

A SIMPLIFIED GUIDE ON  
**ANTI-CORRUPTION  
INITIATIVES IN POLITICAL  
PARTY MANIFESTOS**

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Ghana's 2024 Presidential &  
Parliamentary Elections



Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII)  
Africa Center for Energy Policy (ACEP)  
Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC)

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# FOREWORD

As Ghana approaches the 2024 election, the importance of robust citizen engagement in governance and anti-corruption discourse is paramount. The Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII), the Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC), and the Africa Centre for Energy Policy (ACEP) presents this simplified guide on anti-corruption initiatives, with funding from the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO). This activity led by GII aims to demystify the complex landscape of political manifestos, empowering citizens to engage and hold leaders accountable.

Corruption remains a significant barrier to Ghana's socio-economic development, eroding trust in public institutions and hindering progress. Political parties have included anti-corruption pledges in their manifestos, but the complexity of these commitments often leaves citizens feeling disconnected. GII's initiative to produce this guide seeks to bridge that gap by providing clear and digestible information about these pledges.

This guide accomplishes five key objectives: it analyzes anti-corruption proposals, simplifies essential messages, and creates a tool for citizen engagement. By categorizing these commitments into four areas -new anti-corruption legislation, enforcement of existing rules, resource allocations, and alternative methods -this resource enables citizens to interact meaningfully with political parties and their candidates.

Through a comprehensive desk review of publicly accessible manifestos, we highlight the anti-corruption commitments of various candidates. This effort emphasizes Ghana's dedication to international anti-corruption conventions such as the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) and the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (AUCCPC), which are crucial for promoting transparency.

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) play a vital role in advocating for transparency and accountability. The Pledge Against Corruption (PAC) unifies Ghanaians to demand specific anti-corruption measures from political parties, emphasizing financial transparency and good governance particularly for the winning candidates.

I urge all stakeholders including citizens to sign up to the pledge against corruption and also utilize this guide as a tool for informed decision-making. It is my expectation that understanding the anti-corruption commitments made by political candidates, will galvanise us to collectively shape a governance system grounded in integrity and transparency. Together, let us work towards a future where accountability prevails, ensuring a brighter, more equitable future for Ghana. Sincerely,

**Mary Awelana Addah**  
**Executive Director**



# INTRODUCTION

The Africa Centre for Energy Policy (ACEP), in collaboration with the Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII) and the Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC), is implementing a governance-focused project under the support of the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO) thematic cluster. This project aims to foster a more robust citizen engagement in governance and anti-corruption discourse, particularly during the 2024 election cycle in Ghana.

Corruption continues to be a critical threat to Ghana's socio-economic development, eroding trust in public institutions and hampering both economic and political progress. In response to this, various political parties have included anti-corruption initiatives in their manifestos ahead of the upcoming elections. Despite this move, many citizens struggle to understand these proposed initiatives due to their complex language and structure, which hinders meaningful engagement with the content.

GII, leading the implementation of this specific component, seeks to bridge this gap by producing a simplified guide on the anti-corruption initiatives presented in these manifestos. This tool will empower citizens with clear, digestible information, helping them assess the commitments made by political candidates and actively participate in holding these leaders accountable during and after the elections.

This simplified guide seeks to achieve five key objectives:

1. To analyse anti-corruption initiatives proposed in the political party manifestos for the 2024 elections.
2. To simplify and package the key anti-corruption proposals in a format understandable to the public.
3. To create a tool for citizens to engage political candidates and demand accountability.
4. To serve as a central piece in the Pledge Against Corruption (PAC) campaign.
5. To facilitate citizen participation in governance by ensuring that the anti-corruption commitments of political parties are well understood and widely shared.

The guide outlines the anti-corruption pledges of political parties through a specific methodology of conducting a desk review of all publicly available manifestos and grouping their anti-corruption commitments into one of four categories.


**Category One** (New anti-corruption rules/legislation) captures commitments by political parties to enact new anti-corruption legislation or rules.

**Category Two** looks at how the parties seek to enforce or deploy existing anti-corruption rules/legislation and examines whether political parties propose to fight corruption using existing anti-corruption laws.

**Category three** – focuses on resource commitments to support anti-corruption efforts and examines whether political parties propose to devote financial and non-financial resources towards anti-corruption efforts.

**Category four** of the guide looks at other commitments that require the use of processes and tools that are not only administrative but legally permissible.





Source of information: The anti-corruption commitments outlined in this guide are drawn from a comprehensive desk review of political parties' publicly available election manifestos. A total of thirteen candidates are contesting this year's presidential elections. Of the total, nine are contesting on the ticket of a registered political party. Out of the nine, only four have publicly available and accessible manifestos – New Patriotic Party (NPP), National Democratic Congress (NDC), Liberal Party of Ghana (LPG); and All People's Congress (APC).

