

# The CDC Agenda 2011 "Prosperity for All"



Congress for Democratic Change  
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# Foreword from the Standard Bearer

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Liberians and Friends of Liberia:

We greet you with humility for the opportunity to avail a national vision that takes Liberia from post-conflict transition to economic prosperity. We all have worked hard to arrive at this juncture. Liberians have endured tremendous hardship due to 14 years of war and state collapse. But they have also shown remarkable resilience, rebounding from conflict to face the possibilities of the future. The international community and friends of Liberia deserve great thanks in transitioning Liberia from conflict to recovery. The important question now is how do we sustain the recovery into prosperity?

The Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) answers this important question in this "Agenda for Prosperity," our bold vision to transform post-conflict governance and assure prosperity for all Liberians. It is the product of many discussions and consultations with the Liberian people. We have felt their pains and heard their stories. We package these common sense ideas into what we now call an Agenda.

We are under no illusion accomplishing the aims of this Agenda would be easy but we keep our focus on the priorities. One priority is to secure our peace and reconcile all Liberians. We now have an opportunity to

found the country anew and to heal the divisions that have defined our history. To assure this, we pronounce a **New Beginning** in which Liberians can work harder to preserve their peace and grow their economy.

By focusing on sustaining peace and national reconciliation, we are better able to achieve the other priorities of our Agenda. We drastically undermine corruption by building systems and institutions that check corruption, while more aggressively prosecuting corruption cases. We assure a more prudent management of the country's finances. We finish our network of roads, the lack of which has burdened our people in the hinterland and held our economy back. We keep these promises and ask you to hold us accountable for them.

We thank you again for the opportunity to present our ideas for the future. Together we know we can build a greater, stronger and more prosperous Liberia.

**Winston A. Tubman**

# Preamble

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The Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) stakes its claims to national power on the faith, character, productivity and resilience of the Liberian people. They are the country's greatest endowment. Decades of political abuse, misrule, inequities, corruption and war have only hardened their resolve to build a more productive society in whose prosperity all can equally share.

It is on this resolve the CDC stands to assure **PROSPERITY** if given the reins of national power in 2011.

We know our people long to overcome their most daunting challenges. They are hungry to apply the ideas and innovations that can transform years of failed governance and structure the foundation of a new economy and society. The march toward this new social order is only just beginning. To achieve it, Liberians are ready and prepared. Our people aim to assert their ambition to master democracy, equitable governance and economic development. They have the will, skills, energies and experience to achieve these goals. All they demand is an opportunity.

They now have this opportunity in our Agenda for Prosperity. Our Agenda

addresses for fundamental failures of the Unity Party administration. The failure to:

- Deepen our peace by reconciling all Liberians.
- Aggressively fight corruption and safeguard public finance.
- Effectively decentralize governance and mainstream marginalized people and their priorities in national decision making.
- Provide jobs and improve the entrepreneurial capability of the Liberian people.

Despite enormous goodwill and support from the international community, the Unity Party government failed over the past six years to address the above challenges. An unpublished US Government Interagency Conflict Assessment report referenced in the International Monetary Fund's December 2010 Country Report states that: "Unmet expectations from the 'peace dividend' and the persistence of tensions among numerous tribal groups and between indigenous Liberians and Americo-Liberians could lead to renewed instability and reignite conflict." This view is largely shared by the International Crisis Group (ICG), which, in its August

2011 report, concludes: "If the six years of President Johnson-Sirleaf's government has proved anything, it is that the best reform plans cannot work without national ownership." The ICG further observes that under the Unity Party the fight against corruption has failed "because the political will is not strong enough" and that President Sirleaf "appears to have adopted a slap-on-the-wrist approach" to fighting corruption.

Added to these failures is the fact that the Unity Party government has done very little to stimulate the domestic economy and provide jobs for the Liberian people. In her January 2011 State of the Nation's Address, President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf stated that since coming to power her Government has raised about US\$1.02 billion in revenues. The UP administration has also boasted US\$16 billion worth of investments in concessions and contracts. Yet these revenue and investment gains have not translated into jobs and basic services for Liberians. Liberians are as poor today as they were six years ago when the Unity Party administration assumed national leadership.

We address these failures in Agenda for Prosperity. We offer a clear, contrasting vision for:

- Consolidating our National Peace through Reconciliation and more effective National Security Governance.
- Fighting Corruption, Strengthening the Rule of Law and Improving Institutional Performance.
- Stimulating the engine of Domestic Economic Competitiveness through Credit Expansion and Capacity Support for Liberian Businesses.
- Building the Capacity and Capability of the Liberian people.
- Ending the Marginalization of the Poor by providing better opportunities in healthcare, education and social welfare.

After six years of governance under the CDC, we place Liberia on a path to sustainable growth and development.

## I Foundation of Security: Peace and National Reconciliation

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**Economic development is not assured in an environment of grave political uncertainty. Investors and businesses have to be assured that their returns will not be jeopardized by disruptions to a country's peace and normalcy. Avoiding a return to conflict compels a more effective management of our fragile peace through national reconciliation.**

### ***Economic Security Breeds Genuine Reconciliation***

We model our national reconciliation policy on the guarantee of economic security. Preventing conflicts means giving Liberians fair and equal access to resources. Our war was due to inequality in access to power and resources as much as it involved the abuse of power. A significant segment of our country has lacked the access to

the educational and economic opportunities that can improve living standards. We ensure all Liberians have fair and equal access to economic opportunities.

### ***Accountability, Truth and Reconciliation are not about Retribution***

We note that the national conversation on Truth and Reconciliation has been biased toward retributive justice and has failed to engage the country in a

meaningful dialogue. We support the peace building recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), such as the need to establish a National Palaver Hut Forum (PHF). Upon assuming national office, we issue an Executive Order establishing the PHF and focus its activities on:

- Land disputes
- Dual citizenship
- UN Travel Ban
- and the entire TRC report

We increase support for the Independent National Commission for Human Rights (INCHR) and support its aim to:

- Review the TRC Report
- Develop a National Reparations Strategy
- Launch a National Reconciliation Conference
- Manage the National Palava Hut Forum

### ***Beginning the Politics of Inclusion***

Our politics, modeled on the American political system, is built on a winner-takes-all foundation. In the aftermath of a 14-year war, a winner-takes-all system poses serious risks and challenges for peace building and national reconciliation. Political actors who lose elections and are excluded from government may stoke the flame of hate and political tension.

To prevent such vicious cycle, we give opposition parties a space in a CDC government. These parties must however meet the rigid anti-corruption, accountability requirements of our Agenda.

### ***Biennial Peace and National Reconciliation Conference***

We launch a biennial National Reconciliation Conference (NRC), which brings together stakeholders from all regions of the country to assess the gains on peace building and reconciliation fronts and to address gaps. Coming out of the NRC will be a National Peace and Reconciliation Report (NPRR).

### ***Reconciliation Governance***

We update the mission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) to reflect a peace, and national reconciliation emphasis. We deepen capacity at the MIA so that it plays a lead role in managing tribal tensions and disputes. The MIA under CDC would prevent and mitigate land dispute conflicts, seeking to channel these to the Land Reform Commission. Given the MIA's long history of involvement with Liberians in the interior, we believe it can greatly enlarge the space for national reconciliation.

