

ELECTION MANIFESTO 2006

NATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

GOVERNMENT BASED ON COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP AND PARTNERSHIP WITH PEOPLE ORGANISED IN “CIVIL SOCIETY” ASSOCIATIONS

PRIORITIES:

- **DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE**
- **FOOD SECURITY, AFFORDABILITY AND SELF RELIANT AGRICULTURAL BASE**
- **PROCESSING, APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES**
- **HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT, EMPLOYMENT CREATION**
- **ENERGY, MINING AND INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT**
- **POVERTY ERADICATION, INCOME GENERATION AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT,
(SATISFACTORY CROP FINANCE SCHEME, GOOD NUTRITION, HEALTH CARE,
EDUCATION , SATISFACTORY PENSION CONDITIONS, HOUSING, RECREATION
AND GENERAL WELFARE)**
- **WOMEN, CHILDREN, THE DISABLED AND THE AGED**
- **AFRICAN INTEGRATION AND PARTNERSHIP FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL
ORDER OF PEACE**

May 2006

Vision and Mission

Sovereignty resides in the people. The people of the Gambia are owners of public power and authority. They have the absolute right to determine how the Gambia is governed. Leaders are mere trustees of public power and authority. They are to utilize such power and authority on behalf of the people to safeguard their economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights to ensure their collective liberty, dignity and prosperity while safeguarding their fundamental rights and freedoms. As public trustees they are required to be transparent in their exercise of public authority. They are also required to render account to the people regarding their period of stewardship of national affairs in order for the people to determine whether they are worthy of their continued trust and confidence.

In this regard, the facts reveal that after 12 years of AFPRC/APRC rule the government has not lived up to its promises of transforming the Gambia “into a dynamic middle income country, a financial centre, a tourist paradise, a trading export oriented agricultural and manufacturing nation, thriving on market policies and a vibrant private sector, sustained by a well educated , trained, skilled, healthy, self reliant and enterprising population and guaranteeing a well balanced ecosystem and a decent standard of living for one and for all, under a system of government based on the consent of the citizenry” as stipulated in its strategic document, i.e. Vision 2020. Instead of being a “dynamic middle income country” the Gambia has become a heavily indebted poor country with 69% of its population living in abject poverty. It is evident that export of agricultural produce is being jeopardized by poor marketing arrangement. Manufacturing is almost absent. The private sector is starved of investment capital thus leading to the contraction of the productive base. This has led to poor revenue earnings, escalation of internal and external borrowing to meet the requirement of both the recurrent and development budgets, insignificant growth in employment and income, skyrocketing cost of living and perpetual rise in poverty.

It goes without saying that despite all evidence that the government is neither capable nor willing to empower the people to take charge of their destiny nor free them from economic mismanagement and poverty, it is making a determined effort to perpetuate itself in office indefinitely. This is why it has abrogated the power of the people to elect their district and village heads and transferred it to central authority. It has eliminated the second round of voting and replaced it with the “first past the post system”.

The Executive has ascribed to itself the power to dissolve parliament and remove individual parliamentarians of the ruling party, as and when it wills. Arbitrary arrests and detention without court appearance within 72 hours have legitimized impunity. The suspension of poverty alleviation programmes alludes to the existence of chronic maladministration of financial institutions.

It has therefore become absolutely clear that empowering the people to build a durable democracy that would enable them to condition leaders to focus on their needs and aspirations is the first step in a series of strategic interventions that would lead to their liberty and development.

This calls for the creation of an opposition alliance transcending ideological and other differences in principles, policies and programmes as a united front designed to usher in standards of best practice in governance and democracy, consolidate a common culture of respect for fundamental rights and freedoms so as to build an unshakeable democratic foundation from which a genuine

multi party contest can arise to enable the people to choose among parties by comparing their principles, policies, programmes and practices.

NADD emerged to answer to the call of the Gambian people for greater National unity transcending tribe, religion, gender, place of origin, birth, disability or any other status.

We do not seek change for the sake of change; we do not seek power for its sake; personality or personal interest is not the issue. The issue of interest for NADD is Gambia and her people. What is paramount is the national interest. Our duty is to change a system of governance that is increasingly centralizing the power in the hands of the executive and replace it with a system that will not allow patronage, sectionalism or self perpetuating rule to stifle the authority of the people and bar them from changing their manner of government whenever they deem it prudent to do so.

NADD stands for a future that will place your country right into your sovereign hands. NADD aims to utilize the public power derived from your authority to safeguard people's liberty, dignity and prosperity. After 41 years of Independence, the Gambia deserves nothing less.

NADD stands for a dual carriageway to liberate the Gambian people from powerlessness, voicelessness and poverty.

The first carriageway is the pathway to democracy. The fundamental task shall be to transform the presidency from being the citadel of power usurped by the executive from the people to become a spring for the devolution of power to the masses organized in civil societies or associations. We shall humble the presidency by eradicating autocratic method of governing and replace it with the system of collective leadership. This will be marked by involvement of civil society as partners in governance and the consolidation of a culture of respect and enforcement of fundamental rights and freedoms. We shall ensure the performance of public duties, without fear or favour, dictation or victimization. We shall nurture a culture of transparency and accountability by those who are paid from public funds to perform public duties, through safeguarding the freedom to access information by the owners of the country and the right of the media practitioners to uphold their professional responsibilities.

NADD shall engineer a second carriageway, that is, the pathway to development. It shall promote investment in the productive base, instill financial discipline in the use of public wealth, boost up small scale and large scale enterprises, ensure market access and income generation, expand the revenue base to support human resource development and further consolidate social services for the eradication of poverty in particular and social development in general.

