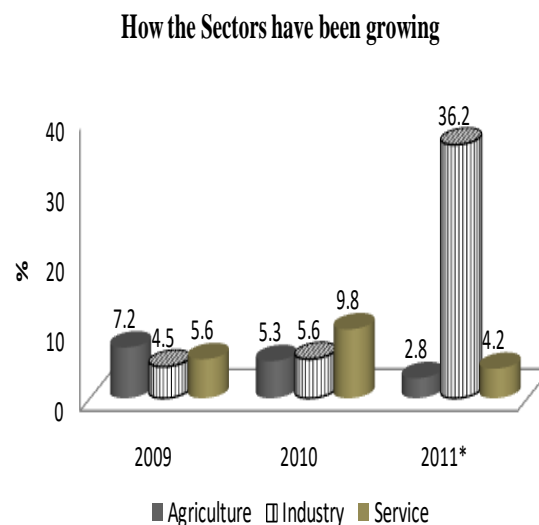
In 2011, non-oil real GDP grew by 8%, implying that the oil sector contributed about 6 percent of the growth of the economy. If we isolate the oil sector, real GDP increased on average every year by 6.6 percent from 2009 to 2011, ahead of annual population growth of about 2.5 percent. The result is a rising per capita income of about 3 percent every year. The IMF recognized Ghana as the fastest growing economy in the world, a performance largely attributed to the burgeoning oil sector.

### The Drivers of Growth of National Output

The key drivers of growth are the service and industrial sectors, especially from extractives.

*Sectoral Contribution to GDP (% of Real GDP—2006 constant prices)*

*Source: Ghana Statistical Service*

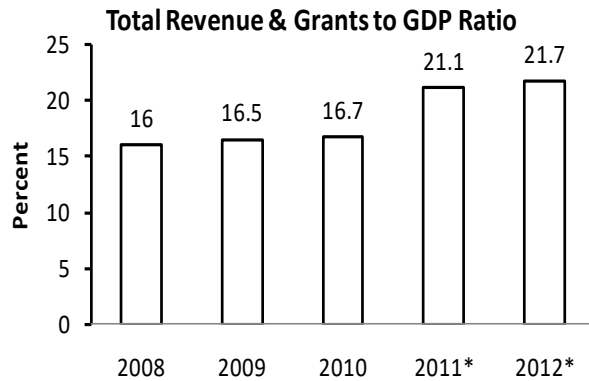


Growth in agriculture sector has fallen by about 4 percentage points from 7 percent in 2009 to about 3 percent in 2011. The declining share of agriculture to national output from 29 percent in 2009 to 26 percent in 2011, contrasts with the gain in industry’s share of 22 percent in 2009 to 27 percent in 2011 –a growth of about 5 percent. The service sector experienced a modest 2 percent decline but remained the biggest contributor to the nation’s output of goods and services. Growth in the industrial sector has been driven largely by the strong showing in the mining and quarrying and oil sub-sectors as the country started oil export in 2011. The biggest drivers of the mining sub-sector are increased gold output and the rapid increase in the world prices of gold.<sup>1</sup>

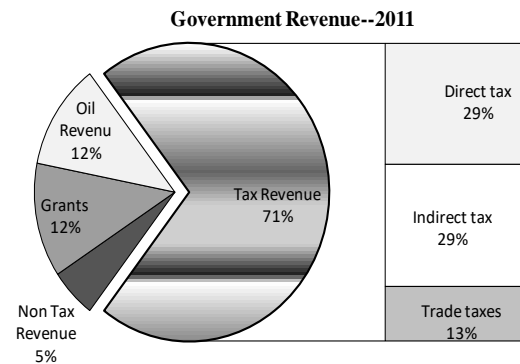
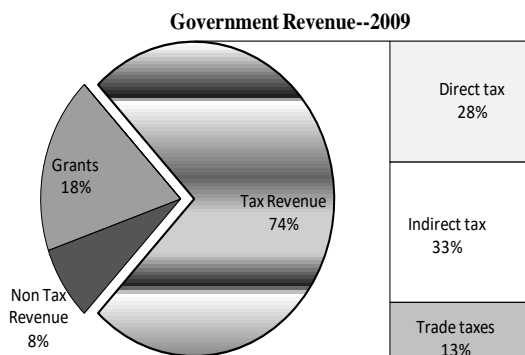
Growth, however, has been modest for the traditional sub-sectors - manufacturing, construction, electricity, water and sewerage. The slow growth and in some cases the steady decline in the performance of the manufacturing sub-sector are indicative of the weak linkages of mining with the rest of the economy. This has both short and long term negative impact on job creation, personal income growth, and poverty alleviation.