## **II National Security: From Fear to Trust**

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The role security institutions played during almost 25 years of civil unrest and conflict has led to a culture of fear and distrust of Liberian security institutions. Even the best Security Sector Reforms (SSRs) cannot easily resolve this fear.

We end this culture of fear by guaranteeing security sector institutional performance that builds trust. We launch:

- **Security Sector Accountability (SSA)**, a policy that holds security institutions accountable through periodic reporting, rule of law auditing, independent polling and a variety of other accountability measures.

### *Putting a New Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) to Work*

We enforce stringent AFL vetting standards, ensuring those intending to serve in the Army are committed to respecting the civil liberties of Liberians and to maintaining a highly professional atmosphere within the Army. We launch **Army is Our Pride (AOP)**, a strategy to win public trust and respect for the **AFL**. We revitalize the **Army Corp of Engineers** to concentrate core engineering competencies and other technical skill-sets within the AFL. We form special partnerships with the University of Liberia and other technical institutions deliver this outcome.

### *Community-Friendly National Policing*

Reforming the Liberia National Police (LNP) has lagged behind reform of the AFL. The 2010 police brutality and excessive violence against students of the William V. S. Tubman and G. W. Gibson High schools highlight the fact the much work is still needed in police reform. Our policy:

- Increases support for thorough vetting of new police recruits
- Secures more training opportunities for members of different police units
- Strengthens logistical, equipment and other support for the police, especially for the Emergency Response Unit (ERU);
- Enhances the ability of the police to fight crime and combat armed robbery and narcotics trafficking, which has been on the rise.

### *Other Security Agencies*

We end the culture of abuse that has existed among security agencies such as the Special Security Service (SSS). We believe protection of a president and other top government officials is not a license to abuse rights. We commission a **National Intelligence Review Panel (NIRP)** aiming to institutionalize intelligence gathering and professionalize investigation of threats to national security. The NIRP will seat relevant national and international experts and will take a more data-centric approach to intelligence gathering.

### *Doing Something about our Community of Ex-fighters*

Abandoning former fighters renders them vulnerable to recruitment into conflict zones in neighboring countries and pushes them into committing high level crimes such as armed robbery. The Unity Party has demonstrated a grave act of public irresponsibility by allowing this problem to fester. The knowledge in the use of arms possessed by these individuals is a threat to national security in and of itself. As a post-conflict society, we have to engage members of this community rather than ostracize them. The CDC ends this policy of ostracism and launches pro-active partnership with disarmed and demobilized fighters to fight crime and disrupt and foil threats to national security. We bring these initiatives under a program called **Partnership for Reintegration and Productivity (PREP)**. PREP will build and manage a professional database of all ex-combatants and demobilized soldiers and aim to move them into economically productive activities. PREP aggressively seeks international donor support to turn Liberia's community of ex-fighters into a global example in transforming former fighters into



productive citizens.

### III Building a Liberian Driven Economy

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The development story of Liberia over the past 60 years has been an inability to effectively manage the country's natural resource advantage in order to deliver prosperity for all. Over this time period, we have relied on exports from the enclave sector-- iron ore, natural rubber and timber – to finance development, with no serious consideration to developing down-stream valued added industries pegged to our natural resource base.

We in the CDC envision a fundamentally different approach. We put the Liberian people at the center of national development. We know our people are the greatest resource we have and measure development through their *access* to a higher standard of living and their *capacity* to deliver such access. Our people should not only have jobs; they should acquire the skills and capabilities to create the jobs of the future.

Our approach calls for stronger partnership with international development partners, transnational corporations and corporate investors doing business in Liberia. They stand to reap huge dividends from a significantly overhauled economic environ and from the capacity-strengthened and highly technical Liberian work-force our vision avails. We shift the Liberian economic paradigm.

We recognize the challenges inherent in this bold new economic vision but argue other societies with comparable economic circumstances are faring much better today after travelling down similar paths. Development is innovation driven. We build and extend the Liberian Innovation Frontier (LIF) to assure future prosperity.

#### *Driving Short Term Impacts en route to Long Term Prosperity*

The most chronic failure of the Unity Party was its inability to seriously address the problem of high unemployment and economic hardship facing Liberians. The CDC reverses these failures.

Our economic strategy revolves around:

- Continuing and strengthening on-going macroeconomic reforms.
- Identifying and supporting Priority Growth

Sectors (PGSs) to spur job creation.

- Designing the engine of domestic job creation through security, expansion and performance of credit.
- Delivering Revenue and National Budget savings through public expenditure rationalization.
- Managing a more transparent Budget process.
- Ensuring a more effective tax administration.
- Building and strengthening business and government service delivery capacity

#### *Creating more than 150,000 NEW Private Sector Jobs*

We propose a Liberian Business and Entrepreneurship Support Law (BES) to stimulate the domestic economy and revolutionize job creation. The law positions the non-enclave sector – the sector outside the mining and forestry industries—as an engine of job creation and growth by:

- Identifying **Priority Growth Sectors (PGS)**



as is done in India. Credit constrained businesses in PGS would benefit from government backed credit programs targeting underserved markets. Our PGS strategy gears mainly toward driving private sector competitiveness.

- Providing incentives to commercial banks to loan a specified fraction of their loan portfolios to PGS businesses.
- Enabling the Liberian government to guarantee loans made by banks and other institutional lenders to PGS businesses.
- Establishing a Finance Trust whose sole purpose is to provide fixed capital investment to specific businesses.
- Improving Central Bank management, analysis and supervision of credit provision and security.
- Strengthening Legislative oversight and regulation of the credit market.
- Mandating periodic compliance audits;
- Strengthening contract enforcement and credit litigation, under the Commercial Code Law.
- Developing a National Identification scheme through which every Liberian would be given a social security number.

### *Where the Jobs and Growth will Happen*

We define the following as Priority Growth Sectors:

- **Agriculture:** The bulk of Liberia's unemployment lies in the Agricultural sector. We define clear support to smallholder farmers in terms of access to markets and credit. If we have to raise incomes in this sector, rural farmers must have access to markets and technology that improves yields. Through a **Government Agriculture Purchases Program (GAPP)** – a kind of subsidy scheme—we promote the growth of agricultural markets. GAPP programs may peg school feeding programs, for example, to locally produced foods.
- **Transportation and Power Infrastructure:** The full development of our roads and power infrastructure will see expenditure in excess of US\$2.5 billion. We look to position Liberian businesses as well as skilled and unskilled Liberian labor to benefit from such high level of public spending.
- **Tourism:** Liberia has one of the longest stretches of coastline, a verdantly rich tropical climate. We share similar beaches and coastlines with the Bahamas where tourism accounts for about 60% of a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of \$US8.00 billion. By investing in tourism development, we can show the world a new face of Liberia, while providing thousands of jobs for our marginalized and impoverished people.
- **Fishery and Small Scale Manufacturing:** Many seacoast dwelling Liberians are fishermen. We have not been able to leverage the bounty that the Atlantic Ocean and many fish-filled rivers provide. Investments in the fishing industry and in other small scale manufacturing capabilities are effective strategies for reducing poverty and raising incomes.