Documentation: A comprehensive desk review of the manifestos was conducted to document all pledges related to anti-corruption. The review focused on identifying chapters solely devoted to anti-corruption or other areas of the manifesto where corruption is mentioned as part of commitments in other policy domains; and b) placing each identified anti-corruption commitment into one of the four broad categories of the framework.

Analysis. All identified anti-corruption commitments are analyzed to draw the following conclusions - a) the main strategies that political parties are pledging to employ to fight corruption; b) extent to which, if at all, a particular strategy is preferred across all manifestos; c) significant differences; and d) potential gaps in the anti-corruption commitments.

The simplified guide consists of six sections.

Section 1 provides context regarding the importance of anti-corruption commitments in this election by noting Ghana's commitment to key anti-corruption conventions and protocols. It also summarises anti-corruption demands and expectations from civil society as part of this year's election; Ghana's performance on the Corruption Perception Index (CPI); findings from the Afrobarometer survey; and from the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG).

Section 2 documents anti-corruption commitments using the approach of new legislation and rules.

Section 3 Outlines anti-corruption commitments by focusing on the enforcement of existing anti-corruption rules and legislation.

Section 4 Highlights anti-corruption commitments through the allocation of resources to fight corruption.

Section 5 documents anti-corruption commitments using other methods.

Section 6 summarises the simplified guide noting opportunities and challenges for successfully honouring the commitments and a tool with indicators for tracking the implementation of the commitments post-election.



# Section 1

## THE STATE OF CORRUPTION IN GHANA

Ghana has various laws designed to fight corruption (See Appendix A). In addition, there are institutions with various mandates to help fight corruption such as -the Commission of Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ); Economic and Organized Crime Office (EOCO); Audit Service; Office of the Special Prosecutor (OSP); Public Accounts Committee of Parliament; and Office of the Attorney General. It is also important to note that Ghana ratified the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC). The Convention provides a framework for fighting corruption through prevention; criminalization and law enforcement; international cooperation; asset recovery; and technical assistance and information exchange.

Ghana is also a signatory to the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (AUCCPC) which was signed on 31st October 2003 and ratified by parliament on June 13th, 2007. The convention addresses among other things, funding of political parties; access to information; legislative measures to combat corruption; illicit enrichment; and laundering of proceeds from corruption.

(See <https://au.int/en/treaties/african-union-convention-preventing-and-combating-corruption> for full details).

The other convention to note is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Protocol on the Fight against Corruption. This protocol, which Ghana is a signatory to, addresses anti-corruption measures such as preventive measures; laundering of proceeds of corruption and similar criminal offences; protection of witnesses; and assistance and protection of victims. (See [https://eos.cartercenter.org/uploads/document\\_file/path/406/ECOWAS\\_Protocol\\_on\\_Corruption.pdf](https://eos.cartercenter.org/uploads/document_file/path/406/ECOWAS_Protocol_on_Corruption.pdf) for full details).

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) play an essential role in the country's governance landscape. Their advocacy efforts support transparency and accountability in government. In addition, they provide valuable inputs to help policy actors design and implement solutions to various public problems. On the issue of corruption, CSOs have been at the forefront of the fight against this canker. As another election approaches, it is, therefore, appropriate that they place demands on political parties to commit to specific actions in the fight against corruption. Below is a summary of the key demands from identified civil society organisations that have made public their requests for specific anti-corruption commitments.

### **The Pledge Against Corruption (PAC)**

Information from the website of the Pledge Against Corruption (PAC), describes them as a “movement uniting Ghanaians to combat corruption by petitioning political aspirants to commit to anti-corruption measures and inviting citizens to join the cause.” Their specific demands fall under four broad categories (See Appendix B for full details). The categories are – a) Financial Transparency and Probity; b) Transparent Governance; c) Decentralisation and Grassroots Empowerment; and d) Enforcement and Accountability.

### **The Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII)**

The Ghana Integrity Initiative, a leading anti-corruption voice in Ghana's governance space, demands that political parties make anti-corruption commitments in six broad categories. The categories are transparent political party and campaign financing; strengthening the assets declaration regime; re-defining corruption; promoting responsive service charters in public institutions; publicization of witness protection provisions and the establishment of a witness protection agency; and finally, a continuity in government projects and programmes. (See Appendix C for full details)

**The Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)**

CDD-Ghana, a prominent CSO in Ghana, outlined several demands in its August 2024 press release. These demands included combatting pervasive and persistent grand and petty public sector corruption; passage of the Conduct of Public Officers bill; the fulfillment of the Government of Ghana's (GoG) commitments under the IMF program to enroll all public entities in the Government Integrated Financial Management System (GIFMIS); the integration of the Ghana Electronic Procurement Systems (GHANEPS) and human resources systems to monitor expenditures and reduce overspending; and, the passage of a

comprehensive party and campaign financing legislation that sets clear rules on capping donations and spending for both internal and external party processes.

