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DP!

Why All the Fuss about Economic Partnership Agreements



EU - Africa Relations

In the last couple of years, one issue that has consistently engaged the attention of many African economists and a number of development NGOs has been the issue of whether African countries should enter into Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with the European Union (EU) or not. Charles Ackah's article in this issue of the New Legon Observer at page 8 explains very clearly how EPAs are constructed and what they are intended to achieve. In very simple terms, the European Union would like to agree with blocs of countries to provide duty-free access to each other's markets for a wide range of goods and services over a period of time. This is what they refer to as *reciprocity*. The EU argues that it is the most assured way of bringing economic development to Africa, as it provides an opportunity for countries to trade their way out of poverty faster.

But using trading arrangements as a major tool for pursuing development has always been difficult. This is what the stalled Doha negotiations illustrate. The advent of the World Trade Organisation

(WTO) has provided a generalised rule-based framework for all trade negotiations, but it does not in any way concern itself with how poor countries are strengthened to take advantage of the opportunities created by a more open trading environment. In the midst of the difficulty with providing a development agenda for international trade, there has emerged the practice of regional blocs of countries negotiating trade and development programmes among themselves and with other blocs. While multilateral and regional trade agreements may seek to administratively remove or reduce tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade, often on a reciprocal basis, policy barriers may be only a part (and often a small part) of the total barriers to trade. That is why African countries have not been able to expand their exports significantly to European and American markets under various negotiated arrangements.

While various concessions and negotiations have been intended to open the door to the markets, experience shows that in many situations they have not had the

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desired impact because the countries were too poorly equipped to respond. In a manner of speaking, while African countries were not able to go through doors that were open only a quarter of the way earlier, neither is there evidence of their going through half-open doors more easily, despite considerable negotiation.

It is essential to find an arrangement that deals directly with the structural problems of the poorer countries, the real things that impede production of the items to be traded. The "Aid for Trade" agenda could be helpful here, in financing infrastructure needs, building ACP state capacities and establishing appropriate regulatory structures. However, the EU is yet to explain precisely where the money will come from, or allay concerns that it may not be additional to aid but at the expense of other forms of development assistance - on health and education, for example. Moreover, a fundamental issue is how to develop a monitoring and evaluation mechanism to ensure that the spending has the intended results.

A lot of the fuss being made about EPAs today is born out of the large expectation by its proponents that it will help solve the development problems of the poorer countries, while opponents strongly disagree. Not surprisingly the potential outcome of such an endeavour excites many exporters from Africa, while disturbing and frightening importers. It gives many development economists a lot to discuss, whether for or against such an idea. It has made a number of NGOs quite passionate in their disagreement with European Union officials while encouraging African governments to reject them. Indeed the many arguments picked up a lot of steam towards the end of last year as the deadline for agreement approached. Oddly enough the arguments took place without the African governments saying much to their own people.

For many, the first time they found out that African governments had some views on the matter was when President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal told the Europeans at the last Euro-Africa Summit in Lisbon that the African countries were not ready to sign the EPAs. The Ghana Broadcasting Corporation reported on 9 December 2007 that "most African leaders say they will not accept Economic Partnership Agreements demanded by the European Union and rather want to negotiate different accords to replace them. Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade says African leaders are going to meet to see what they can put in place of the EPAs. President Wade was speaking to journalists at the end of the EU-Africa summit in Lisbon. The Senegalese president said he had led stiff opposition by the majority of African lead-



ers against the accords at the Summit, which had been called to forge a new cooperation partnership between Europe and Africa."

Days after President Wade had denounced the EPAs to the whole world, the President of Ghana and the Chairman of the African Union, John Agyekum Kufuor, initialled an Interim EPA with the European Union. (This is also explained in Charles Ackah's article). The Chairman of the Union was probably not fully aware of how his colleagues felt about the issue. The fact that the African leaders were not clearly united on the matter was a consequence of their lack of previous attention to resolving their differing interests; in many cases they had not even bothered to find out what their own economists and others thought of the proposition.

The interesting thing is that for some years several economists working on Africa had carried out interesting research on the prospects for these EPAs. They often suggested that EPAs would have a very small effect on welfare in African countries, though without much agreement on the direction of the effect. As with many trade studies on Africa, researchers have suggested that the most likely visible effect would be the loss of tariff revenue to governments in Africa in the short run, while the long run effects were unclear. So, how come the various governments did not bother to support or encourage research that would establish for each country the nature of the welfare effect, particularly in the long run?

One would have expected each government of ECOWAS member states and the grouping as a whole to have

actively supported research that assesses the likely impact of opening up their domestic markets and to have thoroughly considered all policy options.

Yet, public discussions of the EPAs were left almost entirely to the NGOs and academics, who themselves often spoke at cross purposes. At the several international conferences organised by the African Development Bank (ADB) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) in the last couple of years to discuss economic development in Africa, there were always African academics and their European counterparts analysing the likely outcomes of several reforms, including EPAs. The policy makers and their advisors were often conspicuously absent, not because they were not invited. Even when they were present they showed little interest in the discussion of research results. It is obvious that these same arguments could be made about discussions of regional integration. The political discussions often presented at large regional meetings seldom reflect the academic discussion that goes on regularly on the subject.

The articles in this issue of the New Legon Observer suggest that there are many substantial issues to be considered in forming a judgment about the likely usefulness of an EPA for Ghana and the sub-region. Charles Ackah argues that the gains from trade cannot be taken for granted, even under the EPA. Gobind Nankani, in his article on *Ghana and the EU Agreement: Gains, Threats and Next Steps* at page 25 highlights the immediate gains from improved access to EU markets, as well as the medium

and long term threats inherent in the EPA. He even goes as far as suggesting what to look for in enhancing trade with other partners. In this regard it is important to note that the EU is one of the slower-growing parts of the global economy, meaning that we should begin targeting other faster-growing areas such as Asia and the US in developing future trading arrangements. For all of these reasons, our perspective on EPAs is that our government must pay attention to all the research that has been done on the subject, both in Africa and elsewhere.

There are many Ghanaians, both economists and non-economists, who have good and well-thought out ideas on how to engage the European Union and other trading blocs in growing trade, the type of trade that will quicken the development process.

Let good research inform policy, and less fuss will be made by stakeholders!

CORRECTIONS

We must apologise for the unpardonable error of suggesting in Our Perspective of NLO Vol. 2 No. 2 of 17 January 2008 that the first time Ghana hosted the football championship tournament for African countries was in 1978. It was indeed in 1963.

The ongoing competition is the 26th edition of the tournament and not the 22nd as we suggested.

Prof. Atsu Ayee's name should have been written without an 'r' in "Ayee".

These errors are highly regretted and we apologise for them.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE ELECTION SEASON IN GHANA

Joseph R.A. Ayee¹

Introduction

Ghanaians go to the polls in December, for the fifth time since the return to constitutional rule in 1993, to elect a new president and members of parliament. If the 2008 polls are very well managed and the outcomes are acceptable to all the parties, Ghana will then be on the road to democratic maturity and institutionalisation, after successfully conducting elections in 1992, 1996, 2000 and 2004. As the country enters the election season, it is pertinent for us to reflect on some of the main issues which have become the major features of the season.

The Parties and the Candidates

Ghana has 11 registered political parties. They are the ruling party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), National Democratic Congress (NDC), Convention People's Party (CPP), People's National Party (PNC), Egle Party, Great Consolidated People's Party (GCPP), Democratic People's Party (DPP), National Reform Party (NRP), Democratic Freedom Party (DFP), Ghana National Party (GNP) and the United Renaissance Party (URP). Of these, the NPP, NDC, CPP and PNC are the major ones because they have seats in parliament. Out of the four major parties, the NPP and the NDC have each won elections twice, thus lending credence to the view that Ghana is a de facto two-party state. In the past the Egle Party and the DPP had formed an electoral alliance with the NDC and it is likely that they will continue to do so in the

2008 elections. Three new parties, the DFP, GNP and the URP, have emerged since the last election in 2004. The strength of these three parties is not clear, especially when they have not yet elected their presidential candidates, but the indications are that their impact on the outcome of the elections will be minimal. As we have seen of the GCPP, Egle Party, NRP and DPP in past elections, one is not too sure if these new parties will contest both the presidential and parliamentary elections.

The candidates of the four major political parties, namely, Nana Akufo-Addo (NPP), Professor John Evans Atta Mills (NDC), Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom (CPP) and Dr. Edward Mahama (PNC) have excelled in their chosen careers. Of the four, Professor Mills and Dr. Mahama may be regarded as "veterans" of presidential elections, having contested two and three elections respectively without success. This could be both an advantage and a disadvantage, and their success in the 2008 polls will

depend on what new elements they are bringing on board. Nana Akufo-Addo and Dr. Nduom on the other hand may be seen as the "freshmen" of the presidential election with no experience. However, as former ministers in the NPP government, they have had hands-on experience of the issues and problems facing the country. This notwithstanding, the fact that they were former ministers may in itself be baggage with which they have to contend. The same can be said of Professor John Evans Atta Mills, former Vice President of Ghana. Given that the incumbent President is not in the contest because of the constitutional two-term limitation on his term of office, there are no clear-cut leaders in the forthcoming election. Whichever way one looks at things, the four candidates have their strengths and weaknesses as politicians. Their success at the polls, therefore, largely depends on their messages (capacity to identify and address issues facing Ghanaian society) and their resources.



Nana Akufo-Addo, NPP Flagbearer

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The Political Climate

A conducive political climate is a prerequisite for dispassionate discussion and debate of issues, which will enable the parties reach out to the electorate. However, there seems to be no improvement in the political climate which is getting more and more polarised day-in and day-out as a result of the inflammatory language being used, mainly by some officials and supporters of the NPP and NDC. Indeed, the language of politics has become ever more intemperate and belligerent. This trend has the tendency of creating confusion, fear and distortion of facts, which can be counterproductive. One, therefore, welcomes the national dialogue being organised by the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), sometime in March, to build consensus among the political parties.

Public education is a key element of building a conducive political climate. However, we as a country have not taken it seriously. Efforts towards public education are ad hoc and piecemeal and the perception is that it is the NCCE alone which has to do it. This perception is wrong because public education is one of the functions of both the political parties and the Electoral Commission (EC). With the exception of the EC, which in the past conducted public education in the area of voting, the political parties have not performed this responsibility, which they must now be made to take on. An under-resourced NCCE cannot engage in effective public education if other stakeholders do not perform their part of the obligation.



Professor John Evans Atta Mills, NDC Flagbearer

A conducive political climate can also be created if a code for all political parties is designed as soon as possible to regulate the behaviour of party officials and supporters. In the previous election, especially 2000 and 2004, the political parties signed a code of conduct which guided them in their campaigns. Even though the code was not rigidly followed because of problems of enforceability, it nonetheless provided the framework within which campaigns were conducted with civility. Perhaps we need a code again and early enough to bring some sanity to the upcoming party political campaigns.

The Electoral Process

The electoral process largely determines the credibility of the outcome of the election. It is divided into three phases: (i) pre-election activities such as revision of the electoral register, training of party officials and participation of parties in issues affecting them; (ii) election day activities such as the secrecy of the ballot and creating the atmosphere for voters to vote without intimidation and the presence of polling agents, local

and foreign observers; and (iii) post-election activities such as counting of votes, declaration of results and settlement of disputes.

The electoral process in Ghana is not foolproof. In previous elections, the electoral register was seen as bloated while there were reported cases of intimidation; in 2000 some people ran away with the ballot boxes while in 2004, some people vandalised ballot boxes in some constituencies. Even though these were isolated cases, steps must be taken to avoid them.

In addition to this, meetings of the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC), which is an informal body in which the parties discuss issues on the electoral process with the EC, were boycotted by one or two parties because of disagreements with the EC over how decisions of the IPAC were taken and implemented. Consensus on the electoral process from all the parties and the trust engendered are necessary to ensure the credibility of the outcome of the election.

A more thorny issue is the resolution of election disputes. Some election cases have been in the courts for a long time without resolution. Such delays tend to frustrate candidates and can become an excuse for people taking the law into their own hands. Electoral courts to deal expeditiously with election disputes must therefore be set up to restore the people's confidence.

In all these things, however, it is the EC, which has a greater responsibility in ensuring the sanctity and transparency of the electoral process. Fortunately, the EC is respected by all the political parties and seen as neutral and impartial. This recognition is good for its image and should therefore not be abused.

Furthermore, all citizens including party officials, polling agents and supporters owe it a duty to promote the credibility of the electoral process. Undermining the process will not be in the interest of the peace and stability of the country.

