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*National Democratic
Institute for
International
Affairs*

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**GHANA:
SURVEY MISSION**

December 1994

**AREAF Grant No.
AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00**

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December 9 to 21, 1994
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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

From December 9 to 21, 1994, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) sent a three-member survey mission to Ghana to assess the feasibility of conducting political development programs in preparation for the 1996 national elections. The survey team comprised Julius Johnson, program officer in the NDI/Washington office; Dr. Adamou Kombo, international elections expert from Niger; and Winfred Johnson, political party training expert from Cote d'Ivoire. Over the course of 12 days, the delegation held more than 30 meetings and consultations in both Accra and Kumasi, the two largest cities in Ghana. The team met with U.S. Ambassador Ken Brown, academics, members of the clergy, the election commissioner, human rights activists, Ghanaian and International NGOs, parliamentarians, representatives of all the major political parties, presidential advisors, the president of the House of Chiefs, and representatives of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

The survey team identified three broad areas in need of NDI's assistance: political party training, civic education and election related training. Through any of these three activities, especially political party training, NDI could assist in enhancing confidence and participation in the election process as the country prepares for national presidential and legislative elections in 1996.

II. BACKGROUND

Ghana gained independence in 1957 as one of the first African countries to do so. Under Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party (CPP), Ghana began to face a series of economic and political crisis in the early part of the 1960's. These crises peaked by 1964, when Nkrumah's regime was criticized constantly for its intolerance, repression, corruption, economic decline and political decay.

In 1966, the Nkrumah government was overthrown in a military coup led by Lt. General J.A. Ankrah. Ankrah established the National Liberation Council (NLC) and promised a new order of freedom, honesty and prosperity as well as an early return to civilian rule. The NLC established a Center for Civic Education (CCE) designed to teach civic rights and responsibilities so that the citizens of Ghana would be prepared to participate in open competitive party politics in the not-too-distant future. National elections were held in 1969, pitting the Progress Party (PP) of Kofi Busia against the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) led by K.A. Gbedemah. The PP had its roots in the Dunquah and National Liberation Movement traditions known for their opposition to the CPP. Its leadership was elitist, professional and middle class, with a strong base among the Akan ethnic groups. NAL, on the other hand, had links to the old CPP leadership and was strongest among the coastal and border ethnic groups. Busia and the PP

were victorious in this election, winning 60 percent of the popular vote and 105 of 140 parliamentary seats.

The return to competitive party politics was short-lived. In January 1972, elements of the military led by Colonel I.K. Acheampong overthrew the Busia government and took power as the National Redemption Council (NRC). Initially presented as reformist, the NDC quickly became personalistic, repressive and corrupt. The original Council was later replaced by a Supreme Military Council (SMC) made up of the commanders of the branches of the armed forces. In a final attempt to shore up the regime, Acheampong tried in the Fall of 1976 to establish a Union Government (UNIGOV), a combination of civilian and military rule. The effort was strongly opposed by professional groups, students, trade unions and much of the general population. He forced a vote on the issue in 1978 in elections that were fraught with violence and repression. The final results showed a slim majority in favor of UNIGOV. The period following the elections was one of turmoil and instability that further discredited the Acheampong regime. Acheampong was finally replaced by his chief of defense, Lieutenant General Fred W.K. Akuffo, whose SMC II set out in November 1978 to return the country to civilian rule by June 1979.

Demanding radical reform, a group of young officers led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings took over the Government in May 1979. They constituted an Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) that was populist in focus, critical of the elitism of the past, and reformist in character. The elections of 1979 still took place and civilian rule returned. The election campaign of 1979 witnessed the emergence of more than a dozen parties, although only three were major contenders in the elections. The major battle pitted the People's National Party (PNP) led by Hilla Limann against the Popular Front Party (PFP) of Victor Owusu. A third major force was the United National Convention (UNC) led by A.A. Afrifa, a major participant in the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966. The PNP was victorious with 71 of the 140 parliamentary seats, and Hilla Limann became President of the Third Republic. The Limann government, never able to overcome its tenuous start, was torn by internal and external conflicts. President Limann proved incapable of creating an effective political organization or halting economic decay.

On New Years Eve 1981, Jerry Rawlings made good on his promise to return if he believed that civilian rule failed. He formed a Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) to run the country. The PNDC stated as its goal to transform Ghana and revitalize its economy. Given the failures of previous regimes and the staggering collapse of the economy, the PNDC was greeted with enthusiasm by most Ghanians. Public statements of Chairman Rawlings and other leaders were populist and revolutionary. People were to be mobilized to create a new tradition of governance in Ghana based on the rank and file, the unemployed, the farmers, workers and students.

The PNDC moved quickly to restore the economy to good health. Over time its policies gained the respect of the international economic community, and assistance from donors, the

IMF and the World Bank. At a political level, the PNDC talked about responsibility and accountability. It set up tribunals to try suspected offenders and organizations such as the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDR) whose members acted as neighborhood informers, reporting counter-revolutionary activities of citizens to the tribunals. The methods of information gathering, persuasion and punishment adopted during this period were often ruthless, and some members of the PNDC now deplore the human rights abuses that characterized it.