The protocols, conventions, and demands from civil society are even more crucial at this time as, over the last decade, assessments of the state of corruption in Ghana have not been shown the country in a favourable light. Below are six key observations from the Corruption Perception Index (CPI); Afrobarometer survey; and The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG)



**OBSERVATION 1** – Although Ghana's rank among countries has climbed up eleven places between 2017 and 2023 among 180 countries, its score has not significantly improved over the same period. More importantly, between 2020 and 2023, the country's score has remained the same, indicating no improvement in the fight against corruption.

**Table 1 – Performance on Corruption Perception Index | Ghana | 2012 – 2023**

YEAR	RANK	SCORE (MAX 100)
2012	64/176	45
2013	63/177	46
2014	61/175	48
2015	56/168	47
2016	70/176	43
2017	81/180	40
2018	78/180	41
2019	80/180	41
2020	75/180	43
2021	73/180	43
2022	72/180	43
2023	70/180	43

**Source:** Corruption Perception Index, a composite published annually by Transparency International is licensed under CC-BY- ND 4.0



**OBSERVATION 2** – There is a growing perception among Ghanaians that more persons in the three key branches of government at the heart of the country's democratic architecture are involved in corruption despite a brief period of improvement in 2017 and 2019.

**Table 2 – Corruption in Government | Ghana | 2012 – 2024**

BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT	2012	2014	2017	2019	2022	2024	Change
Executive (Presidency)	31%	53%	31%	33%	55%	54%	+23
Legislative (Parliament)	33%	53%	35%	36%	54%	51%	+18
Judicial (Judges and Magistrates)	35%	53%	41%	40%	46%	44%	+9

Source: Afrobarometer survey, [Ghana], [Rounds 5-10], [Survey years, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2019, 2022, and 2024], available at <http://www.afrobarometer.org>.



**OBSERVATION 3** – After an improved perception about the level of corruption between 2014 and 2017, perceptions have worsened between 2017 and 2024 with seven out of ten Ghanaians feeling the level of corruption has increased “somewhat/a lot.”

**Table 3 – Perceived level of corruption | Ghana | 2014 – 2024**

Survey Year	% of Ghanaians who say the level of corruption has increased “somewhat/a lot”
2014	83%
2017	39%
2019	53%
2022	77%
2024	74%

Source: Afrobarometer survey, [Ghana], [Rounds 6-10], [Survey years, 2014, 2017, 2019, 2022, and 2024], available at <http://www.afrobarometer.org>.





**OBSERVATION 4** – The country's scores on various corrupt practices have deteriorated, in some cases, very significantly over the last decade. This calls into question the efficacy of the various anti-corruption efforts undertaken over the years by different governments.

**Table 4–Performance on selected corrupt practices |Ghana| 2014 vs. 2024**

	Baseline score out of 100 (2014)	Most recent score out of 100 (2023)	Change
Exclusion of incriminated companies from Procurement	50	25	-25
Absence of bribery in the police & military	42	32	-10
Absence of corruption in the legislature	51	37	-14
Absence of bribery or corrupt exchanges in the public sector	36	32	-4
Absence of Corruption in Government Procurement	49	40	-9

Source: Mo Ibrahim Foundation, The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG), available at <https://iiag.online/data.html>



**OBSERVATION 5** – Expert assessments of corruption in three areas – a) anti-corruption policy in place and contributing to the containment of corruption; b) appointments to anti-corruption bodies; and c) corruption allegations are being investigated all show significant declines raising concerns about the efficacy of the country's efforts at fighting corruption.

**Table 5 – Evaluation of the fight against corruption |Ghana| 2014 vs 2023**

Indicator	Baseline score (2014)	Most recent score (2023)	Change
Anti-corruption policy	71	57	-14
Appointments to anti-corruption bodies	75	50	-25
Anti-Corruption Investigation	50	25	-25

Source: Mo Ibrahim Foundation, The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG), available at <https://iiag.online/data.html>



**OBSERVATION 5** – The verdict of Ghanaians on the fight against corruption is mixed, with more periods of poor evaluations (six times) where less than fifty per cent rate government efforts as “fairly well/very well” and fewer periods of good evaluations (four times) where more than fifty per cent rate government efforts as “fairly well/very well.” However, the period between 2017 and 2024 has witnessed the sharpest drop in citizens' evaluation of how well the government is fighting corruption.