- **Education:** Becoming a manufacturing economy over the long term means investing in developing the best and brightest minds in science, engineering and technology. We substantially improve our investment in education as a percentage of GDP and aim to grow businesses and services that contribute to turning out high quality students and teachers.
- **Microcredit and Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs):** Microcredit programs have usually helped poor rural dwellers to gain access to credit. They can also be a way of helping unemployed Liberians become self-employed and acquire other competitive capabilities. We put SMEs on a competitive trajectory.

Our jobs legislation, BES, brings the financial and private sectors and the Government of Liberia (GOL) into a strong partnership to place the Liberian economy on a job producing trajectory. Within three months of a CDC administration, we work with members of the National Legislature to roll out a draft copy of the BES bill.

We pay for BES using savings derived from our **Budget Rationalizing and Reprioritizing Program (BRRP)**.

By stimulating the flow of domestic credit, backing commercial bank and other private sector loans and widening the space of public investment in private sector expansion, BES provides more than 150,000 **NEW** private sector jobs within six years of a CDC administration.

#### *Job Creation via Increased Flows of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)*

Our BES jobs innovation have in-built institutional incentives to spur job additions in the FDI sector. BES would greatly strengthen linkages between enclave and non-enclave sectors and promote a thriving service industry. Scaling up the range of insurance, transportation and other vital services would receive the lion share of BES priority growth sector focus. This along with a strong contracts enforcement regime would enhance greater flows of foreign capital, improve productivity and efficiency and strengthen overall capital performance. Jobs created indirectly through these linkages are an addition to those created via the more direct avenue of BES credit expansion.

#### *Stronger Revenue Performance*

Tax performance has improved under the Unity Party government but significant room for improvement remains, considering that for the first nine months of the 2009-2010 fiscal period, tax receipts fell below projections by about US\$99 million. We aim to maximize revenue generation by instituting a stronger and more effective tax collection regime. Within any budget year, our tax policy goal would be to significantly close the observed gap between tax-based revenue projections and actual revenue receipts.

We unveil a **Tax Compliance Strategy** which raises revenue over current performance by

- Designing a **Tax Compliance Index (TCI)** that aims to estimate the size of Liberia's current tax gap and gauge the effectiveness of tax compliance programs;
- Enforcing very rigorous and rigid tax compliance measures using the court system and through special tax compliance partnerships with the business community and the Ministry of Finance (MOF);
- By putting government financial information and data on a faster automation track

- Minimizing exemptions and localizing other universal tax collection best practices;
- Strengthening inter-agency coordination and information sharing on tax compliance; and
- Mandating the issuance of quarterly tax collection reports as a way of maintaining high tax collection vigilance and momentum. These reports would communicate quarterly collection goals, highlighting shortfalls or successes.

We know that continued strength in revenue performance is our surest path to reducing the punishing burden of poverty afflicting the poor and to financing innovations in wealth creation.

### *Toward Transparent and More Innovative National Budgeting*

The national budget can be an important fiscal tool in poverty alleviation and wealth creation if harnessed effectively. Our **Budget Rationalizing and Reprioritizing Strategy (BRRS)** are based on the following:

- **National Budget Baseline:** The current budget process assumes every spending project will be on the books forever, even if the law says the spending will expire or the project has been completed. *This is deceptive and irresponsible accounting*, with no respect for fiscal prudence in managing taxpayers' funds. A CDC led Government will baseline the National Budget. This would assist in ensuring that same programs or projects are not funded year over year, and waste and inefficiencies are not carried forward into the National Budget. This would also set the basis for performance-based budgeting, where performance is linked to a Five Year Strategic Plan.
- **Separating the Recurring Budget from the Capital Budget:** Separate the recurring budget from the capital budget, wherein the Capital Budget will be presented on a multi-year basis while the recurring budget is annualized. The use of a Capital Planning Commission (CPC) might prove useful in this regard. The Capital Planning Commission will be responsible for costing and monitoring capital budget including infrastructure projects. Currently, 95 percent of the Liberian Government Budget is recurring expenditure, with no evidence of long term planning. Ghana and other countries have a Long Term Capital Planning Commission which has assisted policy makers to determine current capital investment needs and a long term replacement and improvement schedule.
- **Donor Support Only for Capital Budget:** All donor support, either indirectly or directly, will be limited to capital expenditure on productive, long term assets. This would enable the Government to limit risks of uncertainty in cash flows when donor money runs out. A country cannot depend on donor funding forever, so there is a need for donors to support programs and activities that build the long term capacity of the country. Through this process, we also flag and independently report on donor funded programs and projects.
- **Incorporating All Government Revenue into the National Budget:** We aim to repeal the current Maritime Authority Law that grants Liberian Maritime Authority autonomy from the national budget. Our fiscal policy concerning public corporations is to ensure all public entities are governed by a uniform national budget regulation, with acceptable variances depending on the nature of the corporation. This means revenue generated by the public sector -- including those from state owned enterprises such as Liberia Petroleum Refinery Corporation, National Oil Company of Liberia, Maritime Authority, etc and regulatory agencies like Liberian Civil Aviation Authority, Liberia

Telecommunications Authority, etc. -- are incorporated into the National Budget. Under a CDC led Government, there must be a compelling public interest for any entity of Government to operate outside of the National Budget. The practice of setting certain entities outside the scope of the National Budget has created opportunities for mismanagement and corruption.

These programs would avoid the waste and inefficiencies that currently characterize the fiscal landscape under the Unity Party and provide needed savings to finance productive activities within the private sector as envisioned under our massive jobs creating program.

### *Driving Innovations in Poverty Reduction*

Reducing poverty is not about delivering handouts to people. It is about building incentives that drive and sustain more productive livelihoods. As of 2005, the average Liberian received about one-fourth of the annual income per person in 1987 and about one-sixth of that received in 1979.

Under the Unity Party, our people continue to experience extreme hardship.

We reverse this pattern of neglect and abandonment of the poor through our **National Poverty Innovation Strategy (NPIS)**. NPIS would direct assistance to different categories of the poor including: ex soldiers and former combatants who missed out on schooling during the years of war; out-of-school street merchants and peddlers; farmers and families where no member has received more than a high school education. Within the first two years, the program looks to significantly reduce the number of children selling in the streets, putting them sustainably back to school. Within a short time frame, we put poor Liberians on a government-enabled path to a better standard of living.

### *Building Capacity and Capability*

The International Monetary Fund in its July 2011 Country assessment observes that capital expenditure among few other reasons was held back for fiscal year 2011:

- "because of a lack of capacity to design projects..."
- "because of a limited number of private sector contractors..."

This sums up the capacity building crisis under the Unity Party. That the UP awarded a post-HIPC loan of \$US4.0 million to a Ghanaian sanitation company on the grounds that 'competitive Liberians businesses could not be found to undertake sanitation projects' is a testament to the Unity Party's capacity building incompetence. In fact, it took the Unity Party 4.5 years to conceive a national capacity building strategy. All these beg the question: what happened to the millions that have poured into capacity development over the past six years?