NADD intends to provide a leadership that will rely on the collective intelligence of the people and their creative initiative to guide our collective destiny characterized by liberty, dignity and prosperity.

This is the way forward. Political awareness is the key and unity the door to become the guardians of their own destiny.

1. DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

NADD holds that sustainable development in the 21st Century is inconceivable without building an open democratic society where authority to govern is derived from the consent of the people, freely and fairly expressed in genuine elections, that are free from inducement or intimidation.

It is equally convinced that any government that is entrusted with power by the people should utilize that authority to promote national unity, peace, stability, respect for human rights, adherence to the rule of law and the general welfare or prosperity of the people.

NADD therefore undertakes to put in place a governance programme that will demonstrate its commitment to the core values of good governance and democracy characterized by transparency, accountability, popular participation, respect for fundamental rights and freedoms, the upholding of the rule of law and respect for political diversity and free media.

The programme shall consist of:

1. Constitutional and legal reforms through the commissioning of a Constitutional Review Commission within a month of the assumption of office by the President to ensure a nationwide sensitization and consultation with a view to making proposals to amend the constitution so as to restore the second round of voting, ensure the security of tenure of members of the Independent Electoral Commission, restore Chieftaincy and Alkaloship elections, repeal all obnoxious laws such as the Indemnity Act and conduct other legislative reforms that restrict the freedom of the press and people in general.
2. Reform of the civil service to ensure professionalism and the performance of duty to meet the expectation of the people in an accountable, efficient and effective manner without any fear of being subjected to any discrimination, harassment, victimization or indignation.
3. Executive reforms to make the cabinet more responsive to standards of best practice established in implementing laws, orders and policies designed to guide the operation of the various departments of state and further make it a practice for cabinet members to face the media to explain the policies of government and receive opinions on the impact they are making on the population.
4. National Assembly reforms to amend provisions that enable the President to dissolve the National Assembly or empower a party to remove a national assembly member by virtue of party disputes. It shall strengthen parliamentary oversight, and safeguard the immunities of parliamentarians against executive encroachment.
5. Judicial reforms to ensure that there is no executive presence or manipulation of the Judicial Service Commission. All district tribunals and adjudicating bodies shall be under the judiciary and the appointment and removal of magistrates and arbitrators in courts shall be done by a separate judicial service commission that is completely independent of the executive. Schemes of best practice shall be incorporated to ensure speedy justice.
6. Reform of prisons to ensure that they are transformed into correctional rather than punitive institutions. Community service shall be given primacy over custodial sentences; prisons shall be organized in such a way that they serve as conducive environment to rehabilitate prisoners. Maximum security wing of prisons shall cease to be detention centres. Prison administrators shall not be subjected to any other dictate but that of the law and best practice in prison administration and rehabilitation of those who have problem with the law.
7. Reform of police, the military and security services to promote the performance of duty on the basis of law and best practice. Measures shall be put in place to protect such personnel for non compliance with unlawful instructions especially politically motivated ones.

8. Establishment and/or consolidation of Independent Oversight institutions like the office of Ombudsman; Commissions such as those for women and children, the disabled, pensioners and human rights. Such commissions can receive reports and conduct investigations on complaints of violation or non compliance with laws and international conventions designed to protect the rights and interests of given categories of people in society who may be more vulnerable to discrimination or marginalization.
9. Separation of the function of Attorney General with the function of Secretary of State for Justice and Human Rights. The office of Attorney General shall serve as a state function free from any political influence so that any intervention by the Attorney General in the judicial process will be motivated by the pursuit of the interest of Justice. The Department of State for Justice and Human Rights shall oversee the incorporation of all international, continental and regional conventions into domestic laws to promote economic, social, political and cultural rights and ensure that they inform policy and practice in state administration.
10. Promote popular participation in decision making by developing partnership with civil society organizations and empower them to articulate and protect the concerns of farmers and workers, the disabled, women, children, pensioners, the elderly, youth, owners of income generating enterprises, members of the chamber of commerce, media practitioners and those living with HIV/Aids and other categories or interest groups.
11. Ensuring the protection of the media to receive and give information and hold all state organs accountable and responsible for their manner of service to the people. The state media shall be opened up to convey divergent views. The media shall be encouraged to hold all public service delivery institutions and elected officials accountable to the public. The media practitioners shall pioneer the establishment of a self regulating media commission to promote professionalism, ethical conduct and standards of best practice in journalism.
12. Promotion of the prestige and image of the country internationally by being a signatory to the Africa Peer Review Mechanism and accede to all continental and international conventions that aim to encourage the separation of powers and ensure the checks and balances in state administration that can guarantee transparency, accountability and commitment to the public interest.

2. THE ECONOMY

2.1 Finance and Investment

Development is inconceivable without short term and long term investment. Investment is the engine of growth. Without growth in investment in the productive base of the economy in a sustainable way it will not grow.

Income and employment will not be enhanced and poverty reduction or eradication cannot be achieved. How to promote investment into the productive base of the economy shall be NADD's number one priority.

2.1.1 Local and Foreign Direct Investment

2.1.2 Local Investment

There are three sources of investment in the country, public sector, private sector and cooperative sector.

2.1.3 Public Sector investment

The government has both non tax revenue earning departments and public corporations. The current public investment policy of the government is grossly defective. This is why the volume of revenue does not match expenditure demands thus leading to deficits and heavy borrowing. In 2005 alone the government budget deficit stood at 855.4 million dalasis. To offset the deficit, the government had to borrow 488 million dollars from Domestic and 446 million dollars from external sources. The fact that the volume of borrowing is not pegged to the volume of earnings from public investment, arrears in the payment of public debt have become the order of the day. This has given rise to the public debt and high debt service ratio. The total debt of the country is over 22 billion dalasis. A sum of 1500 million dalasis is being paid in 2006 to meet our debt service obligation. This constitutes more than 30% of government expenditure and almost 40% of government revenue excluding grants. This haphazard way of making public corporations to finance social programmes that are mainly politically motivated, such as July 22nd celebrations, deprives the state of public investment capacity.

