

CPP MANIFESTO 2024



Forward Ever, Backward Never

Contents

Message from the CPP Leadership	xi
Message from the Presidential Candidate.....	xii
Principles.....	13
Sovereignty	13
Unity.....	13
Solidarity	13
Policy Directives	13
Vision.....	14
World	14
Africa	14
Ghana	14
Society.....	14
Economy.....	14
Government	14
State of the Nation.....	15
Problem.....	15
Solution	16
Contrast.....	16
Manifesto Highlights	17
Flagship Policies	17
International Relations	18
Global Governance.....	18
Continental Governance	18
Regional Governance	18
Social & Economic Policy	19
National Wealth	19
Natural Endowment.....	19
Shared Prosperity.....	19
Socio-Economic Stability	19
Social Capital	19
Social Solidarity	20
Social Contract	20
Social Engineering	20
Demography.....	21

Family Planning	21
Rural-Urban Migration.....	21
External Migration	21
Gender Relations.....	21
Youth	22
The Elderly.....	22
Obsequy	22
Inheritance	22
Inequality	22
Poverty.....	22
Redistribution	22
Disability.....	22
Public Space	23
Mass Media.....	23
Advertising	24
Sports	24
Soccer.....	24
Other Sports.....	24
Culture & Heritage	24
Chieftaincy	24
Statutory Public Holidays	24
Castles, Museums & Monuments.....	24
National Library.....	25
Creative Arts.....	25
Tourism	25
Formalisation	25
“One Country, One System”	25
Information Society.....	25
Standardisation	26
Public Records & Archives Administration	26
National Statistical System	26
Geo-Referencing	26
Geology	26
Meteorology	26
Universal Civil Registration	26

Land Title.....	27
Land Value.....	27
Property	27
Household	27
Births, Marriages & Deaths.....	27
National Identification System.....	28
Corporate Entities	28
Social Organisations	28
Internet Domain Names.....	28
IMEI & SIM Registration.....	28
Engineering Socio-Economic Development.....	28
International Economy.....	28
Economic Growth Strategy	29
National Development Planning Commission	29
National Consensus on Development Strategy	30
Development Paradigm	30
Key Programmes	31
“Ghana Beyond Aid”	31
National Debt.....	31
Sustainability.....	31
IMF, World Bank	32
Logical Infrastructure	32
Data Deficit	32
National Cloud	32
Public Administration.....	32
Public Sector Renewal.....	32
Ministries, Departments & Agencies	34
Development Planning.....	35
Physical Infrastructure	35
Pan-African Perspective	35
Water	35
Energy	35
Transport.....	38
Post	39
Telecommunication	39

Industrial Policy	40
Pan-African Perspective	40
Strategic State Enterprise	40
Cooperative Enterprise	41
Foreign Investment	41
Private Enterprise	41
Public Private Partnership.....	41
Fiscal Policy	41
Public Finance Management.....	41
Statutory Funds.....	42
Arrears.....	42
Expenditure	42
Public Sector Payroll	43
Revenue	43
Tax Code.....	43
Direct Tax	44
Indirect Tax	44
Company Tax.....	44
Capital Gains Tax.....	44
Inheritance Tax	44
Property Tax.....	44
Rent Tax	44
Customs.....	44
Stamp Duty.....	44
Monetary Policy	45
Money	45
Digital Currency.....	46
Reserves	46
Capital Mobilisation	46
Public Investment	46
Foreign Investment.....	46
Private Investment.....	46
Venture Capital Funds.....	46
Social Security	47
Pensions	47

Financial Services	47
Banking.....	47
Insurance.....	48
Savings & Investment.....	48
Stock Exchange & Capital Markets	48
Gaming & Gambling	48
West African Monetary Zone.....	48
Capital & Exchange Controls.....	48
Internal Trade.....	48
Business Promotion	49
Competition	50
International Trade	50
Export-Led Growth.....	50
Global and Local Supply Chains	50
Exports	50
Traditional Exports	51
New Traditional Exports.....	52
Diversification	52
Export Processing Zones	52
Market Access.....	52
Imports.....	53
Services	53
Bulk Goods	53
Manufactured Goods	53
Employment & Labour Relations	53
Full Employment	53
Workers' Compensation	54
Statutory Retirement	54
Social Work	54
Domestic Work	54
Child Labour	54
Wages & Salaries.....	54
Statutory Pay.....	54
Education, Training & Human Resource Development	54
Expected Outcomes	55

