



**Forty Years of Promoting
Democracy, Social Justice
and Peace in Ghana**
(1969 - 2009)

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Foreword

2009 marks the 40th Anniversary of the establishment of the Friederich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) in Ghana. During this period, many developments have taken place in the country at which FES stood by its numerous partners in solidarity throughout all these years thereby demonstrating itself as a genuine partner and catalyst for progressive change.

Through its valuable work with Ghana's democratic institutions like Parliament, the political parties, the media, the trade unions and other civil society organisations, FES has contributed immensely to the democratic development of the country and will naturally be part of the Ghanaian democratic success story.

As FES marks 40 years of fruitful cooperation with its partners in Ghana, I wish to congratulate FES for its contribution to the overall development of the country.

I sincerely do this on behalf of my government and the people of Ghana and will be looking forward to this continued partnership with the Frederich Ebert Stiftung and hope that this good cooperation over the years will be further strengthened and deepened in the future.


JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA
Vice President of the Republic of Ghana

Chapter One

A Brief History of 40 Years of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Ghana by Kathrin Meissner & Samuel Opoku-Agyakwa

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) opened its office in Ghana in 1969. FES is the oldest German political foundation and was founded in 1925 as the political legacy of Germany's first democratically elected president, Friedrich Ebert. A social democrat from humble crafts background who rose to hold the highest political office in his country, Friedrich Ebert proposed the establishment of a foundation to serve the following purpose:

- furthering political and social education of individuals from all walks of life in the spirit of democracy and pluralism;
- facilitating access to university education and research for gifted young people by providing scholarships;
- contributing to international understanding and cooperation.

The foundation was banned by the Nazis in 1933 and re-established in 1947. As a non-governmental, non-profit institution, it is committed to the ideas and basic values of social democracy.

“Development policy is the peace policy of the 21st century” (Willy Brandt). This statement by Willy Brandt has become the leitmotiv of our international work. In the 1960s FES increased its international solidarity work world-wide, including in Ghana. Before the office in Ghana was finally opened 40 years ago in 1969, cooperation with selected partners had already started as early as 1963 .

40 years of FES in Ghana have seen many changes in the country. Military and civil governments have taken turns, different economic policies and development trends have been tested in the country although not always to the benefits of the larger

population. Throughout all these years, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has continuously worked with its partners to promote a socially just and democratic society. Both the changing political conditions in Ghana as well as developments in Germany and FES' Headquarters have had an influence on the way that FES has been conducting its work. But what has remained the constant principle of our work is the cooperation in close partnership with our local partner organisations that stand for the same political and economic principles as we do.

Cooperation with the Ghana Trades Union Congress (TUC) has been part of the first activities of FES in Ghana and continues to be an important aspect of our work today. In the beginning of our activities in Ghana we supported cooperative movements to improve the livelihoods of the rural communities. The early days also saw an intensive cooperation on an extensive film project with the Ghana Broadcasting Cooperation (GBC) and a few years later with the National Film and Television Institute (NAFTI). Using film as a means for civic and political education was perceived as an effective means of reaching large numbers of people. The film project resulted in the establishment of the training institute NAFTI which was supported on a large scale by FES.

Even though the cooperation with NAFTI has come to an end due to a shift of focus in FES' media work, the success of NAFTI today, shows the sustainable character of FES' projects.

Due to the political situation at the beginning of the 1980s, FES withdrew from Ghana for five years before returning in 1987, however, not without having made provisions for the running projects to continue or to be phased out slowly.

Upon return in 1988 work with the former partners was continued and new partners were added. Promising developments for an opening in the political arena were strongly supported. In the early 1990s the work of the Committee of Experts that formulated proposals for the Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana and the Consultative Assembly that drafted the Constitution was intensively supported.

The transformation process constituted major challenges for those institutions that were mandated to implement the necessary steps. First among them was the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) that had to revise and replace the electoral register, educate voters and conduct the presidential and parliamentary elections. The elections were key to a successful transformation and FES, therefore, decided to contribute to making the process a success. Together with INEC, thousands of electoral officers and representatives of the political parties were trained on their roles in the electoral process. Furthermore, large quantities of educational material were developed and distributed. In spite of the very polarized relationship between the political parties, INEC and FES managed to involve them in the preparation and coordination of administrative aspects of the elections. The close partnership between FES and the now Electoral Commission, spans from these first days of the Fourth Republic.

Cooperation with our Partners

FES' relies heavily on the cooperation with its local partners. Only with them has it been possible to work on the implementation of the objectives of our work:

- Promoting democracy and good governance.
- Strengthening the democratic governance institutions.
- Defending workers' rights and supporting free trade unions.
- Facilitating socio-economic dialogue.
- Fighting for gender equality.

- Strengthening civil society.
- Promoting free, vibrant and responsible media.
- Preventing conflicts and promoting peace.
- Strengthening regional integration.

FES tries to bring together all relevant stakeholders involved in a particular issue to promote constructive dialogue. One of our strong assets is the well established national, regional and international networks which help to bring together the different interested parties. Among those stakeholders, several are part of our partner structure. Often these partner-relations date back many years and even decades. Among our current partners are:

- Parliament of Ghana
- Political Parties
- InterParty Youth Committee
- Ghana Trades Union Congress
- Electoral Commission
- Abantu for Development
- Women in Broadcasting
- Ghana Journalists Association
- National Media Commission
- Legon Centre for International Affairs
- Institute for Statistical, Social and Economic Research
- Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
- Youth Network on Human Rights and Democracy
- Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences
- Corporate Social Responsibility Movement
- National Commission on Civic Education

- Legal Resources Center
- Coalition on Human Rights, Oil and Gas
- Public Services Commission
- Institute of Local Government Studies

Examples from FES' work

Political dialogue

Parliamentary multi-party democracy depends very much on the existence of strong, sustainable and internally democratic political parties. FES regards political parties as important institutions which are key to democratic development. The tense relationship among political parties in Ghana is often less issue- than personality-based. Accordingly, the policy-making process from within the parties suffers. Furthermore, the organisational structures of the political parties are often weak. The crucial and fruitful exchange with other stakeholders is often neglected. FES, therefore, involves the political parties in its work with trade unions, civil society organisations, the media and constitutional bodies. The results of this policy have been networking, dialogue and tolerance among the key actors in Ghana's democracy and inclusivity in the decision making process. That way networking, tolerance and dialogue amongst these key actors in Ghana's democracy is promoted, policy-making becomes more inclusive and is of higher quality.

Labour market policies / cooperation with the TUC

The TUC is the most longstanding partner of FES. Cooperation started years before FES opened office in the country. Both organizations are closely connected ideologically in their attempts to promote workers' rights, social justice, and equal opportunities for all members of society. Cooperation spans from capacity-building of trade union members to research on labour issues; position-building on national

socio-economic policies and international trade issues and support for advocacy work. The TUC is increasingly developing its strength to effectively engage government and industry in the policy-making process. Apart from the representation of its traditional members, the TUC is also very active in organising the informal economy which employs the vast majority of Ghanaians.

Recent cooperation between both organisations has resulted in the formation of a network of young unionists that can go a long way to address some of the organisational challenges the TUC is facing. An evaluation of the labour conditions in the National Youth Employment Programme has been highly appreciated by government and the work in the area of youth employment continues. On the regional and national level FES successfully supported the TUC to do research and advocacy work to carefully evaluate trade negotiations and to influence the Ghanaian government to carefully scrutinise any agreements to avoid signing any sub-optimal deals.

Strengthening Parliament

A well functioning parliament that is able to check the executive is indispensable to a vibrant democracy. Therefore, FES, as the first international organisation, started to work with parliament from its inception in 1993. Our cooperation has continued to evolve over the years. The joint programme today includes a particularly close cooperation with the Select Committees on Foreign Affairs and on Trade, Industry and Tourism, more recently the Committee on Defence and Interior is included in our programmes. Our joint programmes have prioritised building deliberative and oversight capacities of Parliamentary Committees and opening parliamentary debates to qualified inputs from relevant interest groups. Furthermore, our programmes aim at enhancing Parliament's dialogue with civil society and the public appreciation of Parliament's role within the framework of the Constitution of

the Republic of Ghana. In this regard FES has supported Parliament through induction workshops for Members of Parliament after elections, the publication of “A Guide to Parliament” and outreach programmes by the Leadership and Members of Parliament across the country to interact with the electorate.

Promoting gender equality

FES together with our partner organisations works towards the realisation of political, legal and economic equality between women and men. In addition to the general gender mainstreaming approach in all our fields of work, we put special emphasis on reversing the under-representation of women in politics and public life. Selected women from the political parties have gone through training programmes to give them visibility and making them active participants in the governance process in Ghana. Furthermore, policymakers are made to appreciate the need to mainstream gender in policy-making. FES has supported the Women Manifesto Coalition from the very early stages. This project has been rewarded with the first prize of the UNIFEM Germany Award. Furthermore, we are supporting our partners to formulate and implement an affirmative action strategy to ensure that women have an equal say in politics.

Youth in politics

The youth forms a large part of the population in Ghana. However, their part in decision-making is limited. The youth has often been manipulated and exploited as foot soldiers to violently engage in political conflicts. Many are consequently frustrated by the nature of politics in the country. To foster a political culture of democracy and engagement in issues rather than violence, FES has started to work with the youth across the political divide. The objective is on the one hand to equip the next generation of politicians with the necessary skills to work within and to shape functioning, internally democratic political parties. On the other hand,

networking, tolerance and dialogue amongst these future leaders of Ghana's democracy is promoted. One of the significant outcomes of this project line is the establishment of the Inter-Party Youth Committee, which is an umbrella group of the youth wings of the four main political parties. During the elections in 2008 when political tensions were very high, the Committee with representatives of all four political parties jointly mounted platforms in all regions of the country to promote violence-free elections. Initiatives such as this one have contributed to the peaceful outcome of those the elections.

The coming 40 years of FES in Ghana will certainly bring new challenges and changes in the cooperation. But it can be said with some certainty that FES will continue to work closely with its partners to progress the democratic and economic-developmental process to contribute to a socially just and inclusive society. Looking back into the last 40 years, some contributions in that direction have certainly been accomplished.

Kathrin Meissner was the Resident Director of FES-Ghana from 2007-2009.
Samuel Opoku Agyakwa is Programmes Coordinator, FES-Ghana.

Chapter Two

Ensuring a Credible Electoral Process in Ghana: FES in Ghana

Introduction

Throughout the world, election management bodies (EMBs) have been established with the responsibility of administering elections. Election administration is as critical for the electoral outcome itself. The Ghana Electoral Commission (here after called the Commission) was provided for under the 1992 Constitution. Since its establishment in 1993, the EC has successfully conducted five parliamentary and presidential elections in Ghana that resulted in two democratic changes of power from one party to another which have also been made possible by the professional conduct of the Commission. The cooperation between Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and Electoral Commission (EC) dates back to the early 1990s when the then Interim Electoral Commission was established.

Ghana's Electoral Commission and Electoral Process

In order to ensure the independence and autonomy of the commission, the Constitution has insulated the Commission against the direction or control of any person or authority. Several constitutional provisions concerning the Electoral Commission help to reinforce its role as an independent body, which is crucial for developing public confidence in the election process. Among these provisions are:

- Article 46 says that in performing its functions, the Commission “shall not be subject to the direction or control of any person or authority”
- Article 44 says its chair members have permanent tenure of office and have the same conditions of service as justices of the Superior Courts.
- Article 54 says the administrative expenses of the commission shall be charged directly on the Consolidated Fund

(Republic of Ghana Constitution, 1992)

These Constitutional provisions together with the Electoral Commission Act, 1993 (Act 451) have ensured that since its establishment in July 1993, the Commission has lived up to its mission statement: “to advance the course of democracy and good governance for enhanced development of Ghana by institutionalising free, fair and transparent elections to the acceptance of all stakeholders” Indeed, the fact that two democratic power shifts were possible is an encouraging indicator and asset for the consolidation of democratic culture among political parties in particular and citizens in general. The Ghana Electoral Commission has over the years enjoyed the support of all political parties and does not witness constant changes at whims and caprices of people in power as is the case with many other African countries. This has resulted in accumulated experience from lessons learned, which has created an institutional credibility among Ghanaians of various, if not all political leanings. Thus, in spite of the fact that the constitution mandates the President to appoint members of the Commission in consultation with the Council of State, the members of the Commission have won support of most Ghanaians in their operation due to the Commission's repeatedly proved independence.