In the same vein, public corporations are drawn into investment programmes that are not subjected to any feasibility studies or cost benefit analysis. A glaring example is the investment of public corporations into GAMCO to purchase groundnuts. The company was transformed into a monopoly to purchase groundnuts with public sector finance and guarantees to receive funding from banks and the result is total failure in crop financing and increase in poverty.

Similarly, the state invested 45 million dalasis to purchase Mariatou Beach Hotel and 300 million dalasis to refurbish it by drawing investment capital from Social Security and Housing Finance Corporation. This is a poor judgment in investing public resources.

NADD shall develop a public investment strategy that will enhance earnings from public sector investments in order to promote modernization of public corporations and further enable them to finance social services.

2.1.4 The programmes shall consist of

1. Keeping of proper records by public corporations to ensure proper auditing and quantification of profits accrued and dividends to be paid to government
2. Proper monitoring and accounting of corporate resources to ensure accurate quantification of optimum earnings on an annual basis.
3. The integration in the national budget of dividends anticipated annually from public corporations.
4. The signing of a performance contract with the management of public corporations to honour the provision of dividends anticipated or risk termination of office.
5. Safeguarding management from any termination of services by subjecting any grounds for termination, under the performance contract, to a tribunal for final decision.
6. The establishment of a policy for annual local borrowing to be linked to dividends anticipated from public corporations and revenue generated from revenue earning departments to prevent arrears in the payment of any loan.

To move towards such surplus financing to release bank funds to promote private sector investments.

2.2 Private sector investment

2.2.1 Private sector finance comprises banks, insurance companies and bureaux de change.

In 2008, the volume of transactions in foreign currency in the Inter-Bank market was 18.98 billion.

This shows the volume of capital being currently handled in the financial market. It is estimated that remittances from Gambians working abroad rose from 509.9 million in 2004 to 856.3 million in 2005.

Private remittances were projected to be the second largest source of foreign exchange after foreign direct investment which is estimated at 1.3 billion in 2005.

It is also estimated that the travel trade generated an income of 2.2 billion in 2004.

In short, the private sector has huge potential for investment in the productive base. This has been restricted by heavy government borrowing which provides bank with “lazy money” derived from mere taxation, mediocre investment policy and poor infrastructure such as energy, road networks and river transport.

NADD shall therefore

1. Ensure financial discipline in the management of the public purse so as to depend less on domestic debt and leave the private sector financial institutions to promote private sector investments.
2. Give strategic boost to the energy sector and land and river transport to enhance investment potential.
3. Engineer a comprehensive prospecting scheme to identify and create an investment plan for the development of mineral and natural resources of the country, including oil exploration.
4. Validate programmes and institutions for investment programmes with a view to upgrading their capacity to evolve relevant and sustainable programmes.
5. Match currency production with the volume of goods and services and the currency transaction required to back such economic activity. In this way old notes can be thrown out of the system and currency speculations that create inflationary pressures reduced.

2.2.2 Cooperative Investment

The country has village savings and credit associations (VISACA) banks which belong to communities and micro financial institutions which belong to non governmental organizations and cooperative societies.

There is very little study on the global impact of these institutions on investment and production and trade.

NADD shall

1. Cause the undertaking of a study of the cooperative financial institutions with a view to developing a comprehensive and holistic policy on how they can enhance the productive base and promote individual earnings to reduce poverty.

3. AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, WILDLIFE AND AQUACULTURE

3.1 Crop production, livestock, fishing and forestry contribute about 30% of GDP. The value of imports is estimated at D6.3 billion, 70.4 % of which are classified as imports for domestic consumption of which food products constituted the top of the list

Gambia imports rice and other food items that can be produced locally.

Food self sufficiency and safety are the pillars of economic emancipation and sustainable development.

Suffice it to say, 70% of the labour force depend on crop financing for income generation.

Many projects have been launched to promote self sufficiency in food production and the production of crops and livestock for marketing, such as the quality seed production project, the rural finance project, peri urban small horticulture and livestock development project, peri urban small holder improvement project, special programme for food security, livestock development project, Pan African Control of epizootics, irrigated rice development project, farmers managed rice irrigation project, participatory irrigated watershed management project, low land agricultural development project. The implementation of all these projects has not given rise to food security.

In 2004 the overall development expenditure for agriculture amounted to 175 million dalasis. The sum stood at 179 million in 2005. Despite this huge investment into agriculture, development in this sector is impaired by the lack of reliance on reliable statistics to identify the problems and determine what is required to address them. Government statistics would reveal remarkable increases in crop cultivated area, yield and production levels from year to year without recording any proportional reduction in poverty ratio. In short, the overall cultivated area for cereals is reported to have increased from 172,390 hectares in 2003/2004 to 192,312 hectares in 2004/2005 representing an increase from 215, 046 metric tonnes to 225,008 metric tonnes with early millet contributing 48 per cent. Paddy rice is also reported to have registered a growth of 10% from 31,221 metric tonnes in 2003/04 to 34,304 metric tonnes in 2004/2005. Groundnut is said to have recorded an increase of 46 percent with gross production rising from 92,937 metric tonnes in 2003/2004 to 135,698 in 2004/2005 cropping season. However, our export of groundnuts was plagued by inadequate marketing arrangements and earnings valued at \$811.3 millions reflected a decline of 33 percent.