In the face of pressure by determined democratic forces within the country, the PNDC military government moved slowly towards the restoration of constitutional government. A critical turning point came during the proceedings of the Consultative Assembly in 1991 which had been convened to decide on the principles and provisions of a new constitution. Even though the PNDC had succeeded in determining the Assembly's composition in a way that should have permitted its own views to prevail, the 260 delegates pushed for a fully restored multiparty system as opposed to the attenuated version that the PNDC advocated. In April 1992, the draft constitution formulated by the Consultative Assembly was approved in a national referendum; the 11-year ban on political activity was lifted in May 1992. In July, laws allowing for open competition among political parties were promulgated for the presidential and legislative elections.

Presidential elections took place on November 3, 1992. The incumbent president and two-time coup leader, Jerry Rawlings, was declared the winner, obtaining 58.6 percent of the votes cast to 30.1 percent for his nearest challenger. Opposition leaders, claiming wide-scale fraud rejected the results. They petitioned the Supreme Court to no avail. Rioting followed the elections in Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti region and a stronghold of the opposition party the New patriotic Party. The opposition then boycotted the December 22, 1992, legislative elections.

III. PREVIOUS NDI ACTIVITIES IN GHANA

From October 16 through mid-December 1992, in conjunction with the Carter Center, NDI developed a plan for a parallel vote tabulation (PVT) of election results in Ghana. The initial phase of the project involved training Ghanaian election monitors and determining the feasibility of a PVT. The plan called for using the first round of the presidential elections on November 3, 1992, as a "dry-run" for a PVT methodology, and then conducting a PVT during the second round and subsequent legislative elections. The incumbent president, Jerry Rawlings, won an overwhelming majority of the votes in the first round, thus obviating the need for a second round. Opposition parties, meanwhile, alleged massive fraud in that election. The most persistent belief was that the high number of cases of double registration left the process open to multiple voting and impersonation.

In August 1994, an NDI staff member attended a roundtable in Accra, organized by the Institute for Economic Affairs, a nonpartisan Ghanaian NGO. Participants at the roundtable included members from the three major political parties: the National Democratic Congress

(NDC), the New Patriotic Front (NPP), and the People's Convention Party (PCP). Also invited were members of the churches, labor unions and the bar association and representatives from the diplomatic community. The purpose of the roundtable was to create dialogue among the political parties to foster agreement on electoral reforms for the 1996 presidential and legislative elections.

In September 1994 after returning from the Accra roundtable, NDI organized in Washington, D.C., a meeting of scholars and representatives of the Department of State, the Ghanaian Embassy and the NGO community to discuss Ghana's pre-election environment. NDI's proposal to conduct this survey mission grew, in part, out of concerns raised and suggestions made by various parties in the course of these activities.

IV. WHY GHANA

- During the 1992 presidential elections, the major opposition parties claimed that the incumbent president Jerry Rawlings rigged the elections by inflating the voter register. The opposition then boycotted the subsequent legislative elections. This led to wide-spread suspicion which permeates the political climate today. There exist lack of confidence in the electoral process and a fear of fraud in the upcoming elections.

- Ghana is the only stable anglophone country in the region working toward multiparty national elections. President Rawlings is the present chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Because he has recently implemented the structural adjustment program negotiated with the International Monetary Fund, Ghana can now boast of a five percent annual growth rate in its economy. Ghana is playing a leadership role in West Africa and has been instrumental in promoting peace between the warring factions in Liberia.

- Ghana has a history of competitive elections, although civilian rule has often been riddled by military takeovers. As a result, Ghanians are familiar with elections but lack confidence in the democratic process. Democratic institutions, including political parties, NGOs, and the legislature are weak in Ghana. These institutions will need strengthening.

- In Ghana, NDI could build on the progress that has already been made during the transition to democracy in 1992. The fundamental building blocks of a democratic state exist; NDI can help to strengthen these. People at the grassroots level are committed to democracy; and the political players -- although distrustful of each other -- bring a level of sophistication that could contribute to the consolidation of democracy. The incumbent leadership is committed to the process, there is a working constitution that governs political activity, the media is independent, and there is some level of accountability. However, the institutions need strengthening if democracy is to take hold and confidence is to be restored.

IV. MISSION OBJECTIVES

The specific objectives of NDI's survey mission were:

- to gather relevant information that will facilitate a better understanding of the political environment in Ghana;
- to assess the capabilities and needs of political parties in approaching election activities more effectively;
- to assess the capacity and needs of civic organizations in developing and implementing election related programs that could enhance civic participation and public confidence in the electoral process;
- to recommend potential NDI programming and an implementation timetable based on the findings of the survey mission.

V. MISSION ACTIVITIES

The December mission made a concerted effort to meet with a cross section of individuals in order to gain a comprehensive overview of the political situation in-country. In the course of these meetings, discussions were centered around the following points.