Electoral Reforms

To deal with some of the difficulties and concerns raised by stakeholders after the 1992 Elections, the Commission embarked on a number of electoral reforms. First, was the task of providing Ghanaians with a credible voters register. In undertaking the new voter registration exercise in 1995, the Commission invited the ruling party and opposition parties to deploy two polling agents each to observe the registration exercise across the 20,000 registration centres nationwide. It also introduced voter thumb printer identity cards bearing the name, age and in a limited number of cases, voters were provided with a photo identity card. However, before the 2000 elections, the Commission replaced all thumb-printed identity cards with photo identity cards. This was to address concerns raised about impersonation involving

the use of thumb-printed ID cards for voting in the absence of thumb-print readers. In spite of these changes, political parties continue to raise the issue of multiple voting and impersonation, particularly in the aftermath of Elections 2008. To address this, Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, Chairman of the EC, said that “The Commission is considering bio-metric registration of voters but as for bio-metric voting, I don't think the country is ready for it. If we do, I believe some people will start asking whether the Castle has not programmed the machines with some figures to their advantage” (Centre for Democratic Development, 2009). Other reforms undertaken include provision of transparent ballot boxes and holding of presidential and parliamentary elections on the same day to avoid the “Band-wagon Syndrome”.

Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC)

To improve the trust, confidence and working relationships between the Commission and registered political parties and to enhance transparency in its operations, the Commission instituted the Inter-party Advisory Committee (IPAC) in March, 1994. The IPAC is a non-statutory advisory body to the Electoral Commission. IPAC provided an innovative mechanism for the Electoral Commission to meet representatives of political parties as well as donors that supported the electoral process.

Civil Society Engagement in the Electoral Process

Confidence in the electoral process has also been boosted with the involvement of the Ghanaian civil society in election monitoring and voter education. Thus, a number of significant Ghanaian religious and civic groups joined to form a coalition to conduct non-partisan election monitoring. The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is training volunteers throughout the country in order to deploy several thousand non-partisan Ghanaian monitors in the polling stations on Election

Day. For instance, in the 2008 Elections, CODEO trained and deployed 4000 observers to observe the December 2008 polls.

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and EC Partnership

As Ghanaians prepared for the return of the country to constitutional rule after the 1992 referendum, the INEC was tasked to organise the first presidential and parliamentary election in the Fourth Republic. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung became the first development partner to collaborate with the INEC in its preparation for these general elections. Since then, the collaboration between the Electoral Commission and FES has continued in a manner of mutual trust. . The focus of FES and EC collaboration has varied over the years; in general the following areas have been the focus of collaboration:

Training

Training of key election stakeholders such as election officials (permanent and temporary), leaders of political parties and their agents and observers is critical to the conduct of free, fair and transparent elections. Between 1992 and 1996, FES with funding from the Electoral Commission trained over 140,000 persons involved in the electoral process: 40,000 polling assistants, 17,500 registration assistants, 6,000 party observers and 80,000 party agents for the 1995 voter registration exercise. Other beneficiaries of the training programmes have been regional and district electoral officers, researchers at the Commission and High Court Judges on dispute adjudication in the electoral process. These training programmes have improved the capacities of the Commission and other stakeholders, notably political parties.

Publication of Election Educational Materials

Effective voter education is contingent on the timely provision of election education

materials to voters, election officials and political party agents. In this vein, FES in 1992 supported the Commission to print and distribute 200,000 copies of “A Guide to the Voter”, 60,000 copies of “A Guide to the Candidate” and 120,000 copies of “Manual for Election Staff and Polling Agents”. Again, 1996 and 2000, FES, in collaboration with the Commission published reference material (Guidelines for the conduct of elections) for all stakeholders in the electoral process and developed and launched the “Code of Conduct for Political Parties” respectively. Furthermore, in 2007, the Commission with support from FES developed and published the “Framework for Domestic Election Observation” for the use of Domestic Election Observers in election monitoring. Together, these publications are supposed to build confidence in the electoral system as well as consolidating Ghana's young democracy.

Public Funding of Political Parties

The existence of viable and vibrant political parties is a necessary condition for the deepening of multi-party democracy and good governance. In recognition of the critical role funding plays in building vibrant political parties, FES in collaboration with the Commission organised an International Conference on “Public Financing of Political Parties” in Accra in 1995 and thus initiated the debate on this issue in the country. This conference has since been followed by a number of fora, workshops, studies and IPAC meetings on “Enhanced Public Support for Political Parties”. Following IPAC meeting in July, 2009 which endorsed the criteria by which political parties will access the fund and its management structure, the Commission presented a Memorandum to President Mills on “Enhanced Public Support for Political Parties” which is the result of several consultations with the political parties organised by the Commission and FES. The memorandum reads in part “it is in the light of the decisions taken at the Akosombo meetings that the Commission is sending the memorandum towards enabling Your Excellency to bring the matter of

enhanced public support for the country's political parties to a successful conclusion as soon as practicable" (Electoral Commission, 2009)

Media and Elections in Ghana

The media's role to ensure the conduct of free, fair and transparent elections is emphasised in Article 163 of the 1992 Constitution which says "the state owned media should provide fair opportunities to other interest groups to express constructive criticism of government policy". Notwithstanding this, the media landscape in Ghana is characterised by cases of sensational reporting, accusations and counter accusations with evidence of provocative social and political comments and a general inadequate understanding of electoral laws and processes. To ensure that journalists understand the electoral process, FES in collaboration with the Commission has over the years trained journalists in elections reporting

Research and Publication

With the exception of the 1992 presidential and parliamentary elections, the Commission and FES have published the detailed results of the elections 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008. These publications document the electoral process at the end of each successive election. Individual and collectively, these books serve as an authoritative reference point for the analysis and appreciation of Ghana's electoral system in the Fourth Republic.

Conclusion

For both FES and the Commission, the past seventeen years of collaboration have resulted in a fruitful mutual institutional benefit for both sides. In this vein, it is hoped that stakeholders and development partners, particularly Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, will continue to collaborate with the Commission to efficiently and effectively play its role towards the consolidation of democracy in Ghana.

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Chapter Three
Strengthening Parliament – FES in Ghana
BY John G.K. Agama
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Former Deputy Clerk to Parliament of Ghana

Current state of the Parliament of Ghana

The 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana vests the legislative power of Ghana in Parliament. Political parties represented in the 5th Parliament of the Fourth Republic comprising 230 Members are the National Democratic Congress with 115 Members, New Patriotic Party 107 Members, Peoples National Convention 2 Members, Convention Peoples Party 1 Member and 4 Independent Members With the results of the Akwatia constituency outstanding, the membership strength of the House now stands at 229.

For the first time in its history Parliament elected a female as Speaker. The Rt. Hon Speaker is the Head of Parliament assisted by two Deputy Speakers elected from the National Democratic Congress and the New Patriotic Party Leadership of Parliament consists of the Majority Leader and Leader of the House, the Minority Leader, their Deputies as well as Chief Whips and Deputy Whips. Membership of the House is divided into Majority and Minority caucuses. Though the Fourth Republican Constitution prohibits crossing of the carpet a Member of Parliament may, however, opt to collaborate with either side of the divide.

In the discharge of its functions, Parliament is assisted by Standing as well as departmentally related Select Committees. The Parliamentary Service, headed by the Clerk to Parliament, provides administrative and technical support to Parliament to perform efficiently in the passage of laws and exercise effectively oversight of the Executive.

Challenges of Parliament of the Fourth Republic

In its Enhanced Strategic Plan for 2006-2009 Parliament identifies the following as key challenges:

- Improved performance and management of Parliament's legislative functions – Private Members Bills are a very important vehicle that Back Benchers may employ to address some pertinent problems affecting their local communities, but which might not be considered a priority on Government's legislative programme. Exercise of this privilege currently seems to be hibernating as a result of restrictive interpretation of some constitutional provisions. This poses a major challenge that could be addressed through the establishment of mechanisms that would ensure the introduction of Private Members Bills either independently of the public purse or by effecting constitutional amendments to make the cost thereof a direct charge on the public purse.
- Making Parliament more relevant to the needs of the public is yet another major challenge considering the fact that the mandate of the MP spans across representation, conducting of outreach programs and servicing of constituents on location. The establishment of parliamentary centers will to a large extent furnish a platform for a more relaxed Parliament cum civil society engagement outside the four walls of the precincts of Parliament devoid of bureaucratic candor.
- Enhancing the performance of Parliament's oversight functions also poses a great challenge against the backdrop of the apparent executive-legislative fusion that is occasioned by the constitutional requirement that majority of cabinet ministers be appointed from the membership of Parliament. To mitigate the apprehension associated with such a fusion, initiatives for strengthening Select Committees are imperative.

- Improving knowledge, skills and competency of MPs, leaders and staff in the institutional development equation necessitates the establishment of a training institute for the Parliament of Ghana. Though measures are far advanced for the realisation of this objective, more proactive interventions are required to foster and shore up the initiative.
- Improved institutional, logistical and IT capacity is a major prerequisite for organizational efficiency and effectiveness. In confronting this challenge an appropriate information management system and innovative information technology mechanisms have to be adopted to drive the operations of Parliament.

Overview of the cooperation between FES and Parliament of Ghana

As the adage goes, a friend in need is a friend indeed. When the Parliament of Ghana needed a development partner, it readily found one in Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES).

The history of the evolution of the Parliament of Ghana over the years will not be complete without acknowledging the cooperation of FES. Today Ghana is touted internationally as Africa's success story of parliamentary democracy and good governance, however, the effectiveness of Parliament in translating its constitutional mandate into concrete benefits for the nation presented it with such a gargantuan challenge that it would have found difficult to surmount as a stand-alone institution. Beyond the regular Government of Ghana funding of programmes and activities of Parliament lay a yawning budgetary gap that the collaboration and assistance of development partners have been timely in filling thereby facilitating the work and programmes of Parliament. However, development partners started their cooperation with Parliament a few years after the inauguration of the Fourth Republic. FES, however, was the first international

organisation that committed itself to cooperate with Parliament and to contribute to its development as a key democratic institution.

Impact of FES cooperation

In those critical years of the inception of the First Parliament of the Fourth Republic after a decade of abeyance of parliamentary democracy, FES rightly sensed the need for capacity building and institutional renewal as a first step to positioning Parliament to tackle the Herculean task of entrenching the country's fledgling democracy. Pursuant to this objective FES has collaborated with Parliament since 1993 in running series of workshops/seminars on capacity building and institutional strengthening for a number of Parliamentary Select Committees.

Workshops for the Parliamentary Select Committee on Foreign Affairs enabled Members to gain considerable insight into international diplomacy, Ghana's policy on international relations, conflict resolution, Ghana's peacekeeping drives as well as regional integration. Trans-border crimes such as human and drug trafficking pose grave threat to the security of countries within the ECOWAS sub-region. Workshops were, therefore, organised jointly for Ghana's Parliamentary Select Committees on Foreign Affairs and Defence and Interior as well as for Parliamentarians of the ECOWAS sub-region to formulate strategies to combat these menace within the ambit of their respective national security frameworks in line with established ECOWAS Protocols.

Multilateral agreements of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA) between ACP and EU member countries generated considerable debate as to Ghana's role and justification for her continued membership of these multilateral organisations. FES collaboration workshops were organised for the Select Committee on Tourism, Trade and Industry to undertake a

critical examination of those agreements. Similar workshops were also run for ECOWAS Parliamentarians to find a common ground on the basis of which their respective Governments were to be entreated to negotiate those multilateral agreements.

A catalogue of the benefits derived by the Parliament of Ghana from FES cooperation may not be exhaustive without making reference to study tours that took both the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Select Committee on Tourism, Trade and Industry to Geneva to participate in a WTO seminar, and the Chairman to a WTO Conference in Germany. Members of the Committee also benefited from the Workshop on "Development Strategies" in Africa preceding the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development – UNCTAD XII - held in Ghana in 2008 at which topical issues relating to African development strategies, development finance and liberalisation, and trade, growth and poverty were discussed.