**Table 6 – Evaluation of the fight against corruption | Ghana | 1999-2024**

Survey Year	% rating government performance as “fairly well/very well”
1999	34%
2002	63%
2005	55%
2008	56%
2012	44%
2014	26%
2017	67%
2019	40%
2022	14%
2024	16%

Source: Afrobarometer survey, [Ghana], [1-10], [1999, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2019, 2022, 2024], available at <http://www.afrobarometer.org>.






## NEW ANTI-CORRUPTION RULES/LEGISLATION.

**Table 7 –**

New Patriotic Party (NPP)	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	Liberal Party of Ghana (LPG)	All People's Congress (APC)
<p>Enact a Corrupt Practices Act to consolidate all anti-corruption and corruption-related legislation and offences into an omnibus body of provisions, offering anti-corruption institutions a harmonised reference point to draw their mandate.</p> <p>Review Article 286 of the Constitution, and relevant legislation on assets and liabilities declaration to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- expand Asset Declarations by public office holders to include, among others, senior staff and heads of regulatory and public institutions not previously covered,</li> </ul> <p>Require asset declarations to be made, or updated, every two years, instead of every four years</p>	<p>Legislation to prohibit political appointees, politically exposed persons and all serving public officials from purchasing state assets.</p> <p>Implement measures to curtail abuse of single-sourced and restricted tendering procurement.</p> <p>Enact a conflict-of-interest legislation for all government and public officials.</p>	<p>Electoral and administrative reforms</p>	<p>No commitments</p>



**Summary Observation:** This section outlines proposals from political parties to establish new anti-corruption rules and legislation to supplement existing ones. As previously mentioned, there are numerous anti-corruption laws in Ghana. Nonetheless, the commitments from the main opposition party (NDC) appear to suggest that there are deficiencies in existing laws that require new legislation to remedy hence the four proposals to enact new legislation or rules to govern the conduct of public officials. The commitment from the NPP appears to aim at clarifying the specific mandates of each of the anti-corruption bodies in the country. In addition, the proposal to engage in a constitutional review of the asset declaration regime signals intent to close a gap in the legal tools available for fighting corruption. The commitment from the LPG identified in the table above needs to have the specificity of precisely what the commitments will entail if they emerge winners of the 2024 presidential and parliamentary elections.

The legislative commitments of the NPP and NDC are consistent with the expectations laid out in the AUCCPC convention (Chapter 5-Legislative and other measures).

The NPP's commitment to enact a Corrupt Practices Act to consolidate all anti-corruption and corruption-related legislation and offences into an omnibus body of provisions is consistent with the ECOWAS protocol (Article 18- Harmonisation of national legislation).

The NPP's commitment to asset declaration is consistent with AUCCPC (Article 7- Fight Against Corruption and Related Offences in

the Public Service). It also responds to the demands of the Ghana Integrity Initiative and the Pledge Against Corruption. However, despite the NPP's promise to expand the coverage of the Asset Declaration, the promise falls short of CSOs demand for verification and publication of the asset declaration.

The NDC's commitment to enact a conflict-of-interest legislation for all government and public officials is consistent with UNCAC (Article 7- Public sector). It is also consistent with the ECOWAS protocol (Article 5- Preventive Measures).



## ENFORCE OR DEPLOY EXISTING ANTI-CORRUPTION RULES/LEGISLATION.

New Patriotic Party (NPP)	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	Liberal Party of Ghana (LPG)	All People's Congress (APC)
<p>Pledge of support for existing legislation</p> <p>-Right to Information Act, 2019 (Act 989)</p> <p>-Witness Protection Act, 2018 (Act 975)</p> <p>-Criminal Offences (Amendment) Act, 2020 (Act 1034)</p>	<p>Review and enforce the Assets Declaration regime in Chapter 24 of the Constitution and the Public Office Holders (Declaration of Assets and Disqualification) Act 1998, (Act 550).</p> <p>Review the Public Financial Management Act, 2016 (Act 921) and the Public Procurement Act 2003 (As Amended with Act 914 ) to prevent conflict of interest and insider dealing by politically exposed persons in the award of contracts.</p> <p>Strengthen and enforce financial management practices and transactions to reduce corruption in the sports sector.</p>	No commitment	Enhance whistle-blower protection

**Summary Observation:** This section documents proposals from political parties to enforce existing anti-corruption rules and legislation. There is a commitment to use existing legislation in the anti-corruption fight as they are some of the important legal tools currently in place. The declared support for the identified laws by the NPP is commendable. The commitment to strengthen and enforce the identified laws by the NDC and APC is equally praiseworthy. What is clear is that none of the parties are proposing to undo any of these existing laws designed to help fight corruption. These commitments address some of the specific demands and expectations contained in the various anti-corruption conventions and protocols as well as those of civil society either directly or indirectly.