NADD recognises that The Gambia has potential for increasing crop production to over 800,000 metric tonnes, which is four times the current level of production. It also has the potential to increase its earnings from the sale of crops. The potential for livestock and fish production is also considerable.

NADD observes that despite huge influx of investments in production, Gambian agriculture is still plagued with problems at the production and marketing levels which require urgent attention if we are to create a self reliant agricultural base that will guarantee food security, and affordability to ensure access to appropriate nutrition by the population.

NADD therefore undertakes to put in place programmes that will ensure availability and affordability of food to guarantee food security as well as to put an end to inadequate marketing arrangements that have undermined rural income and increased rural poverty.

The programme shall consist of:

1. Pooling of resources from the Assets Management and Recovery Corporation and other sources of investment capital to create an Agricultural Financial Facility or Agricultural Development Fund to finance production and marketing of produce in the area of agriculture, livestock and fishing.
2. Formulation of an integrated agricultural, livestock and fishing development programme to ensure food security, affordability, availability as well as enhance the income earnings of stakeholders in the sector.
3. Building the capacity of the Departments of Fisheries, Livestock and Agricultural Services to become the architects of the comprehensive and integrated agricultural, fisheries, and livestock development programmes.

This development programme shall include

- a. modalities for the operation of a financial facility for the sectors;
- b. Strategies on the development of appropriate methods and inputs such as donkey, horse and ox drawn implements as a start;
- c. Develop seed multiplication schemes and banks for crop and semen banks for life stock;
- d. Development of preservation methods for various food items;
- e. Give priority to adequate production of grains, nuts, fruits, vegetables, poultry, fish and livestock, including small ruminants for local consumption to improve nutrition and for export.

4. ENERGY

40% of the population of the country live in the urban area and 60% in the rural area. The provision of energy to preserve agricultural produce and to run small scale and large enterprises is indispensable to sustained economic activity. Herein lies the importance of exploration, production, conversion, storage, transportation, distribution and use of energy in an efficient manner.

The APRC government has made countless promises to provide efficient, affordable and reliable energy services to the population.

Huge investments have gone into the energy sector. The rural electrification project costs \$18 million dollars. NAWEC has taken over the power stations based in Barra-Essau, Kerewan, Farafeni, Kaur, Bansang and Basse. A 28 megawatt power plant is destined for Brikama because of the agreement with Global Trading Group for the implementation of an independent power project. NAWEC has a full generating capacity of 27 Megawatts and has rehabilitated its transmission lines with a 500 million dalasi loan from the Import/Export Bank of Taiwan. In the same vein, the President announced the discovery of oil in 2004. Since then the people are simply told that the Gambia National Petroleum Company is making efforts to attract international investors to come and invest in the Gambia's upstream hydrocarbon resources; that such exploration for oil and gas depends on the hydrocarbon material, geological risk, fiscal and legal terms as well as political stability. Hence the state of exploration for oil and gas in the Gambia is at most uncertain.

NADD strongly holds that no modern society with a developed infrastructure that can attract investment can be built without reliable energy. It maintains that accessibility and affordability of energy are key factors in fighting poverty and ensuring development.

It observes that Gambians depend on fuel wood, charcoal, gas and electricity as sources of energy; that the felling of trees and their burning for charcoal has led to deforestation and is threatening the very source of energy that homes rely on for cooking; that gas and electricity are beyond the reach of the vast majority of Gambians.

NADD therefore maintains that energy is becoming increasingly inaccessible, unreliable and unaffordable to the many. A few depend on individual generation sets which are expensive to maintain and pose high pollution risks to individual households.

NADD maintains that the Gambia has immense potential to address its energy problems. The ECOWAS sub region has large potential for collaboration on the use of hydroelectric power. The

ECOWAS energy protocol which can facilitate such collaboration has already been ratified by many countries.

It shall map out the nature, quality and sources of energy in the country within six months of a NADD administration with a view to establishing concrete plans on how to maintain or develop each area to make energy more accessible, reliable and affordable either through our own initiatives or through collaboration with regional or other partners.

NADD shall give emphasis to the principle of sustainable and environmentally friendly means of production, conversion, storage, transportation, distribution and use of energy from diverse sources such as wood, gas, oil, solar energy and hydroelectric power.

NADD shall make energy more accessible, affordable and reliable in the Gambia.

5. MINING

Being close to the Futa Jallon highlands, the geological formation of the Gambia offers many possibilities for mineral exploration. Ore mining began during the colonial period and ceased without much explanation.

The APRC regime has not injected any strategic thinking in promoting mineral exploration and development in the country which can indeed be a major economic activity.

Within 1 year of a NADD administration the government shall establish a concrete blue print on mineral exploration and development in the Gambia. This will map out the areas of priorities and the institutional and strategic framework required to develop the mining sector.

6. PROCESSING/MANUFACTURING

The most significant sector for the production of value added goods is manufacturing. It serves as a secondary phase of economic activity after raw material production.

Manufacturing & processing of raw materials enable a country to reduce imports and generate both income and employment in a country. This sector is bereft of any strategic thinking by the APRC administration. Even though it claims that it wishes to transform the country into a middle income country, an export oriented agricultural and manufacturing nation, there is no blue print for the building of the manufacturing sector.

In 2005 manufacturing was expected to grow by 5%. The growth in small scale manufacturing is attributed to increased demand for intermediate inputs provided by welders for construction and so on and so forth.

Contrary to misguided statistics Gambia has a large presence of highly skilled personnel in welding and fabrication who provide all the intermediate inputs for construction and other services.