Funding Political Parties

As we approach the 2008 election, financing of political parties remains one of the hottest issues within the public domain in Ghana. The role of party financing in establishing a strong democratic government cannot be over-emphasised. This is because party financing is regarded as the main driving force for modern competitive political systems, the "oil that greases the engine" of party pol-

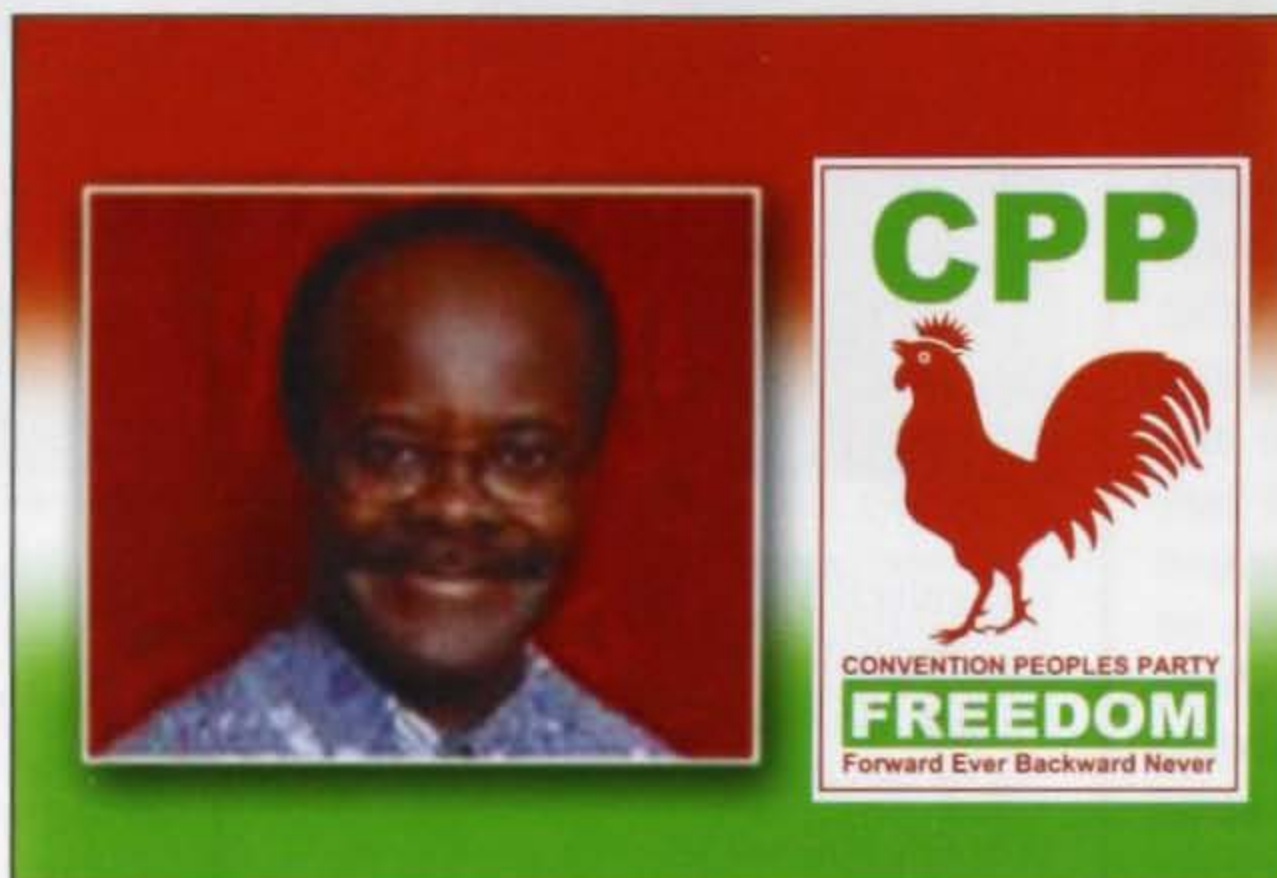
itics and the "mother's milk of politics". In short, party financing is viewed as the most important political resource that drives party vibrancy and competitiveness.

To ensure a level playing field and reduce the abuse of incumbency, state funding of political parties has been recommended. It however, remains a vexed issue. The Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), the

Electoral Commission and the political parties agreed in 2007 that there should be state funding. However, the criteria for disbursement, in a proposal by the IEA, are yet to be worked out. Some of the criteria that may be considered include (a) the number of functional offices of the parties in the constituencies; (b) percentage votes a party obtained in the last election; (c) the number of parliamentary seats won by a party in the previous elections; and (d) a match-

ing fund to be raised by the party itself. These criteria are important if one is interested in enhancing competitive democracy, making the parties vibrant and preventing proliferation of parties and ensuring that the state holds the parties accountable.

Some cynics have, however, pointed out that state funding may not be the answer to ensuring a level playing field. According to them, it will rather enhance the superiority of the incumbent government over the minority parties when it comes to accessing resources. In addition, they claim that Ghana, as a developing country with meagre resources, is not ready to implement state funding because the money could be used to reduce poverty. These arguments do not seem compelling especially when one is trying to find a more appropriate mechanism for financing political parties and promoting a level playing field.



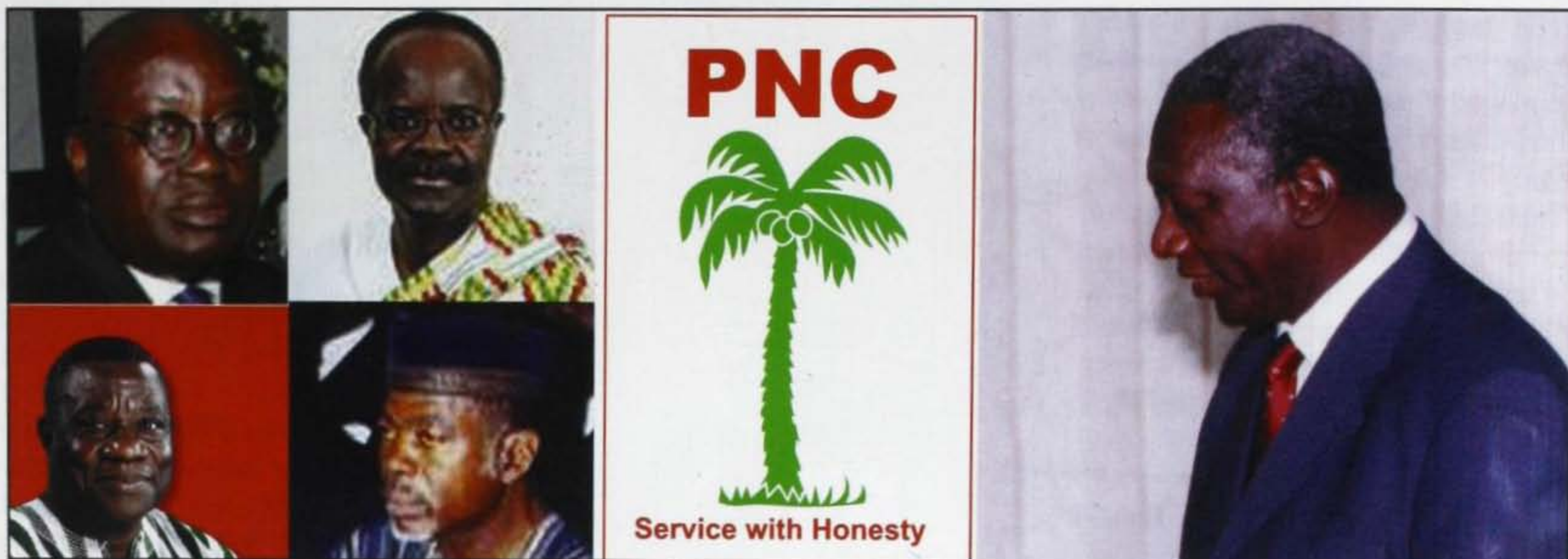
Paa Kwesi Nduom, CPP Flagbearer

All the issues about party financing are due to the fact that an enormous amount of money must be spent to reach the electorate – to break down public inertia and secure political activity. Radio and television time, newspaper space, printing of campaign literature, campaign vehicles and payment of staff emoluments are phenomenally expensive. As a result of the crucial role that party financing plays, attention has been focused on the issue by think tanks and academia, in discussing the sources of party financing and the problems associated with them, abuse of incumbency, corruption, lack of compliance of political parties to disclosure requirements, lack of enforcement of disclosure requirements, legal framework for party financing, reform of party financing, state funding of political parties and policy guidelines.

Whether one is for or against state funding, it is the government in power that must have the political will and commitment to implement the policy. When the NPP was in opposition, it supported state funding, a view now shared by the opposition NDC, which was not in favour

dates did not participate in the debate obviously because they either felt disadvantaged or thought that it would not contribute to their campaign strategy and therefore they did not need it. Already there are reports in the newspapers that the NDC presidential candidate is likely to with-

self-interested approach to voting. As usual, the issues will mainly be centred on the economy with emphasis on poverty reduction and unemployment. In addition, corruption, security, drug trafficking and human rights will also come up. Perhaps a new issue which may crop up will be ener-



Flagbearers, including Dr. Edward Mahama of the PNC, and President J.A. Kufuor

of it when it was in power, as is currently being exhibited by the NPP government. The heart of the matter is that the political and economic capacity that state control provides allows government leaders to create – indeed, makes it difficult for them not to create – a playing field that is far from level; it is very tempting because there are enormous incentives in doing so. As long as politics is a zero-sum game, it will be difficult to alter this fact.

The Presidential Debate and Main Election Issues

The IEA has proposed two presidential debates to be held before the election. They were also held before the 2000 and 2004 elections. In the past, however, some of the candi-

draw if some issues are not listed for the debate. This request is reminiscent of a candidate for a quiz programme who wanted to dictate to the quiz master the questions that he preferred to answer!

Presidential debates are necessary because they tend to showcase the personality of the candidates, offer them the opportunity to articulate their messages as well as exhibit their knowledge of issues to the electorate. Some people, however, have argued that in a predominantly illiterate society like Ghana, the debates are unnecessary since they do not have any influence on the voters.

As in previous elections, one does not expect any significant shift in the issues. Ghanaians mainly adopt a

gy, given the power crisis the country experienced last year, the escalating price of crude oil and the discovery of oil in the Western Region.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that the 2008 election will be an exciting one; but, at the same time, it will be a test of the resilience and robustness of Ghana's democracy. Consequently, the parties, the EC and, indeed, all citizens must ensure that the country passes the test to live up to its accolade as the "Black Star of Africa". This is a task that all of us must try to fulfill at all costs!

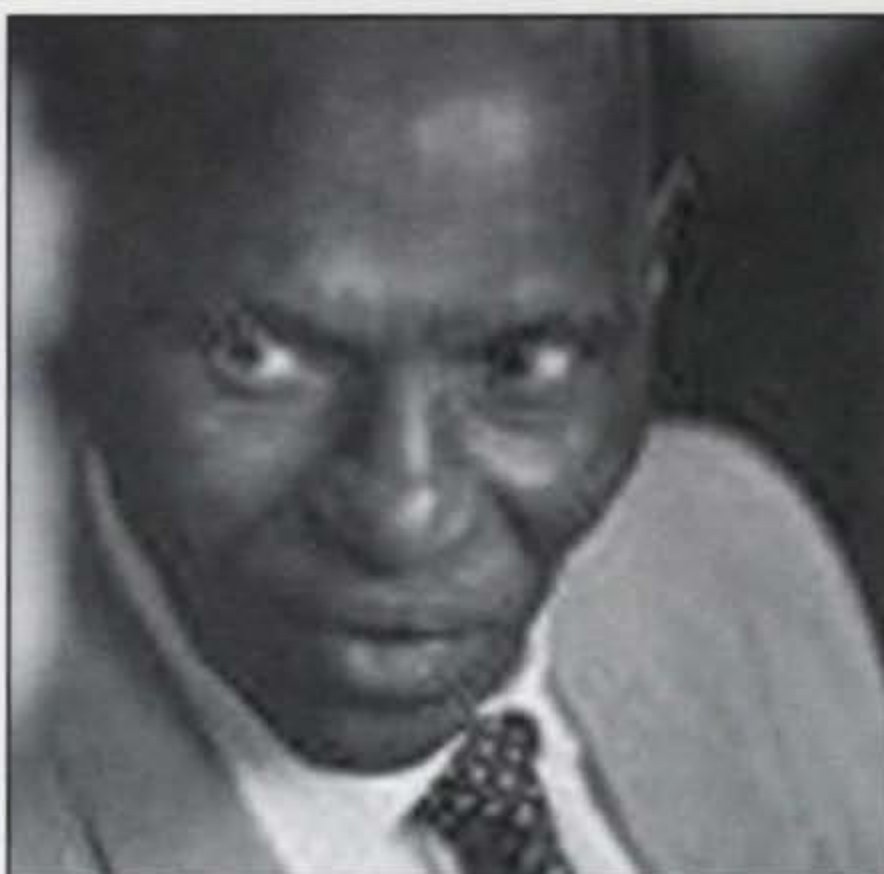
Economic Partnership Agreements – Challenges and Opportunities

Charles Godfred Ackah²

The majority of African countries have liberalised their trade regimes during the past two decades. Some countries began this process in the early 1980s, but most have only implemented sustained and significant reduction in barriers to imports since the late 1980s or early 1990s. The major trade liberalisation reforms in almost all countries were unilateral, reforms made by the country acting alone, rather than being implemented as part of an agreement with trading partners. However, various agreements with trading partners have 'locked in' the reform efforts.

Most obviously, the multilateral negotiations during the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that culminated in the establishment of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1995 resulted in African countries making commitments to open trade policies and declaring their bound tariffs (agreed upper limits, typically at levels above applied tariffs).

Numerous regional trading agreements, some of more substance than others, exist whereby African countries have agreed to more open trade with other African countries. There are also special agreements relating to trade between groups of African countries and developed countries, especially the European Union (EU) (notably arrangements with the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries) and the United States (notably the African Growth and



Abdoulaye Wade, Senegalese President

Opportunity Act (AGOA)). Trade policy reform is now high on the policy agenda in African countries.

Properly managed, trade can be a potent force for poverty reduction in Ghana. The evidence so far shows that (global) trade liberalisation can reduce poverty considerably by increasing wages and employment, particularly in the agricultural sector. However, labour market consequences of trade liberalisation still remain controversial. For developing countries, fears that it implies increasing job losses and downward pressure on wages are widespread, often resulting in demand for protection. Growing concern about the importance of such adjustment costs in the policy community has heightened as Ghana negotiates Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with the EU.

Based on economic theory, we could expect beneficial effects from lower-

ing trade barriers for the ACP countries, as nations may benefit from the well-known gains from trade. The expectation is that increased trade encourages a more efficient use of resources, increases competitiveness and contributes to economic growth. However, trade reform is likely to have a more direct and immediate effect on imports than on exports. Factors external to an individual country, such as world prices, are typically more important determinants of the volume and value of exports than a country's own trade policies.

Furthermore, the ability of a country to increase exports (its export supply response) is constrained by structural rigidities in production capacity, and by infrastructure and institutional barriers to trade (trade costs). This is especially true in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), where exports, predominantly of primary commodities, are subject to world prices and demand determined elsewhere and, in the case of agriculture, affected by weather and other natural phenomena. There are, therefore, a variety of reasons why the beneficial effects of increased openness to trade may be slow to materialise for SSA countries.

Interim Economic Partnership Agreements

EPA is an economic and trade arrangement which was born out of the Cotonou Agreement in June 2000 and was to be negotiated by end of

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West African Horticultural Products for Export

2007 at the latest, between the EU on one hand and six regional blocs, including the ACP countries, on the other, covering a host of trade and investment issues. Negotiations on EPAs, which started in September 2002, were expected to be concluded by 31 December 2007 at the latest. Since the Cotonou Agreement recognised that some ACP countries might not be in a position to enter into EPAs, the EU was expected to examine all alternative possibilities in order to provide these countries with a new WTO-compliant framework for trade that is equivalent to their existing situation.