We reverse these failures by:

- **Mandating the General Accountability Office (GAO)** to perform periodic audits and conduct efficiency studies on the use of capacity resources. The GAO will map out a framework for more effective capacity building expenditure planning.
- **Commissioning a National Capacity Building Roundtable** with the Liberian Chamber of commerce, the University of Liberia, the Governance Commission (GC) other private sector actors to assess the extent to which government can contribute toward building both public and private sector capacity.

- **Providing Foreign and local Scholarships and Professional Training.** We cannot compete with the rest of the world if our people are not properly trained. The Asian Education and Investment Program was a massive capacity building initiative costing hundreds of millions of dollars and has been largely hailed for the growth of Asian economies. We can do the same in Liberia. Under our Investment in People (IP) program, we significantly increase national budget resources devoted to developing capacity and growing skills. Both as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product and of the National Budget, IP spending would be both regionally and globally competitive.
- **Developing a National Capacity Building Institute (NCBI),** preferably housed at the University of Liberia. The NCBI studies capacity challenges and issues specific to the public and private and nourishes expertise to address these challenges.

### *Monetary Policy and Financial Sector Development*

We build on on-going reforms supported by the International Monetary Fund in the area of financial sector development and central bank governance. We emphasize the inflation and liquidity management roles of the Central Bank of Liberia (CBL) but aim more to strengthen CBL capabilities in the direction of financial sector development. If the private sector is to be the engine of sustainable long term economic competitiveness and job growth, a viable financial sector that more effectively avails credit and manages risks more prudently has to be a place over the medium to long term. We increase funding into research and training to support current CBL efforts in developing a financial market.

### *Toward the Medium to Long Term*

While we maximize our ability to reduce poverty and stimulate the flow of domestically driven wealth over the short term, the prosperity of our future really hinges on the long term. We are where we are today because more than 60 years ago, we did not plan for today. In building our roads, we imagine two lanes instead of four or six. We imagined a population stunted at 2 million people instead of one growing to 8 million. The poverty of such vision ends now with the CDC as we plan the path of a prosperous Liberia.

### *Investing into Future Prosperity*

The national conversation about the future has to be intensified, removed from the backburner where it has resided under the Unity Party for the past five years. How do Liberians build a high capability technical workforce? How competitive in terms of skills are we compared to other nationalities? How can we turn our institutions of learning into centers of technical excellence, churning out the skill-sets that would be demanded by the high end-jobs of tomorrow? We find answers to these questions by designing a strategic medium to long term investment strategy, termed the **Three I's**, which prioritizes **Investment in People**, **Investment in Institutions** and **Investment in Infrastructure**. Our goal is to ensure that the combined investment in each of these categories, as a fraction of our national income, is competitive with middle income and emerging economies.

### *Investing in People*

For a grassroots party such as the CDC, our people are our lifeblood. They deserve the very best. The doctors who manage the sick of tomorrow, the engineers who design and manage the National Transportation Highway Network of the future, and the teachers who develop the

brightest minds of tomorrow, have themselves to be the very best. Developing the skills and competencies of our people has to be the highest national priority. **Our Promise to:**

- **Teachers:** We develop more than 10,000 highly competitive teachers to drive transformative education in the nation's secondary, primary and tertiary education institutions. We make teachers globally competitive and develop a market in which they can move between schools, earn higher wages while preparing our children for college and for the rigors of a competitive job market.
- **Engineers, Doctors, Nurses:** About US\$10 million can pay the 4 year tuition costs for about 67 medical students at highly competitive public and private universities in the United States. The tens of millions of dollars being squandered under the Unity Party could have been deployed to develop our human capability. India has about 160,000 students abroad who will return to power that country's industrial advance. Liberia cannot be left behind in this race. The CDC invests the country's resources in developing and deploying the best minds who will manage our healthcare and engineering systems of tomorrow.
- **Farmers:** We build the capacity of farmers and assure them access to markets and credit. Our rich tropical climate should not be put to waste. We can grow food. We move our farmers from poverty to higher incomes by investing in their capacity, technology and by making government their biggest customer.

We pay for IP with savings derived from the National Budget under our **Budget Rationalizing and Reprioritizing Scheme (BRRS)** and with other funding received from donors.

### **Investing in Institutions**

Our **Investing in Institutions (II)** strategy tracks the impact of public spending on secondary, primary and tertiary institutions. The current level of spending and impact in public education is dismal. We invest in building new school facilities particularly in rural areas and strengthening school quality by providing better laboratories, equipping schools with libraries, researching and developing more effective teaching methods, synchronizing curricula with those in more competitive schools districts around the world. **Our Promise to:**

- **University of Liberia:** We modernize the University of Liberia by making it highly competitive within the African region. We attract world-class professors to transition the UL to global competitiveness, while developing the capacity of Liberian professors. We look to place the UL at the hub of a **National University System**, which links universities and other technical institutions into a higher productive partnership and network. We unveil a **National University Vision** in partnership with the UL, focused on delivering improved standards and higher quality education, decentralizing the UL to avail access to residents throughout the country, strengthening UL involvement in building and nurturing industries and situating the UL at the apex of research and industrial innovation.
- **William V. S. Tubman College of Technical (TC):** With its new university status, TC has to ride the same development trajectory as UL. We invest into making TC a major center of engineering, industrial and technology excellence. We unveil a vision for TC in partnership with its administration.
- **Booker Washington Institute:** We revisit the mission of the Booker Washington Institute (BWI) to ensure that the skills students acquire can gain them access to jobs



even as they develop their education further. BWI and other technical institutions, such as the Multilateral High school system, will receive priority focus as a means to giving Liberians entry level of jobs skills midwifery, carpentry, sewing, plumbing, midwifery among other skills sets relevant to entering the job market or to developing a career.

- **Five Regional High Schools of Excellence:** We invest in developing a regional network of five globally competitive high schools producing students able to withstand the rigors of academic life at the refurbished and overhauled UL, TC and other universities of our National University System. These schools will have the most talented teachers and will be linked to the best schools in the US, Europe and Asia.
- **Governance and other Institutions:** We equally invest in non-education institutions such as the Civil Service Association (CSA) the Governance Commission, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) and multiple public and private sector capacity building initiatives.

When this strategy is fully operational over the medium to long term, forward and backward transfers of knowledge between centers of learning, business and government become the fulcrum on which our national economy spins. The space for growth in the private sector expands because young college graduates empowered with critical skill-sets drive the private sector to create wealth, while an effectively administered government widens the scope for public policy to sustain private sector growth. We nourish the nexus that links the National University System, industries and Government into a functional productive economic whole.

We pay for this program through our expenditure rationalizing programs. As and along with our Investing in People Report, we launch an **Investing in Institutions Report**.

### **Investing in Infrastructure**

But the real multiplier to growth and guarantor of our path to middle income status is adequate investment in infrastructure, especially in transportation and power. Here revolutionary and visionary leadership and an ability to prioritize are seriously needed. The multi-stake-holder Africa Infrastructure Country Diagnostic (AICD) conducted in 2010 has put Liberia's total infrastructure financing need at about US\$3.7 billion. Of this total our networks of roads and power respectively consume \$US1.1 billion and US\$1.3 billion.