<sup>1</sup> Gold prices has averaged US\$1215.71/fine ounce between 2009—2011

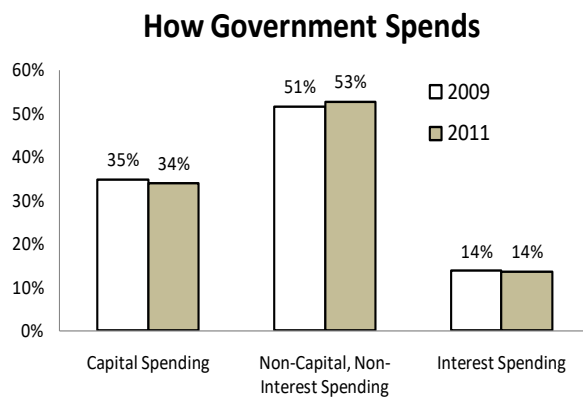
## Where Revenues Come From



Compared to the size of the economy, total government revenue envelope has increased from 16 percent in 2008/2009 to about 22 percent in 2011. Conventional revenues come from three principal sources: tax revenue, non-tax revenue and grants. Oil revenue is the government's net proceeds from the sale of oil. The latter contributed nearly 12 percent of revenue and is expected to rise with increased production. Direct income and profit tax and indirect consumption tax together form the backbone of government revenue, accounting for nearly 58 percent of total revenue in 2011.

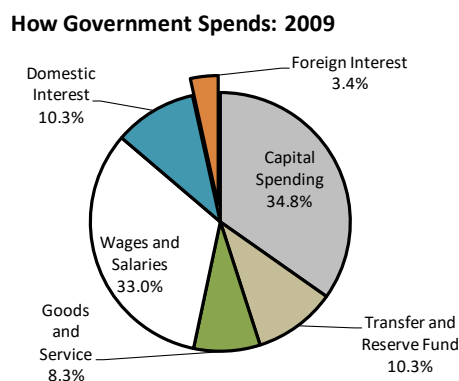
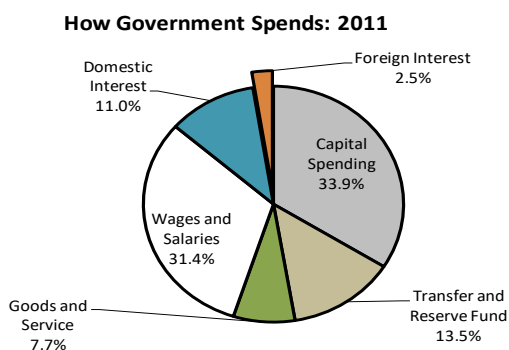


## How Government Spends



Expenditures on non-capital and non-interest obligations of government constitute about 52 percent of all government spending. This includes spending on wages and salaries, purchases of goods and services and transfer payments to households and firms. Capital spending has averaged 34 percent of total spending and includes statutory transfers for education, health and district assemblies.

The charts below show the change in the mix of spending with wages and salaries taking nearly one-

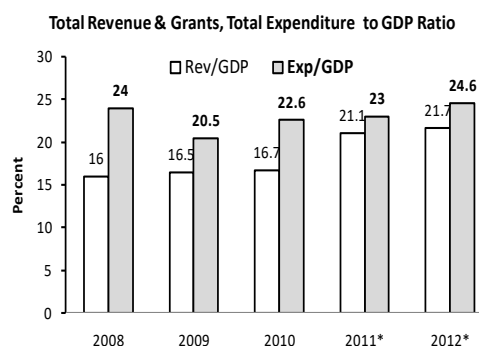


third of public spending. There is concern,

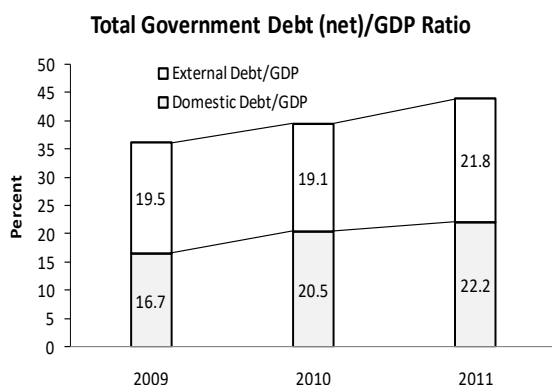
however, that this statistics under-represent the actual size of the wage bill since some of the capital expenditures are actually wages and salary supplements.

### ***Fiscal Sector and Debt Situation***

Despite the continuing strong revenue performance, budget imbalance remains a persistent feature of Ghana's fiscal management. Expenditures continue to outpace the growth in revenues. While the revenue-expenditure gap is expected to shrink from nearly 8 percent in 2008 to about 3 percent in 2011/2012, public savings –the



excess of public revenues on current spending remains weak. This is what is available for government to fund public investments in schools, water, roads, health facilities and other public infrastructure.



The result is the growth of public debt.

According to Bank of Ghana Monetary Policy Report of February 2012, Ghana's domestic debt stood at 22.2 percent of GDP as of year- end 2011 compared to about 17 percent in 2009. Total public debt rose from 37 percent in 2009 to 44 percent in 2011. Domestic debt represented 50.2 percent of the total public debt with external debt accounting for 49.8 percent. Increase domestic public debt has

implications for the ease of access and cost of credit to private sector. Rising external public debt

increases the vulnerability of public finances to currency depreciation. Despite the prospects of growth, the risk of over indebtedness cannot be ruled out.