As it became apparent that the deadline for the waiver would be missed, ECOWAS countries, such as Ghana, began scrambling for an interim deal on goods only, the so called 'EPA light'. Ghana signed an interim trade deal with the EU in mid-December 2007 as a stepping stone to safeguard exports to the world's biggest trading bloc, leaving controversial issues such as trade in services or measures to strengthen competitiveness to be negotiated in a second stage in 2008. Ghana's interim agree-

ment provides for the immediate abolition of tariffs on virtually all exports to Europe and the gradual dismantling over 15 years of tariffs on 80 per cent of imports from the 27-member EU bloc. The remaining 20 per cent of imports deemed "sensitive products" will be subject to tariffs even after the 15-year transition period for food security, employment and fiscal reasons.

The conclusion of an interim agreement sounds like the right thing to do in the context of the tight EPA timeframe. Moreover, the signing of the interim deal would give both parties time to address the extremely complex and sensitive issues that remain unresolved. I do not disagree with the Minister of Trade, Industry and PSI, Joe Badoe-Ansah, that this 'stepping stone' agreement could help to avoid serious trade disruption between Ghana and the EU. However, some important questions still remain unanswered. Why did the negotiators and government allow the pressure of the deadline to determine the outcome of the negotiations? Could the EU have given more time by obtaining an extension to the

WTO waiver to conclude negotiations on a more comprehensive deal that facilitates development? Was the decision to sign the interim deal backed by adequate empirical research? How much information is available to the public and civil society about the likely development impact of the EPA?

In my view the government was quite slow in commissioning impact studies and engaging civil society in discussing the important issues in order to take a position on whether to sign the EPA or not. I am aware that at the time of signing the 'EPA light' government was still awaiting results of studies being conducted to estimate the likely costs and benefits of the EPAs. Experts were also being rushed to draw up Ghana's 'sensitive products' to be excluded from the ambit of the negotiations. Indeed, at the time of writing this article, the full content of the 'EPA light' and accompanying documentation have not been placed in the public domain. Information provided by policy makers and government leaders has been highly summary, focusing on selected aspects of the agreement mainly related to market access. More often the information provided raises more questions than answers. Really, our negotiators and government have signed an agreement on trade and other matters which is not in the public domain, an agreement which constrains our law makers to use trade policy to pursue our development objectives, yet our law makers and civil society in general are unaware of and unable to debate the content of the agreement.

As originally conceptualised, the EPAs were expected to be negotiated as trade and development agreements,

going beyond pure market access because both sides agreed that trade was not enough to stimulate economic development in low income countries. The difficulty of trade alone to deliver on EPA development objectives has been repeated time and again. Trade experts have consistently warned that without a broad range of accompanying measures to boost ACP competitiveness, internal trade reforms and improved foreign market access alone will not translate into development benefits. In other words the signing of the 'EPA light' could mean the acceptance of an EPA which lacks the original development dimension.

There is a dangerous possibility of the interim trade in goods agreement becoming the final EPA, since Ghana has already lost substantial bargaining power by conceding to open her market to the EU. Indeed, standard trade negotiations are about bargaining in which one party makes a concession in return for a concession from the other party. By de-linking the negotiations on market access from broader trade and trade-related issues, what remains of Ghana's bargaining power is only marginal. Really, our negotiators and government have signed an agreement on trade which limits our policy space for national development strategies. It is important to note that the large European firms and farmers to whom we are opening our markets did not themselves develop in the kind of market that the 'EPA light' provides - they grew up behind trade barriers that included constraints on foreign investments.

Potential and Challenges of Trade

There are gains from trade, especially for relatively small countries (and



Freight Forwarders

Ghana is small in this sense) who need the larger foreign markets to provide demand for their products. However, there is no reason to suppose that the gains from trade are particularly large (relative to GDP) or evenly distributed, and some countries may even lose. Those SSA countries that depend on a few primary commodities for their exports are the least likely to gain from trade, as the growth benefit from exporting is crucially dependent on price and income elasticities of demand.

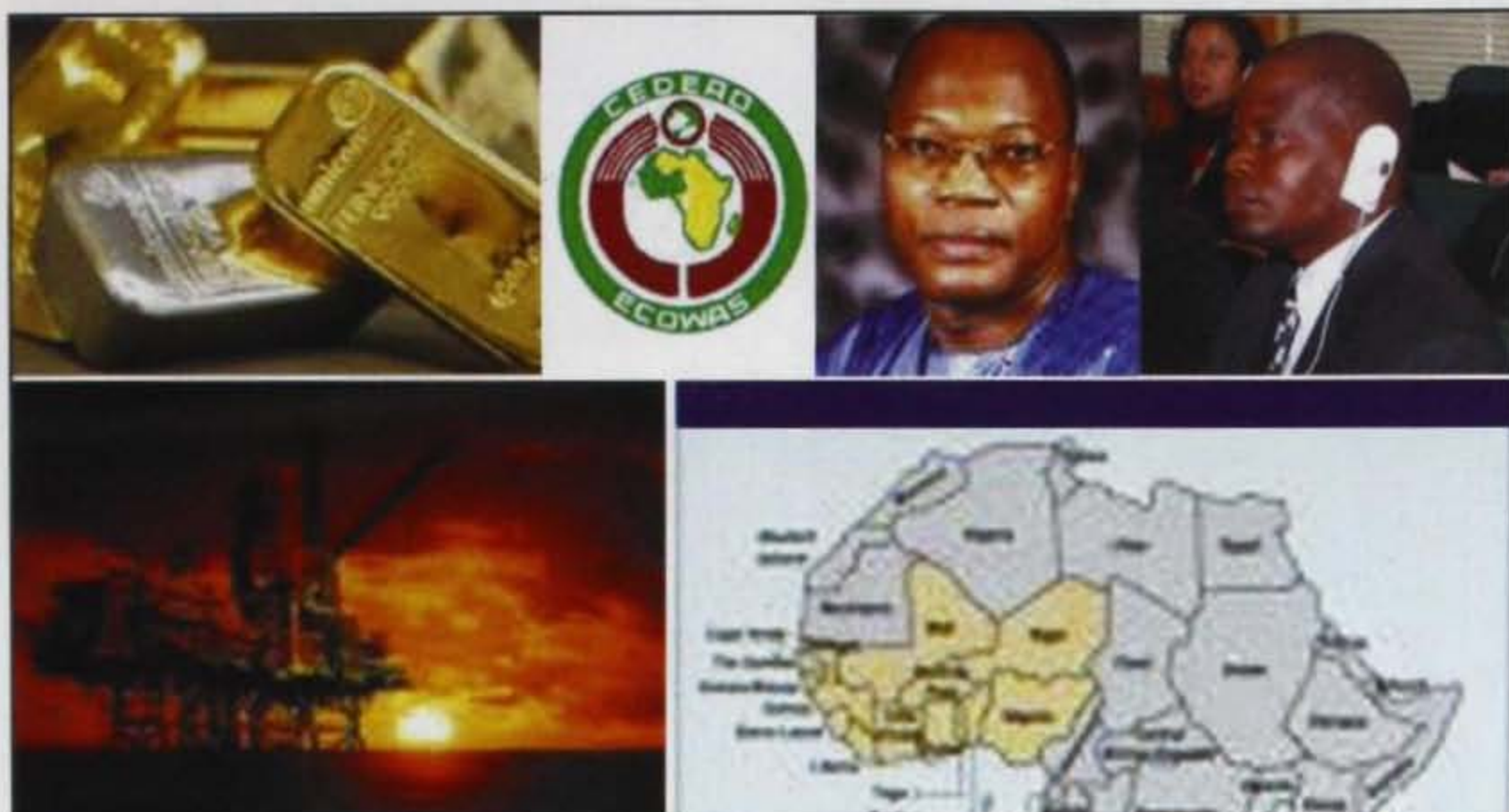
Engaging in trade does not guarantee net benefits, rather it provides opportunities to which an economy must respond, but which also present challenges:

- exports imply access to the global market and permit increased production;
- trade encourages efficient allocation of resources;
- imports increase consumption possibilities; and
- trade contributes to economic growth by generating long-run gains.

However,

- exporters face competitors on a world market;
- competition from imports challenges local producers; and
- imports may increase faster than exports, resulting in a balance of payments deficit that imposes macroeconomic adjustment costs on the economy.

Thus, trade presents both opportunities and challenges, and the latter are often more direct and immediate than the former. The opportunities are heavily influenced by what other countries do; the potential gains from trade are greatest if all countries act together. Exporters have to compete with producers from other countries, so there is no guarantee that access to the world market will lead to an increase in the value of exports. Access to an increased variety of cheap, or cheaper (than domestically produced), goods is a benefit to consumers but a challenge to local producers of import-competing goods that face increased competition. Some local firms will fail, imposing adjustment costs on the economy.



ECOWAS Images

The challenge is how local firms can respond to the competition and how the economy can adjust, i.e. can it reallocate resources effectively. The latter depends crucially on the ability of export sectors to expand. If sufficient local firms can become competitive and the economy does reallocate resources, the country can rise to the challenge and benefit from the EPA. For low income countries, although trade reform provides benefits, these are unlikely to be significant in magnitude (at least in the medium term).

These challenges explain why opposition to EPAs is strong and widespread in poor countries, with implications for political economy analysis of trade liberalisation in Ghana. First, import-competing sectors in Ghana are relatively underdeveloped, so that even if they have the potential to be competitive and efficient, they are not so at present. This has resonance with the 'East Asian strategy' of protecting some domestic sectors at the same time as promoting export sectors. Poor countries, such as Ghana, may not be implementing such a strategy coherently and effectively, but there may be a case (and there will be a lobby) for sheltering nascent

domestic industries from import competition. Second, and related, given the underdeveloped nature of the Ghanaian economy and the inflexibility of markets, especially limited factor mobility, the adjustment costs to trade liberalisation can be high. Third, and more generally, weak institutions and unfavourable structural characteristics (e.g. export dependence on a narrow range of primary commodities) may mean that Ghana is unable to avail of the potential benefits from the EPA.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that Ghana has liberalised her trade regime quite significantly over the past decade or so. Evidence for this can be found in lower average tariffs, and perhaps more significantly in increases in imports as a share of GDP. Multilateral and regional agreements have committed us to these reforms – the clock cannot be turned back, although the appropriate pace of future liberalisation is an important policy issue.

To date, there is little aggregate evidence that the trade policy reforms and liberalisation since the late 1980s

have produced a significant export response. Exports have not increased consistently, and there is no evident correlation between the extent of trade liberalisation and the rate at which exports have grown. There is some tendency for imports to grow faster than exports following liberalisation, increasing the trade deficit and thus constraining growth.

Like many SSA countries, the major problem facing Ghana is not trade reform per se but rather how to diversify and increase exports. Trade liberalisation can do no more than provide opportunities – unilateral reforms increase relative incentives to exporters, and multilateral or regional trade liberalisation increase market access. Domestic policies are necessary to reduce the varied constraints on supply response, increase transport and marketing efficiency, and encourage investment.

To benefit from trade, and channel these benefits into helping reduce poverty, SSA countries need to increase the flexibility and efficiency of resource use so that they can be competitive in global markets. Policies in other countries, and especially multilateral and regional agreements, will be important in the long term, but will not ensure that any particular country is able to benefit from the opportunities provided by trade rather than succumbing to the challenges and costs. Ghanaian policymakers should concentrate on their own policies and not rely on actions by other countries.

PAST AFRICAN CUP OF NATIONS (CAN) REFLECTIONS OF A FORMER TV SPORTS COMMENTATOR AND CRITIC (Part One - 1978 and 1980)

Ivan Addae-Mensah³

From 20th January to 10th February, Ghana will have the opportunity to host the African cup of nations for the fourth time in its history. Ghana won the trophy on two of the three previous occasions that she hosted the tournament. Ghana is hoping to win the trophy in CAN 2008 as well, to equal the current record of five-time winner held by Egypt. While we are all poised to enjoy the three-week football fiesta, it may be worthwhile to reflect a bit on our performance in past competitions. Sometimes it is good to reflect on the past to inform the present so as to plan effectively for the future.

I would like to reflect on the 1978, 1980, 1982 and 1984 tournaments for various reasons, including the fact that between 1978 and 1982 I was a regular contributor to Ghana Broadcasting Corporation as a sports commentator and critic for Ghana Television. The 1978 tournament in particular was my first opportunity to contribute to the television coverage of the tournament.

GHANA 1978

The Preparation

After winning the cup in 1963 (as hosts) and 1965 (in Tunisia), and being losing finalists in 1968 (Ethiopia) and 1970 (Sudan), Ghana had failed to qualify for the tourna-



Tamale Stadium

ment in 1972, 1974 and 1976. After these three consecutive non-participations, Ghana had the chance of hosting the tournament for the second time in 1978. A lot of effort and resources were put into preparing the team as well as the venues, with the prime objective of winning the cup for the third time and for good. An amount of six million cedis was spent on renovating the Kumasi sports Stadium and a slightly higher amount on the Accra Sports Stadium. The circumstances were therefore similar to the current situation.

The team was camped at various "secret locations" for several months. Several trial matches were played,

albeit mostly against local first division teams. One of the few foreign teams we played against was The Gambia whom we walloped by 7 goals to 1 in January 1978. I watched virtually all the trial matches that were played in Accra. At that time there were no overseas based professionals so it was possible to keep the team together for long periods. Lt. Col. M. F. Simpe Asante, the then special assistant to the Commissioner for Sports, was given full powers by the Military Regime of General Acheampong to "bring the cup home for good". But barely two weeks before the tournament disaster struck. One of the most outstanding members of the team, Agyeman

³ Professor Ivan Addae-Mensah was a freelance TV sports commentator and critic for Ghana Television between 1977 and 1982. This article was meant to be published before the commencement of the CAN 2008 tournament. However, due to certain publication and editorial constraints, this could not be done. Therefore by the time you read this article, some of the matches would already have taken place. The article in its present form is however still relevant, and will be relevant even after the tournament, and for posterity. It is published in order to add to the scanty archival material on Ghana's participation in the past and current Cup of Nations Tournaments. The author's personal experience in some of these tournaments makes this even more necessary.