Political Party Development. How are parties being organized? What is the basis of their appeal? How do they develop grass roots support? Do they practice internal democracy? How do they communicate internally? How do they relate to other parties? What are their methods of communicating with the public? How are they funded? Has the transition from interest group or protest movements to more formal political party structures been successfully conducted by Ghanaian parties?

Governance. How well are the existing democratic institutions functioning? How well do parliamentarians understand legislative functions? How clear is the separation of powers between various branches of government? Is politics viewed in zero-sum or positive sum terms? Do the legislature and judiciary have sufficient funding and staffing? How does the press conduct itself in the democratization process?

Civic education. How is information about democracy disseminated? Is there a general understanding of the rules and conduct of politics in multiparty democracy? Has the electorate understood issues that should be raised in the context of a democratic transition or election? Is there understanding of the importance of checks and balances in a democracy? Are civic organizations and other intermediary or interest groups being formed? How active are they?

Electoral Process. How will the upcoming elections be conducted? Are existing civic groups planning to monitor the elections and/or are monitoring groups being formed? What do they consider to be their major challenges? Is there a reasonably accurate and up-to-date voter register? How does the election authority address party complaints regarding the voter register? Will observation by domestic or foreign groups be permitted for the elections? Do the domestic groups have any previous experience or interest in civic and voter education? What do they consider to be the major challenges that could hamper a voter education program?

VI. FINDINGS OF SURVEY MISSION

Because Ghanians from all sectors were accessible and team members maintained a rigorous schedule, the mission was able to achieve its objectives. As a result, the NDI team identified specific areas that need to be addressed in the design and implementation of future programming in Ghana.

The following are the nine findings of the survey mission:

1. The presidential and legislative elections in 1996 will be a test case for Ghana. For those elections to be properly conducted, some of the democratic institutions of the country will need to be strengthened.

With Ghana's long history of elections and the present state of relative political stability and economic well-being coupled with international assistance, Ghana could conduct successful multiparty elections. The challenges for Ghana are twofold:

- To improve all the necessary channels of communication between the opposition parties and the government that will facilitate smooth, acceptable elections; i.e., transparent ballot boxes, photo ID's, election monitors, agreeable election laws, and voter registrations lists.
- Is there a process in place to strengthen democratic institutions in Ghana beyond the 1996 national elections? Fundamental to establishing long-term sustainable democracy in Ghana is the strengthening of such institutions as political parties, civic organizations, the media, local associations and the executive, judiciary, and legislative branches of government.

Ghana's democratic institutions are weak and must be strengthened to establish a solid foundation on the basis of which citizens can engage in the political process and government will be transparent and accountable. Unless these institutions are strengthened, democracy in Ghana remains an elitist sport for the privileged few.

2. Political parties are poorly organized. They lack resources and the leadership seems to be out of touch with their constituents. The parties could benefit from basic political education and training.

Political parties in Ghana are loosely organized and seem fragile. They do not appear to have adequate mechanisms to communicate with constituents and so do not know their concerns. In addition, some of the opposition parties seemed to have lost contact with members in the rural areas as a result of their decision to boycott the 1992 legislative elections. These parties now seem to regret that decision, considering that collectively they would have gained about 40 percent of the seats in parliament.

Political party leaders seem to lack a basic understanding of the role, function and purpose of political parties. Their activities are not consistent with their party stands. They seem only to unite generally around the national elections. Because some parties boycotted the 1992 election, they lost ground and have been unable to effectively re-organize themselves. They also lack financial resources. Opposition parties cannot afford to pay full-time party workers and do not have funds to run their campaigns effectively. They argue that the NDC is unfairly funded with money from the state treasury.

Political party leaders have an elitist leaning, and there is very little evidence of any contribution to the decision making process from the grassroots level. In 1992, parties' campaign messages did not relate to the concerns of local members. Because they are all based in Accra, the capital, party leaders' attention is urban focused and seems unevenly concentrated on increasing supervision of the electoral process, rather than the ordinary political business of party building, recruitment and message development.

Political party leaders have enormous difficulties moving beyond the 1992 elections; Because they do not seem to have recovered from their disillusionment with the presidential election results, they remain stagnant and weak. Intra- and inter-party discussions tend to focus solely on ways to ensure transparency in the electoral process and free and fair elections. Although these objectives are important, the parties have allowed their suspicions of the electoral process to prevent them from focusing on developing action plans, or designing strategies or political agendas. For instance, they demanded a copy of the voter registration list which will contain 10 million names. Many of the parties have not decided what to do with this information nor do they have the facilities to properly use this information for any purpose.

3. Civic Organizations are weak; they lack an institutional base and have few resources.

Ghana has a tradition of local associations which have been the main vehicle through which the people communicate and are organized. Civic organizations, however,

are few and far between. The survey mission visited several human rights groups and saw that most lacked adequate funding and were understaffed. The human rights associations in Ghana were started by nationals who used their own modest resources. Also, not many of the civic organizations are directly involved in democratization work.