### ***Monetary sector***

Overall, the monetary sector expanded between 2009 and 2011. Broad money (M2+) which includes foreign currency deposits grew from 27 percent in 2009 to 40 percent in the second quarter of 2011. This growth signals the increased financial intermediation and the flow of funds within the country's financial system. Despite the growth in total liquidity in the economy, credit to the private sector or the supply of funds for private sector activity has lagged behind.

<b>Growth rate (%)</b>	<b>Dec-09</b>	<b>Dec-10</b>	<b>Jun-11</b>
<b>Monetary Aggregates</b>			
<i>Total Liquidity (M2+)</i>	26.9	34.6	40.2
<i>Broad Money supply(M2)</i>	21.2	45.7	36.6
<i>Reserve Money</i>	36.2	45.6	52.7
<b>Real Stock of Credit to private sector</b>	0.5	14.2	-4.7

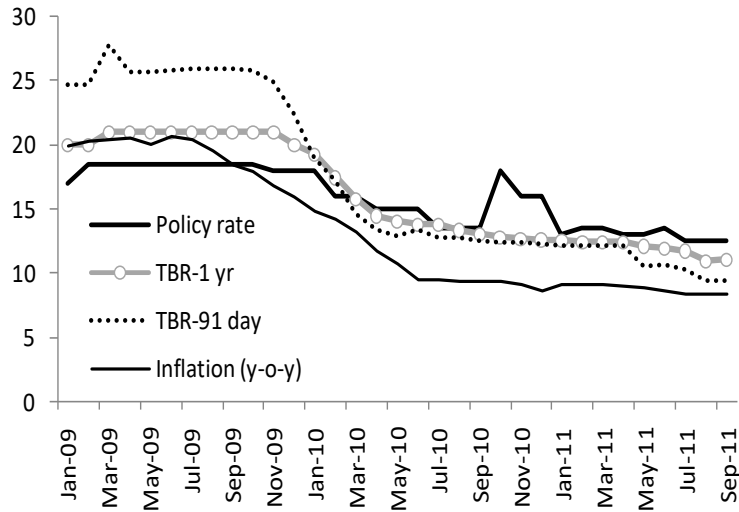
Credit and financial market conditions have been weak over the period. For example, in real terms, growth of commercial banks' credit to the private sector has been slow since the last quarter of 2010 and in fact declined by the second quarter of 2011, suggesting that recent increase in government borrowing on the domestic market may be crowding out private sector access to credit.

### **The Price Trends – Inflation, Interest rates**

According to Ghana Statistical Services, the economy has since mid-2010 achieved single digit inflation, driven largely by a combination of good seasonal food harvest especially in 2010 as well as the inflation targeting framework pursued by the Bank of Ghana.

### Trends in Inflation and Interest rates

Interest rate trends have followed inflationary trends, even if slowly and less predictably. Interest on



91-day and 1 year treasury bills declined from 19.3% and 18.9% in January 2010 to 11.3% and 9.6% in 2011 respectively. Although trends in the nominal policy rate are expected to translate into lower base and lending rates, this has not always been the case. Interest rates have continued to decline but only slightly in response to reductions in the policy rates. This

sluggish response means a high real interest rates. Commercial bank lending rates continue to be extremely higher than the policy rates, thereby making the cost of credit to households relatively expensive. In 2009, whereas the policy rates averaged about 18 percent, commercial bank lending rates stayed high at about 33 percent falling only modestly to about 27 percent in 2010. High intermediation cost therefore remains a major developmental concern generally to the private sector, but particularly to industry for their long-term investment decisions.



## External Sector

*Summary of Ghana's Balance of Payment Position, 2009—2011 (US\$ million)*

	2009	2010	2011*	
			Q1	Q2
<b>Current Account</b>	- <b>1,600.75</b>	<b>-2,646.82</b>	<b>-548.58</b>	<b>-471.42</b>
Merchandise Trade Balance	- 2,206.55	-2,962.02	-188.89	-774.86
Exports (f.o.b)	5,839.71	7,960.09	3,106.23	3345.57
Imports (f.o.b)	- 8,046.26	- 10,922.11	- 3,295.12	- 4120.43
Non-oil	- 6,557.28	- -8,686.18	- 2,650.90	- 3143.74
Oil & Gas**	- 1,488.98	- -2,235.93	- -644.22	- -976.69
<b>Balance of Payment</b>	<b>1,158.78</b>	<b>1,462.67</b>	<b>-153.74</b>	<b>144.73</b>

\* Provisional

\*\* Gas imports from Q1 2011

Ghana's external payments position shows robust performance since the adoption and implementation of the IMF's Extended Credit Facility program in mid-2009. The country's overall balance of payment position has since 2009 recorded successive surplus of nearly US\$1.15 billion and US\$1.46 billion in 2009 and 2010 respectively, largely on the account of the significant financial resources from the country's development partners in support of the balance of payments financing needs of 2009.