Essipon Stadium in Takoradi

Prempeh of Asante Kotoko, sustained a very serious injury during a trial match against S.S. 74, a Military team then playing in the First Division of the National League. This was on 6th February 1978, barely one month before the tournament. Agyeman Prempeh collided with the goalkeeper of S.S.74, one Ahiamakpor, in an attempt to score a goal, and sustained a compound fracture which was not only to take him out of the tournament, but was also to prematurely end his highly promising football career for good. Built in the mould, and with a playing style similar to that of the legendary Mohammed Salisu, Prempeh could score goals from impossible angles and cross the ball from the left flank with uncanny accuracy for other strikers to bang them into the net. The injury therefore came at a most inopportune time. A substitute therefore had to be hurriedly looked for, and the mantle fell on Kuntu Blankson. Though Kuntu Blankson was also good, he was definitely not of the same calibre as Prempeh, neither was he anywhere close to the calibre of then recalcitrant Mohammed Polo who, until then, had refused to report for camping despite several invitations. Coaches Gyamfi and Osam Duodu therefore had barely three weeks to try and fit Blankson into the team. The whole nation felt like it is feeling now with the injury of Stephen Appiah.

Prior to Agyeman Prempeh's injury, the Black Stars had suffered an earlier blow to their preparations when their topmost striker, Dan Owusu, also suffered a major fracture during an All Africa Games qualifying Match in December 1977 against the Ivory Coast. After several appeals, Mohammed Polo eventually joined the camp of the stars on 7th February 1978, a day after Prempeh's injury. Another striker was needed after Dan Owusu's injury. Anas Seidu of Hearts of Oak was therefore also drafted into the team on 5th February. In view of these last minute invitations into the team, the nation was apprehensive, notwithstanding the team's painstaking preparations.

Another interesting coincidence similar to the current situation is that just a few months before the start of the tournament, the Government of General Acheampong, then battling against opposition to his Union Government idea and serious economic difficulties, announced that Ghana had struck oil. Many people were very sceptical, and started speculating whether this announcement was not a mere propaganda ploy for the Union Government referendum which was scheduled to take place soon after the tournament. This even led the Daily Graphic of January 20th 1978 to write the following headline

"OIL AT SALTPOND. IT'S REAL, NOT PROPAGANDA FOR UNIGOV".

Are there any similarities to the present situation? Ghana recently announced an oil find. We are also in the throes of political campaigns to

elect a new President and anything that will be construed as boosting the chances of any particular political party, including credit for our success or otherwise in CAN 2008, will be tenaciously clutched upon.

At the end of all these preparations, the following 22 persons were selected to constitute Ghana's squad for the tournament.

Goal: Joseph Carr; Huseini Salifu

Defence: P. S. K. Paha (Isaac Paha's elder brother), Haruna Yusuf, Ofei Ansah, Charles Oppong, Awuley Quaye, Isaac Acquaye, Justice Moore, Kuuku Dadzie,
Midfield: Adolf Armah, Addae-Kyenkyenhene

Forwards: John Yawson, Willie Klutse, Dan Kayede, Anas Seidu, Opoku Afriyie, George Alhassan, Abdul Razak, Emmanuel Quarshie, Mohammed Polo and Kuntu Blankson.

The Tournament: Group A - Accra

The tournament started on 5th March 1978 with Ghana playing against Zambia. Ghana started very badly. Zambia attacked right from the beginning and tested our defence with several fast breaks. Goalkeeper Joseph Carr was jittery throughout the match. Zambia went 1-0 up in the 8th minute through a fantastic combination between Chitalu and Kapita. A fast ground cross from the right wing by Chitalu found left winger Kapita right in front of goal, and he had an easy task of just tapping the ball into the net with goalkeeper Joseph Carr completely beaten. The whole stadium went totally quiet.

With the 4:2:4 formation that Ghana was playing, there was supposed to be a central midfielder to control the entire centre circle and distribute balls to the wings. The inside attackers were expected to fall back fre-

quently to collect the ball and feed the other strikers while they were also expected to be in position up front to receive crosses from the wingers and strike. This formation required a midfielder with considerable ball sense and extraordinary stamina. Adolf Armah was obviously unable to cope with the fast pace the Zambians set right from the first whistle. Eventually, salvation came from a totally unexpected quarter. In the 21st minute, Kuntu Blankson, who had been struggling all along, collected the ball deep on the left flank of the field and sent a pass to Abdul Razak. Razak sent a soft but accurate through-pass to Opoku Afriyie who pushed the ball past the on-rushing goalkeeper for Ghana's equaliser. A similar move from deep in defence later in the game between P.S.K. Paha and John Yawson found Abdul Razak up front to tap the ball home for Ghana's winner. John Yawson was adjudged man of the match that day.

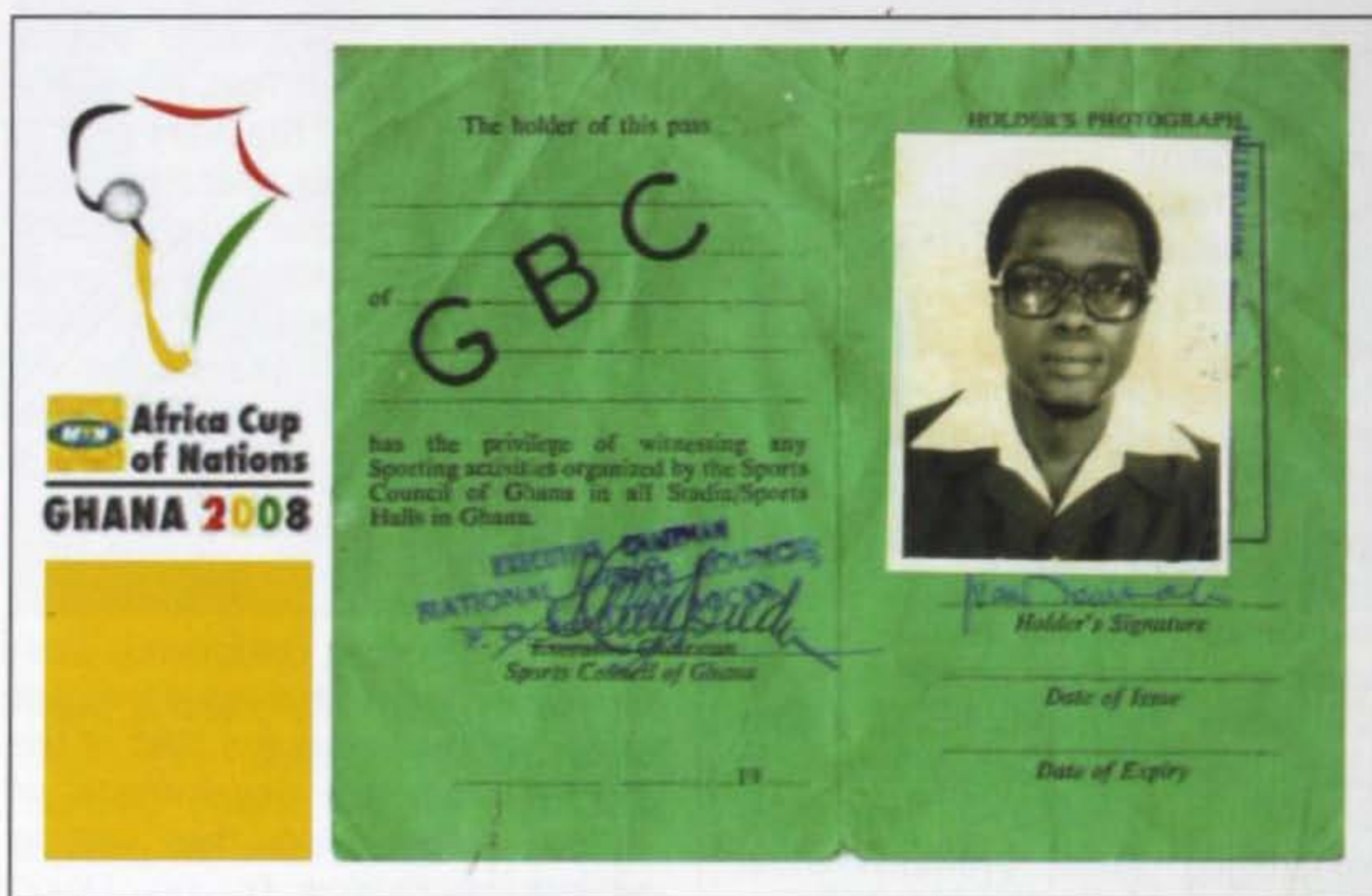
Ghana's line-up for this opening match was as follows: Joseph Carr (in goal), P.S.K. Paha, Ofei Ansah/Awuley Quaye, Kuuku Dadzie, Adolf Armah, John Yawson, Dan Kayede, Opoku Afriyie, Abdul Razak and Kuntu Blankson.

In the three tournaments that Ghana has hosted, our opening matches have either been drawn games or narrow wins. In 1963 we drew 1-1 with Tunisia. In 1978 we won 2-1 against Zambia. In 2000 we drew 1-1 with Cameroun. Are we going to win 2-1 against Guinea in 2008?

Nigeria had had a relatively easy first match against Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), who were participating in the tournament for the first time. They had been brought in by CAF as last minute substitutes when Ivory Coast was disqualified by CAF

for stated improprieties. Nigeria went 3-0 up by half time with goals from Christian Chukwu, Amesiemeke and Segun Odegbami. But The Upper Voltarians nearly shocked Nigeria when they pulled two goals back very quickly during the second half, in the 50th and 53rd minutes. All Ghanaians prayed hard for the Upper Volta to score a third goal for the match to end in a draw, but a late goal for Nigeria in the 82nd minute by Segun Odegbami put paid to all our hopes.

field, and Nigeria exploited this weakness to go 1-0 up in the 33rd minute. A cross from the left flank by Amesiemeke after he had beautifully beaten Razak with sheer speed, found "mathematical" Segun Odegbami who caught the whole Ghanaian defence napping and headed the ball into the net for Nigeria's opening goal. Ghana continued to struggle for the equaliser for the rest of the first half and into the second half. The coaches finally made two very bold changes in the 71st minute.



Stadium Pass for Cup of Nations - Ghana 1978

Zambia beat Upper Volta by 2-0 in their second match. This therefore put pressure on both Ghana and Nigeria. The second match against Nigeria was therefore even tougher. A win or at least a draw against Nigeria was absolutely essential if Ghana was to maintain her hopes of qualifying for the semi-finals. The match started at a very fast pace with both teams making frantic efforts to get the opening goal. Ghana came close in the 12th minute when a shot from right winger John Yawson hit the upright but Emmanuel Quarshie failed to connect the rebound. Once again Adolf Armah struggled in mid-

Opoku Afriyie and Emmanuel Quarshie were replaced by Willie Klutse and Dan Kayede. It was difficult to understand the withdrawal of Opoku Afriyie. The usual noises of disagreement emerged from the spectators. But it proved to be a very bold and tactical decision. Indeed an expert later explained the rationale to us. He said it was clear that Adolf Armah was finding it difficult to supply the necessary balls to Opoku Afriyie at the top of the attack. The diminutive figure of Opoku Afriyie was totally dwarfed by the three Nigerian giants Christian Chukwu, Owolabi and goalkeeper Okalla. The

idea therefore was to transfer action to the left flank where Mohammed Polo was operating, to enable him connect better with Abdul Razak and Willie Klutse to strike from that area.

A moment of sheer brilliance barely ten minutes to the end of the match saw Abdul Razak collect the ball from midfield. He sent it on to Polo who raced along the left flank and sent the ball across to Razak. He raced towards the Nigerian goal and sent a fantastic pass to Willie Klutse. Klutse saw the giant figure of Okalla bearing menacingly on him. The sheer huge figure of Okalla bearing in on you could have frightened any striker off the ball. But Klutse kept his cool, and just as Okalla was about to pounce on the ball, Klutse slid the ball through his legs into the net. Final score, 1-1.

Ghana's line-up for this match was as follows: Huseini Salifu (in goal), Paha, Awuley Quaye, Kuuku Dadzie, Adolf Armah, John Yawson, Emmanuel Quarshie/Dan Kayede, Opoku Afriyie/Willie Klutse, Abdul Razak, Mohammed Polo.



CAN 2008 Trophy

The last group matches were going to determine who would top the group and stay in Accra and who would go to Kumasi for the semi-finals. Zambia, Nigeria and Ghana could all qualify and could all top the group as well. In the event, Nigeria drew 0-0 with Zambia in the first game to earn them 4 points overall. Ghana had to win by a clear margin of at least one goal to ensure her stay in Accra as group winner with 5 points. In that match the coaches finally took the bold decision of dropping Adolf Armah entirely from the team, and fielding Addae-Kyenkyenhene. He was a revelation to the entire team. His ball sense, his timely interceptions and anticipation of moves were a joy to watch. Ghana comfortably beat Upper Volta 3-0 with two goals from George Alhassan (3rd and 59th minutes) and Polo (48th minute). Ghana therefore topped the group with five points followed by Nigeria with four points, Zambia with three points and Upper Volta zero. (Those days a win earned two points, a draw one point and a loss zero point). That match saw Kyenkyenhene finally installed in the midfield of the team for good, and Adolf Armah played no role in the team for the rest of the tournament.

Ghana is going into the 2008 tournament, thirty years later, again with an injury problem. Its left and right flanks in defence are also regarded by many to be relatively weak. What



Ohene Djan Stadium in Accra

answers does Claude Leroy have for that problem?

Group B - Kumasi

The preliminary matches in Kumasi produced even more sensational and surprising results. The overwhelming favourites in the group before the tournament were Tunisia and Morocco. No one gave Congo and Uganda a dog's chance to make any impact on the tournament. Uganda in particular was never mentioned by any expert, just as no one is regarding Namibia in 2008 as a major threat to any of the teams. Tunisia and Morocco met in the opening group B match which ended in a 1-1 draw. Then Uganda met Congo (Brazzaville) and beat them by an incredible 3-1. Uganda's first goal came through Philip Omondi in thirty seconds, perhaps the fastest ever goal scored in the history of the tournament, and Eddie Semweya made it 2-0 in the 31st minute. Congo's left winger Lakou pulled one back in the 80th minute but Uganda's Kisitu made it 3-1 a minute later.