Our strategy is to prioritize building the country's network of roads and to phase in power development after 3 years. We scale up the current level of power development under the Unity Party. While tremendous economic benefits can accrue to the Liberian economy from an adequate power infrastructure, mapping out a cost-efficient power infrastructure is more demanding and requires more effective planning. We argue that the economies of scale and the multipliers from road development can impact outcomes within the power sector. A portion of increased farm incomes, made possible because farmers are able to take their produce to markets by accessing better roads, can pay for power in farm households. Rural dwellers receiving incomes from companies that relocate offices in rural areas because of better road conditions can use part of that income to defray the cost of electricity.

To manage road and power development, we launch the **Infrastructure Investment Fund (IIF)**, placing it under the leadership of the Ministry of Finance (MOF), Ministry of Planning (MOP), Ministry of Public Works and the Central Bank of Liberia (CBL). The IIF puts power and road development on an accelerated priority track, phasing in power development after 3 years. The IIF utilizes local and expatriate expertise in developing a comprehensive peer-reviewed strategy for road and power development; ensures the best policy environment exists in which



to maximize concession revenue; strengthens concession revenue performance; sources additional donor funding and develops an effective debt-financing strategy. We review the \$US67.7 million loan obtained for the Liberia Road Asset Management Project, which is intended to rehabilitate and maintain the Monrovia to Ganta-Guinean border highway and synchronize the program with IIF's objectives.

Within six months of a CDC administration, we report on the IIF program and unveil a Best Way Forward on infrastructure finance and development.

### *Water and Sanitation*

Delivering pipe borne water to all Liberians is goal en route to better healthcare. This is not achievable in the short term. We focus leadership on assessing the challenges in these areas, making yearly improvements. We aim to increase the supply of pipe borne water to Liberians by as much as 25% over and above current levels and work assiduously with the Water and Sewer Corporation to deliver this. We strengthen support for sanitation.

### *Modernizing Aviation and Airports*

We rejuvenate international and domestic travel by building a thriving aviation industry. Our goal is to put the Roberts International Airport (RIA) on the standard of many of the airports in the region while we revamp local airports to develop the domestic airline industry. We task the Liberia Civil Aviation Authority (LCAA) and the Liberia Airport Authority (LAA) to develop strategic visions aiming toward this goal.

### *Building Telecommunications and Information Technology*

The Liberia Telecommunications Authority (LTA) would have to play a more assertive regulatory and leadership role in harnessing the gains in the new and modern information and communications technology (ICT). We will review performance of a \$US25.6 million contract awarded the Government of Liberia (GOL) for underwater/sea cable fiber optic internet capacity under the West Africa Regional Communications infrastructure program. Given that funds for the contract came from a Post-HIPC loan, we expect strong performance. We will develop similar programs aiming to grow the telecommunications and ICT sector, and entrenching its capabilities in development support.

### *Designing the Engine of a Manufacturing Economy*

We appoint a **Manufacturing Commission** (MAC), whose responsibility would be to compile a comprehensive report on the economics of Liberian manufacturing in the timber, rubber and iron ore industries. MAC will develop a vision for increasing the share of manufacturing in economic output from 5% to 50%. While studying conditions for manufacturing, MAC would be expected to draft a plan for improving Liberia's export competitiveness within the rubber and timber industries, as a transition strategy. Liberia has lost its advantage in rubber exports, losing out to a few Asian countries. MAC would comprise academics, professionals and business leaders.

### *Birth of a Middle Class*

We grow the first real Liberian middle class. By the completion of our medium term strategy and the take off of our long term strategy, whole sectors and industries would exist, peopled by Liberians pushing the frontiers of domestic innovation in tourism, fishery, insurance, farming, commercial agriculture and manufacturing among a whole host of industries.

The future can only be brighter with the CDC manning the national gateway.

## IV Restructuring the Justice System

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In its 2006 report, "Liberia: Restructuring the Justice System," the International Crisis Group reported on the high level of corruption in the Justice Sector. Since 2006, very little improvement in the area of justice sector reform has happened under Unity Party governance.

Although President Sirleaf issued Executive order in 2009 establishing the Law Reform Commission (LRC), which is now legal body, the public knows very little about the activities of the LRC. A Google search using 'law reform commission of Liberia' produces Liberia's poverty reduction strategy document as the first search result. No serious information about the level of progress the LRC has undertaken is available to the public. This is an indication of the low level of priority the Unity Party has accorded reforming our justice sector, despite its vaunted claim that 'fighting corruption depends on reforming the judiciary.'

The CDC finds this unacceptable, since so many outcomes ride on reforming our justice sector. We place judicial reform on a priority track and review the activities of the LRC. Our review aims to:

- Review the level of work done by the LRC
- Identify challenges and constraints in carrying out its legal mandate
- Increase budget and donor support for the LRC
- Strengthen political visibility for the LRC activities
- Compile a priority list of **Judicial Reform Actions (JRA)** expected to be completed within one year of a CDC administration.
- Review LRC membership composition

### *Delivering an Independent and Competent Judiciary*

Weaning the judiciary from the dominance of the Executive has to be a major reform objective. We take quick steps in this direction. These include providing quality legal training for judges at circuit, magisterial and JP court levels as well as

training for critical support staff. These trainings will strengthen judges' and other practitioners' understanding of the independent role of the judiciary in a democracy.

### *Ending Corruption within the Judiciary*

We take strong measures to end corruption within the Judiciary. Many reports

have pointed to poor salary structure as a major contributor to the high level of corruption within the Judiciary. To address this problem, we place judges and critical court support staff on a **Priority Salary Trajectory (PST)**. The PST is a policy innovation under which the salaries of workers within a specific

public sector might be raised while holding salaries within other sectors at their prevailing levels, subject to resource constraints. We argue that our descent into conflict partly originated in patterns of unfairness and corruption within the Justice Sector. If Liberians cannot get justice in land disputes, for example, because judges are receiving bribes from more powerful or wealthier individuals, our national peace is threatened and all Liberians would be affected. So it seems logical to accord some sectors whose outcomes seriously affect public wellbeing the highest level of priority. We argue the Justice Sector falls within this priority category. That said, we employ PST only after a thorough, independent peer review.

### ***Special Courts for Fighting Corruption***

That public officials indicted in anti-corruption audits performed by the GAC have yet to appear in court suggests a strong

absence of will to prosecute corruption cases. We create special anti-corruption courts to fast-track corruption cases. We identify, appoint and develop judges and prosecutors competent in anti-corruption law so that those who embezzle and mismanage public resources do not walk with impunity.

### ***Better Facilities for the Nation's Courts***

We demean our judges when we have them administer justice in dilapidated structures or have judges run courts from the balcony of their homes. We guarantee a roll out of better facilities for the courts in each county.

### ***Guaranteeing a Reformed Ministry of Justice***

The Ministry of Justice (MOJ) under the CDC will operate in a tense milieu of restless, on-going judicial reform. It will be more proactive in bringing cases to trial, ending the abuse of rights and in

prosecuting corruption cases. Too many Liberians are currently behind bars without having been charged or having appeared before a judge. MOJ would end this practice under a CDC administration. Liberians have a right to habeas corpus under our laws.