Revitalisation of the local government sector brought in its wake a massive decentralisation programme. Again FES rallied to the support of Parliament by organising series of workshops to position the Parliamentary Select Committee on Local Government and Rural Development to effectively exercise its oversight responsibility in effectuating the programme.

In the area of women empowerment, FES spearheaded the establishment of the Women's Caucus in Parliament. Within a relatively short period of its existence the Caucus has carved an indelible footprint on the international stage through effective participation in programmes of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the African Parliamentary Union. In 2007 the Caucus emerged as a force to reckon with by organising a Women Parliamentarians' Conference in Ghana and galvanising a distinguished patronage from across the African continent.

FES also facilitated dialogue between organised labour and the Committee on Employment, Social Welfare and State Enterprises on the Labour Bill culminating in the passage of the Labour Act of 2003, Act 651. Formation of a labour caucus in Parliament, as an initiative of FES, would no doubt be helpful in shoring up the tenets of the Labour Act and in fostering industrial harmony for accelerated development.

Publication in 2004 of the first guide book of Parliament titled 'A Guide to the Parliament of Ghana' funded entirely by FES represents yet another feather in its cap. In the preface to the Guide Book, this was what the Clerk to Parliament then had to say, "The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Ghana, deserves very special mention for kindly supporting the Parliamentary Service of Ghana in the publication of this Guidebook" The guide book saves Parliament huge sums of money which otherwise it would have had to invest in the preparation and printing of flyers on the activities of Parliament for distribution to stakeholders and the numerous visitors to the House. The book also serves as an interface between Parliament and civil society.

FES also extended its collaboration to the organisation of induction workshops/seminars to introduce new Members to the procedure, rules, practice and management of Parliament as well as serve as a refresher for their older colleagues. Without such an induction the task of getting newly elected Members to learn at first hand the complicated procedures of Parliament would have been quite arduous.

As a people-centered institution, Parliament formulated a public awareness programme to make the public take full advantage of the services and opportunities offered by Parliament for promotion of peoples' rights and wellbeing. This initiative received significant support between 2005 and 2008 through FES cooperation

which made it possible for Parliament to launch outreach programmes to all the 10 regional capitals of the country. This assistance positively impacted the awareness drive and served to galvanise increased public participation in Parliamentary forums at which issues of public concern were addressed. Parliament was encouraged by the overwhelming public support for the programme to institutionalise the establishment of Parliamentary Centers to leverage public involvement in its programmes and activities.

Way forward for FES cooperation with the Parliament of Ghana

In forging the way forward for future FES cooperation with the Parliament of Ghana:

- FES may adopt the Parliamentary Training Institute for conversion into a regional training institute to cater for the training needs of Parliamentarians and staff of Parliaments in Africa. Considerable goodwill exists among African Parliaments to see such an institute established in Ghana, as a bastion of parliamentary democracy, to fill that void. The institute will not only serve as a rallying point for the harmonisation of parliamentary processes, policies and programmes that cut across the continent but also provide an impetus to regional integration and interoperability of IT applications in the various African Parliaments.
- Parliament may also be supported by FES to foster its anti-corruption and ombudsman roles. An elaborate system may be developed to enable Parliament to more effectively handle petitions that the public may present to it as a means of expanding the frontiers of grievance resolution and management.
- FES may set up a special fund to promote Private Members Bill initiatives to deepen Ghana's fledgling democracy and also broaden the legislative spectrum of Parliament.

- Many communities in Ghana lack regular and electronic library facilities. The usefulness of the parliamentary centers that Parliament is in the process of establishing may be enhanced by the incorporation of libraries to facilitate the inculcation of research culture in the youth and also check delinquency. FES may wish to consider extending its collaboration to this initiative as it will go a long way to bridge the rural-urban gap.

Conclusion

If the aspirations of Ghana to attain a middle-income status as an emerging market are to be realised within a reasonable time frame, then institutional strengthening of the watchdog role of Parliament in the management of the economy would have to be geared towards optimisation of the country's resources, including the newly discovered oil reserves, for the benefit of the people. In this regard FES cooperation is as crucial today as it was 40 years ago.

Chapter Four
Fighting for Gender Equality:
Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES) in Ghana.
By Rose Mensah-Kutin (PhD)
ABANTU for Development West Africa
Accra-Ghana

1.0 Introduction

As one of the pillars of democratic governance, the holding of successful elections points to some marked level of commitment on the part of citizens and the state, to establish a democratic environment within which development can be promoted. Another important component of the promotion of democratic governance is that of inclusiveness through the promotion of human rights. Indeed Ghana recognises the value this brings into the process of development and has made provisions within the 1992 constitution to ensure compliance. Article 12 (2) of the constitution talks about fundamental human rights and freedoms and notes categorically that “every person in Ghana whatever his race, place of origin, political opinion, colour, religion, creed or gender shall be entitled to the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the individual contained in this chapter, but subject to repeal for the rights and freedoms of others and for the public interest”.

While Ghana has made a lot of progress on many of the issues listed in the constitution on the promotion of human rights, when it comes to the promotion of women's rights, there are huge gaps that need to be addressed. In this paper therefore we are interested in discussing efforts being made by the FES in supporting women's organisations and institutions to promote women's rights in Ghana. After this introduction, some information about the state of gender equality in policy making and implementation in Ghana is provided. This is followed up with a discussion on the extent to which women have opportunity to participate in politics and public life, the impact of FES' work on gender equality, and how this can

be deepened to improve the current state of affairs on gender equality promotion and the way forward.

2.0 Gender Equality in Policy-making and Implementation in Ghana.

Similar to many other countries in the world and in Africa specifically, Ghana has signed onto many international and regional agreements and conventions. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) for example, is an important document that seeks to promote the political, social and economic rights of women. Article 7 of the Convention specifically calls on “state parties to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country”. Even though some efforts have been made to promote women's rights, it is obvious that the Ghanaian state has not succeeded in honouring its obligations under the 1992 Constitution, the CEDAW commitments and those under the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and its Outcome Document (Beijing +5), as well as other international instruments to promote gender equality. In Ghana, as a result of the low priority given to women's participation and representation in politics and public life, women are unable to sufficiently demand accountability as collective and individual actors, policy-makers are therefore largely uninformed about women's needs and preferences leading to a situation where gender responsiveness is largely lacking from areas such as health, water, energy, education, agriculture and employment.

With specific reference to women, a number of laws have been passed over the years to enhance their well-being. These include the Marriage Laws, Intestate Succession Law PNDC 111 (1995) (which is being reviewed). Amendments of the criminal law contained in the Consolidated Criminal Code also have provisions to protect women from harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation.

The Children's Act protects children from early marriage and the Matrimonial Causes Act supports women seeking divorce under both customary and ordinance marriages. The Trafficking Law was passed in 2006, while a landmark Domestic Violence Law was passed in 2007 after active struggle by the Domestic Violence Coalition (DV Coalition). In spite of these laws, Ghanaian women have to still contend with biases and discriminatory practices in employment, marriage, divorce and in access to resources such as land, labour capital, and technology.

3.0 Opportunities For Women to Participate in Public Life in Ghana.

Historically Ghanaian women have shown a keen interest in traditional structures of decision-making and have played very important roles in their households, in the economy and in political leadership. However colonial rule and the introduction of Christianity and Islam transformed the social relationships between women and men changing the character of women's recognised roles and responsibilities from a status of valuation and affirmation, to one of domination, low status and of little value.

In spite of all the above, women actively participated in the struggle for independence. The late President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of the then Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) recognised the important contributions of women and in 1960, passed the Representation of People's Act (Women members) in 1960 to allow for the election of 10 women into Parliament. In 1965, nine (9) more women were elected into parliament increasing the female representation to 19. This Affirmation Action initiative was the first of its kind in Africa and if the trend had continued perhaps women's ability to influence national policies may have taken a different turn. In the Second Republic for example, only one woman was elected as against 139 men. This number increased to two (2) after a bye election. The third republic also found only five (5) women elected into a 140 member parliament.

Following the return to constitutional rule after years of military dictatorship, there was a significant increase in the number of women elected into Parliament under the Fourth Republic. As indicated in Table 1 below, 16 women were elected in 1992 increasing to 18 in 1996 and 19 in 2000. In the year 2004 the number again increased to 25. However in 2008 the country has witnessed a deviation in terms of the number of women elected parliament with a drop from 25 to 20. Although the number of women elected into parliament in previous elections was low, the trend was positive as the numbers kept increasing although insignificantly as shown in the table, expect in the 2008 elections.

**Table 1: Women's Participation in Elections from 1992-2008
(Electoral Commission data).**

	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008
No. of candidates	23	53	95	104	103
No. elected	16	18	19	25	20
Total no of seats in Parliament	200	200	230	230	230
Percentage (%) in Parliament	8.0	9.0	9.5	10.9	8.6

As elected members, women's participation in local government is extremely low and not related to their proportion in the population. There is evidence however that even though participation stands at a low of 10.1%, representation has been increasing over time as the table below indicates:

Table 2: Women's Participation in Local Government Elections from 1998-2006

Year	female Candidates	Male Candidates	female Elected	Male Elected	female Participation by Percentage	Male Participation by Percentage
1998	547	14,673	196	4,158	4.5	95.5
2002	965	12,625	341	4,241	7.4	92.6
2006	1,772	13,170	478	4,244	10.1	89.9

Source: Electoral Commission of Ghana (2006).

With reference to appointments, a directive from the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development to the assemblies to implement quotas in the appointment of members is the clearest example in Ghana of using quotas to promote women's participation in public decision making. In 1998 the instruction was for a quota of 30% of appointed membership for women. Evidence however points to the inability of over 30% of assemblies to meet this quota. Such low patterns of representation of women is as a result of the lack of any concrete policy measures that would ensure that structural inequalities between women and men are considered in promoting participation in decisions.

4.0 Impact of FES work on Gender Equality.

The achievement of gender equality depends on the ability of critical actors to build upon the accountability of power holders to women so that power holders are answerable for meeting commitments to women's rights and gender equality. In Ghana several women's organisations, networks and coalitions have worked hard to expose gender-based injustices and to demand redress from powerful actors. This effort has largely been supported by development partners working in collaboration with civil society and state institutions.

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) has since its establishment in Ghana 40 years ago been in on the forefront of supporting initiatives by women's groups towards the realisation of political, legal and economic equality between women and men. In its work with the Ghana Trades Union Congress (GTUC), Parliament, the youth and political parties, FES has applied a gender responsiveness approach and practice to promote good governance. Indeed the FES moves the definition of "governance" from the restricted view which focuses on a sound management of the economy, to a broader view that encompasses political pluralism and issues of social and economic inequality. For the FES therefore democratic governance means an agenda for participation by women and men on an equal basis, and the promotion of human rights and social justice. In practice FES works to ensure that the social relations that undermine women's capacity to participate in public decisions are addressed as a means of promoting inclusiveness and women's rights in the management of public affairs.

FES has prioritised women's participation in politics and public life as an entry point for partnering with civil society and women's groups to build capacities and engage with the state. The FES has adopted two interrelated approaches in implementing its programmes on the promotion of gender equality; namely, promoting gender-responsiveness in all areas of its work and specifically working to prioritise women's participation in governance processes with a special emphasis on reversing the under-representation of women in politics and public life. Among the landmark contributions to the promotion of gender equality in Ghana, FES has achieved the following; supporting the production and implementation of the Women's Manifesto for Ghana; supporting processes of learning and sharing of Africa regional and international best practices; organisation of training programmes targeting women in political parties to enhance their visibility and activism in governance processes in Ghana; commissioning relevant research on gender

equality issues and publishing them for use by a wider constituency; media engagement on gender equality issues; institutional strengthening and development.

4.1 Production, Launch and Dissemination of the Women's Manifesto for Ghana.

As an expression of its commitment to the promotion of gender equality in Ghana, FES was the first international organisation that provided support for the initiative of producing The Women's Manifesto for Ghana (The Manifesto) a political document that outlines critical issues of concern to women in Ghana and makes demands for addressing them. FES supported the Women's Manifesto Coalition and its host, ABANTU for Development, to conceptualise and implement actions leading to the production of the document. It also supported the organisation of press conferences to discuss the process and content of the Manifesto throughout the period of its production from June 2003 to August 2004. The FES also provided institutional support to the host, sponsored the publication of the Manifesto, and contributed to its launch, wider dissemination and subsequent re-printing.