Language	55
Life Skills.....	56
Civic Education	56
Metrics, Standards, Testing, Inspection.....	56
Aptitude Testing.....	56
Curriculum Reform.....	56
Compulsory Content	56
Comparative World Civilisations.....	57
“Comprehensive Sexuality Education”	57
Access.....	57
Basic Education	57
Primary Education.....	57
Secondary Education	57
Science, Technology, Engineering & Mathematics.....	58
Careers Guidance	58
Technical & Vocational Training	58
Tertiary Education.....	58
Teacher Training	58
Medical Training.....	59
Journalism Training	59
Legal Training	59
National Service	59
Distance Learning.....	59
Adult Education.....	59
Lifelong Learning.....	59
Education Funding	59
Public versus Private	59
School Feeding Programme	59
“Dual-Track”	60
Facilities.....	60
Productivity.....	60
Science & Technology	60
Research & Development	60
Agriculture	61
Food Crops	62

Cash Crops.....	62
Cocoa.....	62
Livestock.....	62
Poultry.....	62
Fishing	62
Pre-Mixed Fuel.....	62
Sericulture	63
Horticulture.....	63
Greenhousing.....	63
Irrigation.....	63
Fertigation.....	63
Forestry	63
Construction.....	63
Mining & Quarrying	64
Gold	65
Artisanal & Small-Scale Mining	65
Illegal Gold Mining	65
Manganese.....	65
Diamonds	66
Bauxite	66
Lithium	66
Iron.....	66
Petroleum	66
Upstream	66
Gas.....	67
Oil.....	67
Exploration & Development	67
Petroleum Agreements.....	67
Petroleum Revenue Management.....	68
Downstream.....	68
Petrochemicals.....	68
Fuel.....	69
Local Content	69
Salt.....	69
Industry	69

Agro-Processing	69
Metals Processing	69
Aluminium	70
Iron & Steel	70
Ceramics.....	70
Light Manufacturing.....	70
Assembly	70
Automotive	70
Conservation	70
Nature	70
Biodiversity	70
Resources	70
Environment.....	71
Reuse & Recycling	71
Municipal Solid Waste (MSW)	71
Waste-to-Energy (W2E)	71
Energy Transition	71
De-Carbonisation	71
Turquoise Economy	71
Health & Sanitation.....	72
Sanitation	72
Disease Prevention & Control.....	72
National Health Insurance	73
Visiting Medical Service	73
Remote Diagnosis	73
Telemedicine	73
Mental Health	73
Addiction	73
Rehabilitation	73
Housing & Urban Development.....	73
Proactive Urbanisation	74
Reactive Urbanisation	74
Urban Planning.....	74
Parks & Gardens.....	74
Building	74

Builders	75
Building Code	75
Building Materials	75
Public Housing.....	75
Real Estate Development.....	75
Mortgage Financing	75
Rural Housing	75
Tenancy	75
Rent.....	75
Land Reform.....	76
Lands Commission	76
Lands Trust.....	76
Justice Reform.....	76
Security & Law Enforcement	77
National Security.....	78
Cybersecurity	78
Narcotics Control	78
Policing.....	78
Domestic Violence	78
Reporting & Surveillance	79
Prisons.....	79
Penal System Reform.....	79
Defence	79
Armed Forces	79
Border Guard	80
Coast Guard.....	80
“Terrorism”	80
Fire Service.....	80
Disaster Management.....	80
Earthquake Preparedness.....	80
Flood Prevention.....	80
NADMO	80
Government.....	80

Message from the CPP Leadership

Chairman & Leader of the CPP

Message from the Presidential Candidate

Presidential Candidate of the CPP

Principles

The CPP's defining philosophy is Nkrumaism.

This manifesto gives expression to the common core values of Nkrumaism, and translates them into a programme of planned actions that a CPP government will implement in the years ahead.

Sovereignty

Unity

Solidarity

Policy Directives

Regulation

Rationalisation

Modernisation

Standardisation

Formalisation

Socialisation

Globalisation

Diversification

Collectivisation

Meritocratic Centralisation

Vision

Geopolitical Context

Global Strategic Outlook

Seismic shifts and realignments:

Energy Transition

Technology Change

Production Systems

Wealth Distribution

Market Access (Trading Blocs)

Supply Chain Controls & Disruptions

Global East-West / North-South Split

World

Africa

Ghana

Society

Economy

Government

State of the Nation

Debt Default

Fiscal Insolvency

Unjust Taxation

Aid Dependence

Pervasive Corruption

Infrastructure Deficit

Public Sector Incapacity

Global Uncompetitiveness

Under-Employment

Social Insecurity

Problem

Root Cause Analysis & Diagnosis of Ghana's Post-Nkrumah Development Failure

"Private Sector-Led Development" Theory

PNDC = NDC = NPP: The Value Is The Same

The NDC's and NPP's "private sector-led development" formula has been tried continuously for 42 years now. During the first 10 years of this period, the PNDC forced this Neo-Liberal experiment on Ghanaians at the point of a gun.