Notwithstanding this emphatic win, the press was still writing them off, and the Daily Graphic reporter, John Baiden, even wrote in the paper the following day that "although Uganda swept to a convincing 3-1 win over Congo in the second group B match, the two nations must forget about the African cup of nations". This notion about Uganda was further strengthened when they lost 3-1 to Tunisia in the second match. Hardly did anybody imagine that Uganda was going to make it all the way in a spectacular manner to the finals. But everything hinged on the outcome of the final group B matches. Surprisingly, in the first

match of the day, Tunisia and Congo drew 0-0, leaving Tunisia with four points and a goal difference of 2. Morocco, playing in the second match against Uganda, needed only a low-scoring draw to qualify at the expense of Uganda. But Morocco was totally outclassed and soundly beaten 3-0 by Uganda in a sensational match and thrown ignominiously out of the tournament. Kisitu (13th minute), and Philip Omondi (32nd minute and 36th minute) scored for Uganda. They topped the group with four points and a goal difference of 3 with Tunisia second also with 4 points but an inferior goal difference of 2. Morocco's defeat by Uganda led to one of the ugliest scenes ever witnessed in the history of the Africa Cup of Nations. The Moroccan team vandalised the City Hotel in Kumasi, smashing up everything that was breakable. They were immediately

Cup scheduled for later on in the year, while Ghana had had a very difficult year during its preparation for the tournament. Both semi-final matches were played on the same day in Accra and Kumasi on 14th March 1978, with the Accra match taking place at the ungodly hour of 1.30 pm! It was extremely tough for Ghana. For 60 odd minutes, Attouga stood between Ghana and the finals. But once again Abdul Razak's magic was to see him score what was described as a golden goal, earning him the nickname "The Golden Boy" for the rest of his life. In the 57th minute, P.S.K. Paha received the ball deep in Ghana's half and sent a long clearance to Anas Seidu. Anas laid the ball at the feet of Abdul Razak who found himself face to face with onrushing Attouga. But Razak was too fast for Attouga and just side-stepped him and slipped the ball gen-

But the biggest surprise came from Kumasi. Notwithstanding the excellent performances put up by Uganda, particularly Philip Omondi, a Captain in the Ugandan Army and the team's captain, the experts still gave Uganda no chance against Nigeria. But Uganda had other ideas. They took Nigeria by the scruff of the neck, soundly outclassed them and beat them by two goals to one (2-1) to earn a final game against Ghana. Uganda's first goal came in the 11th minute when Philip Omondi was hacked down in the penalty area. The resulting penalty was expertly converted by Omondi. He struck again in the 58th minute to give them a two nil lead before Nigeria pulled one back. It was only after this that all the experts sat up. Uganda had proved, even in the 1978 tournament, that in the African cup of Nations, there was nothing like a small team, and that underestimating any team could spell disaster. Indeed Nigeria nearly suffered that fate in their very first match against Upper Volta. Are there any lessons in this for Ghana 30 years on when they are to meet grossly underestimated Namibia?

Third Place Match

The third place match between Nigeria and Tunisia on 16th March 1978 was a total disaster. Tunisia went ahead as early as the 19th minute through a goal by Timmummi. In the 42nd minute, Segun Odegbami received a pass from deep in his own half. He clearly and blatantly controlled the ball with his hand. Everybody except the referee saw this blatant handball. Indeed the linesman on the right flank waved his flag for a foul but the referee ignored him. Instead of keeping his flag up, the linesman (these days they are called "assistant referees") quickly lowered it and left Odegbami to race along the right flank while all the Tunisian players simply stood,



Benin vrs Nigeria CAN 2008, Accra

bundled out of the hotel to Accra and out of the country.

The Semi-final Matches

Tunisia's semi-final match against Ghana was a tough proposition. Tunisia had qualified for the world

tly past the onrushing goalkeeper who could do absolutely nothing about it, into the empty net. Ghana 1, Tunisia 0. Ghana held on to this slim lead notwithstanding an onslaught in its half by Tunisia, till the referee's final whistle. Ghana had made it to the finals at last.

expecting the referee's whistle to blow for a foul. Odegbami sent a cross to Aloysius Atuegbu who laid the ball in the path of Baba Otu to score a highly disputed equaliser. The Tunisians were livid. They besieged the referee and his linesman and tried in vain to get the referee to change his mind. It did not work. Out of frustration, Tunisia walked off the field. Nigeria was awarded the match (2-0) and the third place bronze medal.

Final Game

Then came the grand final between Ghana and Uganda on 19th March. Morale was very high in both teams, buoyed up by the quality of opposition they had defeated in the semi-finals. Philip Omondi and his colleagues had proven to be the surprise team of the tournament, starting as complete underdogs, perhaps regarded only above Upper Volta, but making it all the way to the finals.

The match was barely five minutes old when a long lob from defence found Opoku Afriyie who collected the ball, raced and released a thunderbolt shot from halfway in the Ugandan half of the field, only to find his shot hit the upright and rebound into play. Hopes rose even higher, and the cheers from the crowd were deafening. Expectations were that this was only a sign of things to come. But it was not until the 38th minute before a long pass from Kyenkyenhene in midfield found Opoku Afriyie up front to score the first goal. A second strike by Opoku Afriyie from an Abdul Razak pass in the 64th minute gave Ghana a 2-0 victory and a win of the cup for the third time and for good.

After the presentation of the cup, a military helicopter landed right in the middle of the pitch to take the play-



Côte d'Ivoire Team Celebrating a Victory

ers off to an unknown destination for them to celebrate their sweet victory. The streets of Accra went wild, and beer bars did brisk business throughout the night.

Uganda lost the finals, but they were certainly no pushovers. Little wonder that Omondi eventually won the golden boot as the top scorer of the tournament, and was later voted Africa's best footballer of the year, the only Ugandan ever to have won that prestigious accolade.

30 years on, in 2008, Ghana is once again the host. Once again the team has been hit by injuries to key players, including our inspirational captain Stephen Appiah. We are all praying that his playing career does not end like Agyeman Prempeh's ended during preparation for the 1978 Nations cup. We need his inspirational leadership for the World Cup qualifying campaign due to start soon after the African Nations cup.

1980

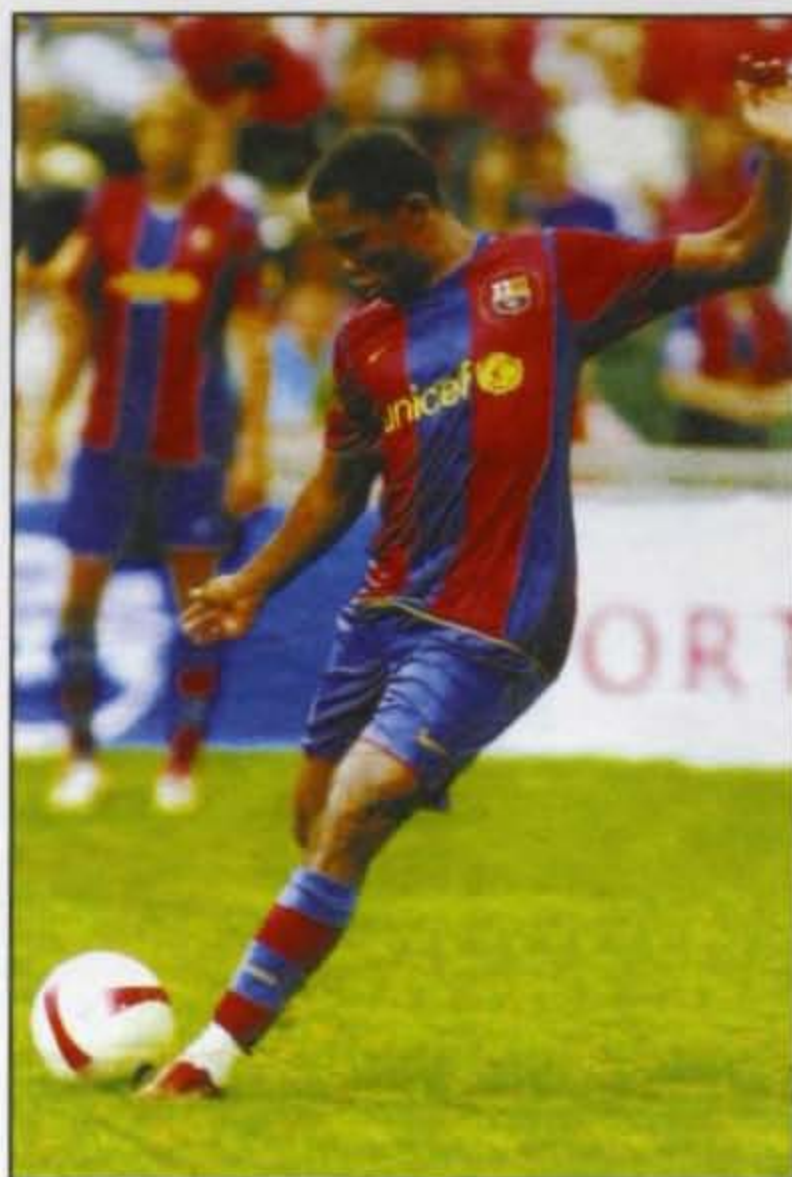
Following Ghana's fantastic performance in 1978, 1980 turned out to be a disastrous year. We went to Nigeria as defending champions, based at

the Liberty Stadium in Ibadan. Expectations were very high. But what we did not bear in mind was that as defending champions we had not participated in the qualifying rounds, and our preparations towards the tournament were very shoddy, to say the least. Player and management disagreements bedevilled many things we did before the tournament. Although I was still a member of the GBC TV commentary team, I did not travel to Nigeria with the GBC crew partly because there was no large-scale live continent-wide TV coverage of matches as is the case now. .

We were in group B with Algeria, Morocco and Guinea while Group A in Lagos comprised Nigeria, Tanzania, Egypt and Ivory Coast. We were regarded by most experts as the joint favourites with hosts Nigeria. We played our first match against Algeria and drew 0-0. Morocco also drew 1-1 with Guinea. Our second match was against Guinea. We struggled in that match but managed to come out 1-0 victors. Algeria also beat Morocco by the same margin. Algeria and Ghana were therefore joint top of the table going into the final group matches. All we needed was a draw, any type of draw, against Morocco, to advance

into the semi-finals. Many Ghanaians took our qualification for granted, forgetting that Morocco had always given Ghana a lot of headaches in continental competitions.

The match against Morocco took place on 10th March 1980. Morocco scored a rather controversial goal very early in the game, Notwithstanding this early setback, we were all confident that come the end of the ninety minutes we should be able to earn at least a draw. But the minutes passed by. We hit the post, hit the crossbar, missed begging chances, and the goalkeeper made fantastic saves. What we could not do was just to put the ball into the Moroccan net at least once. We lost the match 1-0 while Algeria beat Guinea 3-2. Algeria therefore topped the group with five points. Morocco and Ghana both had three points each, with the same goal difference of zero. But because Morocco had scored two goals and conceded two while Ghana had scored only one and conceded one, Morocco was put above Ghana. We were therefore bundled out of the competition and earned a premature trip back home. Nigeria went on to beat Morocco 1-0



Samuel Eto'o Files

in the semi-final while Algeria drew 2-2 with Egypt and went on to win 4-2 on penalties to earn a final berth against hosts Nigeria. Nigeria beat Algeria 3-0 in an exciting final at Surulere Stadium, a match watched by a capacity crowd of 80,000, on 22nd Match 1980.

Ominously, and I repeat ominously, we are once again in the same group with Guinea and Morocco in this

year's tournament. The only saving grace is that we are not facing them as defending champions. Will these two countries, particularly Morocco, once again spoil the party for us in the first round? We all pray this will not happen. Morocco in particular has been notorious for spoiling the party for Ghana on several occasions. For example in the qualifying matches in 1973 for the 1974 world cup, we beat them 2-0 in Kumasi, only to lose 3-0 in Morocco two weeks later. Guinea has also in the past proved to be a tough customer for Ghana in such competitions. We drew with them 1-1 in the 1970 African Cup of Nations on our way to the finals which we lost 1-0 to Sudan, beat them 1-0 in Ibadan in 1980, and again 1-0 in Tunisia 14 years later in 1994. How shall we fare against them in 2008, another 14 years later?

The next instalment of this article shall be on the 1982 tournament in Libya which we won, and the 1984 tournament in Ivory Coast where once again we performed disastrously as defending champions. Stay tuned.