### ***Stronger partnership with Communities***

We rely on Liberians to be the guardians of their democracy and rights and support community-based approaches to strengthening the rule of law. We provide support for Community Based Organizations (CBOs) that seek to expose corruption within the judiciary, educate Liberians about the importance of seeking justice under our statutory laws, and undermine the under-reporting of offences such as teenage rape. We house a CBO justice unit within the Ministry of Justice to strengthen these partnerships.

# V Delivering a Revolution in Governance and Accountability

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The dramatic sea change in post-conflict Liberian attitude is the public's unrelenting and near unanimous demand that public governance be corruption-free. We consider this expectation sacred and undertake sweeping actions to turn Liberia into a shining example in responsible and trustworthy governance.

## *More Effective Public Financial Management*

Effective management of public agencies and resources – national budget, line agencies and ministries and public corporations – is the cornerstone of CDC's governance and accountability agenda. We implement the Public Financial Management Law to the letter and go beyond the law's requirement in mandating greater transparency. Effective public management means units given scarce tax payers' dollars develop effective expenditure plans, have auditing and analytic systems in place to track the impact of expenditure and promote greater accountability and issue periodic public financial reports.

## *Line Ministries and Agencies*

We revisit the strategic alignment of ministries and agencies to determine effectiveness and efficiency in service delivery and to ensure they fulfill the mission for

which are chartered. We mandate the General Accountability Office (GAO) to partner with the Governance Commission (GC) and the Civil Service Association (CSA) to conduct a comprehensive review of laws governing institutions and institutional arrangements and to make recommendations that ensure maximum efficiency and productivity in service delivery. Our administration will ensure that ministries and agencies are clearly linked and integrated, minimizing system wide duplications.

We mandate line ministries and agencies to develop 5-year strategic plans embedding the mission of the ministries and agencies in program implementation and resource constraint contexts. In addition to periodic expenditure reports each ministry or agency would have to develop a midterm strategic review to assess the degree to which program objectives are being met, reduce inefficiencies in public

resource use, assess gaps and challenges and structure incentives and innovations that lead to better project performance and outcomes, giving tax payers a huge bang for their fiscal buck

## *Stronger Systems and Controls*

The CDC inaugurates rigorous systems and control regime in post-conflict public financial managements. We require all ministries, agencies and corporations to implement critical recommendations contained in about 65 audits performed by the General Auditing Commission. We develop a Risk Management Program (RMP) which enables heads of agencies to mitigate risk in public financial management. We update RMP semi-annually and discuss key risk assessment findings at the level of the Cabinet. We mandate heads of agencies and cabinet officials to attend different trainings specific to the 2009 Procurement Act and the Public Financial Management Law.

### *Public Corporations*

As profit centers in government, corporations generate revenue. Our goal is to ensure public corporations operate within institutional environs in which they maximize revenue for government. We subject public corporations to rigorous standards of routine audits and reporting. They are expected to develop five year strategic plans, submit to quarterly financial audits from government and private independent auditors and issue regular reports detailing profitability, prudential financial management, hiring practices and the level of transparency within top management. As contained under our budget policy, we incorporate revenue from public corporation into the national budget.

### *Reforming boards of directors of Public corporation*

Boards of Director and/or Boards of Commissioner have not added value to overall public financial management. These have usually served as a rewards mechanism for political cronies. We reform governance of public boards to ensure they are aligned with the

objectives of the Public Financial Management Law.

### *Communicating Public Financial Management More Effectively*

The Liberian people deserve to know how their national resources are working for them. The current government has done little to inform Liberians about the fiscal soundness of its programs and about whether it is using tax payers' dollars more efficiently. Valuable information in this direction has only come from international partners such as the IMF or the World Bank. We end this secrecy and bring public financial management in the full glare of the public, where it really belongs. We commission a **Quarterly Public Expenditure Report (QPER)** which reports quarterly on any capital expenditure in excess of 1 percent of Gross Domestic Product. QPERs will inform the public about budget resource expenditure, project finance, project viability, existing bottlenecks to project execution and expected date of project completion, among other important information. They will also detail the information about the extent to which Public Procurement Law was followed. QPER will

have its own website and will collate projects from different ministries, agencies and public corporations.

### *Procurement, Concessions, Projects, and Asset Management*

The space for waste, fraud and abuse within the nation's procurement and asset management system is too large. We strengthen the Public Procurement and Concession Commission (PPCC) and require it to report on the schedule, cost, and quality performance of all contracts. We propose the Bureau of Concession be expanded to include project monitoring. The Bureau of Concession will be responsible to monitor concessions and ensure the proper implementation of procurement laws and initiates reviews and updates to procurement regulations.

We require the General Services Agency (GSA) to develop a comprehensive Asset Management System that is periodically updated. A CDC administration cannot afford to spend considerable sums on vehicle purchases, while important public policy priorities are deferred for funding.



Vehicles, generators, and other capital equipment are assets with a lifespan of more than year if managed properly. Therefore, they should not be purchased yearly.

### *More Aggressive Fight against Corruption*

If governance and accountability are high and lofty terms used by policy wonks and people in leadership, 'fighting corruption' is what our people understand and demand. They see the visible scars of massive corruption every day in their lives. They live on the margins because scarce resources that should finance jobs programs go to purchasing plush vehicles for government ministers or to building fabulous homes for directors of public corporations.

We drastically reduce the incidence of corruption by instituting system wide changes that guarantee a better use of public resource, even while we end the culture of impunity.

### *From GAC to GAO*

We transform the Governance Auditing Commission to **the Government Accountability Office (GAO)**, making audit one of the many functions to be performed by the GAO.

We take this approach because numerous studies have determined corruption abounds more where resources are poorly planned for and inefficiently expended and where institutions are weak to detect waste, inefficiency and fraud. The role of the GAO is to transform Liberian governance into an engine of service delivery efficiency.

GAO delivers huge savings in any given budget year by subjecting the national budget to a series of robust **Public Expenditure Efficiency Audits and Studies (PEEAS)**. PEEAS will develop an **Efficiency Frontier** on which all public spending must reside. Spending deviating from this frontier would be red flagged as subject to waste, fraud and corruption. We divert PEEAS-derived savings to finance capacity building, wealth creation and poverty reduction programs. We align PEEAS with the Public Procurement Law, the Public Financial Management Law and other internationally recognized costing and pricing schemes, aiming to fundamentally overhaul national budget planning and execution.

### *Stronger Anti Corruption Commission*

We give more investigative teeth to the **Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC)** and strengthen its collaboration with GAO, the Ministry of Justice (MOJ), the Governance Commission and Non-Governmental organizations engaged in the fight against corruption. The AAC and the MOJ will work to speed up corruption cases, as well as investigate fraud and corruption where they are alleged.

### *Strengthened Civil Service Performance*

We support critical reforms that increase the bargaining power of Civil Servants. Our Priorities center on:

- Capacity building
- Career advancement, and
- Salary structure, recruitment and retention.