However, this sector is plagued by unreliable and expensive electricity supply, poor infrastructure, high cost and scarcity of imported raw materials, erratic pricing policy, high interest rates for commercial borrowing, poor investment opportunities.

The growth in large scale manufacturing is attributable to increase in production of soap, plastic, soft drink and foam materials. This area is also constrained by unreliable and expensive

electricity, poor infrastructure, impoverished internal market and insignificant access to sub regional markets. Over the years, companies have emerged to engage in bicycle assembling, industrial sewing shoe making only to disappear as soon as they were established because of poor investment policy guide lines to ensure sustainability.

Suffice it to say, the Gambia has a potential for establishing sea food processing industry. The same goes for the processing of meat and milk products, fruits and vegetables. No strategic thinking has taken place to guide the development of such a sector.

Within one year of the NADD administration a master plan would have been drawn to map out the number and nature of each of the small, medium and large scale manufacturing enterprises and the numerous cottage industries that are responsible for the production of flour, oil, milk products, soap and so on.

The master plan will indicate the history of the sector, the shortcomings, its potentials and map out a clear and realistic way forward for its development.

NADD aims to make processing/manufacturing an important economic activity, next to agriculture, before the end of its term of five years.

7. TRADE

Fair trade contributes to mutual growth of the productive base of an economy, generates employment and income and facilitates economic, infrastructural and social investment.

It is estimated that agricultural subsidies by developed countries amount to 300 billion dollars; that high tariffs and technical barriers to trade in industrialized countries cost sub Saharan African countries 20 billion dollars annually in lost exports.

The Gambia is a signatory to many protocols aimed at boosting trade with neighbouring countries and beyond, for example the ECOWAS Common External Tariff (CET) is designed to facilitate Intraregional trade. ECOWAS has a market of over 280 million people. We are also signatories to many protocols aimed at instituting economic and monetary union.

However, Gambia is yet to be in a position to benefit from an enlarged market. The vision of transforming the country into a trading nation because of the production of agricultural and manufactured goods is merely found in the vision 2020 document.

In actual fact, the exports of the country are decreasing. In 2001 it was valued at 3.6 billion dalasis while imports stood at 6.3 billion dalasis leaving the country with a deficit of 2.7 billion dalasis.

The most striking feature of our exports is our total reliance on re-export as the basis of our trade. In short, in 2005 exports of groundnuts earned the country 11.3 million dollars or 300 million dalasis. Exports of fish, fish products and horticultural products earned the country 282 million dalasis in 2005. 2.9 billion dalasis out of the 3.6 billion dalasis derived from exports came from re-exports. Infact, 29.6 % of the goods imported are destined for re-export.

Gambia is therefore very vulnerable to border closure or tariff and other technical barriers to trade.

NADD recognises the need to create a conducive environment for Gambia to benefit from International and sub regional trade. This programme shall include:

- a. The creation of an Agency for trade and investment, that will do an inventory of all the goods and services produced in the Gambia for export and those needed by the Gambia for imports. It will maintain a diary of all the goods and services produced in the sub region in particular and the continent in general and then determine how to foster sub regional and inter African trade.
- b. The Agency shall also keep an inventory of all the goods and services that can be imported or exported to countries it has signed favourable trade agreements with.
- c. Formulate a comprehensive programme on how to expand trade within one year after a NADD administration comes into being.

8. TOURISM

Tourism accounts for 16% of GDP. Tourism is a major foreign exchange earner. It is ranked 2nd after agriculture in terms of potential for foreign exchange earnings. It is said to give formal employment to 10,000 people annually and an informal employment to 20,000 people. In 2005 the travel trade was estimated to generate an income amounting to 2.2 billion dalasis out of the 1.3 billion dalasis estimated as foreign direct investment; the bulk of the inflows go to tourism.

The major draw back of the travel trade for the Gambia is the tendency for the benefits to have a trickling down effect rather than a multiplying effect. The statistics kept for planning purposes deal mainly with visitors coming through chartered flights. Those who come by land, sea or through scheduled flights are not captured in the statistics.

NADD is conscious of the fact that package tours involving chartered flights constitute the mainstay of the tourism industry. The expenditure by tourists mostly goes to pay for the air fares and hotel accommodation. Hence the benefits mainly accrue to them. The ground handlers serve as middle persons. A trickle goes to the employees, craft market vendors, fruit sellers and tourist guides.

The major shortcomings of the travel industry is its lack of linkage with the productive base of the Gambian economy, be it agriculture, livestock or manufacturing. NADD aims to make tourism have a multiplying effect instead of a trickling down effect.

Within one year of a NADD administration it will implement the following programmes:

- a. Commission the Tourism Development Authority to do a comprehensive study on how tourism can be integrated with the production of livestock, beverages, fruits, vegetables and intermediary construction materials so as to ensure a multiplying effect for Gambian producers.
- b. Embrace responsible tourism which encourages benefits for investors while they perform their corporate responsibility in giving support to schools, hospitals and communities as well as spread out the benefits to contribute to poverty alleviation
- c. Spread out the advantages of responsible tourism to encourage hosts and tourists alike to have mutual respect for each others cultures, dignity, welfare and happiness.
- d. Promote diversification of tourism to include ecotourism, conference tourism, and cultural tourism.
- e. Encourage private/community partnerships to develop tourism in the rural areas.
- f. Provide free training at the hotel school to those who have the potential to be employees in the tourism sector.

9. LOANS, AID, FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT AND REMITTANCES OF GAMBIANS

Capital inflows from loans constitute a major part of the foreign exchange inflows into the Gambia. In 2004 inflows from project related loans were estimated at 177.4 million dalasis. In 2005 it stood at 911.4 million dalasis.