Most of Ghana's population depends on agriculture and resides in the rural areas. They are poor and not formally educated. Their first priority seems to be to secure food, clothing and adequate shelter. In addition, Ghanians in the urban areas are preoccupied with trying to secure good jobs. Civil society has not been incorporated adequately into the political process and so is easily vulnerable to politicians who want to manipulate the citizenry for their own individual political agendas. Citizens do not see themselves represented in government and view politics as something beyond their reach.

One organization which the survey team visited that is involved in political development is the Institute for Economic Affairs. The Institute is the largest and only nonpartisan civic organization that directly monitors legislative behavior and engages in the political process. The Institute has been instrumental in creating open forums for the various parties to discuss electoral matters. It has sponsored several seminars to which members of all the political parties were invited.

4. The legislature is overburdened; and legislators seem to lack fundamental parliamentary skills.

The survey mission met with several legislators including the Speaker and Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives. There seems to be an inordinate amount of confusion in Ghana's parliament due in part to a lack of understanding of parliamentary procedures. Parliamentarians have little access to necessary information on legislative issues that would facilitate their making informed decisions. Their offices are understaffed; they lack fax machines, computers and adequate filing systems. There is no legislative library where parliamentarians can access information.

Nor does the parliament engage in informed legislative debate. The team was told that legislative sessions are usually drawn out by members reading long proposals or bills which they themselves do not seem to understand. Parliamentary procedures need to be simplified. There is no orientation process and often parliamentarians remain quiet, rather than ask questions regarding their roles and responsibilities. Also, legislators rarely visit the rural areas to interact with their constituents. People in the rural areas, on the other hand, have unrealistic expectations of their representatives. According to the legislators the team met with, they are often wrongly seen as miracle workers with direct access to the president and the state treasury.

5. The media, although free and independent, suffers from a lack of credibility.

Radio is the most common medium in Ghana. The radio and television are state owned; there are no independent radio or television stations. However, the newspapers are independent and have wide circulation, particularly in the urban areas.

Newspapers in Ghana have been accused by some observers of exaggerating stories and engaging in sensational journalism. This has reduced their credibility as individuals realize that the editors care more about selling papers, even if that means printing outrageous headlines. Published articles often lack substance and portray a lack of research. Many of the stories printed are inflammatory and do not enhance the level of information the general society receives. The newspapers have also been accused of being partisan and too critical of the government. The government argues that the media is irresponsible and undermines positive initiatives taken by the state.

6. There is a lack of confidence in the electoral process and suspicion permeates the political arena.

Opposition parties distrust the government and are convinced that the incumbent president, Jerry Rawlings, will not abide by the conditions established by the electoral commission. In addition, they argue that the NDC receives a substantial amount of its funding from the state treasury. The suspicion has in the past stalled negotiations between the ruling party and the opposition. The opposition has called for major concessions that will strengthen the supervision of the upcoming elections. Some of these recommendations include: new registration is now being conducted one year to six months in advance of elections; all political parties must have a copy of the register; party agents and voters must be trained in the same area; transparent voting boxes are required; voting should take place out in the open; polling stations should close before dark; ballot counting should be done immediately after the polls close; an electoral sheet should be signed by all party agents; each agent should get a copy; election day should be a holiday; photo ID cards should be used in the 10 largest cities; presidential and legislative elections should be on the same day.

7. The electoral commission is generally viewed as nonpartisan although it has on some occasions been accused by opposition parties of having government leanings.

Generally speaking, the electoral commission is seen as nonpartisan. The commissioner seems dedicated to successful elections and the commission appears to be independent. The opposition, however, alleges that the commission is controlled by the government since the commissioner is appointed by the president.

The commission has set up an interparty committee comprising two representatives from each major party to informally discuss the rules, regulations and general issues surrounding the upcoming national elections. The committee has met

several times and the discussions have been productive. Minutes of the meeting are kept for dissemination to party members. Individual party members or the parties themselves are not mentioned in the minutes. Recently however, the NDC walked out of the committee meeting arguing that collectively opposition parties outnumber them and they are at a disadvantage when voting on issues. The opposition argues that this is just another tactic that the government is using to subvert the electoral process. In addition, the parties have differed over the use of photo ID cards. Initially, all parties signed an agreement at the interparty meeting agreeing that it was too expensive to produce photo ID cards for all Ghanians. Therefore, they agreed to produce ID's for people living in the 10 largest provinces. After the agreement was signed, the NDC reneged on the agreement claiming that the policy discriminated against Ghanians in the rural areas. The NDC has yet to return to the committee; however, they did inform the survey team that they planned to return soon.

8. Most voters are in the rural areas and, outside of NDC campaign initiatives, little attention is given to these areas except during elections.

The survey team learned that people living in the rural areas do not have direct access to political parties. Communication is often a problem and, because the political parties lack resources, they cannot afford to establish local offices or to travel throughout the country. The NDC, however, has used its resources to visit the rural areas to talk to people in an effort to raise awareness and to post party information on local billboards. In addition, because of the distance between the headquarters of the parties (which are all based in Accra) and people in the rural areas, parties have a difficult time recruiting and maintaining new members. Also, there have been allegations by some party members that people in the rural areas have intentionally been misinformed by certain party members in order to attract their support.