We work with the Civil Service Association to deliver needed reforms and to protect civil servants from political abuse in a CDC government.

### *An Effective and Prudent Post-HIPC Debt Management Strategy*

We cannot develop Liberia without incurring new debt. However, obligating the Liberian people has to be done under regimes of extreme prudence, caution and meticulous planning. We develop a comprehensive Debt Management Strategy that articulates the level of strategic planning, peer review analysis and accountability frameworks that must precede the acquiring of specific public debts. Whether in power generation or road development, we show by way of these strategic and expenditure plans, a clear project roadmap spanning the beginning of projects to the very end, anticipating challenges and pitfalls and proposing solutions. Our Debt Management Committee (DMC) would comprise representatives from the Ministry of Finance (MOF), Central Bank of Liberia

(CBL), Ministry of Planning (MOP), the World Bank, respected private financial institutions and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).

### *Decentralized Governance*

We mandate government ministries and agencies to involve local structures in expenditure planning and project execution. We support ongoing decentralization work at the **Governance Commission (GC)** and work with GC to operationalize a national decentralization plan far more aggressive in its emphasis on national and grassroots ownership than the Unity Party's.

Within two years we hold all municipal and local elections to strengthen leadership at these levels. We encourage communities and city to elect Councils that can

serve as an important layer of voice in assessing the level of resources flowing into development.

### *Legislative Budget Office:*

The strength of any democracy lies in the ability of the Legislature to check the influences of the Executive. We support the National Legislature in its oversight function by establishing the Legislative Budget Office (LBO). The LBO will support the professional work of the National Legislature, serving as a professional arm to counterbalance work at the Ministry of Finance

### *Land Reform*

We support the activities of the current Land Commission and build on its expertise in accelerating land reforms.

## **VI Every Child Prepared for College**

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The competitive Liberia we envision in this agenda hinges on the quality of education we give our children. We prepare every Liberian child for the rigors of college education and for the high-end jobs and careers of tomorrow. Our future prosperity depends on a middle class that is college trained and career-ready to compete in the global knowledge economy that has radically changed the fortunes of a few countries from underdevelopment swamps to thriving industrial and technological hotspots.

We in Liberia cannot be left behind in this race to the future. We cannot be content with the impoverished quality of education our children currently receive and with the unsatisfactory conditions of our schools systems. Under the Unity Party administration, we have seen photos of children sitting on the floor in classrooms, while resources that should pay for better learning conditions have been unproductively expended or mismanaged. The General Auditing



Commission (GAC) has amply documented numerous instances of massive corruption and misuse of education resources.

We assure a different future for Liberian education.

### *A More Effective Leadership on Education*

We promise a more effective leadership of our public school systems. This leadership means a better way of organizing and using education resources, structuring incentives and driving reforms. It also means finding and empowering the best school administrators at all levels. These will have to be visionary leaders who are on the cutting edge of their fields in education, committed to driving change and innovation. Effective leadership also means better regulatory oversight.

### *Stronger Accountability in our School Systems*

We mandate periodic reporting and audits on the use of resources within the school systems. We link audits and school reports to school performance in order to demonstrate the impact accountability has on the future of our students. Our goal is to reduce corruption and bureaucratic waste and inefficiency within the education system by as much as 40% within the first year of a CDC administration. We grow

this target to around 75% over the course of our administration. We achieve this outcome by mandating regular, independent system and performance audits and by commissioning national education reviews.

### *A Higher Standard for Achievement*

With more efficient use of national education resource, we guarantee more rigid academic standards for our students. To gauge standards we launch the **Achievement Test Series (ATS)** which administers tests in science, math and language arts and other subjects at elementary, junior and high school levels. Results from these tests will inform the development of curricula and will be used to better address learning and achievement gaps.

### *Every Child to Read by Age Eight*

We declare a war on illiteracy as we currently know it by putting in place programs that ensure every Liberian child born today is able to read standard English by age eight. We launch the **Right to Read**, which brings Non-Government Organizations (NGOs),

international development partners and government into a strong partnership to design the best approach to delivering education to every Liberian child. The goal is to banish illiteracy from Liberia. We report on Right to Read annually.

### *The Best and Brightest Teachers*

We launch the **Global Partnership in Teaching Excellence** that aims to develop more than **5,000** highly trained and competitive life-time teachers over the period of three years. Global Partnership will continue until a market for highly competent teachers at all school levels exists, driving education wages up as teachers move through school systems in accordance with the laws of supply and demand. There is no better route to a more competitive education system than through investing in our teachers.

### *Better Management of School Data*

We use data from our Achievement Test Series and from the West African Examination Council to drive education reform. We support school systems and schools to

integrate data analysis into the planning, design and delivery of education content.

### *Improving Gender Parity*

Our educational policies are informed by gender imbalances that have tended to favor boys over girls. We greatly support programs that improve enrollment rates among girls, looking to close the

gender gap in education. We partner with education NGOs to deliver improved outcomes in gender parity.

### *Innovating Our Way into an Education Future*

Innovation means a restless commitment to change existing paradigms. It means developing a **National Education Service Corp** through which highly trained and

talented Liberian professionals volunteer to teach in rural Liberia. It also means designing a **National Public Library System** as a way of promoting greater literacy. We bring these and many such innovations to life, assuring a competitive education system en route to a prosperous Liberian future.

## VII Better Health for All

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Healthcare is a fundamental human rights issue. Far too often, Liberians have to go to Ghana and other countries to get basic healthcare. CDC has a vision to provide affordable healthcare to all Liberians either through Government sponsored programs or private programs financed through payments of insurance premiums. We promote a private-public partnership in healthcare management and delivery systems. We look to improve Access, Affordability and Deliverability (AAD) of care.

We address **Access** by significantly scaling up quality of services at the country's current network of clinics and hospitals and expand this network to ensure there is at least one major national public healthcare center for every 150,000 Liberians. We launch the **National Healthcare Capacity Development program (NCDP)** which addresses capacity challenges in the delivery of care. NCDP

- Will increase the number of clinics and healthcare centers by about 40% over current levels by year six of the CDC administration.
- Internationally recruits competent doctors to beef up healthcare capacity at the A. M. Dogliotti College of Medicine, at hospitals and at other medical institutions.
- Sends more than 300 medical students, healthcare workers and other medical practitioners for advanced and/or foreign training. This will happen within three years of a CDC administration.
- Provides strong salary supports for healthcare practitioners.

These healthcare investments under the CDC are guaranteed to raise our national health profile. Over the medium to long term horizons we assure better health for all our people.

### *Stronger Performance in Maternal and Child Care*

Our goal is to significantly improve health outcomes for all mothers but to focus on those dwelling in most challenging environment as a means to driving a more massive impact. For example, that 74% of our poorest mothers are giving birth without a skilled midwife in attendance meets the definition of crisis, whose solution requires urgent policy and priority intervention.

We reverse this pattern and reduce under-five mortality by increasing support to midwife capacity.