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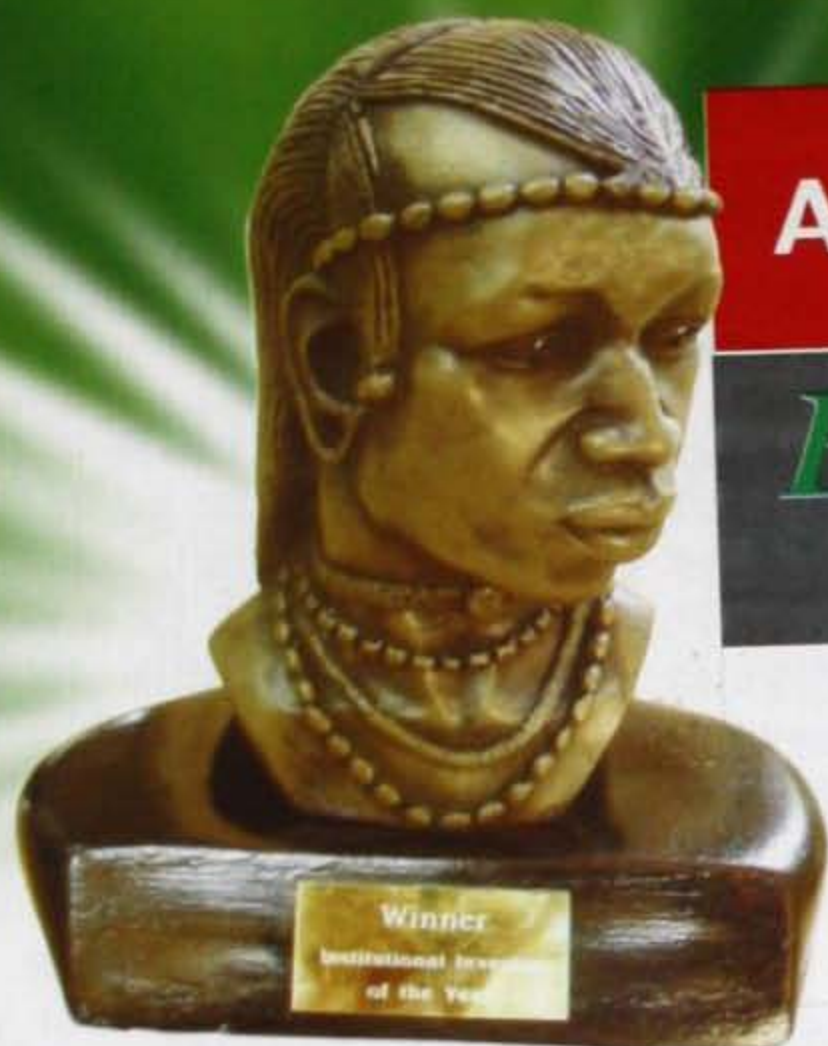
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Engineering, Energy and Economic Growth: Sustaining the 3e Nexus in Ghana

Essel Ben Hagan⁴

Introduction

This article⁵ highlights the link between engineering, energy and Ghana's economic growth, and declares that this "3e Nexus in Ghana" should be sustained to maintain Ghana's development momentum. In several countries, there has been a strong relationship between energy and economic growth. The availability of reliable and sustainable energy supply drives the growth of the economy, whilst a growing economy creates a rise in the demand of energy to support the growth. With Ghana's anticipated accelerated economic growth under the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II and a growing population, a reliable and sustainable supply of energy will remain a critical input to this economic growth, especially given that Ghana's energy sector is largely driven by engineering.

Significance of Energy in Economic Growth

Using the national consumption of electricity as one of the key components of energy consumption in a national economy, Table 1 shows that the growing economies of countries such as Mauritius, Egypt, India and Brazil have been accompanied by high electricity consumption per capita.

Ghana has, since the mid-1990s, launched three development plans aimed at transforming its low-income developing country status into a middle-income one by 2015. The prevailing development

plan is the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II) which forecasts an average real growth of gross domestic product (GDP) of 7-10 percent for the period 2003 to 2015, and the attainment of per capita income of US\$1,000 by 2015 from less than US \$400 in 2001. The drivers of the expected economic growth according to the GPRS II are: i) private sector competitiveness; ii) human resource development; and iii) governance and civic responsibility.

Under the GPRS II, economic growth is expected to be led by the agricultural sector, which will provide the necessary inputs for a vibrant agro-processing industrial sector in the medium term (by 2010). In the process, the areas of Ghana's comparative advantage in agriculture will be enhanced and transformed into competitive advantage in the sub-region. For several years, the agricultural sector has dominated the contribution to Ghana's GDP, ahead of the industry and service sectors.

Table 1: Growth of GDP and Energy Consumption in Selected Countries and Regions

Country /Region	GDP per Capita			Electricity consumption per capita (kilowatt-hours)		GDP per unit of energy consumption (2000 PPP US\$ per kg of oil equivalent)	
	US\$	PPP* US\$	Annual Growth Rate, % 1990 - 2004	1980	2003	1980	2003
	2004	2004					
Mauritius	4,889	12,027	3.9	482.0	1683.0	N.A.	N.A.
South Africa	4,675	11,192	0.6	3181.0	4595.0	4.5	3.9
Egypt	1,085	4,211	2.5	433.0	1340.0	6.4	5.1
Côte d'Ivoire	866	1,551	-1.1	220.0	209.0	5.2	3.8
Senegal	683	1,713	0.9	115.0	192.0	4.3	5.2
Kenya	481	1,140	-	109.0	154.0	1.8	2.1
Ghana	409	2,240	1.9	450.0	285.0	4.8	5.0
Benin	498	1,091	1.4	37.0	82.0	2.4	3.5
Mali	371	998	2.5	15.0	38.0	-	-
India	640	3,139	4.0	173.0	594.0	3.3	5.3
Brazil	284	8,195	1.2	1145.0	2246.0	7.5	6.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	731	1,946	0.3	434.0	522.0	3.2	2.7
South Asia	697	3,072	2.5	171.0	598.0	3.8	5.0
OECD	28,453	27,571	1.8	5761.0	8777.0	3.9	5.3

*PPP - purchasing power parity (a rate of exchange that accounts for price differences across countries)

Source: UNDP Human Development Report, 2006

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⁵ This article is an abridged version of the 38th Presidential Address of the Ghana Institution of Engineers, November, 2007.

With the anticipated accelerated growth under the GPRS II, and a growing population, Ghana faces major challenges in providing the required energy in a reliable and sustainable manner to support this growth. Table 2 gives an indication of the growth of electricity consumption that has accompanied the growth of real GDP in Ghana from 2003 (after a drop in electricity consumption in 2002 - 2003).

The projections under two of these scenarios are presented in Table 3. Electricity consumption would also grow from 6,900 GWh in 2000 to 20,900 GWh by 2015, at moderately high economic growth, with Valco Limited in operation, and would reach about 25,800 GWh by 2020.

Table 2: Growth in GDP and Electricity Consumption in Ghana

Year	Real GDP growth rate, %	Real per Capita GDP growth rate, %	Total Domestic Consumption	
			'000 GWh	% rise
2000	3.7	2.1	7.4	
2001	4.2	2.3	7.70	4.05
2002	4.5	2.0	7.40	-3.90
2003	5.2	2.2	5.90	-20.27
2004	5.8	1.9	6.00	1.69
2005	5.8	2.1	6.70	11.67
2006	6.2	2.8	7.90	17.91

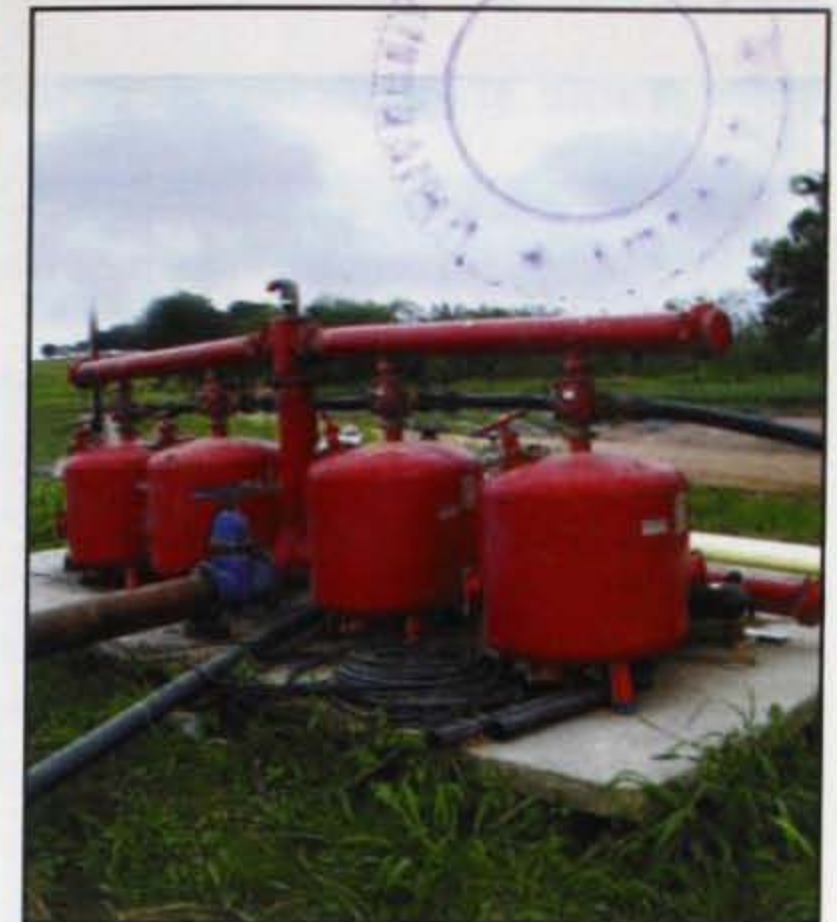
Source: ISSER, University of Ghana, 2006

Energy Demand Projections

Ghana's Strategic National Energy Plan, 2006-2020 estimates that, considering the economic targets that have been set under GPRS II, the demand for woodfuels would grow to 40 million tonnes by 2015, and 60 million tonnes by 2020. Total petroleum fuel demand is projected to rise to about 3 million tonnes by 2015, and could reach 4.5 million tonnes by 2020. Electricity consumption is considered under three economic scenarios of low, moderately high and high economic growth under GPRS II.

Engineering – Driving Ghana's Energy Sector

Several technocrats have given various definitions of engineering. One concise version is that "engineering is the science and art of applying scientific and mathematical principles, experience, judgment, and common sense to create, maintain, sustain, develop, and apply technology for the needs and desires of society". The engineers of Ghana constantly face this challenge in their quest to contribute towards the nation's economic growth.



Water Pumps



Engineer at work (Credit Brandfaces)



Satellite Dish

Table 3: Projected Electricity Consumption, 2008 - 2020

Year	Electricity Consumption at Average Economic Growth, GWh		Electricity Consumption at Moderately High Economic Growth, GWh	
	Without Valco	With Valco	Without Valco	With Valco
2008	7,666	10862-11540	9,618	13,000
2009	8,073	11675-12354	13,161	16,660
2010	8,502	11168-12846	13,848	17,484
2011	8,904	12626-13304	14,488	18,243
2012	9,325	13108-13786	14,600	18,500
2013	9,768	13615-14294	14,990	19,500
2014	10,233	14150-14828	15,676	20,200
2015	10,721	14730-15408	16,398	20,900
2016	11,234	15321-16000	17,155	21,660
2017	11,773	15944-16623	17,951	22,598
2018	12,340	16600-17280	18,787	23,613
2019	12,934	17291-17970	19,666	24,682
2020	13,560	18036-18714	20,590	25,815

Source: Energy Commission, 2006

Engineering has contributed immensely to the provision of energy services for Ghana's economic growth. The energy sector is under the Ministry of Energy, and the key activities in energy generation, transmission and distribution in Ghana are based on engineering and driven by engineers. Repair and maintenance of energy supply systems likewise are engineering activities and are driven by engineers. The engineers of the Volta River Authority (VRA), in close collaboration with other supporting staff are the ones who oversee the operation, repair and maintenance of a wide range of machinery and equipment, including turbines, generators, and transformers. Electricity transmission has now been taken over by the Ghana Grid Company. The engineers of the Electricity Company of Ghana (ECG), likewise offer their professional services in the distribution of electricity to the agricultural, industrial, service sectors of Ghana.

Engineers in a range of fields are also the key personnel involved in oil

exploration, processing, storage and distribution, as well as the development, installation, repair and maintenance of renewable energy systems, which are also undertaken by engineers. The work of the regulatory agencies – the Energy Commission, National Petroleum Authority and Public Utility Regulatory Commission – are also largely facilitated by engineers.

Engineering Challenges in the Expansion of the Energy Sector

The planned expansion of the energy sector of Ghana to keep pace with the economic growth involves four major activities that pose challenges to Ghanaian engineers and engineering firms: These activities are: i) expansion of the electricity generation, transmission and distribution facilities in 2008 - 2020; ii) transmission and distribution of natural gas from the West Africa Gas Pipeline; iii) design, installation, repair and maintenance of renewable energy systems (including biomass, solar and mini-hydro);

and iv) promotion of energy efficiency and conservation.

Expansion of Electricity Generation, Transmission and Distribution

The 2008 Budget Statement clearly emphasises the significance of energy in the nation's economic growth. Under a section with the title "Energy for Growth and Brighter Future - Strengthening the Business Environment" it is stated that major medium and long term measures have been initiated in the energy sector which will be implemented in 2008. These measures include: i) operationalisation of the Osagyefo Power Barge at Effasu; ii) execution of the Bui Hydro Electric Power Project, and iii) execution of (a) the Hemang and Awisam Hydro Electricity Power on the Pra River; (b) the Hydro Electric Power on Ankobra River; (c) the Tanoso Hydro Electric Power on the Tano River; and (d) the Juale Hydro River on Oti River.

There are also plans to provide electricity to five communities in each of the 166 Districts of the country. The Budget Statement indicates that the private sector through Public Private Partnerships (PPP) will be invited to collaborate with Government to achieve these goals in the energy sector. To achieve the required expansion in electricity generation, three options have been highlighted in the Strategic National Energy Plan. Option 1 was based on electricity generation from existing hydro plants, expansion and addition of thermal plants, and renewable energy sources (constituting 10% of total generation), and did not consider generation from the Bui hydro-electric project. Option 2 considered generation from all the sources in Option 1 plus generation from the Bui hydro dam, whilst Option 3 was based on the sources in Option 2 plus generation from nuclear plants.



Engineers at work

The planned expansion of electricity generation presents great opportunities to Ghanaian engineers. Indigenous engineering firms need to build capacity to compete favourably with international consulting firms to undertake development of specifications, installation, repair and maintenance of the various types of electricity generation, transmission and distribution systems. Our engineering firms must take advantage of the provisions of "National Competitive Tendering" and "Margin of Preference" for domestic consultants and contractors in the Public Procurement Act, 2003 (Act 663 Sections 44 and 60).

Transmission and Distribution of Natural Gas - Opportunities

The West African Gas Pipeline Project (WAGPP) was expected to deliver the first free flow natural gas to Ghana by end of December 2007 and full pipeline compressed gas by the middle of 2008. Major activities in this connection include the selection of a local gas distribution company, construction of a secondary gas network and the commissioning and operation of the secondary gas network.

The secondary gas network is expected to offer engineering oppor-

tunities that will include the design, installation, repair and maintenance of pipelines, regulating and measuring equipment and power plants. Safety considerations present additional opportunities.