The important role FES has played in relation to The Women's Manifesto for Ghana has impacted on the whole policy-making landscape of Ghana as far as gender equality promotion is concerned. The Manifesto provides a platform of a common set of demands for the achievement of gender equality and equity and sustainable national development. It has allowed women to articulate their concerns in both the national Elections of 2004 and 2008 as well as in district level elections. Women are also using the Manifesto as an empowering framework to demand accountability from policy makers and other duty bearers.

4.2 Initiatives on Best Practices on Gender Equality Promotion.

FES has also been influential in supporting women's groups in Ghana to link their activism with African regional and international initiatives on gender equality promotion. Notable among this have been two important meetings, one on experiences from other countries on promoting women's participation in politics and public life, organised in 2005 and another on gender tools and frameworks in 2006. Those meetings brought together critical actors from across Africa to learn and share best practices as a means of enhancing understanding of issues related to the promotion of women's rights and gender equality.

4.3 Strengthening the Leadership Capacity of Women In Political Parties

The FES has also worked with some organisational members of the Women's Manifesto Coalition to implement a modular training programme to strengthen the capacity of women in all the political parties in Ghana. The course which started in 2005 is in its third phase of implementation. The programme is executed within a period of seven (7) months with one session of two (2) days being run each month taking into account the multiple responsibilities of women and the challenges posed by this on their time, energy and resources. As a result of the programme about forty (40) women from all the seven political parties in Ghana have strengthened their knowledge and skills on critical issues of democracy, economics and gender equality. They have also institutionalised an inter-party networking and collaboration relationship among themselves as women as a means of acknowledging their common and differential interests in party politics. Indeed a number of women who have benefited from the training are holding important positions in government today.

4.4 Research and Publications

Another impactful element of FES work in women's rights promotion in Ghana has been in the area of research and publications. It has supported a number of intellectuals and academics to undertake research in critical issues of concern to women such as governance, economics, leadership and affirmative action. This component of FES' work highlights the importance of research and publications in strengthening knowledge, awareness and accountability to women's rights and gender equality.

4.5 Media Engagement on Gender Equality Promotion.

As part of FES' support of women's rights promotion in Ghana, it has established an active collaborative relationship with the media to enhance their responsiveness to gender equality and engage with them as active constituents in women's rights promotion. Initiatives such as working with Women in Broadcasting (WIB) on gender mainstreaming in print and electronic media have yielded results particularly in enhancing the visibility of women in politics and decision-making. Such strong collaborative relationships have also enabled the FES to support platforms on critical gender issues as and when necessary. Examples are the press conferences held during the production of the Women's Manifesto and others organised before election 2008 on the need to enhance women's representation.

4.6 Affirmative Action

In its quest to promote women's active presence in politics and decision-making, FES has demonstrated commitment by initiating and facilitating the development of a background paper on Affirmative Action in Ghana. This is expected to feed into processes of discussion on the subject at different levels culminating into the development of an Affirmative Action Policy/Law in Ghana in the near future.

4.7 Institutional Strengthening and Development.

Through its collaborative relationship with the women's movement in Ghana, particularly the Women's Manifesto Coalition, FES has succeeded in making a valuable contribution to the institutional development of women's organisations in Ghana. The relationships are based on mutual respect, trust, accountability and transparency. The nature of the cooperation relationships also allows the women's groups to implement some of their programmes which they would otherwise have sourced funding for. In so doing both the technical and political project of promoting gender equality as a process to enhance broader public interest is significantly expanding.

5.0 Improving the State of Affairs on Gender Equality Promotion

The achievement of gender equality depends on making demands on power holders to demonstrate accountability to women by meeting international, regional and national commitments to women's rights and gender equality. As the evidence highlighted throughout this document shows, FES has made significant progress supporting women's organisations to build their movements to achieve this. In Ghana there is some marked improvement in national interest and responses to women's needs in areas such as education. This means that the situation can change in other areas as well particularly in the area of politics and public life. How the FES positions itself to effect relevant changes in policies to impact positively on women's representation in public life is a major challenge ahead. It can do this by supporting the women's movement to develop the needed political leverage and power to see that mandates become changed practices. Women's collective action is the most powerful means for overcoming barriers, strengthening women's voices and promoting their rights. Women's representation at all levels of decision-making in government, the economy and the community level is critical for issues of concern to women to be addressed.

In all of this, the experience of other countries show that temporary special measures such as quotas are useful in overcoming barriers and resistance to women's leadership. In some countries such affirmative measures have been applied in electoral politics, institutions and boards of corporation. Such measures can be backed by strong constituencies that actively demand gender equality, while institutional capacity is also built to ensure effective implementation of gender equality policies. It is in this connection that the FES has to continue strengthening its work with women's groups particularly in terms of building coalitions and partnerships around critical gender issues such as women's political participation.

6.0 The Way Forward

It has been established that at the present rate of increase, women's political representation in developing countries will not reach the "parity zone" of between 40% and 60% until 2047 (Progress of the World's Women, 2009).

As stated earlier therefore, the FES has to strengthen its commitment to working with women's groups and gender equality advocates. It must do this through allocating more resources to women's rights promotion. It must also deepen its support for affirmative action measures that will accelerate the increase in women's political participation. It can also support women's groups to strengthen their active participation in other processes currently going on in the country such as the democratisation and public funding of political parties, as well as constitutional and electoral reforms. It should also work towards supporting women's groups to influence gender committees and caucuses in Parliament, and advocate for governance reforms. Finally, it should continue to support women interested in politics and public affairs through strengthening their knowledge and capacities.

Chapter Five

Promoting Free Press and Media Pluralism-FES in Ghana

By Kabral Blay-Amihere

Ghana has come a long way among the community of nations when it comes to the question of press freedom. Not too long ago annual global verification of press freedom always placed Ghana among countries with poor record in press freedom and human rights but today Ghana is rated among the very top in Africa and in the world at large. The evidence is all over vibrant media landscape with over 100 FM stations, private and state owned broadcasting networks existing side by side, over 50 private newspapers and a general atmosphere of freedom of expression. Many individuals and organisations contributed to a free press in Ghana but in my mind one institution which stands towering high among all others is the Friedrich Ebert Foundation that celebrates its first 40 years of establishment of its office in Ghana this year.

As a former General Secretary of the Ghana Journalists Association from 1985-1988 and President of the association from 1993-1996 and a long time operator on the international media scene as both President of the West African Journalists Association and Executive Member of the International Federation of Journalists who worked with the FES both in Ghana and in the sub-region, I feel modestly qualified to evaluate the role of the FES in the promotion of press freedom in Ghana.

I recall my very first encounter with the FES sometime in 1977 when Ghana was under the military rule of the Supreme Military Council headed by General Ike Kutu Acheampong. Those were the days when press freedom was under siege and few dared to associate with the media. The FES held a very successful seminar on the Media and Labour. The seminar gave a platform to the Ghana Journalists Association which in the subsequent communiqué not only touched on the vital

question of the media promoting the rights of workers but most importantly called for the reinstatement of some journalists who had been transferred to the Ministry of Information from their newspapers, an act that was seen as a form of intimidation and punishment. The years that followed, particularly the 10 years of another military rule from 1981 to 1991 marked some decline in the activities of the GJA and consequently relations with any major partners including the FES. But for the records relations between the GJA and FES picked up in 1988 when Edward Ameyibor was elected the President of the GJA.

1991 marked a crucial development in the relations between the FES and GJA when just on the eve of return to multiparty rule in Ghana the FES sponsored a major conference on the Media and Democracy which saw participants raising the clarion call for a more liberal media atmosphere. This conference coming after a long period of culture of silence beginning with the advent of the PNDC military government, the subsequent arrests and detention of journalists, the closure of the Free Press and the Catholic Standard and the passage of a Newspaper Licensing Law in 1989 opened the discourse and debate that influenced the far reaching provisions in the 1992 Constitution that entrenched press freedom in Ghana.

It is also pertinent to mention here that from 1988 to 1992, during the Presidency of Edward Ameyibor, the FES and the GJA embarked on a massive educational programme through seminars, workshops and conferences that essentially aimed at improving and strengthening the professional competence and skill of Ghanaian journalists. These seminars also addressed the fundamental issue of media accountability. The seminars were not limited to only journalists in Accra but reached out to journalists in all the other nine regions. Seminars and workshops were rotated among the regional capitals.

By the time I was elected President of the GJA in 1993 the collaboration between the FES and GJA had reached appreciable heights which even reached higher levels with the then Resident Director Dr. Peter Mayer. Of major concern in those years immediately after the repeal of the Newspaper Licensing Law in 1991 and the advent of constitutional rule in 1992 which witnessed the mushrooming of many newspapers was the spate of ethical violations which threatened press freedom. With the support of the FES, the GJA embarked on months of discussion of ethical conduct among its members. The GJA as a professional association at that time did not have a code of ethics. A Committee headed by a veteran journalist, David Anaglate, then the Director of GBC Radio was charged with drawing up a draft code of ethics which was discussed and adopted at a congress in Sunyani in May 1994. The FES went further and sponsored the publication of the new code of ethics into pocket size books and posters which were freely distributed among members of the GJA. The passage of the Code of Ethics provided an easy reference and guide to journalists and has since then been in use. The Ethics Committee of the GJA and the Awards Committee of the GJA have used the 1994 Code of Ethics in their work.

One other important dimension of the role of the GJA during the years of Peter Mayer as Resident Director of FES and Kabral Blay-Amihere as President of GJA was the institution of annual review conferences-STATE OF THE MEDIA CONFERENCES-which brought journalists and members of the public to critically review the performance of the media. Participants came from academia, the judiciary, the bar, the legislature and the executive as well as ordinary patrons of the media from the general public. The proceedings of the annual review conferences were published into books. In fact at a time when there were few books on the media, the FES helped by publishing proceedings of the various seminars into books to enrich the literary traditions of Ghana. The publication of the proceedings of a conference on

BOUNDARIES OF PRIVACY AND PUBLIC LIFE with the same title received rare reviews in the media and helped to inject a sense of media accountability among GJA's members. This was at a time when the press of Ghana was accused of infringing the privacy of several public servants including very highly placed members of government. The publicity and awareness generated by these seminars and publications helped to deepen the general consciousness of the Ghanaian public about the importance of press freedom to good governance and sensitized journalists about their social responsibilities.

The FES had a broad view of press freedom which among other things saw a strong GJA as the bastion of press freedom. Thus the FES played a major role in the development of organs of the GJA like its Ethics Committee and the transformation of the Ghana International Press Centre into a multi-purpose headquarters of the GJA. In fact the role of the GJA in the promotion of press freedom and professional standards became much more effective and prominent when its leadership set up a press centre from rented premises and subsequently built its own premises. The FES at the establishment of the GIPC in 1994 provided computers for the new office then at Korle Bu Road and air conditioners when the GIPC was relocated at Kwame Nkrumah Circle. It was again upon a strong recommendation from the FES, that the International Federation of Journalists adopted the GIPC and provided funding for the smooth running of the GIPC for the first two years.

With operations and offices in the 1990s in Dakar, Abidjan, and Cotonou, the FES also sought to promote press freedom in the sub-region and therefore facilitated participation of GJA members and executives in educational seminars in the various countries. These visits and exchanges contributed in no small measure to create a useful network for Ghanaian journalists and their colleagues. But beyond that, the FES played a very major role in empowering the media in Ghana and the sub-region

when it hosted an international conference on the STATE OF THE MEDIA IN WEST AFRICA and the Congress of the West African Journalists Association in Accra in 1996. It was at this conference that I was elected President of WAJA, a position that enabled the GJA and its President to lead the struggle for press freedom in West Africa and share its unique experiences with other professional associations in the sub-region. Several associations emulated the GJA's example and set up press houses. The proceedings of the conference edited by Niyi Alabi and Kabral Blay-Amihere were published in both French and English and provided a useful insight into the state of press freedom in West Africa and the experiences of journalists.