### *Reducing Deaths due to Malaria*

Malaria still remains the greatest cause of death among Liberians. As a treatable, preventable disease this is unacceptable. We forge strong partnerships with multi-sector actors in raising the fight against malaria to a new level. We launch a stand-alone semi-annual **National Malaria Report**

(NPR) that summarizes current national effort at combating the disease, including the extent to which international best practices are being localized, the extent to which people and communities are involved, the fraction of public expenditure going to preventing and curing malaria, and the level of donor and international support. We aim to drastically reduce the number of Liberians dying from Liberia by more than 30% within three years of launching the National Malaria Report.

## **VIII Guaranteeing Sustainable Food Security**

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Serious policy interventions are needed to significantly strengthen our food security by:

- Increasing access to food through income-generating innovations in the country's supply chains
- Investing in smallholders and increasing their bargaining power
- Strengthening capacity and building incentives
- Widening Access to markets and increasing volume of agricultural activities
- Building linkages to the macro-economy

All of these will greatly transform and revolutionize the Agricultural Sector.

We imagine the rural landscape, powered by commercial agriculture in which the smallholder farmer is predominant, as the next frontier of growth. We inaugurate the **Era of the Farmer**.

### *Strengthened Food Crop Production and Supply Chain*

We prioritize domestic rice production as a clear path to enhanced food security.

Currently Liberia remains food insecure as rice production largely remains far below the national requirement. We increase investment to scale up rice

production, to avail technology that makes production more efficient and to strengthen the rice supply chain.

### *Better Opportunities for Smallholders*

Our **Smallholder Development** policy focuses on increasing growing capacity of smallholders, linking them with market opportunities, increasing their access to credits and other critical inputs, integrating smallholder markets with other more fully developed

agri-markets and producing partnerships between smallholders and more established firms in the Agricultural Sector.

### *Increased Public Sector Capacity to manage Agricultural Governance*

We launch the **National Agriculture Policy Forum** which brings together the Ministry of

Agriculture, the University of Liberia, development partners and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to improve governance of the sector, advance research and mainstream agri-sectoral priorities within the wider context of national development.

## **IX Gender and Youth Empowerment**

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The CDC gender policy looks to:

- Improve women's access to land and agricultural productivity
- strengthen female entrepreneurship
- improve girls' and women's education and health outcomes
- Strengthen women's role and involvement in politics
- Drastically reduce the incidence of sexual and gender based violence (SGBV)

Our youth and sports policy aims to:

- Better target war-affected youths by giving them competitive jobs and social skills
- Link youths with jobs and career programs
- Develop youth entrepreneur programs that impart business skills to youths involved in business, while sustaining them on a track of education
- Develop a National Sports Academy with two regional branches

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### *Better Management of Youth and Gender Programs*

We reform leadership at the ministries of Gender and Youth and Sports to achieve these outcomes.

These reforms will center on more effective budgeting for youth and gender programs and on

building capacity to link successes in youth and gender programs to other programs of national governance as a way of leveraging resources. For example, these two ministries would have to be able to harness opportunities in our jobs legislation to attract capital for female entrepreneurs and for youths involved in business.

### *A New Breed of Leaders*

To secure our peace and recovery, Liberia needs to nurture a new breed of leaders who are far removed from the causes of war as has been recommended by the International Crisis Group.

It is these young and new leaders who would see politics as an institution that nourishes, supports and sustains differences of viewpoints. They would know that political opposition should not lead to enmity or hatred but should raise the value of public discourse. And these young leaders would know that hard work ethic and responsible social actions can improve communities and benefit the Liberian society. To achieve these outcomes, we launch a **New Breed of Leaders (NBL)** and house the policy within the MYS, since under the CDC, the MYS would be heavily involved with a whole

range of youth building programs. NBL links schools, universities, student groups, such as the Liberia National Students Union, LINSU, the University of Liberia Student Union (ULSU) and many other student political organizations in a hub with youth institutions such as the YMCA and the Federation of Liberian Youths (FLY). NBL will empower a new generation of local and national leaders committed to safeguarding our peace and building a stronger society.

## X Liberia and the World

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The CDC defines a foreign policy based on our growth and development ambitions. Under "**A New National Interest**", the signature theme of our national foreign, we strengthen bonds and ties with countries looking to assist the drive of Liberians to master institutional performance and economic development. Liberians need 21<sup>st</sup> century capabilities and institutions to compete in a 21<sup>st</sup> century universe of trade, finance and markets. Liberians hunger for growth ideas and success strategies in agriculture and domestic manufacturing, for example. Our endowment of iron ore, rubber and timber cannot be eternally exported. Countries that enable Liberia to develop core competencies in these areas would be amongst Liberia's strongest allies during a CDC administration.

### *Regional Bodies*

Liberia owes its survival and nascent democratic evolution to the peoples and governments of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) who shed their

blood to preserve our peace. The CDC works with ECOWAS, and Mano River Union (MRU) to strengthen security, trade, open markets, human rights and democracy, knowledge and skills

transfers and people-to-people cultural exchanges.

### *Relations with the United States and the European Union*

Liberia-United States relations remain strong

under a CDC administration. We thank and U.S. for its continued support to the people of Liberia and leverage this relationship to move Liberia on the path of domestic manufacturing over the long term, taking advantage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) passed by the U.S. Congress in 2000.

We strengthen bonds with the European Union nations which have greatly assisted our economic recovery. We look to focus EU support for Liberia toward infrastructural development. We launch **Accounting for AID**, a program which tracks and accounts for EU and other aid dollars more effectively, gauging the extent to which aid assists our drive toward economic self-reliance and development.

### *Asia Policy*

Liberian remains in awe of the "Asian Miracle". In the last two decades, East Asia, for example, has experienced magical growth. According to Global Monitoring Report 2010, East Asia cut the incidence of poverty from 55% in 1990 to 17% in 2005. That kind of success has to be replicated in Liberia. To

translate some of these gains to Liberia, we launch the ASIAN-Liberia Cooperation Agenda (ASLICA). This policy strengthens knowledge sharing and skills transfer between Liberia and emerging economies of Asia, such as China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore among a host of other Asian success stories. ASLICA focuses cooperation on building capacity within the Agriculture and Rubber Sector, where substantial room for growth and development remains.

### *South America Policy*

We deepen the partnership with our South American allies to transfer experience in agricultural development and to understand the gains made in their alternative fuels program. Strengthened relations with Brazil, the world's first biofuels economy whose ethanol fuel program is based on an elaborate cultivation of sugar cane, can benefit Liberia in many ways. As we undertake oil exploration, we stand to gain from Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Chile in the management and engineering of oil and mining resources as well

as in energy sector development.

### *African Union*

The CDC will restore Liberia, a founding promoter of African Solidarity, to its place of honor, credibility and respect in the landscape of African diplomacy. We bring decisive leadership to the African Union, arguing that African peoples can liberate themselves from dependence on aid. We assign a mission to the African Union that marshals effective leadership along these fronts, strengthening dialogue and negotiations to advance the ideals and principles for which the AU was founded.

### *International Organizations*

Organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the African Development Bank and many different NGOs have been critical in Liberia's emergence from conflict. They will remain vital in our ascent to prosperity. The CDC respects on-going frameworks with these entities and looks to align them with the objectives of this agenda.