The NPP's commitment to the Right to Information Act is consistent with Articles 10 and 13 of the UNCAC (Article 10 – Public Reporting and 13 – Participation of Society). It is also consistent with the African Union convention (Article 9 – Access to information) and the ECOWAS protocol (Article 5 -Preventive Measures).

The NPP and APC commit to witness protection as part of their anti-corruption commitments. This is consistent with the UNCAC (Article 32 -Protection of witnesses, experts, and victims), the AUCCPC (Article 5 - Legislative and other measures), and the ECOWAS protocol (Article 8 - Protection of witnesses).

The NDC's commitment to asset declaration is generally consistent

with the African Union convention (Article 7- Fight Against Corruption and Related Offences in the Public Service). The lack of specificity of the NDC's commitment to review the assets declaration regime, makes it difficult to determine whether it will meet the demands of civil society organizations for verification and publication of the asset declaration.


The NDC's commitment to reviewing the Public Financial Management Act, 2016 (Act 921), the Public Procurement Act, 2016 (Act 914) and strengthening financial management practices is consistent with the AUCCPC (Article 5 - Legislative and other measures).

# Section 4

## RESOURCE COMMITMENTS TO SUPPORT ANTI-CORRUPTION EFFORTS.

New Patriotic Party (NPP)	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	Liberal Party of Ghana (LPG)	All People's Congress (APC)
<p>Pledge to support increased budgetary allocations to the Police, Audit Service, and CHRAJ.</p> <p>Pledge to support the Office of the Special Prosecutor.</p>	<p>Establishment of a State Assets Registry.</p> <p>Set up an Independent Value for Money office to scrutinize government procurements above \$5 million or as Parliament may decide.</p> <p>Collaborate with the Judiciary to establish a special court for persons whom adverse findings have been made against by the Auditor-General and Parliament.</p> <p>Support the Auditor-General to enforce the surcharge powers of his/her office to retrieve embezzled funds with interest.</p> <p>Increase financial, logistical, and technical support for EOCO, Narcotics Control Commission, the Financial Intelligence Centre, and other anti-corruption institutions.</p>	<p>No commitments</p>	<p>Creation of a database to check corruption.</p> <p>Empower public anti-corruption agencies.</p>





**Summary Observation:** This section documents proposals from political parties to make financial and non-financial resources available to support anti-corruption efforts. The commitments noted above recognise the reality that an effective anti-corruption fight requires resources. The commitments from the NDC overall provide more specific details of what its anti-corruption efforts will look like using this approach. The NDC makes far-reaching promises on resource allocation to the fight against corruption. Those from the NPP as well as the APC offer broad spectrums of its intention to make resources available but thin on the specifics.


The pledge of support for current anti-corruption agencies (NPP), commitments of increased financial and non-financial support (NDC) or the creation of a database (APC) are consistent with the United Nations convention (Article 6 - Preventive anti-corruption body or bodies and Article 36 – Specialized authorities), African Union convention (Article 20- National authorities), and ECOWAS protocol (Article 5- Preventive Measures).

# Section 5

## DEPLOYMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES AND TOOLS

New Patriotic Party (NPP)	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	Liberal Party of Ghana (LPG)	All People's Congress (APC)
<p>Improve transparency and accountability in public sector procurement.</p> <p>Promoting transparency in the activities of public officials.</p> <p>Creation of a cashless economy</p> <p>Continue Value-For-Money assessment regime for single-sourced and restricted tender applications.</p> <p>Continue the process of restructuring the public sector internal audit function, to promote procedural accountability and prevent waste and corruption.</p> <p>Place limits on foreign official travel by Ministers, CEOs, and Senior Civil Servants. Annually publish official travels undertaken.</p> <p>Annually publish the list of all beneficiaries of public scholarships.</p>	<p>Inquiry into looted state lands and the implementation of the Accra Redevelopment Policy</p> <p>Forensic audit and an inquiry into the National Cathedral scandal</p> <p>Inquiries into the numerous scandals that have rocked the nation under the corrupt NPP Government.</p> <p>Implement the recommendations of the Justice Yaw Appau Commission of Inquiry into Judgment Debts as approved in the Government White Paper</p> <p>Collaborate with Landing Beach Committees and leverage technologies to combat corruption in the distribution of the premix fuel.</p> <p>Monitor and curb corruption in land acquisition for both domestic and commercial purposes and large-scale land transactions.</p> <p>Review the Computerised School Selection &amp; Placement System (CSSPS) to address corruption in school placement, and make it merit-based.</p>	<p>No commitments</p>	<p>Promote public transparency and accountability</p> <p>Ensure international collaboration to recover stolen assets</p>





**Summary Observation:** This section outlines commitments from political parties to use tools and processes within the confines of the law, to fight corruption. The commitments noted above recognize the administrative necessity of fighting corruption where processes such as inquiries, reviews, and improved monitoring of public office conduct are helpful to the fight. The commitments also instill a culture of transparency and accountability in the public service.