This account will not be complete without a special mention of a two-year training programme that the FES and the European Union organized for the many journalists on the new media in Ghana who had not had formal training in schools of journalism. Organised after working hours, this programme introduced to these journalists basics in journalism like news writing, features writing and the GJA's code of ethics. The writing skills of many of these journalists improved considerably. Even those journalists who had had some formal education broadened both their professional and intellectual horizons after participating in the programme. By also sponsoring some journalists over the years to undertake professional visits to Germany, the FES has helped to expose Ghanaian journalists to the outside world.

What has been remarkable about the partnership between the GJA and the FES is that the FES has in the last two decades in particular always been on hand to support programmes of the GJA. The FES for instance stepped in when funding for the GJA's off-record programme-MEDIA ENCOUNTER by the Ashanti Goldfields Company stopped. This was a programme that created the platform for public figures to speak on fundamental issues in a relaxed off-the record atmosphere. Through funding by FES, the programme was relaunched under the name "Media Dialogues" and has since served public discourse very well.

As Ghana celebrates five successful elections since 1992, a feat which has won the acclamation of the international community and President Barrack Obama, we cannot forget the singular contribution of the GJA and the FES to free and fair elections in Ghana. From 1992 and for every election, the FES supported the GJA to hold workshops nationwide for journalists on political and elections reporting and further sponsored the publication of proceedings of the seminars into easy to read manuals which have positively shaped Ghanaian journalists in their general coverage of elections and politics as a whole.

For its numerous contributions, the GJA under my Presidency recognised the FES for partnering the association to create enabling conditions for press freedom and the practice of journalism in Ghana during its Annual Awards Ceremony in 1995. The FES surely deserved that recognition. In the struggle for press freedom in Ghana many individuals and organisation, as I stated in the introduction played various roles that have brought us this far, but the FES by recognising the strategic role of professional bodies in the promotion of a free and responsible press and by helping the GJA, the umbrella association of all Ghanaian journalists to reach its present status deserves the highest commendation.

As a General Secretary and President of the GJA at rather very difficult times when the GJA with so little championed the struggle for press freedom in Ghana, I know very well the heights we have reached today and can confidently and boldly state that the FES has been the GJA's major partner in the struggle for press freedom in Ghana. But let it also be said that in its work with the press, the FES has also supported vital media organisations like the National Media Commission since it started operations in 1992 and through its sponsorship of programmes for the labour movement and other institutions in civil society helped to broaden the frontiers of free speech and freedom of expression in Ghana.

For instance, FES has supported the National Media Commission (NMC) to formulate guidelines for political reportage of elections. The NMC collaborated with the FES to train journalist across the country on the said guidelines. In the year 2004, FES supported the NMC by donating monitoring equipment to set up a Media Monitoring Centre to monitor media reportage of political issues leading to the General Elections that year. Another support FES made on the media landscape worth mentioning is the capacity building/induction workshops for new members of the NMC.

Although a lot has been achieved in media freedoms a lot remains to be done in the wake of new challenges facing the expanding media of Ghana particularly in the field of broadcast journalism and media education. The future of good governance will to a large extent continue to depend on how the press lives up to its responsibilities. The FES with its rich track record of 40 years as a partner for media development in Ghana should hopefully continue to work with the GJA and other institutions to deepen press freedom in Ghana

Ambassador Kabral Blay-Amihere is Ghana's former High Commissioner to Sierra Leone (2001-2005) and Ambassador to Cote d'Ivoire (2006-2009). He is a past General Secretary and President of the GJA, President of the West Africa Journalists

Chapter Six

Championing Workers' Rights – FES in Ghana

by Brother Adu-Amankwah K.

Championing workers' rights has been the *raison d'être* and driving force of the Ghana Trades Union Congress (GTUC) in the sixty four years of its existence. In this endeavour, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) has been one of its worthy cooperating partners over the last forty years.

Ghana TUC was launched in August 1945 in the then Gold Coast mainly under the leadership of the railway workers and initially brought together fourteen affiliates with a total membership of 6030. Most of the affiliates were then house unions established in the public sector with the mine workers, private road transport workers and commercial workers being the more prominent private sector workers in those early years. Four years into its existence in the last quarter of 1949, Ghana TUC's support for workers of the Meteorological Services whose strike for higher pay and better conditions of service had resulted in the dismissal of some workers led the entire trade union movement into a clash with the colonial administration in January 1950. This evolved into a general strike with political undertones against colonial rule as a whole. The confrontation pushed the trade union movement firmly into the ranks of the anti-colonial movement. In the meantime, a major division occurred within the movement, with the Gold Coast Unemployed Workers Association which was formed after the general strike emerging as a new national trade union centre. By 1954, however, through mainly the efforts of the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), the main party that led the country to independence against colonial rule, unity was restored again to secure one national centre, with Ghana TUC playing the role of a strategic ally of the CPP in the anti-colonial struggle and providing many cadres for anti-colonial political activist work.

By the time Ghana attained independence in 1957 Ghana TUC had grown to more than 80 affiliates. Meanwhile, from 1954, the Annual Conferences of Ghana TUC had begun considering issues of restructuring of the organisation and thus in 1958 got the CPP in government to strengthen its alliance with it by passing the Industrial Relations Act, 1958 (Act 56) to provide legal backing for a restructured organisation with a number of new features. The new features included the regrouping of the house unions into national industrial unions thereby reducing the number from over 80 to 24 (now 17); the institution of check-off system of dues collection; the institution of union right to collective bargaining once a trade union was duly registered; the legal recognition of Ghana TUC as the sole national trade union centre and representative of workers as well as institution of its control over its national union affiliates; the institution of compulsory arbitration in industrial dispute settlement and the virtual abolition of the right to strike. Later legislation also made union membership compulsory for public sector workers. Protests against the restrictive aspects of the legislation by some of the unions including the railway workers and the UAC Africa Employees Union with the support of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) then led to amendments in the legislation culminating in the first major review of the Industrial Relations Act in 1965 (Act 299) that removed some of the more unsavoury aspects of the legislation for independent and democratic trade union organisation.

In spite of the obvious restrictions on union existence and activity which the legislation by the CPP controlled Parliament ensured and which was challenged with some degree of success by 1965, the strategic alliance between Ghana TUC and the ruling party also contributed to laying the foundations of a number of important areas of work that have occupied Ghana TUC since the country's independence from colonial rule in 1957. Apart from the consolidation of collective

bargaining as a feature of industrial relations fostered by post colonial labour legislation, conditions also encouraged Ghana TUC to establish labour owned enterprises and labour cooperatives, establish vocational and productivity training institutions, participate in Boards of Directors of state owned enterprises, and also by virtue of its relationship with the ruling party, to influence to some extent, the development of government policy on a range of economic and social issues.

The overthrow of the First Republican Government of Ghana in a military-cum-police coup d'etat in 1966 changed the political conditions under which Ghana TUC operated and reduced the organisation's direct influence on state policy as well as state patronage that it enjoyed. The preoccupations have, however, remained by and large, the same.

FES and Ghana TUC Partnership

The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung signed a formal agreement with the Second Republican Government of Ghana in December 1969 that provided a framework for its operations in Ghana and subsequent relations with Ghana TUC as one of its main partners in the country. In the early years of its partnership with Ghana TUC, FES support covered equipment including audio-visual aids, vehicles; vocational training and trade union education; as well as projects in health, housing leading to the construction of residential units in the 1970s into the 1980s for hundreds of workers in two main cities of Kumasi and Takoradi; consumer credit cooperatives at workplaces, also in the 1970s and 1980s when Ghana experienced shortages of consumer items on the open market as a result of regulated market, known as 'price control' in popular parlance.

From the beginning of the 1990s, however, FES cooperation has been active in research and policy development as well as in organisational development. In the

early 1990s FES supported Ghana TUC's restructuring efforts that were important for organisational renewal and for re-positioning the organisation to meet the challenges of democratization that faced Ghana after 19 years of military dictatorship. This included supporting the creation of a Parliamentary Liaison office in Ghana TUC Secretariat. In the course of this decade, support for organisational development has also given rise to a special focus by FES on youth development within the trade union movement. This has mainly taken the form of sponsorship for youth leadership training programmes that span a number of months and only accommodates persons with demonstrable commitment to contribute to the development of the trade union movement.

In terms of research and policy, FES throughout the 1990s and since the beginning of 2000 has supported a number of studies on social, labour market and economic issues that have formed the basis of Ghana TUC policy intervention. Some of these issues concerned education and social security and pension reform. Beyond supporting these studies, the TUC and FES jointly organised roundtable discussions for trade union leaders to disseminate such studies and thereby helped foster the relations between university researchers and the trade unions. Furthermore, forums between Ghana TUC leaders and sub-committees of Parliament to provide the opportunities for lobbying on a range of policy issues have been organised. But also in terms of policy, one of the most consistent areas of FES partnership with Ghana TUC over the past decade and more have been the forums for engagement between trade union leaders, researchers and government and opposition political leaders on government annual budgets. The other major area of policy intervention that FES has partnered Ghana TUC to grow in is in the area of international trade, especially with regard to the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA) between the European Union (EU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). FES support in this area through the conduction of studies and the education and training of trade

union leaders and cadres has made important contribution to Ghana TUC's ability to intervene on matters of trade. FES support in this area has actually contributed to the institution of a West African Trade Union Task Force on trade which is mainly responsible for following developments in this area and advising the trade union leadership in West Africa as a whole. Through the work of this Task Force FES is also contributing to strengthening the bases and some elements of the framework of West African trade union organisation.

Ghana TUC and FES into the Future

Ghana TUC continues to be the leading labour organisation in Ghana and has currently mapped out its strategic areas of work towards addressing the challenges that face workers of Ghana and their organisation. These include organising and organisational development; institutionalising education and training and establishing the appropriate synergies between them and research and policy; and strengthening its international relations, especially in Africa.

Ghana TUC's work in organising involves strengthening the role of the centre in facilitating or promoting membership recruitment by its affiliates. It also involves renewed effort at extending trade union coverage to workers in the informal economy. Organising work is also promoting cooperation between Ghana TUC and non affiliated labour organisations on a range of issues on a common platform of Organised Labour. Organisational development on the other hand is focusing on strengthening the structures of the organisation and improving internal democracy and membership participation in the work of the union. This is being carried out through restructuring of the secretariat and in promoting activism of women and youth structures in carrying forward the organisation's activities.

In the area of education and training, Ghana TUC has consolidated its partnership with the University of Cape Coast in providing quality education to its cadre and activists. The challenge remains, however, of institutionalizing education and training in a manner that ensures that trade union operatives at all levels acquire their relevant formation. In terms of Research and Policy, the establishment of the Labour Research and Policy Institute represents an important step in promoting the role of research in the development of policy by Ghana TUC and in ensuring that these become an integral part of trade union intervention in Ghana. Further work needs to be undertaken in consolidating research and policy work and in ensuring that the appropriate relationship is established between them and education and training.

In respect of international relations, strengthening links with the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is considered strategic by Ghana TUC. This is to be complemented by developing bilateral relations with a number of other trade unions in different sub regions of Africa with the overall objective of strengthening African regional trade union organisation and its role in the processes of regional integration as well as the promotion of good governance in Africa.

Given the record of its partnership with the labour movement in Ghana, it can be expected that FES will seek to accompany Ghana TUC in fulfilling its strategic objectives in the current period. This would probably work best on the basis of an engagement between the two organisations that leads to the formulation of a programme and activities that stretch over a number of years. As we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of FES in Ghana and commend the Foundation for its enormous contribution to the growth of the trade union movement and the fortunes of Ghana

as a whole, it may also be worthwhile to raise the issue of how FES partnership into the future can be structured to contribute to the financial independence of Ghana TUC in the medium to long term.

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Chapter Seven

Improving Youth Participation in Governance: FES/you-net Partnership by George Sarpong

Barely in its seventh year, the Youth Leadership programme and the party youth training instituted by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and the youth network for human rights and democracy (you-net) have already produced a party General Secretary, several party youth organisers, outstanding student leaders, community organisers, influential journalists and broadcasters, and demonstrated what dynamic young people could do to support peace and development.