Despite having received tens of billions of dollars' worth of aid from their so-called "donor partners" and having borrowed tens of billions of dollars more from private lenders at commercial interest rates, the Neo-Liberal PNDC-NDC-NPP regime has failed to deliver on any of its much-hyped promises of sustainable development and prosperity, let alone done so at the pace that is required to meet the needs of our fast-growing youthful population.

Eighty-seven (87) percent of Ghanaians now support the CPP's longstanding assertion that Ghana is not on the right path to sustainable development. In 2024, with the added benefit of hindsight, it is obvious to us all that the abrupt reversal in 1982 of the previous three decades' Nkrumaist Consensus in favour of State-led development was a historic mistake.

We are sure that even if Ghanaians were to allow themselves to be used for another four decades as guinea pigs in the other parties' trial-and-error experiment with private sector-led development theory, the end result would be much the same. No comparable country anywhere in the world has achieved development by applying this theory.

Indeed, the most spectacular development success story in world history has been achieved by the People's Republic of China, thanks to the choice Chinese leaders made to adopt a development strategy that was tailored to their circumstances, but had much in common with the Nkrumaist consensus. Ironically, China began implementing their strategy at almost exactly the same time that the PNDC was abandoning Nkrumaism.

The difference between China's rapid transformation and Ghana's accelerating depression since the 1980s speaks for itself.

Solution

We do not even need to refer to any other country's experience to make our case.

"Ghana's Golden Age of Development: 1951-1962"

This proves the correctness of our offer to Ghanaians of a radical Development Paradigm Shift.

The CPP's Alternative Development Model

Third Force v First Force

Unity v Coalition

Numbers v Ideas

Wasted Vote v Strategic Choice

In the 2024 election, the CPP is the only party offering Ghanaians an alternative.

Contrast

Manifesto Highlights

Flagship Policies

Long-Term Integrated Spatial & Socio-Economic Development Plan

Public Sector Reconfiguration & Reinstatement

Formalisation before Digitalisation

Universal Civil Registration

“Golden Generation”

Exchange Rate Management

Agricultural Marketing Boards

Export-Driven Growth

Poverty Eradication

Full Employment

Universal Social Security

Strategic State Enterprise

Construction Industry Initiative

Cooperative & Community Enterprise

Unified Reformed Legal Code

Constitutional Renewal

International Relations

Global Governance

BRICS

United Nations

Security Council Reform

International Law

“International Rules-Based Order”

International Financial Institutions

IMF

IBRD

SWIFT

New Development Bank

Continental Governance

African Unity

Agenda 2063

Regional Governance

ECOWAS

Alliance des États du Sahel

Social & Economic Policy

National Wealth

Natural Endowment

“[Ghana’s] natural resources are estimated to be worth over USD 12 trillion”

(IEA Policy Brief #1 (2020) — 'Has Ghana Taken Liberal Economic Policies Too Far — And At What Cost?')

(<http://ieagh.org/mdocs-posts/has-ghana-taken-liberal-economic-policies-too-far-and-at-what-cost/>)

Shared Prosperity

The CPP understands that given Ghana’s current distressed state, before we can realise our vision of a harmonious society based on equitably shared national wealth, that national wealth must first be created.

Therefore, the overarching objective of the CPP government’s development strategy will be to engineer economic growth at a rate that far exceeds our rate of population growth. This is the only way to create the Wealth of a Nation, which is not the same thing as creating wealth for individuals within the nation.

The CPP understands too that the notion of a majority of the nation’s people attaining sustainable wealth while the nation itself remains poor is nonsensical, and that policies based on this misguided notion will lead, at best, to the permanent concentration of wealth in the hands of a minority of the people.

Therefore, the CPP’s policies are designed to foster a culture of accumulating capital to the State first, and then ensuring that the wealth of the nation is distributed fairly among all the people.

Socio-Economic Stability

The CPP’s social vision determines our economic policies — not the other way round, as is the case with the Neo-Liberal NDC and NPP.

Our vision is of a society in which the people enjoy a sense of **socio-economic stability**, as distinct from a Ghana in which the government claims to have achieved **macro-economic stability**, even while most people’s lives are blighted by constant **uncertainty** as to how they will survive until the next day. The condition of **social insecurity** in which most Ghanaians live gives rise to irrational human behaviours that are among the greatest obstacles to sustained socio-economic development.