The current account and trade balances offer evidence of the country's continuous over-dependence on imports, making the economy susceptible to external shocks. The current accounts deficits surged from US\$-1.6 billion to US\$-2.6 billion between 2009 and 2010 and were paid for through capital inflows in the form of foreign direct investment, private portfolio investments and huge investment capital in the oil and gas sector of the economy.

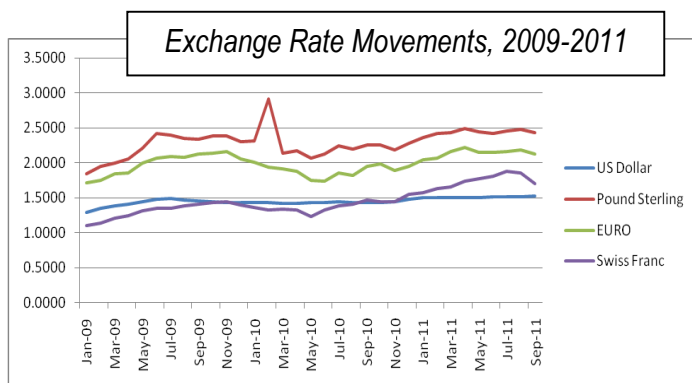
The country's international reserve portfolio has also improved since 2009, thus giving the economy some cushion in imports from external shocks. The reserves increased from 2.8 months of import cover to about 3.7 months of import cover between the last quarter of 2009 and the 2nd quarter of 2011. However, Ghana's dependence on primary commodities means its international reserve position is vulnerable to commodity price upsets that can return the economy to unsustainable current account deficits.

### Exchange rate

Due to the country's huge dependence on imports, trends in the exchange value of the Ghanaian cedi relative to the value of the currencies of major trading partners is important to the strength of the economy.

All things being equal, the weakening exchange value of the cedi encourages

exports because it makes Ghanaian exports cheaper to foreign buyers. But it also makes Ghana's imports relatively expensive. Huge import dependency means that continuous depreciation of the exchange value of the cedi worsens trade imbalance, makes imported goods and services expensive to domestic consumers, and hence fuels domestic inflationary process.



In 2010, the performance of the Cedi on the interbank forex market was impressive recovering from a depreciation of 17.7% in 2009 to 3.2% against the US dollar. It also appreciated against the Pound Sterling and the Euro from the background of massive depreciation of the cedi against both currencies in 2009. However, the robust performance could not be sustained in 2011, as the cedi depreciated by 3.3%, 7% and 9.6% against the dollar, pounds and Euro respectively, by the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of 2011.

### The emerging oil economy

News on the discovery of oil in commercial quantities was met with understandable expectations. Drawing on the experiences of the countries such as Nigeria, Angola, whose oil boom plunged them into the resource curse, Ghana moved quickly to develop the fiscal framework to guide the development of the petroleum industry. Most significant achievements are the design and promulgation of the Petroleum Revenue Management Law (Act 815) and the Petroleum Commission Law (Act 861) to guide the collection, management and use of the petroleum revenues. The latter provides the regulatory framework of the industry. A Local Content legislation is currently in the making to strengthen the linkages between the oil and non-oil sectors of the economy and to optimize the contribution of the oil industry to the development of the economy.

Receipts of oil revenues amounted to GH¢506 million in 2011. This is composed of royalties (5 percent of production) of GH¢140.1 million whilst the remaining GH¢365.9 million represents the state's Carried and Participation interest of 13.75 percent. Also to ensure that full benefits accrue to the country, work has begun on the construction of gas processing plant in the Western region. Controversy rages over the transparency and accountability of the receipt of oil revenues as well as the prudence in use of the revenues.

## **Outlook**

Ghana has made progress towards achieving macroeconomic stability, which is a key framework for stimulating growth. The focus of monetary management has been to maintain low inflation while responding to any volatility in the foreign exchange market. The focus of fiscal policy according to the 2012 Budget statement is to strengthen revenue mobilization and to balance development needs with expenditure controls.

Macroeconomic management, however, is vulnerable to external shocks that may arise from unfavourable global economic slowdown and the risk of volatility of major commodity prices. Internally, despite falling inflation, overall expectations appear volatile as we have seen in the recent downward pressure on the external value of the Cedi against major currencies. For that reason, it is important to improve policy credibility that will be required in the medium to long term to enhance confidence and to stimulate investment which is also required to stimulate growth.

The economy is also vulnerable to the threat of an uncontrollable wage bill, renewed rise in domestic arrears in quasi-financing, weak budgetary controls and rising public debt. The persistent high real interest rate and intermediation costs act as a drag on household spending, private sector investment, and growth. Growth on the back of government spending in the face of fiscal deficits and rising public debt is unlikely to be sustainable.

Ghana's overarching economic management challenges are on two fronts. First, is the consistency and quality of fiscal adjustment which has so far relied more on increased revenue mobilization than on retrenchment of spending commitment. The second challenge is in tackling the paradox of jobless growth.

# THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

## PROFILE

The Institute of Economic Affairs-(IEA) is Ghana's premier public policy Think-Tank. The IEA was established in 1989 at a time when multiparty democracy in Ghana and West Africa seemed a mere illusion. The IEA has made a difference in Ghana and the West African sub-region, by broadening the debate on public policy, promoting private sector-led economic growth, and strengthening the pillars of democracy.

The IEA exists to promote good governance, democracy and a free and fair market economy in Ghana and Africa as a whole. The IEA believes that the creation of an environment, in which economic, social, political and legal institutions function openly and freely, is the key to sustainable economic growth and human development

### **Objectives**

The IEA achieves its mission by pursuing the following objectives:

- To serve as a centre for policy analysis and public education
- To provide a platform for the exchange of ideas
- To promote research on important economic, social, political and legal issues so as to enhance public understanding of public policy
- To strengthen local capacity in Ghana by providing training to institutions of democracy such as Parliament, the Judiciary, the Media and Civil Society, thereby enhancing their oversight capabilities and enabling them to perform their roles as watchdogs of the society
- To promote economic reasoning and understanding of a world of scarcity and trade-offs.
- To monitor and provide an in-depth analysis of the progress toward democratic consolidation in Ghana and in the West African sub-region
- To translate academic research and analysis on selected policy issues into available and readable information, and make recommendations for the attention of policy makers.

## Activities

Through a series of policy fora and roundtable discussions, The IEA brings together Parliamentarians and leaders of key governance institutions, Ministers of State, business leaders, representatives of donor countries, academics, and civil society to deliberate on policy issues of national importance. The fora help shape public thinking and perception on a variety of policy issues, and in the long-run influence and chart the course of policy-making in the country.



1. A cross-section of invited guests at a roundtable discussion on the theme, “Ghana’s transformation into a middle income country: Investment Climate and Trade Opportunities”. Special Guest of Honour at the roundtable was Mr. Villy Sovndal, Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs.
2. Distinguished Guests at the roundtable discussion (From left: Mr. Tony Oteng Gyasi, Former President of the AGI; Mr. Patrick Awuah, President of the Ashesi University College; Dr. Charles Mensa, President of IEA; Villy Sovndal, Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs; Ms. Hanna Tetteh, Minister for Trade and Industry)



*Resource Persons at a Gender and Development series organised by The IEA.*



*H.E. F.W. de Klerk, Former President of the Republic of South Africa delivering a lecture on The Challenges of Change in Africa, at the IEA*



*Speakers at a conference of Political Parties in Sub-Saharan Africa, hosted by the IEA*



*The leaders of Ugandan Political Parties and their Ghanaian counterpart with the Former President John Agyekum Kufuor*





*The Prime Minister of Uganda and some Ministers of State in Uganda visit the Vice-President of Ghana*



*From left to right: Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom, Hon. Freddie Blay and Hon. E.T Mensab interacting after an event at The IEA*



*Guests interacting after an event at The IEA*



*Leaders of Political Parties of La Cote D'Ivoire and their Ghanaian counterparts in a group picture after a workshop at the IEA*



*Mrs. Jean Mensa, Executive Director of The IEA in a chat with H.E Kablan Duncan, Former Prime Minister and current Foreign Minister of La Cote D'Ivoire*



*The chairman of The IEA, Dr. Charles Mensa, escorting Vice-President John Mahama and Mr. Seth Terkper to the Africa Financial Conference hosted by the IEA*



*Speakers at an Ice- Breaker meeting organised by The IEA.*



*His Excellency Morgan Tsvangirai, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe with*



*Dr. Todd Moss, Board of the IEA and President for the Centre for Global Development, USA in a chat with the former US Ambassador to Ghana, H.E Donald Teitelbaum and Mr. Sam Poku of the West Africa Business Association*



*Mrs. Jean Mensa, Executive Director of The IEA  
Escorting His Excellency, John Agyekum Kufuor into an IEA event.*



*His Excellency, John Agyekum Kufuor in a group photograph with leaders of Ugandan Political Parties*





*Left to right: Mr. Seth Tekper, Dep. Finance Minister; Hon. Rashid Pelpuo, Dep. Majority Leader; Dr. Todd Moss, Board of the IEA and President for the Centre for Global Development, USA at an IEA seminar on the Oil and Gas sector*



*Ambassador Victor Gbeho delivering a speech at an IEA event*



*From left to right: Prof. Kwamena Ahwoi, H.E Daniel Kablan Duncan, Ivorian Foreign Minister; Ambassador Victor Gbeho, former Ambassador to the UN; and Ambassador Chris Kpodo at a meeting with Ivorian Politicians and their Ghanaian counterparts*



*His Excellency John Dramani Mahama making a presentation at a meeting between Togolese and Ghanaian Political Parties*



*Mr. Eric Amerding and Mr. Charles Alissutin of the Union for forces for change at a meeting hosted by The IEA for Togolese Political leaders*