Background

By 2002, signs were beginning to emerge about the effects of youth exclusion in Ghana's transition to democracy. The youth in mining communities had begun violent agitations to protest against environmental degradation and abuse of community rights. Anti-small arms campaigners were expressing worry about the proliferation of small arms in the hands of young people. Ghana's porous borders, according to security experts, had become exploitable points for trade in small arms by young fighters and small arms traders West African countries in conflict including Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia. Violent armed robberies were on the ascendancy. In schools and universities, student leaders were increasingly displaying a preference for violent demonstrations and strikes in processing claims on government and school authorities. Never a day passed without a press report of youth clashes with security officials especially the police. Across the country, more and more young people were getting involved in violent conflict. Rival claimants to chieftaincy titles were recruiting the youth for violent attacks on their opponents. Unemployed youth were becoming land guards using deadly weapons to fight for land on behalf of their patrons. Mob lynching of suspected criminals by the youth was rising. In previous elections and especially in the run-up to the 2000 elections,

the nation had witnessed many violent acts by the youth including arson and physical assault on political opponents. There were repeated allegations that in the political parties, party oligarchs were supplying alcohol and drugs to induce the youth into “action” against their opponents. Yet, somehow, the admirable transition from one elected leader to another in 2000 had muted observations about the emerging youth crisis.

The risk from this was three fold. First, widespread youth dissatisfaction and frustration with the democratic process could lead to social unrest which could in turn undermine the young democracy itself. Second, as the clichéd future leaders, their exclusion would leave them ill-prepared for the heritage they would by the natural process of time inherit. The future of democratic Ghana could be undermined without new leaders who shared a defined commitment to the rule of law. Third, as the largest population segment, it made democratic sense to include them in the dialogue on the future of the nation.

There was therefore the need to develop strategies that could capacitate the youth, offer them opportunities for networking and generally help to improve their involvement and participation in the democratic process. This led to the creation of the FES/you-net Youth Leadership Training Programmes (YLTP) and related programmes.

The Youth Leadership Training Programme (YLTP)

The YLTP runs as weekend modular programme. It offers young people the opportunity to explore new ideas in governance and to examine what they can contribute to national development as they hone their skills in leadership. The programme seeks to empower young people with knowledge and skills to help build a constructive youth movement which can lead youth participation in the

democratic process as well as mobilise for social transformation. The programme creates platforms for young people from different ethnic, religious and political backgrounds to learn, interact, work together and build relationships.

Participants are selected based on their commitment to a particular social cause or potential for leadership. The criteria for selection was developed in consultation with various youth groups. Trainees come from student unions, the Trades Union Congress, the political parties and selected civil society groups. Final selection is done after an interview by a panel of experts including youth advocates.

Themes for discussion are chosen by the participants with the help of resource persons with professional training and practical experience in youth leadership. Each weekend, participants go through a module on a particular topic. A typical training session is a mix of expert presentations, syndicate work, simulations and role plays. Some of the favourite themes in the past have included discussions on the history and development of constitutional rule in Ghana, fundamental principles of the 1992 Constitution in Ghana, separation of powers and the relationship between the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, the work and function of independent governance institutions in Ghana, fundamentals of the Ghanaian economy, Ghana in the global economy, decentralisation, traditional institutions and their role under a modern constitution, conflict in Africa, political parties in Ghana, history & development; legal, institutional & regulatory framework of party organisation in Ghana; mobilisation, gender, internal democracy and funding for parties; the electoral system and elections; building strategic alliances and mobilising for elections.

One of the most exciting moments of the training has always been the practitioner sessions where a prominent personality who played a major role in an event of

national and historical significance is invited to share an experience with the participants. Guests to these sessions have included former Ministers, Parliamentarians, Supreme Court Judges and heads of governance institutions.

In one session, Nana Dr. S.K.B. Asante, the man who chaired the panel of experts who drafted the Constitution of Ghana, shared some insight about the process of making the 1992 Constitution. With a blend of wit, humour and deep intellectual analysis, Nana took participants through tales of the intrigues, schemes and negotiations which eventually produced the blue print for governance in Ghana. When it was over, one participant said she felt she had gone “around the nation in a day.” Nana himself, the diplomat, academic and lawyer said he had gone through “perceptive questioning and introspective probing” he had not anticipated from young people.

After training, alumni meet periodically to catch up with the latest information on governance in Ghana especially new government policies that have implications for the youth and to mobilise support for emerging youth initiatives. This forum dubbed Political Café is also used to share experiences and upgrade their knowledge. A related Alumni Training offers special opportunity for trainees to “return” to the classroom on any topic they want to study. This may be an issue that they may have studied but want to return to because of certain new experiences that either challenges their learning or provides a point for debate. It may sometimes also be about an issue which has become topical because of some global occurrence.

Challenges

The biggest challenge which confronted the youth programmes from the start was a general attitude that what was needed to sustain democracy in Ghana was elite commitment. This belief legitimised the marginalisation of other segments of society including women and the youth and trivialised their exclusion as an issue. As

a result, most of the interventions to develop a democratic culture were at the level of elite politicians, academics, business leaders and influential NGOs to the exclusion of the youth. This attitude prevailed as much in politics as in civil society. The elite held considerable doubt about the capacity of the youth to help frame the “big issues.” And even if they could, their relevance.

There was also a cultural dimension, less spoken about but strongly felt that the propriety of putting young people at the same table with their fathers to argue about something the older generation believed the youth had little knowledge about was questionable. After all, it was believed, that the history that defined the democratic experiment was lived by the elders and only read by the youth. It was therefore thought the two generations had no shared experience to dialogue about. There was also the concern that “youth” was a motley collection of people, an amorphous amalgam, usually unemployed and flaunting a tag just to excuse themselves from responsibility. They could not be defined for purposes of representation. From a confused set of definitions that included an age bracket from 12 to 45 years and one that hinged on one's state of mind, critics chided just the process of selection made youth representation and participation unrealistic. In other words, the youth were poorly organised and had no national form to participate in the democratic discourse. The National Union of Ghana Students which had in the past led the youth movement was experiencing internal crisis. Initiating a youth leadership programme under such a context posed considerable challenges.

The situation was much worse in the political parties where youth exclusion had a practical even if debatable explanation. The long spells of military intervention had frustrated the political ambitions of older politicians who saw the reemergence of democratic rule as the last opportunity of their generation. If they missed this time,

they would not be available next time. Therefore, they thought the youth had to wait. After all young people could have another turn. Such people looked upon attempts to capacitate the youth as a revolutionary engagement meant to overthrow the older politicians. They looked at the programme with mixed feelings. There were also those who had genuine fears an interaction between party youth could create conflict. When the idea was first mooted for a training programme which brings together young people from different parties, many people thought it was a recipe for chaos. One party leader said you-net and FES were “building a theater of carnage.” Within the parties, there was a mix of apprehension and anxiety. Some feared their party members would be lured into other parties while some doubted the intentions of the organisers. It took the exceptional leadership skills of certain individuals in the parties to secure the support of their parties. Many people share credit for this effort. But there are some whose contributions must be directly acknowledged. In the New Patriotic Party, Dan Botwe, and John Boadu deserve commendation. In the National Democratic Congress, Hon. Haruna Iddrisu, Hon. Kofi Attor, Ludwig Hlodze and Kofi Adams devoted their energy and intellectual resources to make the programme succeed. Bernard Mornah of the People's National Convention, Oteng-Anane of the Convention People's Party, Divine Ankutse of the Egle Party, and the late Alfred Lartey of the Great Consolidated Popular Party will always be remembered.

The programme also had to confront youth cynicism about the role of knowledge and skill in leadership progression. A sizable number of young people were losing faith in competence as the key determinant of success. Some thought they had real examples to prove that wealth and family connections were more important factors in defining the potential for success than capabilities. As a result, they doubted how much training could contribute to their success in life.

Achievements

The challenges above notwithstanding, the programme has lived up to expectation. The success of the programme can be seen in the individual progress of participants, its contribution to peace building to the nation by reducing tension through relationships among youth of the various parties. Other achievements can also be observed in the many positive youth interventions initiated by graduates of the programme.

Participants can be found in the media, civil society and politics. And in most cases, they testify that they could not have risen to where they are within the structural and cultural hierarchy without the skills, knowledge and networking abilities they obtained from the trainings. Graduates in the political parties have particularly found the leadership and team building skills useful in negotiating various tendencies in their parties.

Out of the training has also emerged a core of youth leaders who are working on very interesting youth interventions together with FES. Some of these interventions include a project which assesses government commitment to youth development by tracking government budgetary allocation to youth oriented programmes.

Another project on youth and the oil has initiated debate on how wealth from the newly discovered oil in Ghana could be better managed to secure a better future for the nation's youth. This project also examines environmental issues surrounding oil exploration and hopes to help youth in the oil communities to engage government and oil companies.

There is also an attempt to retool the National Union of Ghana Students which had played a leading role in Ghana's prodemocracy activism to reengage itself in efforts towards democratic consolidation.

Advocacy for the adoption of a national youth policy has also been led by youth leaders from the training programmes.

Increasing concern about creeping authoritarianism in the administration of Ghanaian universities is being addressed by a group of youth leaders from the training in a project which seeks to improve the state of academic freedom in Ghana. Sexual harassment in universities, long a taboo topic, is one of the cardinal issues planned to be addressed by this group. Another dicey topic under consideration is transparency in student grading.

One of the most impactful outcomes of the programmes is its contribution to peace in Ghana through peaceful mobilisation in the party youth movement. The interactions produced by training activists from different parties together has created a lasting relationship which enables the party youth to talk across parties and resolve differences.

This relationship has been formalised by the creation of the Inter-Party Youth Committee with the support of FES. This forum brings together the youth organisers of the various parties to discuss issues of common concern to the party youth and also to resolve conflict and address internal differences. This has reduced the capacity of conflict entrepreneurs to use the party youth for violent purposes. In the 2008 elections, this was the most crucial element which kept party youth from fighting each other and initiating a national crisis. The story in Ghana would have been different if there had been a ready army for electoral violence in the youth. In Kenya, Zimbabwe and many countries involved in electoral conflicts, while the political elite submitted the arguments and provided the resources for the conflict, the actual protests, looting and attacks were by the youth. In Ghana those who sought violent answers to electoral concerns found no solace in the youth. Through

debate and interactions in the party youth forums, the youth leaders had made a certain commitment to peace and would not be lured by anything.

Over the years, the programme has witnessed increasing numbers of young people from different parties bond together in a common faith in Ghana while keeping their separate beliefs in their parties. On regular basis, young people from different ethnic and political backgrounds have formed alliances across political parties along common interests like soccer, music, fashion and lifestyle.

The future

Into the future, it would be useful to institutionalise the trainings at the regional levels. Currently, trainings at the regional level separately by you-net and FES have been useful but limited in regularity, duration and number of participants.

It will also be useful to initiate a wider advocacy within the donor community to help them understand the youth question and encourage them to support youth programmes. As at now, only FES shows consistent interest in youth programming. A permanent mechanism may also need to be created to monitor public policy and legislation both at the level of the executive and the legislature to ensure that programmes and policies mainstream youth concerns.

In the teeth of all the difficulties, the Youth Leadership Youth Leadership Training Programme has demonstrated the art of the possible. The programme and its related initiatives by graduates have improved public awareness of the youth question. Even though elite attitudes persist, the increasing public comments, even if at the level of rhetoric only, still demonstrates hope is nearer than far. And there is more work to be done.

George Sarpong is the Executive Secretary of the National Media Commission. He was the Executive Director of the Youth Network for Human Rights and Democracy and was part of the team which undertook the design and conceptualisation of FES youth and governance programmes. He also served as a Chief Instructor on the programme.

Chapter Eight

Fraternity Messages

Fraternity Message from the Ghana Trade Union Congress (GTUC) to the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung on the Occasion of FES' 40 Anniversary in Ghana. by Brother Kofi Asamoah, Secretary General, Ghana Trade Union Congress

The Ghana Trades Union Congress and its affiliate national unions as well as the gallant working women and men of Ghana wishes to congratulate the Resident Director and staff of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung on this auspicious occasion of your 40th anniversary. The TUC family is proud and deeply honoured to have been integral part of this forty-year journey you are commemorating today.

Your organisation has been among the first international non-governmental organisations that established in the country soon after our independence. And you are also among the few that survived our turbulent political and economic experiences of the 1970s and 80s. This is a demonstration of your resolute commitment to Ghana's development. Your work over the past forty years in promoting peace, entrenching democratic culture in the country, strengthening civil society, developing independent media and protecting human rights of Ghanaians is without comparison.