The different commitments to a transparent and accountable governance (NPP, NDC, and APC) system are consistent with the United Nations convention (Article 5. Preventive anti-corruption policies and practices); the African Union convention (Articles 3 – Principles and Article 10 – Funding of political parties); and the ECOWAS protocol (Article 5 – Preventive Measures).

These commitments are also consistent with the demands from the Ghana Integrity Initiative (Point 4-Promoting Responsive Service Charters in Public Institutions) and the Pledge Against Corruption (Point 2-Transparent Governance).





# Section 2

## OVERALL CONCLUSIONS AND NEXT STEPS

This simplified guide captures the anti-corruption commitments of political parties as stated in their manifestos for the 2024 presidential elections. The commitments are placed into one of four categories –

- a) New Anti-corruption rules/legislation;
- b) Enforce or deploy existing anti-corruption rules/legislation;

c) Resource commitments to support anti-corruption efforts; and

d) Deployment of administrative processes and tools.

The table below provides a numerical summary of the anti-corruption commitments made in political manifestos for the upcoming election.

Anti-corruption tool	NPP	NDC	LPG	APC	Total number of commitments
No. New Anti-corruption rules/legislation	3	3	1	0	7
Enforce or deploy existing anti-corruption rules/legislation	1	3	0	1	5
#Resource commitments to support anti-corruption efforts	2	5	0	2	9
Other commitments	7	8	0	2	17
<b>Total number of commitments</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>38</b>

As per the table above, the category with the most commitment is the deployment of administrative processes and tools to fight corruption. The advantage of this approach is that, within the confines of the law, it allows institutions to address certain low-hanging fruits quickly. For example, the commitment to annually publish the travel of public officers or recipients of government scholarships can be immediately implemented without time barriers. In the same light, the commitment to implement recommendations from an already concluded process should face no time constraints either.

The commitment to provide financial and non-financial resources to anti-corruption efforts as the second category is a positive recognition of a critical need. The question is whether the resource envelope of the State can accommodate devoting additional resources given the competing demands.

Political parties are proposing to add to existing anti-corruption rules/legislation, which raises the question of whether existing regulations and laws are inadequate. As previously noted, these new commitments may suggest existing gaps which need to be filled. It may explain why enforcement of existing rules and laws has the least number of commitments from political parties. Hopefully, this does not convey the message of a lack of commitment on the part of political parties to enforce existing anti-corruption laws post-election.

### **Persistent Gaps in Anti-Corruption Commitments**

As noted by the Ghana Integrity Initiative, there are other tools critical in the anti-corruption effort. These tools are transparent investigations; transparent prosecutions; legislative reforms; increased public education; and the establishment of Citizens' Oversight of Criminal Law Enforcement. Except for a few commitments that speak to legislative reforms, there are no indications of using the other tools in the fight against corruption.

There is also no mention of the capping of financing of political parties and campaigns which is one of the key demands from the Ghana Integrity Initiative and CDD-Ghana. The absence of a commitment to addressing the funding of political parties as an anti-corruption tool is also inconsistent with Article 10 (Funding of political parties) of the African Union convention, and the United Nations convention (Article 7 – Public Sector, Clause 3). The Clause noted from the United Nations convention expects signatories to use either legislative or administrative measures to

address “transparency in the funding of candidatures for elected public office and, the funding of political parties.”

The non-commitment from political parties in their manifestos begs the question of whether the political parties recognise the threat posed by a weak system unable to control the undue influence of money in politics and its contribution to corruption.

The manifestos are further silent on reversing the burden of proof by reviewing the mandates of anti-corruption institutions such as the OSP and EOCO to include the Unexplained Wealth Order (UWO). This is a salient order as far as the fight against illicit enrichment is concerned.

### **Opportunities to successfully honour anti-corruption commitments**

The upcoming election provides an opening to examine the anti-corruption commitments of Ghana's political parties for three main reasons.

The current discourse on campaign financing should be

a critical area to leverage to ensure that there are some clear guidelines on political party financing and electoral corruption. The recommendations presented by civil society provide an opportunity to shape a clearer policy narrative for the way forward.

Secondly, the continuous poor evaluation of the government's efforts to fight corruption across ten rounds of the Afrobarometer survey signals to our political parties that the fight is still ongoing. They are responsible for playing a pivotal role in this fight because they form the ruling government once elections are won. The question facing our political parties is this - how can the poor results from the evaluation of the fight against corruption serve as the basis for shaping and implementing their anti-corruption commitments?