Social Capital

Mindset

Attitude

Culture

Traditional Culture

Popular Culture

Harmony

Citizenship

Social Solidarity
Shared Prosperity

Social Contract

Full Employment

The CPP will restore public confidence in government as the solution and not the problem.

We will do this by extending the socio-economic safety net provided for the formal sector to support all members of society, because we seek above all to free Ghanaians from the fear of the future, which is the constant toll of social insecurity.

We understand that most people do not expect to be literally fed by the government. However, they have the right to expect that their government will not pursue policies that effectively deny them the chance to feed themselves.

We regard decent work as both a fundamental right of every citizen and their civic responsibility.

Therefore, we intend to protect the people against poverty, hunger and disease primarily by either guaranteeing them a fair reward for the honest work they find by their own effort, or by creating direct employment opportunities for them to do work that is economically sustainable and socially desirable.

Social Engineering

Reorientation through Formal and Non-Formal Education

Mass media to be deployed as a strategic development tool, instead of a venue for freedom of expression

Civil Rights

Civic Responsibilities

Provision of accurate information

Participation in decision-making

Civil Society

Public Funding for Think Tanks & NGOs

Foreign Agent Registration — Mandatory notification of status as a “foreign agent”, i.e. of engagement in any activity that serves or promotes another country’s interest or policy

Demography

Family Planning

Rural-Urban Migration

Proactive Planned Urbanisation

External Migration

Emigration

Brain Drain

Gender Relations

The CPP is committed to achieving **gender equity** in society, across the economy and at all levels of government.

The CPP commits to raising public awareness about domestic violence, abuse and sexual harassment, both in the workplace and in the community, which are suffered most often by women. Our primary goal will be to significantly reduce women’s exposure to these criminal injustices, as opposed to merely punishing offenders.

A CPP government will crack down on the recent reported increase in the trafficking of young Ghanaian women into virtual slavery and sexual exploitation in foreign countries, notably in the Middle East, and will seek maximum penalties for human traffickers.

The CPP government will shut down permanently all the remaining camps for “witches”.

We will police the activities of pseudo-religious actors who exploit women under the pretext of administering “healing through prayer”, and we will prohibit any other involuntary form of non-clinical or non-professional “therapy” under which women are often subjected to degrading and inhuman treatment.

Youth

The CPP will establish a nationwide youth organisation to inculcate in young Ghanaians the patriotic nation-building spirit that characterised the early post-Independence years.

National Service

The Elderly

Obsequy

Death & Funeral Observance

Reorganise, Modernise, Rehabilitate and Secure Public Cemeteries

Standardise and Incentivise (subsidise) “appropriate” Town Hall funeral observance

Inheritance

Inequality

Poverty

“~3.5 million Ghanaians are classed as poor (<USD 2.00 per day)” (NDPC, 2019)

The CPP’s goal is not merely to achieve a **temporary alleviation of poverty** for some citizens, but to effect the **permanent eradication of poverty** for all citizens

Redistribution

Progressive Direct Income Taxation

Universal Basic Income — leading to the introduction of Unemployment Insurance, once Full Employment has been achieved

Disability

Disabled people are one of the most under-privileged constituencies in Ghana, making up an estimated 3 percent of the population.

Despite the legal protections envisaged under the Disability Act of 2006 (Act 715), disabled people are still affected disproportionately by unemployment, poverty, social and political exclusion, discrimination, stigmatisation, and mental health issues arising from all of these factors.

In order to expand opportunity for disabled people, and to enable them to contribute their skills and special compensating abilities toward the national development effort, the CPP is committed to taking the following specific actions within its first year in government:

- Introducing the legislative amendment that has become necessary to close the gap between the Disability Act and the 2007 UN Convention on the Rights of Persons

with Disabilities (UNCRPD), which Ghana ratified in 2012, and enacting the Legislative Instrument that is needed to fully operationalise the Act.

- Increasing from 3 percent to 4 percent the proportion of the District Assemblies' Common Fund that is ring-fenced as a Disability Fund to meet the needs of disabled people at the local community level.
- Tightening measures for enforcing compliance with the current provisions regarding disabled people's unrestricted physical access to public buildings.