Through close collaboration with many civil society organisations and the labour movement, the FES remains a strategic partner in fostering sustainable socio-economic development, and the promotion of equality, fairness, social and economic justice in Ghana.

For us in Ghana TUC and indeed the entire trade union movement in Ghana, we recognise your invaluable contributions towards the promotion and defence of trade union rights in the country. Our cooperation with you covers building the capacity of trade unions through cutting-edge research on labour issues. Through this collaboration, we are please to inform, the Resident Director and your heroic staff that the trade union movement in Ghana is making important strides in participating in policymaking at the highest level in the country.

As you are no doubt aware, the Ghana TUC is perhaps one of the few organisations that have worked consistently with the Foundation since its establishment in the country in the 1960s. The cover note of your standard workshop/conference package states “The Ghana TUC is one of the most long-standing partners of FES”. We owe the Foundation heaps of gratitude for the capacity we have built particularly in this last few years and which has facilitated our effective engagement in the policymaking process in the country.

But like the proverbial Oliver Twist, the Ghana TUC and the entire trade union movement ask for more support. As you may be aware, large swathe of working women and men of this country are trapped in informal employment. They are unorganised and remain sheltered from the protection of our national labour laws. We ask you to extend support to the unions in organising operators in the informal economy.

On this occasion of your 40th anniversary in Ghana, the Ghana TUC family and the working people do not only salute you but we also celebrate your monumental achievements in the socio-economic landscape of this country. While wishing you continued foresight and progress in your work here in Ghana, we promise to remain committed to this invaluable cooperation and go the extra mile to deepen the cooperation.

We say Ayekoo!!!!

Long live FES

Long live FES – Ghana TUC partnership

Long live Ghana

**Fraternity Message from the Parliament of Ghana to
the Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES)
on the Occasion of FES' 40th Anniversary in Ghana**

Forty years after the signing of the agreement of collaboration formalising ties of cooperation between the Government of Ghana and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the Speaker and Members of the 5th Parliament of the 4th Republic of Ghana, pay warm tribute to the Foundation for its determined efforts to realise its objectives of promoting the democratisation process and encouraging socio-economic dialogue in Ghana. Over the years, the efforts to uphold the legacy of Mr. Friedrich Ebert have contributed in no small measure in reducing the country's democratic deficits. Aside from the impressive catalogue of support programmes rendered to government agencies and various sections of the populace notably women interest groups, we in Parliament representing the totality of Ghanaians, have cause to share with the FES the success story of the stability and development of our current 4th Republic. We point to the fact that the work of Consultative Assembly and the Committee of Experts which gave birth to our current Constitution, received substantial support from the Foundation.

Indeed since the inception of the Fourth Republic, Ghana's Parliament has continued to draw on FES support in its institutional strengthening and outreach programmes. A few of the initiatives undertaken by Parliament with the support of the FES include among others: -

- Workshops for Parliamentary Committees notably those on Foreign Affairs; Local Government and Rural Development; and Tourism, Trade and Industry.
- The publication of A Guide to the Parliament of Ghana, the first guide book to the Parliament of Ghana.
- Establishment of the Women's Caucus in Parliament;

- Induction Workshops held for the 4th Parliament of the 4th Republic;
- Parliamentary Outreach Programmes in all the regional capitals between 2005 and 2008

As has been rightly noted, these interventions have gone a long way in building on the deliberative and oversight capacities of Parliament and in opening Parliamentary debates to inputs from relevant stakeholders. The results have been as expected increased interaction with civil society in a manner prescribed by good governance practices. It is not surprising therefore that even the most conservative assessment of Ghana's performance in respect of adherence to democratic expectations since the end of the Cold War, places the country towards the tip of the pyramid.

Much as we are tempted to give ourselves as part on the back, we do acknowledge that substantial challenges confront us in our democratisation process, not least the fact that we need to fully develop our capacities as a nation in creating greater socio-economic opportunities for our people. For the foreseeable future, we shall continue to look forward to FES support. Indeed it is heartening that the Foundation is considering prospects of extending its collaboration into research on the survival and growth of political parties in Ghana. It is our cherished hope that the FES would not rest on its oars until the dream of Mr. Friedrich Ebert is attained. Surely, there can be no doubt that creating democratic space and encouraging socio-economic dialogue are of universal appeal.

**Fraternity Message from the Electoral Commission of Ghana (EC) to
the Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES) on
the Occasion of FES' 40th Anniversary in Ghana**

The Chairman, Members and Staff of the Electoral Commission of Ghana greet FES Ghana for its positive contribution to Ghana's electoral process.

The story of contemporary governance in Ghana cannot be complete without a pride of place for FES. In all the collaborative efforts over a decade, FES demonstrated rare commitment to capacity building for election officials and field staff for the advancement of the electoral process in Ghana.

FES knew neither fatigue nor desperation in its commitment to achieving set targets for the course of elections however daunting the challenges.

Indeed, FES has been synonymous with donor support in Ghana's elections and continues to be a friend par excellence to the Commission.

Congratulations FES, and may the frontiers of FES and the Electoral Commission collaboration expand to consolidate the gains of Ghana-German international co-operation to the mutual benefit of the two countries.

MAY GOD RICHLY BLESS FES

**Fraternity Message from the Ghana Journalist Association (GJA)
to the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) on
the Occasion of FES' 40TH Anniversary in Ghana.**

The National Executive and entire membership of the Ghana Journalists Association extend our warmest felicitation to the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Ghana on the occasion of their 40th anniversary,

We believe that collaboration between us has made a phenomenal impact. We have in our long-standing partnership, through programmes and activities, contributed to placing Ghana's democratisation process on a sound footing.

That is simply not because our working together dates back to your inception in 1969. Our collaboration has helped us to influence positively, the development of the Ghanaian media, on an unprecedented scale.

You have supported us in so many ways, including making a case for the abolition of the Criminal Libel Law in 2004.

We believe our successes have suited your objectives for being in Ghana, especially that of promoting the democratisation process and encouraging socio-economic dialogue.

The Foundation has through its efforts, helped Ghana to aspire to building strong institutions for her democratic process and through support for media development, inspired the GJA to design programmes that have helped to promote both freedom of the press and media accountability.

Our partnership has continued to provide us with strategies for media development. They have been a steady source of vital assistance to helping to encourage professionalism in the media which is vital for Ghana's democratisation process.

We wish to express our heartfelt gratitude to you on this auspicious occasion and look forward to greater collaboration in the future. The GJA wishes FES greater progress and development.

**Fraternity Message from the Convention Peoples Party to
the Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES), on
the Occasion of FES' 40th Anniversary in Ghana**

On the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), the Convention People's Party (CPP) wishes to convey its unalloyed fraternal greetings to your esteemed organisation. We are also happy to let FES know that we recognise the immeasurable contributions it has made and continues to make to our dear nation in the spheres of labour, politics, gender and the strengthening of various institutions that make democracy flourish.

We recognise the immeasurable contribution FES has made and continues to make to our dear nation in the spheres of labour, politics, gender and the strengthening of various institutions that make democracy flourish.

It is without doubt that your 'youth and women's wing' training programmes benefitted the CPP immensely, having provided our members who have participated in these programmes a deeper understanding of constitutional developments in Ghana and made them appreciate the relevance of the youth in politics and the role of women in politics and public life.

The programme has above all, made them appreciate the essence of multi-party politics which the CPP and all Ghanaians cherish so much.

We hope the CPP's relationship with the Friedrich–Ebert-Stiftung (FES) will continue to grow from strength to strength.

Long Live FES, Long Live CPP, Long Live Ghana.

IVOR KOBINA GREENSTREET
(GENERAL SECRETARY)

**Fraternity Message from the National Democratic Congress (NDC) to
the Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES) on
the Occasion of FES' 40th Anniversary in Ghana**

The National Democratic Congress salutes the FES on its 40th anniversary of operation in Ghana.

Since the formation of our party in 1992, we have observed closely the activities on the FES in strengthening the practice of democracy in Ghana.

We recall the various levels of assistance FES gave to the first Parliament of Ghana in its formative and difficult years.

We have, over the years, participated in various capacity building programmes supported by the FES and have always admired their stance of working with many parties and not with any particular one that shares ideological affinity with them.

We know that through a programme like the General Secretaries meetings, the parties in Parliament have developed closer ties among themselves and have taken advantage of the platform offered to quietly sort out issues that could have turned sour if discussed in public.

We believe these have been forty (40) years of fruitful co-operation between FES and Ghana.

We would like FES to continue their progressive assignments which includes interface with parliament, women groups and also with the Trade Unions.

We hope that by the time FES is celebrating its Golden Jubilee in Ghana, they would have more success stories to tell to Ghanaians and their principals in German.

We in NDC as a Social Democratic Party on this occasion of your 40th anniversary in Ghana express our special greetings to you and the SPD party in Germany.

God bless your endeavours.

Fraternity Message from the People's National Convention (PNC) on the Occasion of FES' 40th Anniversary in Ghana

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung [FES] as a democracy promoting institution has contributed significantly to the growth of our democracy. It has afforded various political parties in Ghana the platform to explain and to reach out to the electorate with their policy intents through their varied programs. The People's National Convention in point of fact, has optimised these opportunities that have often been offered by this Foundation. This has gone a long way to better the fortunes of our party in several respects.

As a political establishment with the ultimate goal of capturing political power, one of our top most priorities is capacity building and human resource development. This surely is the best way of improving the quality of personnel of the party. The FES recognising this ubiquitous need, has closed the yawning gap in the building of the capacity of our members especially with training programs for our youth and women.

This intervention has yielded amazing dividends as far as the party's task of developing its human resource is concerned. Some of our young spokespersons on various issues and media networks are beneficiaries of these training programmes including the General Secretary (Bernard Mornah). There are other relevant points of transaction that the party has had with FES which I can not name one after the other but it is significant to note that the programmes of FES has deepened inter-party relationship. The novel idea of the Inter-Party Youth Committee [IPYC], introduced by Ms. Kathrin Meissner has been instrumental in reducing the levels of acrimony and tension that characterise our political life particularly that of our Youth.

It is for this reason that on this occasion of your 40th anniversary, we wish to say that the PNC and Ghana in its entirety owe you a great deal of gratitude for your contribution to the realisation of our democratic dreams. We hope this anniversary will be a moment for reflection and stock taking so that, you can expand the scope

of your activities with the PNC and all other parties for a sustainable democracy and enhanced good governance.

On behalf of the leadership as well as the rank and file of the People's National Convention, I like to say happy 40th anniversary celebration. It is the expectation of the PNC that the years ahead engender greater partnership and cooperation, which has over the years proved so successful and mutually beneficial.

Long Live FES
Long live PNC
Long Live Ghana

Bernard Mornah
General Secretary

**Fraternity Message from the New Patriotic Party (NPP) to
the Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES) on
the Occasion of FES' 40th Anniversary in Ghana**

The New Patriotic Party is glad to be associated with the Friedrich-Ebert- Stiftung (FES), Ghana as it celebrates its 40th anniversary. Indeed the number of years chalked by FES is an indication of your versatility in a country that has survived many coups d'etat with their accompanying suspension of Parliament and political party activity. FES played a legendary role with other democratic forces to help re-establish civilian rule in Ghana. The return to constitutional rule has seen your Foundation supporting key institutions like the Electoral Commission and the Parliament of Ghana in sustaining multi-party democracy.

The cooperation between the NPP and FES has been very beneficial to the Party in building the internal capacities of the youth and women wings of the NPP. Youth and women graduates of your training programmes have been of immense help to the Party. Most of them are now in influential positions within the Party.

On the occasion of this historic anniversary, we hope this mark will afford you the opportunity to reflect on your activities in the country in the hope that we reinforce our cooperation for the mutual benefit of our institutions.

Nana Ohene-Ntow

General Secretary
New Patriotic Party

Fraternity Message from the General Agricultural Workers Union (GAWU) of Ghana TUC to the Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES) on the Occasion of FES' 40th Anniversary in Ghana

The General Agricultural Workers Union of Ghana TUC extends the warmest of salutations to the FES as it celebrates the 40th year of operations in Ghana. Forty years of work that is consistently informed by Social Democratic ideals calls for hearty salutations, especially in developing countries that are grappling with poverty and struggling to establish democratic governance.