In addition to the logistical challenges parties face recruiting members and organizing new constituencies, there is an "urban-elitist" attitude which characterizes the leadership of the parties. Most of the leaders of the parties are western educated, gainfully employed outside of the parties, and rarely have direct contact with the people in the rural areas. Their attention is distracted by interparty disputes, suspicions about the government, and urban issues that will affect the upcoming elections. Their focus is usually narrow and does not take into account the needs and concerns of individuals outside of Accra.

9. Parties tend to organize only during the elections and have not been effective in developing their political agendas, messages and recruitment techniques since they boycotted the 1992 legislative elections.

During the 1992 national presidential and legislative elections, opposition parties alleged that the presidential elections were flawed and therefore they did not participate in the subsequent legislative elections. The opposition thought that the international

community would support their findings and call for new presidential elections. That did not happen. The legislative elections took place without any of the opposition candidates running.

The opposition parties did not remain strong outside of parliament. They implemented no formal strategy plan and, in fact, have lost some party support. The parties could use some training in the areas of recruitment, message development, fundraising techniques, etc. The political playing field is uneven in Ghana. The government party has a great deal more resources and access to people than do the other parties. Boycotting the 1992 elections did not assist the parties either. If successful elections are to take place in 1996, parties must be assisted so they can participate competitively.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

The primary goal for NDI in conducting the survey mission was to identify specific sectors within Ghana's political arena that could jeopardize the proper conduct of the upcoming national elections and could therefore benefit from NDI assistance. The team findings confirmed the existence of a tremendous amount of distrust between the opposition parties and the ruling party, and there is a general lack of confidence in the electoral process.

Many common themes emerged during the survey mission meetings. It was clear that the upcoming presidential and legislative elections are considered essential to the continued consolidation of the democratic process. The survey mission recommends that NDI conduct a political party training program as its first activity in Ghana to provide technical assistance to the parties on the rules, regulations and the role of political parties in the democratic process.

Possible Programming

Three broad categories of possible programming would include:

- 1. Election related programming.** NDI programming would focus on the various components that directly focus on the elections, specifically: working with the election commission, reviewing the election code and assisting in the training of election monitors.
- 2. Civic education.** NDI programming would focus its attention on raising awareness within civil society about democracy and the electoral process. The program could work with the national civic education commission and assist the commission in developing user-friendly material to raise awareness and promote participation.
- 3. Political party training.** Of the three broad areas in need of assistance, the mission recommends that NDI focus its limited resources on political parties. The program would have three principles elements: to assist parties in developing strong

organizational structures; to encourage coalition-building and inter-party communication; and to promote a more competitive, genuine multiparty system.

NDI's political party development program focus would be to communicate skills that will:

- assist political leaders and elected officials in institutionalizing ethical standards and structures that promote openness, accountability, responsiveness and accessibility;
- improve methods of communication among and within political parties;
- develop training techniques, programs and manuals that will communicate grassroots organizing and recruitment to local and regional party workers;
- increase responsiveness of elected officials to constituents and public interest groups in order to raise public confidence and participation in political organizations in Ghana; and
- increase political parties' understanding of the development and implementation of civic education programs.

Specific Issues

In support of strengthening parties structures and enhancing civic participation in the political process, the following eight components would be addressed: organizational planning, defining and presenting party policies, membership building, external and internal communication, grassroots organization, fundraising and civic education.

1. Organizational planning would provide parties in Ghana with expert training in creating a written program for structural organization; determining and allocating resources; delegating responsibility in the party organization and developing a management structure.
2. Defining and presenting party policies would include developing a thematic focus for party platforms; researching and analyzing public attitudes and issues; distinguishing priority policies from constituency self interest; building party consensus in drafting platforms; managing dissent and diversity with the party; and using the platform to educate voters.
3. Membership building would include setting realistic goals for membership recruitment; identifying constituencies of shared interest; presenting the party to potential new members; renewing party leadership; and starting leadership development programs targeted particularly at women.

4. **Internal communication would assist the parties in the development of systematic party communication lines within the party; newsletter publications and promotional materials; top-down/bottom up consulting; and scheduling party leaders and elected officials for meetings and rallies.**
5. **External communications would offer instruction on developing a media plan; facilitating message consistency; distinguishing between issues, themes and slogans; and developing specialized messages for targeted audiences (for example, ethnic minorities)**
6. **Grassroots organization would focus on organizing local branch offices; recruiting and placing volunteers; establishing direct and indirect constituency contact; organizing meetings and rallies; and effective scheduling and training of party organizers.**
7. **Fundraising would assist parties in developing fundraising plans focusing on effective techniques for raising money; defining budgetary needs; developing a financial record-keeping system; and identifying sources of funding.**
8. **Civic education in political affairs would train parties in the use of techniques to encourage public participation in party initiatives at the grassroots level. It would also advise parties on the role of NGOs and how parties can cooperate with these organizations.**