Third, is the ranking of corruption as an important problem by Ghanaians in the Afrobarometer survey. Between Round 2 (2002) and Round 5 (2012), corruption ranked outside the top ten

important problems Ghanaians felt government should address. Since then, here is how Ghanaians have ranked corruption among a list of problems – a) 2014 = 9/34; b) 2017 = 5/31; c) 2019 = 7/30; d) 2022 = 6/31; and e) 2024 = 9/38. The ranking of corruption has improved in the sense that there is a growing awareness among Ghanaians of the need to address it. The question political parties must pose to themselves is, how they can leverage the improved ranking of corruption as an important problem in implementing their anti-corruption commitments.

### **Challenges in successfully honouring anti-corruption commitments**

As important as these anti-corruption commitments are, honouring them post-election may face some potential challenges. First, as per the Afrobarometer survey, the percentage of Ghanaians who believe they risk retaliation in reporting corruption has increased from 58% (2019) to 71% (2024). This is concerning, particularly because the success of anti-corruption efforts requires the active participation of citizens.

Second, some of the commitments of the main opposition party call for post-regime accountability of the current government. The history of our politics tells us that during such periods, the usual response is “witch-hunting.” The question for the main opposition party (the NDC) should it emerge, the winner of the election, is how these commitments and others can be fulfilled without partisan rancour and accusations of “witch-hunting.” The framing of the narrative must reflect a genuine effort to fight corruption beyond other imperatives, such as the need for post-regime accountability.

Third, the persistence of corruption points to a certain amount of institutional resilience. These commitments must determine which of the categories of tools are effective in getting results from institutions with a history of successful resistance to change in the short term and which ones are long-term efforts.

### **Post-election Tracking**

The commitments made by the political parties must be tracked post-election to ascertain the extent to which the winner follows through to implement them as promised. The timeframe for the tracking should be four years representing the full term of the elected government. The tracking tool will outline the commitments in each of the four categories; regularly follow parliamentary proceedings, budget presentations, and other government updates as sources of information to determine if commitments are being implemented; and note which ones are being implemented each year.

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
<b>New rules/legislation</b>				
xxx				
xxx				
<b>Enforcement of existing rules/legislation</b>				
xxx				
Xxx				
<b>Resource Commitment</b>				
Xxx				
Xxx				
<b>Other commitments</b>				
Xxx				
xxx				

# APPENDIX A

The following is a list of the various legislation which can be used to fight corruption from LexMundi, an online resource created by the law firm Bentsi-Enchill, Letsa & Ankomah. The resource was created with Ace Ankomah and Golda Denyo as contributors.

1. Criminal Offenses Act, 1960 (Act 29)
2. Customs Act, 2015 (Act 891)
3. Economic and Organized Crime Office Act, 2010 (Act 804)
4. Whistleblower Act, 2006 (Act 720)
5. Financial Administration Act, 2003 (Act 654)
6. Parliament Act, 1965 (Act 300)
7. Audit Service Act, 2000 (Act 584)
8. Government Contracts (Protection) Act, 1979 (AFRCD 58)
9. Anti-Money Laundering Act, 2020 (Act 1044)
10. Real Estate Agency Act, 2020 (Act 1047)
11. National Signal Bureau Act, 2020 (Act 1040)
12. Security and Intelligence Agencies Act, 2020 (Act 1030).
13. Witness Protection Act
14. Right to Information
15. Office of Special Prosecutor
16. Public Procurement Act 2003 (As Amended with Act 914)



## **1. Financial Transparency and Probity:**

- a. I will ensure every appointee and myself undergo asset declaration before assuming office and asset verification by CHRAJ upon leaving office, as per Article 286 of the 1992 Constitution.
- b. If elected president, I will secure and make public the asset declarations of all my intended appointees before announcing their nominations or appointments.
- c. I will ensure that every officer of my campaign team and I publicly declare our assets at least six months before the 2024 elections.

## **2. Transparent Governance:**

- a. Under my government, any sole-sourced contract above GHS100,000 will be published for public scrutiny before signing.
- b. My government will not create additional districts but focus on enhancing existing ones.
- c. I will scrap ex-gratia for public officers and enrol all in the SSNIT pension scheme.
- d. I will publicly announce the number of ministers and deputy ministers I intend to appoint if elected and will stand by this upon assuming office.
- e. I will champion the amendment of Article 78 (1) of the Constitution to allow for a wider pool of ministerial candidates, not limited to a majority from parliament.
- f. I will support and champion the passage of a conduct of public officers' legislation with a robust asset declaration regime that effectively regulates conflict of interest and gifts.
- g. I will ensure that my political party submits all outstanding audited financials to the electoral commission as required by law before the 2024 elections and continue to do so after the elections.
- h. I will publicly disclose the identities of donors who have cumulatively given my campaign more than GHS100,000.