*Speakers at an IEA workshop on Constitution Review: From left to right: Dr. Vladimir Antwi-Danso, Rev. Dr. Mensa Otabil, Hon. Cletus Avoka, Hon. Mike Ocquaye and Brigadier General Francis Agyemfra.*



*Members of The IEA Ghana Political Parties Programme with the late President, His Excellency, John Atta-Mills*



*Visit to His Excellency, the late Prof. John Atta-Mills by The IEA, NIMD and leadership of the Political Parties.*



*Mr. Roel Von Meijenfeldt, Former Executive Director of NIMD in a discussion with Dr. Charles Mensa, Board Chairman of The IEA and Ambassador Chris Kpodo, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister*



*His Excellency, Ernest Bai Koroma, President of Sierre-Leone and Mr. Ward Brew at a Conference for West Africa Political Party leaders hosted by The IEA.*



*Ambassador Victor Gbeho, Immediate Past President of the ECOWAS Commission; Ameer Maulvi Wahab Adam, Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission; Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, Flagbearer of the NPP; Mr. Roel Von Meijenfeldt, Former Executive Director of NIMD AT A Conference for West Africa Political Party leaders*



*His Excellency Ernest Bai Koroma, President of Sierre-Leone and Hon. E.T Mensah at the Conference with Sierre-Leonian Political Party leaders hosted by The IEA.*



*Delegation of Ivorian Political Party leaders interact with former Vice-President Aliu Mahama at the instance of The IEA*



The IEA undertakes training programmes for key institutions of democracy such as Parliament, the Media and Civil Society Organizations. These programmes strengthen the capacity of those bodies and institutions that play an important role in the development of Ghana's system of governance.

Bridging the world of ideas and action, The IEA also translates academic research and analysis on policy issues into practical information, and makes recommendations for policy makers. Through publications, The IEA makes important information available to the Ghanaian public. This promotes and raises the level of debate on numerous policy issues.

### Internal Structure

The functions of the Institute fall into five interrelated spheres, namely

- a) Economic and Governance Policy Research;
- b) Advocacy;
- c) Dissemination/Outreach;
- d) Partnerships Management/Networking;
- e) Operations Support Services.

The Institute undertakes these functions within four structures; namely, the Economic Centre, the Governance Centre, the Survey Unit and the Finance and Administration Office.

### **Board of Directors**

The Board of Directors of the IEA comprises the following persons:

- Dr. Charles Mensa, Chairman
- Prof. Daniel Adzei Bekoe, Member
- Dr. Todd Moss, Member
- Mr. Okai Akofio Sowah, Member
- Mr. George Thompson, Member

- Mrs. Jean Mensa, Member

## ACHIEVEMENTS

### 2012

- The IEA releases the inaugural Petroleum Transparency and Accountability (P-TRAC) Index, to track the management of Ghana's oil and gas revenues. The publication includes a number of recommendations utilizing the IEA's research on Harnessing Ghana's Oil and Gas Revenue for Sustainable Development.
- The IEA's recommendations regarding Petroleum Transparency and Accountability are incorporated into The Petroleum Revenue Management Act (815), 2011.
- The IEA's recommended framework for ensuring the smooth transfer of power from an outgoing to an in-coming President is approved by Parliament, through the Presidential Transition Act (845), 2012, passed after an extensive collaborative process spanning almost five years.



*H.E. John Dramani Mahama presenting the Presidential Transition Act to Mrs. Jean Mensa, Executive Director of The IEA.*



*Management, Fellows and Staff of The IEA pose with H.E John Dramani Mahama at the Commemoration of the Passage of The Transition Bill*



*Dr. Charles Mensa in a discussion with H.E John Dramani Mahama at the Commemoration of the passage of the Presidential Transition Act.*

- The IEA’s proposal for reforming Ghana’s Mining Regime is adopted and implemented by Government.
- The IEA calls for deregulation and depoliticization of the petroleum sector. This results in a partial reduction of subsidies; full de-regulation yet to be implemented

## 2011

- The IEA inputs extensively into the preparation of the Petroleum Revenue Management Act (815), 2011, which sets out a framework for the management of Ghana's oil and gas revenues.
- Dr. John Kwakye, Senior Economist at The IEA, is appointed to serve on the Monetary Policy Committee – the highest policy-making body of the Central Bank.
- Dr. Michael Ofori-Mensah, Policy Analyst at The IEA, is appointed to represent independent policy think-tanks on the Public Interest and Accountability Committee (PIAC), a statutory body established to oversee the management of revenues from the oil and gas sector.