Possible Activities

NDI has accumulated diverse and rich experiences in political party development programs and so is well placed to conduct successful programs in this regard in Ghana. Possible program activities could include:

- **An interparty conference that would invite all the major political parties to discuss challenges to and strategies for participating effectively in the upcoming elections. This program would address the distrust that presently exists between the parties, and would seek to build confidence in the electoral process.**
- **NDI could conduct individual consultations with all major Ghanaian political parties addressing their specific needs such as developing a plan of action, strategies for effective involvement, fundraising techniques, recruitment techniques, message development, etc.**
- **Training of party poll watchers for the upcoming elections. Training would begin with a series of training-of-trainers conferences in Accra. Political party leaders and organizers would then be expected to continue further training across the country. NDI**

would also conduct additional field training and training evaluation visits to additional locations outside of Accra.

- **NDI could organize a program to encourage the participation of women in the political process. The program would aim to facilitate dialogue among women about their specific needs and develop techniques and strategies to assist them in taking a more active role in politics.**
- **Along with a local NGO, NDI could sponsor candidate forums in Accra, Kumasi and a few rural towns to contribute to an idea-oriented campaign which assures that parties engage civil society in the election. These forums could be co-sponsored by a Ghanaian NGO like the Institute for Economic Affairs. The debates would be recorded and transmitted primarily through radio.**
- **NDI's pre-electoral work with the parties could form the basis for a long-term program of political party institutional development. Parties are seeking organizational and technical assistance in better structuring their activities and developing grass-roots organizational, communications and fund-raising capabilities. With the appropriate resources, NDI could assist the ongoing democratization process in Ghana over the long term.**

APPENDICES

- 1. Delegation Biographies**
- 2. Survey Mission Meeting Agenda**
- 3. Maps**

**NDI SURVEY MISSION-GHANA
DECEMBER 10-DECEMBER 21, 1994**

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION BIOGRAPHIES

NDI INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION

Julius Johnson is a program officer based at NDI headquarters in Washington D.C.. He recently completed a Pan African civic organization training program in Cotonou, Benin. Before joining NDI Julius was an Analyst in African Affairs at the Congressional Research Service (CRS) in Foreign Affairs and National Defense. Prior to that, he taught English in Japan for a year and served as a consultant for Honda motor company. Julius has a Master's degree in African studies from Yale University and has lived and travelled throughout Africa and Asia.

Adamou Kombo has played an active role in Niger's transition to democracy. During the National Conference of 1991, Dr. Kombo was named Second Vice-President of the Transitional High Council of the Republic. He subsequently was appointed President of the Supervisory Election Commission of Niger (COSUPEL) and played an instrumental role in overseeing the smooth conduct of Niger's first multiparty presidential election. Dr. Kombo participated in NDI's election observation mission to Romania in 1992. He also attended NDI seminars in Benin and worked closely with NDI during the 1993 Nigerien presidential elections. Currently Dr. Kombo is a consultant with NDI in Cotonou, Benin.

Winfred Johnson is an international election expert based in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. He serves as the GERDDES-AFRIQUE representative in Abidjan and has lived and travelled extensively throughout Africa, Asia, and Europe. Mr. Johnson is a lawyer by training.



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GHANA SURVEY MISSION NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE December 10 - December 20, 1994

TENTATIVE AGENDA

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10

NDI Staff depart from Dulles International Airport

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 11

NDI Staff arrives at Accra International Airport. Delegation will stay at Novotel Accra

MONDAY, DECEMBER 12

- 09:00 Briefing by Dr. Charles Mensa, Institute for Economic Affairs
- 11:00 Meeting with Issifu Ali, Chairman of the National Democratic Congress
- 13:00 Meeting with Huudu Yahaya, General Secretary of the National Democratic Congress
- 15:00 Meeting with B.J. da Rocha, Chairman of the New Patriotic Front
- 17:00 Meeting with Alhaji Asuma Banda, Chairman of the Peoples Convention Party

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13

- 09:00 Meeting with R. Atta-Kesson, Chairman of the National Convention Party
- 11:00 Meeting with Justice D.F. Annan, Speaker of Parliament
- 13:00 Meeting with Professor Ofusu-Amaah from Human Rights Group

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13 cont.