Foreign direct investment stood at 1.5 billion dalasis in 2004 and fell to 1.3 billion dalasis in 2005.

Remittances by Gambians living and working abroad stood at 346.2 million in 2003. It rose to 569.9 million and 886.3 million in 2004 and 2005 respectively.

All these inflows are sources of investment.

NADD shall develop a comprehensive fact sheet on all the areas where inflows of financial resources are evident and compliment the findings with a comprehensive investment road map within 1 year of the establishment of a NADD administration.

10. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

Land, Air and Sea routes are necessary for transportation and communication. The Gambia is strategically located to serve as a sub regional, continental and international hub for land, air and sea traffic. Internally, the country can rely on air, land and sea to travel from one end of the country to the other. The proximity of Gambia to Senegal makes joint transport and communication projects feasible and desirable.

In the area of sea, the country needs investments into passenger or cargo vessels to transport people and goods on the Gambia river. This will require the building of wharves in many villages situated near the river.

On the development of road infrastructure, Gambia is strategically carved in West Africa making it possible to have two trunk roads on the North and South Banks making the country accessible from East to West and from North to or South. This geographical advantage has never been exploited.

Needless to say, the geographical link between Gambia and Senegal makes it possible to have Trans Gambia routes from North to South and West to East.

Gambians can travel from West to East within five hours by road when it is in a good state.

NADD shall therefore make it a priority to identify and build strategic wharves for the development of river transport within two years of the establishment of its administration. It will encourage joint public/private investment in the sector.

In the same vein, NADD shall ensure that within two years of the establishment of its administration, the two trunk roads from the West to the East, covering both the North and South Bank, shall be instituted as well as all the Trans Gambia routes covering North to South across the Gambia.

In partnership with the councils, all roads in towns, villages shall be resurfaced within three years of a NADD administration.

GAMWORKS shall be transformed into an implementing agency for public works and charged with the responsibility of maintaining roads. All councils shall maintain public works sectors to maintain facilities.

The development of international movement of cargo through the ports authority and the international movement of passengers through the Gambia International Airlines and the Gambia Civil Aviation Authority shall be instituted.

The most significant contribution to our telecommunication sources is to ensure universal access to the service at affordable prices. While expanding the services Gamtel is not considering the issue of sustainability. It is borrowing to develop infrastructure.

11. SOCIAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

12. EMPLOYMENT

Currently, 185,000 children are enrolled in our primary or lower basic schools; 66,000 students are enrolled in our upper basic schools and senior secondary school enrolment stands at 27,000 students. Within a period of 3 and 10 years most of them would be out to seek employment. High interest rates, heavy borrowing by the public sector from the commercial banking sector and low investments in labour intensive enterprises militate against the creation of significant employment facilities by the local private sector.

Construction appears to be a major employer; its short term nature makes employment under such sector erratic to say the least. Foreign direct investment by the external private sector goes mostly to the tourism sector which gives seasonal employment to 10,000 employees. This figure has been stagnant for decades. Taking into consideration that 60% of the population are under 24 years; the issue of unemployment and underemployment will reach catastrophic proportions as the years go by unless maximum effort is made to address the low level of job creation in the economy. At present 60% of the urban labour force depend on the informal economy while in the rural areas the bulk of the labour force depends on agriculture.

Currently, there is no link between the world of school and training and the world of employment. Knowledge and skills are therefore being acquired through vocational and skills training centres as well as through the traditional apprenticeship system but no national plan exists to absorb the trained in the productive sectors of the economy.

The government's argument that Gambians abhor skills training is a farce. Tens of thousands of Gambians have received training from skills and the apprenticeship systems. What they need is the creation of the conducive environment for employment creation.

NADD shall put an end to the inadequate statistics regarding the nature of the labour force in the Gambia, the state of unemployment and underemployment and the lack of a comprehensive plan to match skilled personnel with jobs in the labour market by instituting the following programmes within one year of its administration:

1. It shall commission the Personnel Management Office to keep records of all persons who have completed their grade 12 course and their employment status. This office shall also keep track of all jobs created in the public sector.
2. It shall commission the labour department to keep records of all other persons in the labour force who are not in the records of the personnel management office.

3. It shall commission the Gambia Chamber of Commerce to maintain a record of all jobs created by the private sector on a periodic basis and shall liaise with the labour departments to match personnel with position.
4. Ensure that, at all times, jobs are created by public sector establishment through an efficient management of resources to create dividends for more investment and growth.
5. Ensure less borrowing from commercial banks thus reducing public demand in favour of private sector borrowing at reduced interest rates.
6. Ensure a conducive environment for investment of remittances by Gambians living or working abroad and for greater inflow of foreign assistance and foreign direct investment to generate employment.
7. Encourage more public/private partnership and private/community partnership in running enterprises that generate employment.
8. Ensure the development of a comprehensive study on micro credit schemes to determine their viability in promoting sustainable incomes and livelihoods of the low income earners and help pioneer a policy on how the informal sector can help income generation.
9. Promote informal sector, livestock, horticultural and handicraft production and link them to cottage industries to produce oil, milk, flour, fish products and handicrafts for internal consumption as well as for exports. This is likely to promote income generation.
10. Expand weekly markets in the rural areas by giving them more infrastructural support and ensuring qualitative and quantitative growth of the products traded.
11. Work towards the adoption of a minimum wage that is both realistic and conducive for the acquisition of the basic necessities of life.