## **3. Decentralisation and Grassroots Empowerment:**

- a. I will champion the cause for ensuring District and Municipal Chief Executives are elected to enhance grassroots participation in governance.
  - b. I will strengthen Protective Mechanisms for Whistleblowers and bolster the protections under the Whistleblower Act, 2006 (Act 720), ensuring those who expose corruption are shielded from any form of retaliation.
- ### **4. Enforcement and Accountability:**
- a. Recognising the importance of these commitments, I invite civil society, the media, and all Ghanaians to hold me accountable to this pledge.

This pledge is my bond to you, the people of Ghana, underscoring my commitment to transparent, accountable, and inclusive governance.

- 1. Transparent Political Party Financing and Campaign Financing**
  - a. There should be political party and campaign financing reform including enforcing existing disclosure requirements for political parties (Act 574) and expanding them to cover candidates at all levels (Presidential, Parliamentary, Assembly).
  - b. Campaign spending limits should be established and enforced with repercussions for non-compliance, including disqualification for candidates and impeachment for elected officials who make false declarations.
- 2. Strengthening the Assets Declaration Regime**
  - a. Ghana's legal regime on assets declaration as part of the Conduct of Public Officers (COPO) Bill should be amended to explicitly demand verification, publication and sanctioning.
  - b. Commit to the passage of the Conduct of Public Officers Bill within six (6) months after it has been elected to office, that is if the bill is not passed before the 2020 elections.
- 3. Re-Defining Corruption**
  - a. Amend Act 29 to widen the scope of corruption offenses to include illicit enrichment, conflict of interest, influence peddling, abuse of functions, bribery in the private sector and embezzlement in the private sector which is crucial to tackling evolving forms of corrupt practices and holding perpetrators accountable.
- 4. Promoting Responsive Service Charters in Public Institutions.**

Institutionalize Service Charters for all public institutions. These charters, going beyond rights and mandates, should detail (a) List of services offered by the institution (b) Procedure for obtaining each service (c) Cost of each service; and (d) Turnaround time for each service.
- 5. Publicization of Witness Protection Provisions and Establishment of Witness Protection Agency.**
  - a. Publicize Whistleblowers Act, 2006 (Act 720) and the Witness Protection Act, 2018 (Act 975) to assure citizens that there is sufficient protection for whistleblowers in Ghana.
  - b. Activate the Whistleblower Reward Fund
- 6. Continuity in Government Projects and Programmes**
  - a. Amend the Presidential (Transition) Act, 2012 (Act 845) to include on-going infrastructure. The law should give time limit for the new government to review such infrastructure and publish its plan for continuing the project. Should the government decide to change the service provider for the project or make any other significant changes, it must be done within a time limit, and it must be published.

## **CDD-Ghana Demands for Governance Reform Commitments for Election 2024 (Section on Corruption)**

### **Combat Pervasive and Persistent Grand and Petty Public Sector Corruption**

One of the biggest drivers of public sector corruption is the abundant opportunities for corrupt officials and their collaborators to exploit weak internal controls in public services to steal public money. Numerous public ethics prohibitions, such as influence peddling, conflict of interest, and nepotism, have not been properly codified. The passage of the decade-long Conduct of Public Officers (COPO) bill will help address this loophole, which is exploited daily by public officials to escape accountability. In its current state, the bill still needs significant improvement, particularly in strengthening its asset disclosure provisions and introducing new rules on unexplained wealth.

Pass the Conduct of Public Officers Bill to establish a solid and effective asset and liabilities disclosure regime, conflict of interest rules, influence peddling, nepotism, gift-giving, and unexplained wealth rules, and orders.

Fulfill the Government of Ghana's (GoG) commitments under the IMF program to enroll all public entities in the Government Integrated Financial Management System (GIFMIS) and integrate the Ghana Electronic Procurement Systems (GHANEPS) and human resources systems to monitor expenditures and reduce overspending.

### **Reduce the Cost of Politics and Stop Corruption at the Source**

The increasing monetization and rising cost of politics are corrupting the electoral process and fueling pervasive grand corruption in government. The current regime governing campaign and party financing is wholly inadequate. There is a need for new and comprehensive legislation and a regime to regulate the sector. This new regulation must set clear parameters for party and campaign donations and expenditures, establish a period of three or six months as the official campaign period, standardize and regulate internal party electoral processes and financing, and create a body to enforce the new rules.

- Pass comprehensive party and campaign financing legislation that sets clear rules on capping donations and expenditures for both internal and external party processes.