Whilst acknowledging the good work being done with various partner organisations and institutions to strengthen democracy we are particularly enthused by the bonds of friendship and solidarity that FES shares with trade unions in Ghana and the world at large. The strategic partnership with trade unions is one of the clearest confirmations of the commitment to worthy ideals including respect for labour as the ultimate creator of all wealth, and the recognition of organised labour's critical role in eradicating poverty and promoting.

GAWU has its own unique basis, among all trade unions in Ghana, for appreciating the work of the Stiftung. As noted during GAWU's 50th Anniversary launch, "... even though the FES has been in Ghana since 1969, the August 1970 report to the Quadrennial Conference of GAWU acknowledged the friendly and cordial relations between the Union and the Stiftung."

Since 2001, GAWU's work on international trade rules and practices, affecting the interests of working people, has benefited considerably from the FES support. GAWU's leading role among trade unions and other CSOs, in the campaign against the obviously negative EPAs will continue to be a testament of meaningful collaboration. GAWU has lots of reason to be proud about its work with the FES when we recall that the collaborations on the EPAs prepared the grounds for the establishment of the Sub-Regional Trade Union Working Group on Trade and Development, involving trade union reps from six countries.

Salutations on an occasion like this reinforce the readiness to continue striving for more achievements in the years ahead together.

Fraternity Message from the National Association of Local Authorities of Ghana (NALAG) to the Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES) on the Occasion of FES' 40th Anniversary in Ghana

The National Association of Local Authorities of Ghana (NALAG) is proud to have worked with the FES on issues of local governance over the years NALAG developed a vibrant collaboration with Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) on promoting gender participation at the local level.

Though your focus in recent years has shifted from issues of local governance, we recall with pride the years of fruitful collaboration between the FES and the NALAG.

Increasing female participation at the local level elections and assisting and training women to gain requisite skills for governance, especially at the local level, was an activity both organisations worked hard to raise awareness on and consequently improve the numbers.

We worked together to organise the first 'Best Gender Sensitive District Assemblies Award Scheme' which sought to reward District Assemblies that promoted gender issues. You practically sponsored the top three prizes for the award winners who had to satisfy strict laid-down criteria for selection.

Support for the NALAG's consultative programmes with various stakeholders including the parliamentary select committee on local government and advocacy workshop on the Local Government Act which saw the formation of a think-tank to brainstorm issues of decentralisation cannot be over emphasised.

As you celebrate forty (40) years of work in Ghana, NALAG is indeed proud to have been a part of the collaborative effort aimed at deepening local governance in Ghana.

FES Ayekoo!!!!

Fraternity Message from the National Board for Small Scale Industries (NBSSI) to the Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES) on the Occasion of FES' 40th Anniversary in Ghana

The National Board for Small Scale Industries (NBSSI) had a long and fruitful collaboration with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) from 1990 to 1998.

This period was characterised by initiatives of the Government of Ghana to enhance the development of an enterprise culture mainly through entrepreneurship training in Ghana.

The NBSSI was established as the apex body to spearhead all activities critical for the achievement of entrepreneurship development, especially in the micro and small enterprise (MSE) sector in Ghana.

The strategy adopted by NBSSI to facilitate access of MSEs to business development services was the establishment of Business Advisory Centers (BACs) in as many regional and district capitals as possible. The Cape Coast BAC was the first to be established and FES played a very important role in providing support in this direction. The Cape Coast BAC could not have been established effectively and operationalised without FES support in terms of the provision of technical and financial resources. FES also provided for a number of studies whose results provided very useful input for designing further interventions for promotion of the MSE sector. A lot of work was also done with FES support with respect to the formation and strengthening of business and trade associations, the effects of which are still evident.

Indeed, your contribution towards publicising the BAC concept and its activities have been of tremendous importance in the design of Business Development Services for Small and Micro Enterprises in Ghana.

NBSSI is solidly behind you as you celebrate forty years of fruitful labour and hard work in Ghana. We wish you the very best in all your future endeavours.

Nana (DR) Baah Boakye
(Executive Director)

**Fraternity Message from the Public Services Commission (PSC) to
the Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES) on
the Occasion of the FES 40th Anniversary in Ghana**

The Public Services Commission wishes to extend to the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) its heartiest felicitations on the occasion of the commemoration of its forty (40) years of work in Ghana.

This historic landmark has been reached through hard work and commitment to duty by personnel of the Foundation in Ghana as well as the vision of the good and friendly people of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Public Services Commission of Ghana strives to be a public service agency whose advice and opinions are respected and recognised as authoritative and indicative of best practices in human resource management and development. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has demonstrated that it identifies with this vision and is willing to support the PSC achieve this vision.

The relationship between FES and PSC dates back more than a decade. Except for a brief period of three (3) years, FES has partnered the PSC since 1998 in executing programmes in the area of good governance. The collaboration with FES has mainly involved the organisation of the PSC's annual lectures and workshops, as well as the printing of the proceedings at these events.

The lectures and workshops are meant to provide platforms for a detailed examination of major issues on development that are of significant interest and concern to Ghana. The objective is also to assist in the promotion of information sharing, dissemination and good governance.

Some of the topics that have over the years been discussed are “Effective Deployment of Science, Engineering and Technology for Sustainable Development in Ghana”; “Productivity, Performance and Pay-Policy and Practices in Ghana”; “The Ethical Underpinnings of the Ghana Public Service”; “Sustaining Excellence in Human Resource Development: The Ghana Experience”; and “Re-enforcing Democratic Governance in Ghana : Public Servants and Partisan Politics” .

The Commission has benefited immensely from its collaboration with FES. On this auspicious occasion, we wish to congratulate the Foundation on its successes and hope that the collaboration between the PSC and FES will deepen and also continue for as long as possible, for our mutual benefit.

**Fraternity Message from the National Media Commission (NMC)
to Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES), on
the Occasion of FES' 40th Anniversary in Ghana**

The National Media Commission, your long time partner, on the occasion of your anniversary, wishes to extend its appreciation for your contribution to the development of journalism and the Ghanaian media as a whole.

For four decades, your existence and partnership have contributed immensely to the growth of democracy and good governance.

Our long established partnership and collaboration has equipped the Commission in several ways: financially, materially, training of journalists through workshops and seminars as well as publication of booklets which serve as reference material for media practitioners, academics and the general public.

We wish you more advancement in your endeavours and in all sectors of life.

Once again, NMC wishes you all the best.

ALEX BANNERMAN

For: EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

**Fraternity Message from ABANTU for Development to
Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES) on
the Occasion of FES' 40th Anniversary in Ghana**

On the occasion to mark 40 years of the commencement of operations by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) in Ghana, ABANTU for Development wishes to extend fraternal greetings and congratulates FES on this historic milestone. Over the years, ABANTU has collaborated with FES because of our desire to link up with those who share the same aspirations of promoting the tenets of true democracy that are unfortunately delineated by deep structural imbalances and underlying inequities.

In the last forty (40) years in Ghana, the name of FES has become synonymous with the promotion of constitutionality, good governance and support for the advancement of gender equality. The pioneering initiatives you have undertaken in collaboration with various Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), the academia, policy-makers and with a broad spectrum of other actors within the development arena have helped in no small way to maintain the issue of human rights on the radar of national consciousness.

ABANTU is extremely appreciative of Friedrich Ebert Foundation's unqualified support and commitment to various projects that focus on ensuring women's heightened visibility in and impact on public life in Ghana and beyond. FES was among the first organisations which played a very significant role in supporting the development of The Women's Manifesto for Ghana document. We recognise your concerted and strategic role in ensuring the successful hosting of the 2005 Continental Women's Conference, which created and established a platform to strengthen and consolidate the bond of network, solidarity and cooperation between gender-based institutions, academia and other actors on gender issues on the African continent.

ABANTU can not forget to mention FES's continued support of the highly successful modular programme for women in political parties in collaboration with ABANTU and Women in Broadcasting. This programme has not only given skills and enhanced knowledge but enabled participants develop capacities to identify strategies and influence change within existing political arrangements.

ABANTU is therefore happy to share this auspicious time with Friedrich Ebert Foundation knowing that we have a stake in our collective collaborative effort in the achievement of gender equality and equity for sustainable development in this country and beyond.

Rose Mensah-Kutin (PhD)

Manager

Fraternity Message from International Federation of Women Lawyers-Fida-Ghana to Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung on the occasion of FES' 40th Anniversary in Ghana

It has been forty (40) years of solid contribution towards promoting a women's rights regime and fostering democratic governance in Ghana. On behalf of the International Federation of Women Lawyers, FIDA-Ghana, we send you fraternal greetings and congratulate you on this monumental occasion of your fortieth (40th) anniversary.

The story of FES cannot be told without recounting the numerous opportunities and platforms presented to defenders of women's rights organisations such as FIDA-Ghana, in ensuring gender equity in the country. In 1995, with FES support two very critical areas affecting gender relations; property rights and violence against women began the whole process of putting gender violence and women's right to property in the public domain.

These seminars culminated in the call for a domestic violence law, by FIDA-Ghana, which with the added push from various Women NGO's ended with a passage of a Domestic Violence Act in February 2007. FES was therefore very influential in providing spaces for discussion in the deliberative processes regarding legislation for a Domestic Violence Law.

This story continues with a legal rights awareness and Legal literacy seminar whose main objective was to assess FIDA's impact in promoting Legal awareness among the Ghanaian populace, a preparation towards Beijing 1995. The seminar concluded with the recommendation that both women and men had the civic responsibility to know about the laws that protects their rights.

Since then, FIDA-Ghana with the support of FES began to ensure that legal rights education was an important component of the organisation's programmatic approach to ensure that the majority of Ghanaian women know about their rights.

Indeed at a time when few International donors were willing to invest and partner with women rights organisations on gender issues, FES was one of the few partners to blaze the trail by dedicating some of its funds to promote and enhance women's rights in the country.

FIDA-Ghana has noted your singular achievement in helping to document findings of studies on the level of discrimination against women in the legal and socio-cultural setting within the framework of the 1992 Constitution as well as the development and production of various publications between 1996 and 1997. Notable among these publications are "Women in Agriculture," which was reviewed in 2004, "Women in Employment and Industry," and "Networking in promoting women's rights." These have formed important resources and reference materials, for women activists and students as well as enriching the publication department of FIDA-Ghana.

FES through its various women partners has touched the lives of many women in all corners of the country through its support. On this occasion, FIDA wishes to congratulate the FES for its assistance in sustaining the momentum of work being done to achieve gender parity in Ghana. It is our profound wish that God grants the management and staff of FES the grace to continue its good works.

Ayekoo!! Congratulations and may God bless FES

Fraternity Message from Youth Network for Human Rights and Democracy (you-net) to Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung (FES) on the Occasion Of FES' the 40th Anniversary in Ghana

LIFE, they say, begins at forty (40) and we at you-net are particularly delighted to be associated with this momentous event. Undoubtedly, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has, over the years, made tremendous contributions towards the development of Ghana in diverse ways. The contributions of FES in consolidating Ghana's democracy cannot be over emphasised.

FES is one of the few organisations which understood the need for youth empowerment as an important strategy to achieving democratic consolidation in Ghana. Indeed, we have achieved a lot through our collaboration and we can confidently say that the fruits of our collaboration have blossomed and are permeating the entire nation.

Our Youth Leadership Training Programme (YLTP), a partnership project between you-net and FES, which has been running for the past seven years offers a rare opportunity to youth leaders of political parties, civil society organisations, student unions among others to build their leadership capacities for positions of responsibility. We are always proud of the alumni of the YLTP.

The collaboration between you-net and FES, also led to the creation of the Inter-Party Youth Committee (IPYC), a common platform for youth leaders of political parties to network and build relationship for peace in Ghana. This project has contributed towards engendering the culture of peace among political party youth, something we consider significant and important for Ghana.

Again the Youth and the Budget Project, another collaboration between you-net and FES, has also helped demystify and deepen the understanding of young people on the budgeting process.

We wish to use this opportunity to indicate that we cherish our collaboration and we are looking forward to more exciting times ahead.

We wish to congratulate the Resident Director and the entire staff of FES on the occasion of FES @40.

Congratulations!



Prosper Hoetu
Executive Director