- 15:00 Meeting with R. Adotey from the National Council on Women and Development**
- 17:00 Meeting with Reverend David Dartey from Christian Council**

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14

- 09:00 Meeting with Chris Hesse, Chairman of the National Commission on Civic Education**
- 11:00 Meeting with Emile Short, Commissioner for Human Rights**
- 13:00 Meeting with Dr. Afari-Djan, Chairman of the Electoral Commission**
- 15:00 Meeting with Nana Oduro Nimapau, President of the National House of Chiefs**
- 17:00 Meeting with Professor A. Sawyerr, Former Vice Chancellor of the University of Ghana**

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15

- 09:00 Meeting with the Honorable Owusu-Acheampong, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs**
- 11:00 Meeting with the Honorable Owusu Agyekum, Minority Leader in Parliament**
- 13:00 Meeting with C. Appiah-Agyei, General Secretary of the Labour Movement**
- 15:00 Meeting with Alhaji M. Bawumia, Chairman of the Council of State**
- 17:00 Meeting with Justice J.N.K. Taylor, Retired Supreme Court Judge**

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16

- 09:00 Meeting with Nana Akufo-Addo from the Human Rights Group**
- 11:00 Meeting with Dr. Hilla Limann, Former President of Ghana**
- 13:00 Meeting with Bishop D. Andoh, Catholic Bishop of Accra**
- 15:00 Meeting with Bishop F.W.B. Thompson, Anglican Bishop of Accra**

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16 cont.

17:00 Meeting with Blay-Amihere of the Ghana Journalist Association

MONDAY, DECEMBER 19

09:00 Meeting with Kwabena Darko, 1992 Presidential Candidate

11:00 Meeting with General E. Erskine, 1992 Presidential Candidate

13:00 Meeting with David Andoh, Chairman of the Institute for Economic Affairs

15:00 Meeting with Tony Aidoo of the National Planning Development Commission

17:00 Meeting with Dr. Jones Ofori-Atta, Politician/Economist

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 20

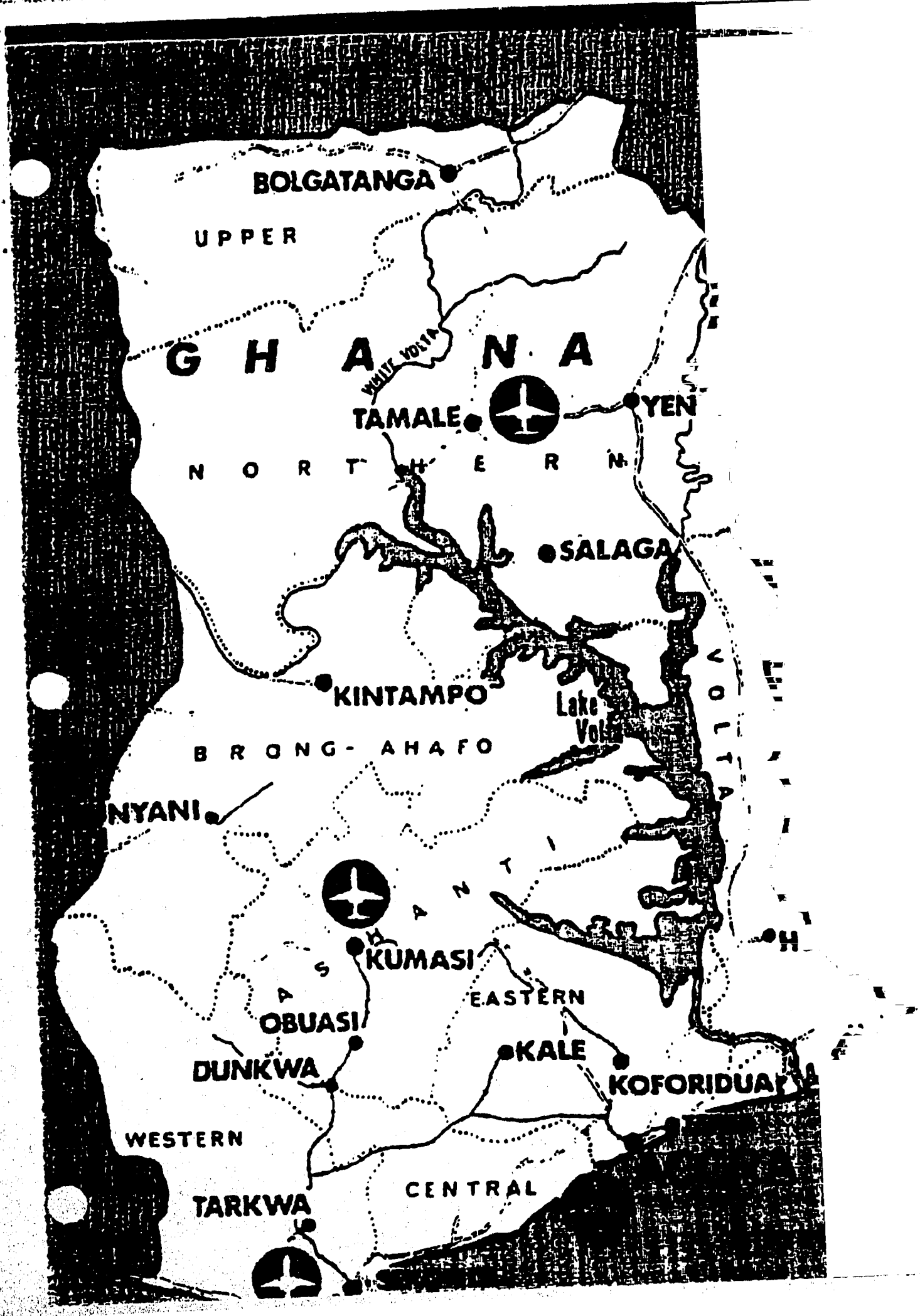
09:00 Meeting with Kwesi Pratt, Journalist/Politician