## 2010

- The Presidential Transition Bill, developed by The IEA, is introduced into Parliament. The Bill is a culmination of cross-party collaboration and consensus-building; it establishes strong evidence of the capacity of our national political leadership to rise above partisanship in the quest to deepen multi-party democracy in Ghana.
- The contribution of The IEA to public policy development in Ghana, including the Presidential Transition Bill, is acknowledged by President John Atta Mills in his Presidential State of The Nation Address to Parliament.
- Mrs. Jean Mensa, Executive Director of The IEA, is appointed by President John Atta Mills as a Commissioner of the Constitution Review Commission (CRC).
- Twenty of the twenty-five key issues identified by the CRC for action are drawn from The IEA's research-based recommendations as captured in the Democracy Consolidation Strategy Paper (DCSP).
- The IEA is presented with a Millennium Excellence Award for its role in fostering good governance and multi-party democracy in Ghana and West Africa.

- The IEA conducts research into the high cost of credit in Ghana and calls for better regulation. In direct response to the IEA’s calls, the President of the Republic of Ghana charges the Governor of the Central Bank to investigate and find solutions to the problem. The Governor’s subsequent response leads to the introduction of guidelines for setting base lending rates for banks based on their published costs.
- In a Legislative Alert, The IEA proposes the best way to deal with the Tema Oil Refinery debt stock as being to securitize the debt and pay it through the budget. The Government responds to the IEA’s proposal by issuing bonds to cover the TOR debt.
- The IEA conducts research in response to widespread concerns that the rapid reduction of inflation could cause severe output and employment losses. The IEA’s research suggest that macroeconomic stability could support growth in the long-term, but care must be taken in disinflating too fast, as this could have short-term adverse effects. Government responds to the IEA’s research findings by setting more moderate medium-term inflation targets than originally programmed.

## **2009**

- In the 2009 State of the Nation Address, President John Atta Mills publicly commends The IEA for its work and pledges to consider the draft Bills initiated by The IEA. The draft Bills include the Public Financing of Political Parties Bill; the Political Parties Bill; and the Presidential Transition Bill.

## **2008**

- The IEA hosts Africa’s first ever debate between Vice-Presidential candidates.
- The IEA organizes the 2008 Presidential Debate, which is the first Presidential Debate to have the participation of candidates of all Political Parties with representation in Parliament.
- The IEA commences a series of “Evening Encounters”, which provide an opportunity for Presidential candidates to outline their policies to the Ghanaian electorate and respond to their questions.

- IEA's research on Ghana's democracy deficits, themed 'Democracy Consolidation Strategy Paper' (DCSP), is recognized by Political Parties in the preparation of their manifestoes. The Political Parties with representation in Parliament pledge to implement reforms and recommendations contained in the DCSP, including the review of the 1992 Constitution.

## **2007**

- In recognition of deficiencies in Ghana's democratic practice since the coming into force of the 1992 Constitution, The IEA undertakes an extensive study of Ghana's governance architecture. The study culminates in the publication, in August 2008, of a document titled the Democracy Consolidation Strategy Paper (DCSP). The DCSP proposes practical reforms in the macro-political environment.
- The IEA prepares and launches the Draft Public Funding of Political Parties Bill and the Draft Political Parties Bill. The two Bills aim at strengthening the capacity of Ghana's Political Parties and creating a more liberal and flexible environment for political parties..
- The IEA publishes Ghana's first multidisciplinary policy Journal – The Ghana Policy Journal.
- Through the Ghana Political Parties Programme, the IEA commences work on drafting a Presidential Transition Bill to ensure the smooth transfer of power from one President to another.

## **2006**

- The Whistle Blowers Act, which was initiated by The IEA, is passed into law by Parliament.

## **2005**

- The IEA initiates the West African Regional Programme for Political Parties (WARPPP) to extend the successes achieved, and lessons learned, in Ghana's democratic consolidation to other West African countries. WARPPP provides an opportunity for political parties across West Africa to engage in democratic dialogue and to collaborate with civil society organizations.

## **2004**

- The IEA facilitates the development of a Political Parties Code of Conduct and the setting up of a National Enforcement Body to regulate the implementation of the Code.

## **2003**

- Two bills initiated by the IEA, namely the Whistle Blowers Bill and the Right to Information Bill, are approved by Cabinet.
- The IEA establishes a Platform to bring together the General Secretaries of Political Parties to discuss pressing policy issues for the purpose of reaching consensus and finding solutions on critical issues relating to Ghana's practice of democracy.

## **2001**

- The IEA succeeds in the campaign against the Criminal Libel Law. After persistent advocacy for its repeal, the law is repealed.

## **2000**

- The first-ever nationwide Voter Education Programme is organised by the IEA
- The IEA organizes the first-ever Town Hall Meetings to provide a platform for aspiring Parliamentary Candidates in select constituencies to interact with the electorate in their constituencies, outline their programmes, and respond to questions from their constituents. Town Hall meetings have since been held every election year.

## **1996**

- In the lead up to the 1996 national election The IEA forms the National Domestic Election Observers (NADEO), Ghana's first ever coalition of Civil Society Organisations, and trains them to monitor the elections. The IEA has since monitored all major national elections in the country as well as all Parliamentary by-elections.
- The IEA launches the Economic Review Report which serves as a vehicle for analysing the state of the nation's economy and providing useful recommendations to policy makers.