13. EDUCATION

The education sector employs 6,800 staff. 262 million dalasis was spent on education in 2005. 265 million dalasis is to be spent in 2006. The Development budget for education was 102 million in 2003 and 293 million in 2004. The monies were loans from World Bank, OPEC, Islamic Bank and so designed to increase access to education by building schools. Most of the recurrent budget is spent on salaries and other expenditures. Only 5% go to purchase learning materials. This is why the quality and relevance of education are still questionable

No modern society is conceivable without the building of educational institutions that help shape the powers of the mind, prepare the citizenry for the division of labour in society and educate them with civic rights and duties and the values that enable them to be productive and contributive members of society.

NADD is conscious of the fact that education is a right to all citizens. It should therefore be accessible, affordable and relevant to the individual and society.

NADD aims to carry out the following programmes to promote education at the tertiary, secondary, basic and pre basic levels.

a) Tertiary education:

1. Ensure that the University of The Gambia is housed in a campus within a year of the establishment of a NADD administration by transforming the building housing the Department of State for Information and the hostel and stadium complex at Bakau into a University Campus.

2. Negotiate with the MRC to house a teaching hospital
3. Transform the current A.G. Chambers and the whole GPMB complex into a law school
4. Transform the MDI into a branch of the University to offer degree courses in public administration and accounting
5. Transform the GTTI into a polytechnic with a view to training and producing farming implements and other intermediate products needed for farming, processing or manufacturing
6. Ensure that tertiary institutions provide the skills and knowledge necessary to satisfy the human power needs of the country.

b) Secondary Education:

NADD shall

- a. Ensure that secondary education is affordable and accessible to all those who have the potential to go beyond the 9 year basic compulsory cycle in education.
- b. Ensure that all secondary educational institutions are equipped with all the learning and teaching materials necessary for relevant education.
- c. Ensure that all students have the same standard text books, class environment, same financial obligations and exposure to the same opportunities for learning.

c) Basic Cycle

NADD shall

- a. ensure that the basic cycle of grade 1 to 9 shall be compulsory and free as required by the constitution. Neither girls nor boys shall pay.
- b. Ensure that the expected learning materials are clearly mapped out and Gambian experts are encouraged to produce learning materials for our basic cycle schools.
- c. Ensure that all schools offer the same standards and duration of learning to guarantee equal opportunity to all pupils or students

d) Pre Basic or Early Childhood

Pre Basic cycle education provides the starting point for formal learning in an educational institution.

NADD shall protect the right of the child to early childhood education. It shall therefore make

- a. early childhood education accessible, affordable and universal
- b. conduct research as to the best standards to be adhered to, to make early childhood education institutions relevant for transmitting knowledge, learning skills and values in preparation for learning at the basic cycle level.

NADD shall upgrade the institutions that are left behind, eradicate both the classification and grading of teachers and establish a programme for being a certificated teacher and being paid a salary above the poverty line, upgrade learning and teaching materials, create equal opportunities for learning, provide adequate and relevant learning and teaching materials, ensure proper sanitation facilities and create a Teachers Service Commission to look after the welfare of teachers.

14. HEALTH, SANITATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT

The health sector comprises five major referral hospitals, major health centres, minor health centres, dispensaries and outreach stations. 218 million dalasis was put in the health sector as recurrent budget in 2005. 204 million dalasis was spent on the development of the health sector. In 2004 the budget for health and social welfare was 221 million dalasis as recurrent budget and

164 million dalasis as development budget. The development came as a result of loans and the expenditure went mainly to expand access. Quality and affordability of treatment are still major concerns of the sector. The Bamako initiative designed to guarantee accessibility to drugs by the rural community has failed miserably. Now drugs are inaccessible and unaffordable by the rural community and the urban poor. The slogan health for all is far from being realised.

NADD intends to address all the components of preventive, curative and rehabilitative approaches to health.

NADD aims to take an approach to health service which will combine National Campaign for environmental sanitation and disease prevention that is participatory and voluntary and not one that is militaristic and coercive. It aims to introduce environmental education in our school system and media, give home based education on how to segregate waste, place receptacles in strategic places to promote environmental cleanliness, ensure that the councils play their legitimate role in the collection and disposal of waste, develop a culture of recycling and ensure breeding grounds for parasites like mosquitoes are completely eradicated.

NADD conduct health education on how to prevent illness caused by Malaria, HIV/Aids, TB and other diseases. It shall make preventive health the corner stone of its health policy.

Curative Health

In the area of curative health NADD shall ensure that each administrative area in the country gets a well equipped referral hospital. These referral hospitals shall be served by major health centres in major villages and minor health centres in small villages.

Finally, these health centres shall be backed by village dispensaries. These village dispensaries shall serve as the basic foundation for primary health care service delivery institution.

They shall be equipped with the necessary equipment, drugs and staff to ease pressure on minor and major health centres.

The referral hospitals shall be equipped to provide services of high quality.

Counselling and rehabilitation centres shall be established to promote rehabilitative health.

15. PENSIONS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

The creation of employment and the separation of the employee from ownership of any means of income outside a salary or wage have made the aging person vulnerable. To ensure protection a social security system was established whereby both employee and employer contributed a given percentage of the income of both to secure the employee at old age. What is evident under the regime is the total disregard of the plight of the pensioners. Most receive starvation stipends at the end of each month. The vast majority become beggars to survive.

NADD aims to formulate a comprehensive pension scheme that will enable pensioners to reap benefits from their investments during their days of active service.

It shall enter into negotiation with Social Security and Housing Finance Corporation to ensure that workers' contributions are secure and that investments of workers' money will go into low cost housing and other schemes that will benefit the employees themselves.

It shall also enter into relations with foreign governments to secure the pension earning of Gambians abroad.