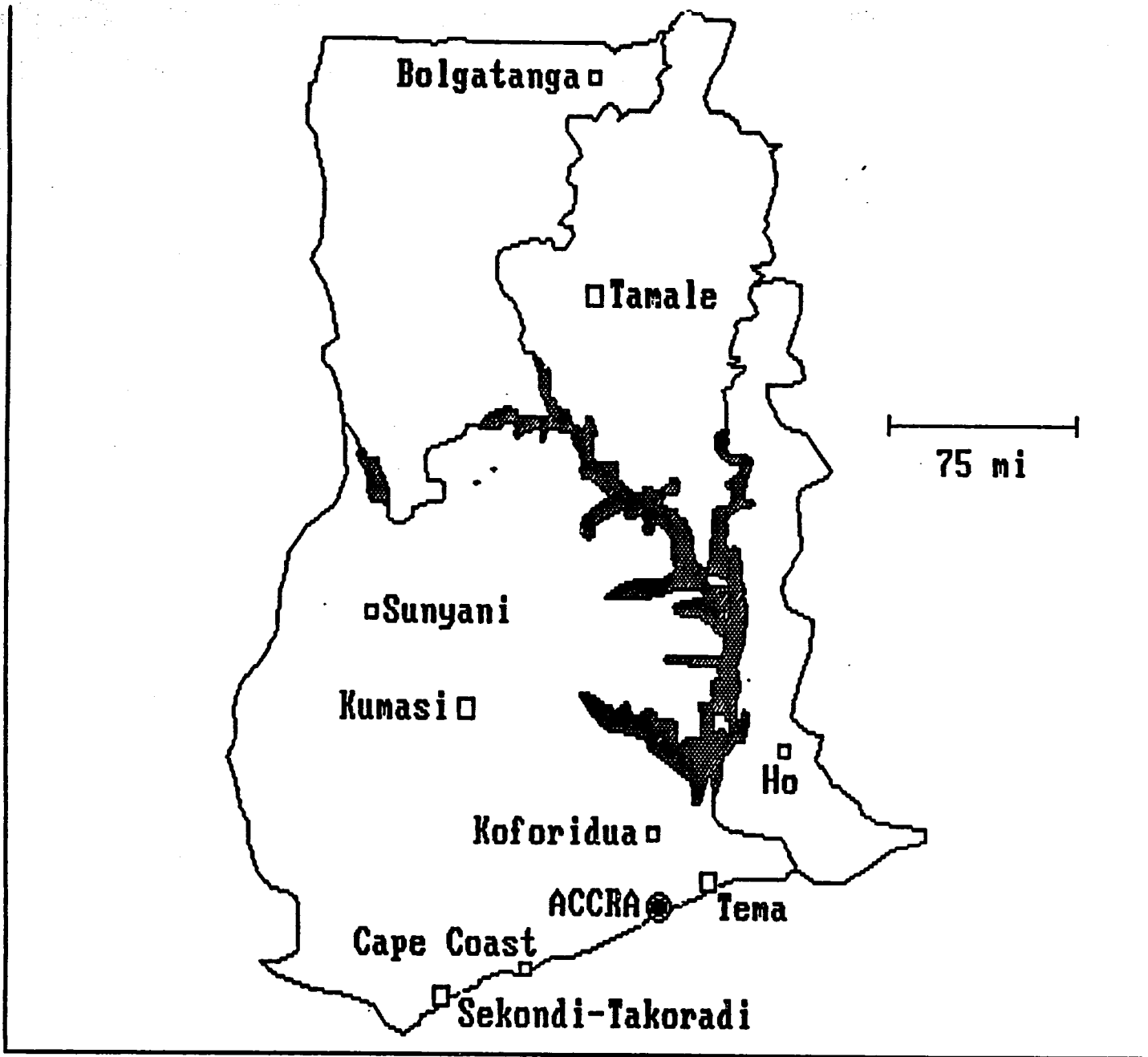
11:00 Meeting with Professor Addae-Mensah, Politician/Lecturer

13:00 Meeting with Justice Ofori-Boateng of the Electoral Commission, 1992

15:00 Meeting with the Honorable S.B. Arhur, 2nd Deputy Speaker of Parliament

17:00 Meeting with the Honorable Ken Dzirasah, 1st Deputy Speaker of Parliament





GHANA
<u>Population</u> 15.6 Million <u>Area (sq mi)</u> 92,100
<u>City Population</u> <input type="checkbox"/> Over 1,000,000 <input type="checkbox"/> Over 500,000 <input type="checkbox"/> Over 100,000 <input type="checkbox"/> Under 100,000 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Capital

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