Renewable Energy Systems

The 2008 Budget Statement also states that the Ministry of Energy, in collaboration with other relevant Ministries and real estate developers will implement a solar programme to integrate solar fittings into new housing projects. The key areas of concern in respect of renewable energy include solar, wind, bio-fuel production and supply, and the promotion of renewable energy technologies and their efficient utilisation. In this regard, the Commission is expected to fast-track the passage of the Renewable Energy Law and enforcement of standards and codes for renewable energy technologies to ensure that renewable energy is integrated into the national energy mix.

Ghana has significant renewable energy resources in the form of direct solar radiation and biomass which could be developed to support national development. Ghana also has significant wind energy resource

along the coastal line, particularly east of the meridian. The resources have been assessed over the past 20 years, and reliable data is available, particularly on the wind and solar energy resources. Some data is also available on the biomass resources for cogeneration. The use of municipal waste in landfills for energy generation also presents engineering opportunities worth exploiting. The VRA, ECG and Independent Power Producers in the private sector are challenged to support the development of renewable energy systems and integrate them into their systems.

Promotion of Energy Efficiency and Conservation

Additionally, the Budget Statement mentions that the Energy Foundation will be resourced to continue assisting industries to improve their energy efficiency through energy audits, energy efficiency retrofits, and energy management training programmes and workshops. The Ministry of Energy, in collaboration with its sector agencies, is also expected to establish an Energy Efficiency Enforcement Team to check illegal connections, protect energy sector physical assets and ensure adherence to Efficiency Standards. Indigenous engineering firms are encouraged to build capacity to participate fully in these programmes.

The Way Forward

The close connection between engineering and energy services needs to be effectively harnessed to support the nation's economic growth. This can be achieved through the pursuit of the following: i) capacity building in indigenous engineering firms; ii) facilitating innovation in the energy sector; and iii) regulation of engineering practice.

Capacity Building in Indigenous Engineering Firms

The nation requires technologically prepared engineering workforce to address the challenges posed by the planned expansion of the energy sector. Indigenous engineering firms should participate in the continuing education programmes of the Ghana Institution of Engineers, and other post-graduate training schemes to bring their engineering staff to be more aware of and better able to use new technologies in engineering practice, particularly those related to the energy sector. The benefits of such training to economic growth will be manifested in improved productivity of engineers, and increase in the speed at which the nation can adopt modern technologies to provide quality engineering services to the energy sector.

Facilitating Innovation in the Energy Sector

Many countries have experienced considerable socio-economic growth through the adoption of the knowledge-based economy, which is derived from the existence of innovative engineers and scientists that mobilise their skills and experience to create new products, processes and services. As Ghana aspires to upgrade its relative position in technological development to support economic growth, creating and managing engineering innovation in the energy sector should become a key component of national policy. Research and development are indispensable inputs to innovation, and many studies have confirmed that when high investments are made in research and development, they result in considerable innovation and knowledge outputs to support national economic growth. The research institutions of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and



Men at work

the universities should be resourced by both the Government and the private sector to develop innovative technologies in renewable energy that can exploit indigenous resources to complement conventional energy supply systems.

Regulating Engineering Practice

Our nation cannot effectively engender and harness its engineering potentials to support the energy sector for economic growth without a clear-cut and enabled institutional and legal framework to regulate engineering practice in Ghana. It is therefore very important that an Engineering Council be established to regulate engineering practice in our country. Until this is done, unprofessional engineering practice will continue to put the lives of our citizens and property at risk, with negative impact on the national developmental agenda.

The Engineering Act would restrict the creation, preparation, authorisation, and provision of engineering products and services to only those registered under the Act; and a person shall not operate an engineering firm unless that person is registered. It is expected that the Act will help to improve engineering practice in the

energy sector. We continue to urge the Government to expedite action on the enactment of a comprehensive Engineering Act to regulate engineering practice in our country.

6. Conclusions

As our nation endeavours to build an economy for a brighter and secure future, a strong foundation needs to be laid to propel the nation to the level of a middle income economy within the next decade. This will require higher productivity in all sectors of the economy to increase the current growth rate from 6.4 per cent to at least 8 per cent and even higher within the next few years. Reliable and sustainable supply of energy is a critical input to this economic growth. The engineers of Ghana are the drivers of Ghana's energy sector which keeps the "engine" of our nation's economy running at the accelerating speed we have been blessed with in recent years. This "3e Nexus in Ghana: Engineering, Energy and Economic Growth" should be sustained to maintain Ghana's development momentum, and engineers of Ghana pledge to champion this.

Ghana and the EU Agreement: Gains, Threats and Next Steps

Gobind Nankani ⁶



Ghana recently joined Côte d'Ivoire, as well as the East African Community, to sign an Interim European Union (EU) agreement that permits preferential access to EU markets beyond the December 31st 2007 deadline. By allowing exporters to continue exporting preferentially to the EU, the agreement helps maintain the status quo for them.

Three key questions are raised by this decision: (1) what are the immediate gains to Ghana of this agreement, and why have other African countries, including South Africa, Nigeria, and most other West African countries declined to sign it? Are there any long term gains hidden in the agreement? (2) what threats does it imply for Ghana's trade relationships with other countries, and particularly the Asian countries which are the fastest growing markets in the world? Why are many NGOs critical of the agreement? and (3) what next steps must Ghana now take to ensure that this decision, whether myopic or bold, ends up being development friendly and a win-win for Ghana?

Immediate Gains

The signed interim agreement is a truncated version of a proposed

agreement between ECOWAS and the EU. Driven by World Trade Organisation (WTO) consistency rules, the EU proposed that the Cotonou Agreement with the (African, Caribbean, Pacific) ACP countries be replaced by a series of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with West, Central, East and Southern Africa. Under the EPAs, preferential access for exports to the EU would be retained, and given the WTO's reciprocity rules, each EPA would also provide access to EU exports under low or zero tariffs, with some flexibility over the timetable for introducing these new tariffs. The risk is that these low tariffs would expose domestic industries to more competitive pressures (not always a bad thing, but possibly detrimental if the industry, as an extraordinary exception, needs temporary rents to make it viable in the medium-term). And they would also give the EU an unfair tariff advantage over countries like China, whose products, if let in at the same rates as EU imports into Ghana, would be cheaper for the Ghanaian consumer. Thus, the EPA agreement supports traditional and potential exporters, at the expense of import-substituting industries and consumers.

It is not surprising that large countries like South Africa and Nigeria, which have many more viable industries, are reluctant to enter such an agreement. It may also be because both have mining and oil exports respectively, which have ready markets worldwide, and thus are not facing pressures from their exporters to retain EU access. It is also not surprising that many of the least developed countries (LDCs) in Africa, recognised by the WTO and allowed

preferential access to the EU (and other markets) irrespective of the EPAs, have not signed the agreements. On the contrary, African countries with higher incomes such as Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, the East African Community, etc. have signed on to the EPA terms. From a short run perspective, this is perhaps understandable. It is noteworthy that Senegal came to the opposite conclusion, and chose not to sign, thus facing higher trade barriers into the EU market.

Medium-term Threats and a Missed Opportunity

By hitching our wagon to the EU, and putting trade with other countries such as China and the US on a weaker footing, the agreement is betting on perhaps the weakest link in the global economy. Let us consider the differences between the EU on the one hand, and the US, China and India on the other hand, with respect to exports, market size, expected GDP growth, competitiveness rankings, and trade prospects. Among these, the EU has been the slowest growing economy for the last decade and more, while the US is still acknowledged as the most competitive and innovative economy, and



⁶Gobind Nankani is former Vice President for Africa at the World Bank and President of the Global Development Network



China and India (or "Chindia") are the fastest growing in incomes and trade. In a US\$ 35 trillion global economy, the EU accounts for about 20 per cent, the US for 35 per cent, and Chindia slightly under 10 per cent, while their respective growth projections are 2 per cent, 2.5 per cent and 10 per cent. The US and Chindia rank higher than the EU in competitiveness, and trade growth in the former, barring wide-ranging protectionist moves by the US, is expected to be higher than world GDP i.e. higher than 6 per cent. EU trade growth is expected to be tepid, more in the 3-4 per cent range. Thus, the decision to choose preferential reciprocal access with the EU does not make medium-term sense. It is detrimental to the growth of our trade, to our consumers and possibly to some industries we may be able to develop over the medium-term, with appropriate complementary policies. This negative picture will be further compromised unless the interim EPA is able, in its final form, to deal squarely and favourably with the three issues of: (i) aid for trade, (ii) rules of origin, and (iii) tariff escalation.

NGOs have been opposed to the EPAs because they see them as anti-development in their impacts. While the exact reasons may differ, my view is not too distant from theirs. Unless the interim agreement is improved,

and other steps are taken (see below), the EPA makes limited or no medium-term sense, notwithstanding its immediate gains. The only possible medium-term benefit that could have resulted from the EPA was that, in its original form, it gave further impetus to the need for African Regional Economic Arrangements (RECs)

(such as ECOWAS, COMESA, SADC, etc) to streamline themselves and to promote intra- and inter-regional African trade, which has been hampered by poor legislation and even poorer implementation of such agreements.

Tariff and non-tariff barriers, as well as poor customs and border administrations, have rendered all intra-African trade difficult and minimal. By pressuring African countries to revisit these arrangements, the original EPAs were doing us a favour. However, now that countries like Ghana have signed separate deals with the EU, this pressure has disappeared, though it may still lead, under good regional and continental leadership, to needed streamlining of the "spaghetti bowl" of RECs. This is an important step for African trade reform: intra-African trade could begin a healthy process of regionalisation which Africa needs desperately. After all, Africa is recognised as the region with the highest infrastructure deficit, and with the smallest average sized economy and the largest number of landlocked countries. Notwithstanding this need, Africa's growth will be largely dependent on integrating with the global economy: Sub-Saharan Africa by itself has a GDP not much larger than Belgium, and the average

African country has the GDP of a US city such as Chicago.

Next Steps

Ghana's signing of the interim EPA agreement has short term benefits, but arguably is a handicap over the medium-term. What complementary measures are needed to make it a positive net outcome over the medium-term? Three questions arise.

First, even though this deadline had been known for eight years, it appears that there was a failure on the part of ECOWAS to negotiate the terms of a possible EPA with the EU. This belies a deep structural problem with ECOWAS, unlike with the East African Community, which signed the agreement as a regional group. ECOWAS is a highly varied group, combining LDCs and higher-income countries, and with Nigeria being as large as all of the rest put together and having very different trade possibilities. Also many of the other countries in ECOWAS are among the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and did not stand to lose their preferences, which are recognised by the WTO. So Ghana (and Côte d'Ivoire) perhaps had no choice but to go on their own. Senegal, under President Wade, apparently decided not to follow suit. But this suggests a need to re-examine the viability of the ECOWAS concept. Might Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal consider forming a regional group, and let others join over time in a two step process, à la EU itself?

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Second, many other countries, in the absence of success in the Doha round, have established free trade agreements with higher income blocs. The United States has been busy signing such agreements with Chile, Korea, Central America, Australia, Singapore, etc. The EU itself has signed a similar agreement with Brazil, and is attempting to structure its trade with China. So Ghana is perhaps making the best of a messy global trade round. To get added benefits, Ghana and like-minded countries must now consider developing trade agreements with other groups such as the US, China, India while keeping an eye on its import tariffs in selected products (which the EU agreement allows) and seeking to join hands with Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal to attract direct foreign investments into a larger trade grouping. Central to these negotiations will be the issue of tariff escalation: Chindia's tariffs on processed natural resources in which we have a comparative advantage, are higher than even those of the EU and the US, and must be lowered to avoid the export of unprocessed natural resource export while encouraging processed exports wherever economically feasible.

Third, Ghana, preferably in synchronisation with Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal, must develop its own medium-term trade and external economic policy aimed at changing the structure of its trade and by implication of its economy. This exercise must precede the approach to signing trade agreements with other countries, so that Ghana can negotiate terms favorable to its own strategy for trade and growth, alongside partners such as Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal. Three concerns deserve special mention. (a) promises from the EU to provide aid for trade i.e. additional aid to enhance the capacity of African countries to increase trade by improving infrastructure and services related to



Pineapples for Export

exports, must be truly and demonstrably additional. It should not be a reclassification of earlier commitments, which is often what happens when new promises are made; (b) rules of origin must be modified to make possible exports of non-traditional labor-intensive products whose inputs may need to be imported from other countries say, in Asia. The strict rules of origin must now be relaxed to allow for 10 per cent or more local value added, as the Africa Commission Report recommended; (c) most importantly, tariff escalation, the practice of having higher import duties on more processed natural resources, must be completely removed, not just with Chindia (see above) but with the EU and all trading partners. For example, the tariff on processed cocoa into the EU at 30 per cent is sixty times the tariff on cocoa beans at 0.5 per cent!!



Pineapple Plantation

Conclusion

The EU agreement was signed in a messy global and regional trade context. It is a controversial act, having elements of myopia. But it is arguably a defensible first step. Ghana must now work closely with its aligned neighbours, and take advantage of the opportunities and pressures opened by this act. Born out of pressure and haste, this act may still lead Ghana and other African countries to a higher growth path with a more diversified base of exports. The goal should be to pry into place, in a determined way, de facto preferential access to the EU, US and Chindia markets, as a way of jump starting African trade and growth prospects, much as Asian countries did in the 60s and 70s in the more favorable market access environment of that period. Thus, Paul Collier's recommendation to developed countries to offer African countries such a deal, can be bettered by African countries with the additional benefit of including Chindia.

Now, there is a bold trade agenda for the next President of the AU and indeed of Ghana!

SHOULD THE ELECTIONS BE RIGGED

Dear Editor,

From the airwaves, anyone would think we have come upon evidence of preparations to rig the coming elections.

No, only that in the wake of developments in Kenya, we are reminded that there were some shortcomings in Election 2004. In particular, Pru was credited with less votes than were earned by one party. Then also, others besides the Electoral Commission took it upon themselves to call/declare results. It was thanks to the magnanimity of the good professor in the race that the situation did not degenerate into chaos. If it should happen again, far from conceding defeat, the good professor would likely resist the outcome of the election "by all means legitimate".

Is it the suggestion that should there be a single instance of anything akin to Pru, Election 2008 would be flawed thereby? If anyone listening in to the election results as they come off the air should want to review the collated results with others, would that be reason for others to reject the overall outcome and invoke "legitimate redress? Where "legitimate" means what?