16. WATER

It is internationally accepted that water should be accessible to all human beings as a matter of right. None should go more than 100 metres without getting clean water. There are places in the urban areas and rural areas where people cannot get access to clean drinking water because of contamination of wells. In some villages the clay in the water from wells has to be allowed to settle down before water can be used for taking bath, for cooking or for drinking.

NADD shall ensure that the right to have access to water shall be adequately protected. A comprehensive survey of the country shall be made within one year of a NADD administration to map out the areas where scarcity of clean drinking water poses as a menace and develop priority plans to eradicate such shortages.

17. HOUSING

Gambia has clay, wood and many building materials that can offer each Gambian dignified shelter. In many parts of the world cooperative building societies had emerged to ensure that proper housing is guaranteed to all.

NADD shall Commission the Social Security And Housing Finance Corporation to develop a low cost housing scheme from its contributions.

In this way each pensioner will be able to have equal opportunity to own a house.

NADD shall also work with the Department of Community Development to build a model house in the villages to encourage all villages to utilize the model building as an example of how to transform simple huts into houses fit for human beings.

18. RECREATION

Work and leisure are two sides of the same coin. Where there is work there should be leisure. The Department of Youth and Culture received 12 million in 2004 and 21 million in 2005. The Development budget for Sports and Youths in 2004 was just 695,000 dalasis. In 2004 it rose to 5 million. In 2005 it dropped to 3 million. There is no strategic planning for the building of cultural centres in the communities for recreational facility. All the land in most places has become occupied without any social or recreational facilities.

NADD shall reverse this process and ensure that in all communities a place for recreation is established.

NADD shall pioneer the establishment of a financial facility to sponsor sports and artistic creation which can all yield benefits to individuals and the society at large within one year of the establishment of a NADD administration

19. LAW ENFORCEMENT, DEFENCE AND SECURITY

What is visible in the budget is that a total of 57 million dalasis has been spent on defence in 2003 and 84 million dalasis in 2005. The Department of State for the Interior had a total budget, recurrent and development combined, of 88 million dalasis in 2003 and 129 million dalasis in 2005.

A country needs law enforcement, defence and security to be able to create peace and stability. NADD however is committed to the retraining and redeployment of members of the law enforcement agency, the army and security forces.

1. Law enforcement: The functions of a police force are to preserve law and order, prevent and detect crime and serve the population generally. A police officer is required to be disciplined and competent. He/she should display a high degree of honesty, fairness and impartiality in their dealings with the members of the public.

NADD intends to build a police force of integrity, one that will never detain people without trial for more than 72 hours.

It will order the redesigning of all police cells to be fit for human beings. It will ensure that the police force exists in harmony with the people and their communities and must act on the dictates of the law and not of persons.

2. Security and Defence

The Gambia shall maintain a small professional army for defence. They shall be required to protect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the rights of the people.

NADD shall give short term training to current members of the army to enable them to be ready at all times to defend their nation and the people.

NADD shall create a patriotic army and security force that will never perpetuate atrocities to be indemnified.

It shall ensure a training programme for most of the members who may wish to serve short terms to make them acquire skills and trades to enable them to return to contributive and productive civilian life after their service.

NIA

The National Intelligence Agency shall be given a new orientation.

Its members shall be trained to be honest and loyal to the people's interest.

It shall not engage in any inhuman and degrading punishment and would not meddle in anybody's life.

They shall investigate cases that require high grade intelligence to succeed.

22. FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The external policy of a NADD administration shall be based on the principle of collective sovereignty.

It is premised on the realization that all peoples are embodiment of dignity and worth and none should oppress and dominate the other.

In this light, the collective interest of two peoples can be defended by the collective initiatives of their governments. Herein lies the reason for the following programmes

a. TWO STATES ONE PEOPLE PRINCIPLE

NADD shall build relations with its closest neighbour, Senegal, on the principle of two states one people. It shall facilitate agreement on the movement of goods, people and services.

The executive, national assembly, judiciary, media, civil society organisations and all other sectors of society should develop close collaboration to address the common concerns of the two states.

NADD intends to extend the people to people relationship to other countries in the sub-region to promote the principle of African Integration.

b. AFRICAN INTEGRATION

The Recovery of Europe was done through the creation of a World Bank, an International Monetary Fund and a European recovery programme which aimed to boost up European productive capacity and inter European trade. The African Continent envisages the creation of an African Investment Bank, and an African Monetary Fund. This should be complemented by an African recovery programme.

NADD is convinced that the ultimate economic emancipation of Africa lies in the integration of its institutions to guide the destiny of its peoples.

NADD shall participate fully in adopting and implementing all measures that will enhance African Integration.

A Department of State for African Integration and International Cooperation shall be created to promote continental approaches to unity and development.

NADD shall encourage all nationals of different countries in the Gambia to form associations and elect representatives who will liaise with the Department of State for African Integration and International Cooperation to resolve all their problems that are associated state institutions.

c. A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF PEACE

No country or continent can live in isolation. No nation can therefore be secure unless its neighbours are secure. That is the fundamental lesson to learn from the trouble spots in the world.

NADD therefore aims to contribute to international peace by promoting the following programmes

- a. Redefine the foreign policy of the country and place it on the table as soon as the NADD administration commences work.
- b. Work towards the awarding of debt cancellation to free resources for development
- c. Restore international confidence to access the 115 million dollars pledged by development partners in 2002 which have been lost under the APRC regime because of bad governance.

NADD aims to make Gambia a jewel in Africa and the world in its adherence to respect for fundamental rights and freedoms and justice in managing the affairs of the country and thus earn the integrity necessary to promote world peace and development.