- In furtherance of its institutional support to Parliament, The IEA deploys the first batch of IEA-trained Legislative Research Assistants to provide technical and research support to Parliamentarians. The programme has now been institutionalized by Parliament.

### **1992–1996**

- The IEA launches its flagship publication – The Legislative Alert, which provides a review and analysis of existing legislative policies and makes recommendations for future policy development. This is the first in the IEA’s portfolio of publications, which now include The IEA Governance Newsletter, Policy Analysis, Occasional Paper, IEA Monograph, Celebrating Democracy, Quarterly Highlights and, the IEA Economic Review.
- The IEA is at the centre of public policy discourse, giving voice to the community’s desire for good governance and accountability in Ghana during this period of democratic development under the Fourth Republic. With little effective opposition in the Ghanaian Parliament, The IEA plays a key role in providing meaningful policy analysis and advocacy on governance issues.

**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE IEA, VISIT OUR WEBSITE**

[www.ieagh.org](http://www.ieagh.org)



## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

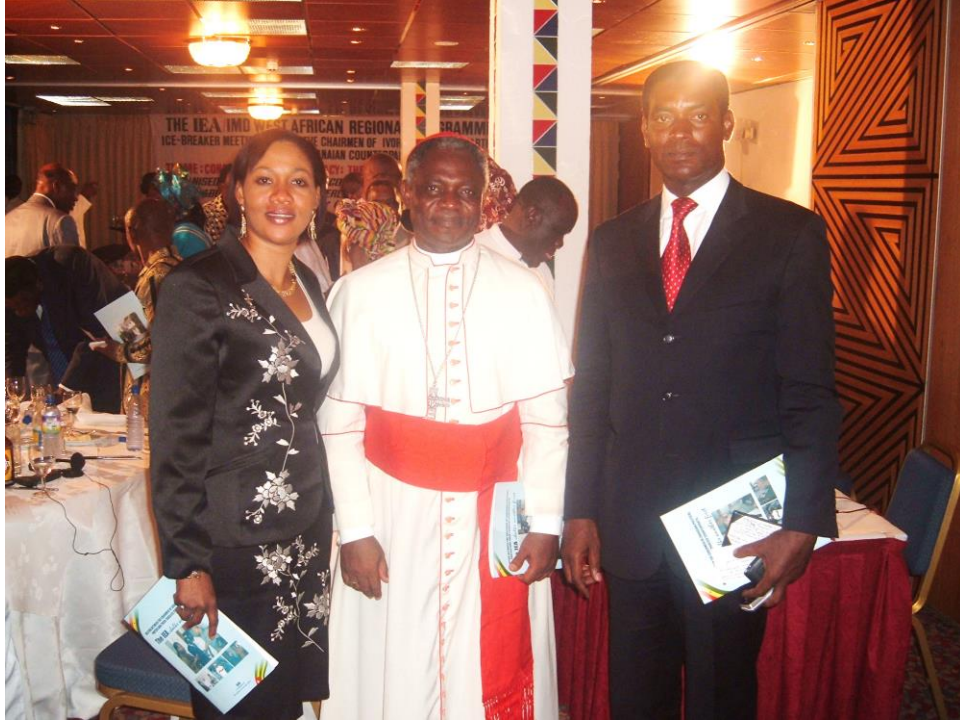
The IEA wishes to express its sincere gratitude to STAR-Ghana, The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) and UNICEF-GHANA, whose support made the conduct of the 2012 Presidential and Vice- Presidential Debates possible.



*From Left to Right :Mr. Peter Mac-Manu, former Chairman of The NPP; Mr. S.P Adamu, Policy analyst of the NDC; Mr. Asiedu Nketsia, General Secretary of the NDC; and Dr. Kwabena Adjei, Chairman of the NDC at The IEA.*



*Former Chairman of the NPP, Mr. Peter Mac—Manu and Alhaji Ahmed Ramadan, Chairman of the PNC at an IEA event.*



*Mrs. Jean Mensa, Executive Director of The IEA with Peter Cardinal Appiah Turkson*





*H.E Joaquim Chissano, former President of Mozambique and Roel Von Meijefeldt, Former Executive Director of NIMD*



*Former President John Kufuor in a photograph with H.E Joaquim Chissano, former President of Mozambique and Roel Von Meijenfeldt, Former Executive Director of NIMD*



*H.E Henry Bellingham, UK foreign office Minister delivering a speech at an IEA Event*



*Patrick Amama Mbabazi, Ugandan Prime Minister in a discussion with Dr. Abu Sakara, Flagbearer of the Convention People's Party*



*Patrick Amama Mbabazi, Ugandan Prime Minister with Mrs. Jean Mensa, Executive Director of The IEA*





*Baronness Valerie Amos, UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, with Mrs. Jean Mensa, Executive Director of The IEA and Brigadier General Francis Agyemfra, Visiting Senior Fellow, IEA.*

# IEA GHANA



**STAR-Ghana**  
Strengthening Transparency, Accountability  
and Responsiveness in Ghana