All the political parties have done their research by now, and they know what is coming. I suspect that some people who know they are not going to win are desperately looking for reasons this early to reject the results. That's all!

**Eva Disu
Tema**

Probity, Transparency and Accountability all the Way!

Dear Editor,

Thank you for publishing my letter in the third issue of The New Legon Observer to dispute various claims being made by some of our flagbearers. I must say though that there were avoidable production errors, for which you are forgiven.

There is still more coming from the campaign trail that invites comment. In spite of exhortations for debate to be issue-based already it is beginning to look like the elections are about a choice to be made between "thieves" and presumably honest others. The Secretary-General of one party has said as much. Another politician who reviews the newspapers for us every morning estimated that the least spent by "aspirants" of one party might be One Billion Cedis, wondering where from. The New Legon Observer's Editorial on the Congress held at Legon in December 2007 also intimated as much; where from all those monies?

In the unhappy past, we proceeded from raising similar questions to arbitrary confiscation of personal bank accounts and other private property. The victims have since been replaced by a new class of the rich, so perhaps there is unfinished business. If we think so, then criteria must be formulated to reactivate the Citizens Vetting Committee. I would imagine that the following would be fair target:

- All who have bought property from real estate developers;
- All who own more than one motor vehicle;

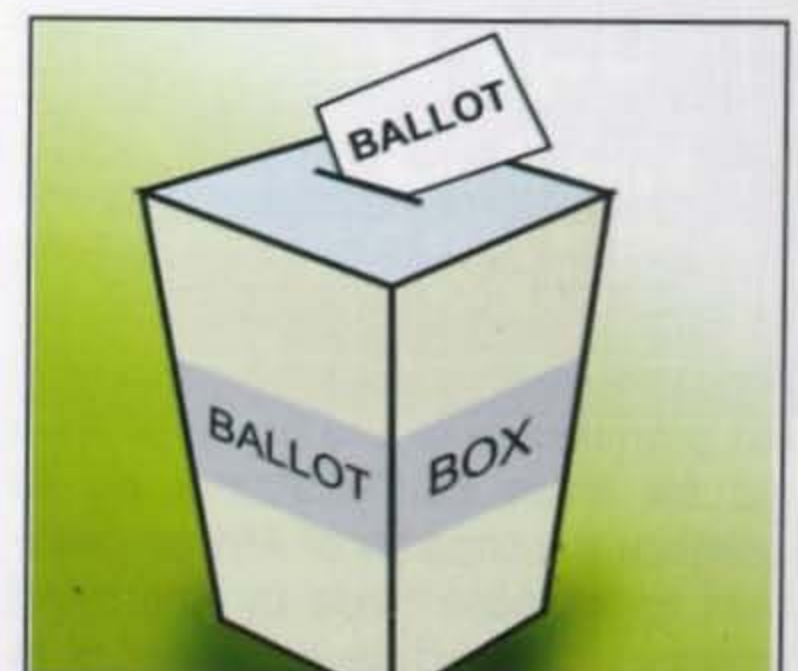
- All who have children schooling abroad;
- Any who have lately bought from the Divestiture Implementation Committee.

In the past, the list was added to whenever a "lavish" birthday party came to attention. Others who gave a "hefty" donation at a harvest or a funeral could also be roped in. Immediately, there are people who sought to submit voluntarily to the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), to begin the process. Everybody knows who they are. They themselves also know that they are under a moral obligation to apply to themselves the yardstick they so self-righteously applied to others.

Speaking for myself, ours must be a "failed state", indeed, if adults with post-graduate professional experience ranging from 15 – 40 years must be presumed "thieves" for sourcing the equivalent of US\$ 100,000 to bid for political office.

**K. Egyir Snr
Kaneshie**

Please Note: Letters to the Editor must have the Full Name, Address and Contact Details of the Sender in Order to be Accepted for Publication



A DECADE AFTER DR. HILLA LIMANN

It is now 10 years since former president Dr. Hilla Limann passed away. Throughout last week his friends and family celebrated his life. He was survived by his wife, Mrs. Fulera Limann, and seven children: Lariba Montia (née Limann), Baba Limann, Sibi Andan (née Limann), Lida Limann, Danni Limann, Zilla Limann and Salma Limann. They were remembering a man that they cared a lot about. Undoubtedly he had been a good father and a very good friend to a number of people.

He had been out of office since 31st December 1981, removed forcibly by the military officers who eventually set up the Provincial National Defence Council (PNDC). The Observer Notebook would like to reflect on the life of a former president, particularly in the years after leaving office and shortly before his death. Our goal here is to get Ghanaians to focus a little bit more on how former leaders could be treated by the State and by the public.

Dr. Hilla Limann was born in 1934 in Gwollu, Upper West Region into very humble circumstances. By dint of hard work he obtained good education. His education started at the Lawra Confederacy Native Authority School (UWR) in 1941. He spent 1946 – 1949 at the Government Middle School, Tamale. After becoming a District Councillor at the Tumu District Council from 1951 - 52, and several efforts to enter into politics, he attended the London School of Economics (LSE) for the period 1957



- 60 where he studied Political Science. In 1960 – 1962 he was at Sorbonne University, France where he took a high Diploma in French. He



Dr. Hilla Limann

followed this with a Ph.D. in Political Science and Constitutional Law at the University of Paris in 1962 - 65. At the same time he was registered for a BA Hons in History at the University of

London. Clearly this was a man determined to improve himself through education at the highest level possible. It was during his student days in France that he formed a strong and lasting friendship with the late Paul Ansah, who edited the old Legon Observer for a long time.



After an interesting career as a Foreign Service officer which saw him becoming Counsellor at Ghana's Permanent Mission in Geneva, he was nominated by the People's National Party (PNP) in 1979 to become its presidential candidate. The mantle fell on him after Imoru Egala was disqualified from contesting the elections. Despite being largely unknown to the electorate, he won the elections with a comfortable majority (62 per cent). His party also won a majority of the seats in Parliament.

Dr. Limann's period in office as President was brief, 1979 - 81. It is therefore not surprising that his term cannot be associated with any remarkable policy outcomes. His supporters like to associate him with several projects that were begun under his watch including the establishment of a Gold Endowment Fund and new investments for Ghana Airways. The government was reported to have been preparing a new blueprint for economic reform that was being discussed with the Bretton Woods Institutions at the time of the coup d'état.

The circumstances leading to the coup d'état of 31st December 1981 have been discussed by several people in their own way with very little insight into the official records. There have been reports that "after the handover ceremony in 1979, Military intelligence personnel consistently reported destabilising activities of former members of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). Dr. Limann insisted that there were no legal justifications to hold them in custody under a democratic dispensation. This decision eventually cost him the presidency and the years of humiliation and alienation he suffered at the hands of the Rawlings administration", (http://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/hilla_limann).

After leaving office he settled into a very private life at his Teshie-Nungua Estate home. Indeed Dr. Limann disappeared from public life in a very peculiar way. He was neither seen at public events nor did he speak to the press. But that should not be surprising considering that Ghana did not have an open system that allowed freedom of speech in the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) days. The only time he was seen in public again was when the ban on political activity was lifted in 1991 and he formed the People's National Convention (PNC) to contest the 1992 elections. After the unsuccessful attempt to become president again he continued to lead the PNC until 1996. The last known engagement of Dr. Limann in politics was to work towards uniting the fragmented Nkrumahist groupings and was co-chairman of the unity talks established for the purpose.

Dr. Limann is reported to have had chronic health problems and finally died of natural causes on January 23rd 1998. His family marked the 10th anniversary of his passing away with a Memorial Service at Ridge Church largely attended by family,

friends and well wishers from all sectors of Ghanaian public and private life. They are also seeking to establish a Foundation in his honour. According to the family, "the Foundation will be officially outdoored soon after the 10th anniversary celebration and, thereafter, promote peace-building as a cornerstone for a stable democracy. It will also be used to foster education as an instrument for development and enhance the capacity of the youth to engage in local level democracy." (www.myjoyonline.com).

The matter of concern to The New Legon Observer is not simply the manner of his death, natural as that was. Many have wondered about why the State had not shown as much interest in his re-settlement, prior to his death. Admittedly Ghana has not paid enough attention to how former Heads of State should be handled. This probably has not been surprising considering the manner in which they often left office. They were usually forced out in a manner that left considerable acrimony, bitterness and hard feelings among them and their followers. The only peaceful departure from office has been that of President Rawlings. But even that has had its own peculiar tensions that have left the impression that resettlement of former Heads of State should be solely at the discretion of their successors.

The Greenstreet Commission has sought to bring some structure and formality to the issue of determining emoluments and allowances for the high office holders, but the ideas still have a long way to go before becoming the norm. It does not do much for the self-respect of Ghanaians if it is true that former President Hilla Limann was seen driving an old pick-up that broke down on the street and had to be pushed by passers-by. But we of The New Legon Observer can confirm that that is the stark truth. It

is not the figment of anybody's imagination. There is no need for the State to support a life of opulence for former Heads of State. But it will do a lot for Ghanaian politics if politicians knew that long after they have left office they will be appropriately accommodated, shown respect, invited to participate in public events, give well-publicised talks regularly. When they have decent accommodation it will be easier to invite people home for discussions of their policies when in office.

In a good system, former leaders inevitably write their memoirs and these become part of national history. It is important that Ghanaians encourage leaders to think positively about life after high office, as that is the only way we will have explanations for policy, and get a chance to assess them dispassionately.

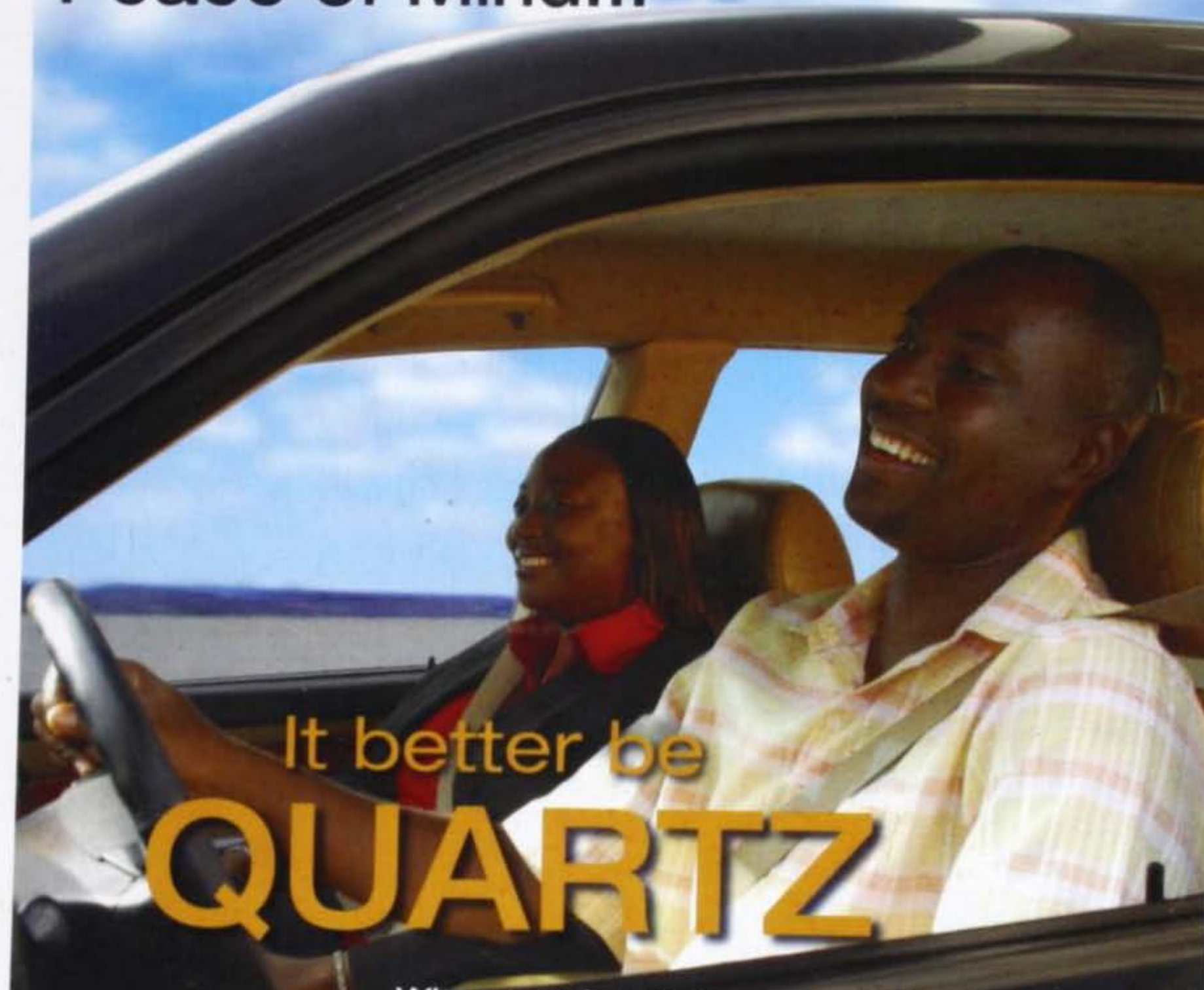
As Ghanaians and the family of Dr. Hilla Limann celebrate 10 years of his passing, The New Legon Observer notes that it is time to consider in a more systematic way what relationship there should be between the people and their former leaders.

We wish the family of Dr. Limann the very best at this time. May his experiences teach Ghanaians what to do.



May his soul continue to rest in peace.

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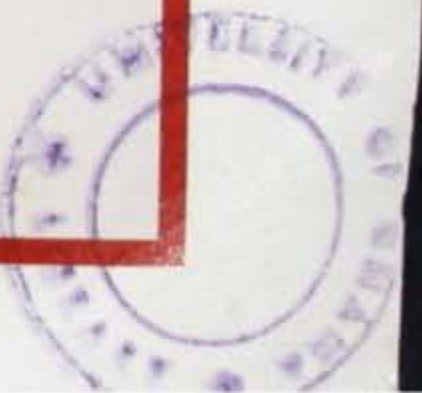
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