Disability Relief, Rehabilitation & Recovery Programme

Public Space

Mass Media

"575 Radio, 146 Television licenses granted" (December 2020)

Establish a Unified Radio & Television Broadcasting Network and Content Production Ecosystem

Rationalise broadcast licenses

Actively promote the development of an **independent media production and content creation industry** to generate high-standard programming for dissemination through the unified broadcasting network, instead of licensing an unlimited number of low-standard private commercial broadcast channels

Media Standards

"Broadcast Standards Board" — Revoke this previous manifesto commitment

Strengthen the National Media Commission

Set and enforce watershed hours

Public Service Broadcasting

Reserve Public Spectrum for Public Service Broadcasting

The CPP believes that at this stage of Ghana's development the public airwaves must be regarded primarily as a medium for disseminating **development communications**, and for deepening civic consciousness, not as a platform for staging entertainment, advertising commerce or expressing personal opinion.

Allocate independent content producers a proportion of the public service broadcaster's airtime through a commissioning system

Recapitalise, professionalise and globalise **Ghana News Agency, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation** and the **State-owned print media** (Ghanaian Times, Daily Graphic, Evening News, Mirror), and publish a new Black Star monthly magazine

Re-establish a nationwide presence for the **Information Services Department**

Develop the worldwide revenue-generating capacity of Ghana news and information services

Abolish the theoretical Annual TV & Radio Licence Fee

Digital Broadcasting

Advertising

Advertising Standards

Sports

Sports Organisation

Schools-Based Nursery System

Sports Scholarships

Soccer

Football Revolution — FIFA Reform

Multi-Year Black Stars (Starlets, Queens etc.) World Championship Project

Village Grass Pitches Project

Regulate domestic and international player transfers

Other Sports

Track & Field Athletics, Volleyball, Hockey

World's Fastest Man & Woman Project

Culture & Heritage

Chieftaincy

Statutory Public Holidays

Castles, Museums & Monuments

National Library

Creative Arts

The CPP will promote the consumption among Ghanaians of **non-fictional** literature and audio-visual content, as an integral aspect of the popular culture.

This policy will be reinforced by the development of a world-class domestic **Documentary Film-Making** industry, capitalising on our natural wealth of ethno-cultural, social, historical, natural and environmental subject matter that is easily available to filmmakers.

We will facilitate the industry's marketing of its newly-produced, high-production-values content to the global media market.

Tourism

Re-establish the national network of State-owned Catering Rest Houses in regional capitals and adjacent to tourist attractions.

Formalisation

"The informal sector accounts for 27 percent of GDP".

Growth Accelerator, Productivity Multiplier & Development Enabler

Tool for growth, productivity, development and socio-economic justice

"One Country, One System"

Standardisation & Formalisation before Digitalisation

The most transformational of all our socio-economic development initiatives, and the prerequisite for a Transformation of the Economy and Modernisation of the Society.

Expand the Formal Sector to include the Informal Sector, instead of either excluding up to 90 percent of Ghanaians from the Social Security safety net, or creating a second class of citizenship in the form of attempts to provide a separate system for the informal sector.

Build, maintain and secure a **Public Data infrastructure** of accurate, complete and up-to-date trusted data, rooted in the Civil Registration & Vital Statistics + Identity Management system.

Socio-Economic Credit System — "Know Your Citizen"

Information Society

E-Government Applications

Standardisation

Ghana Standards Authority

Standards, Weights & Measures

Public Records & Archives Administration

National Statistical System

Ghana Statistical Service

Geo-Referencing

Analogue Framework (Primary, Rudimentary)

Formalise and Sign-Post Place Names

Nationwide Street Naming and Planned Plot Numbering

Digital Framework (Secondary, Complementary)

New Digital Geo-Referencing Framework

Adopt and domesticate a free, open-source geo-referencing framework (i.e. Google Plus Codes) to replace Ghana Post GPS

Ghana Postal Service

Nationwide Door-to-Door Mail Service

Survey Department

Produce, publish and distribute street maps

Geology

Geological Survey Department

Meteorology

Meteorological Services Department

Expand the network of weather monitoring stations

Universal Civil Registration

UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16.9

Identity for all by 2030 — implying Universal Births, Marriages & Deaths Registration

Land Title

Lands Commission

Land Administration Project

Nationwide Documentation of **actual land use**

Regularisation and Registration of all land titles

Consolidation of public, stool and commercial land registries

Published Register of Private Land Leases and Building Permits

Mandatory Land Sale & Purchase Registration

Centralised Land Exchange

Land Value

Land Valuation Board

Central Register of Land Valuation

Property

Registration and Standardised Tagging of all plan and non-plan properties

Household

Ghana National Household Registry —

Registration of all households, tenancies and residents

Transfer custody of GNHR from Gender & Social Protection to Social Security

Births, Marriages & Deaths

Enact Naming Law

Enact Family & Civil Unions Law

Universal Births, Marriages & Deaths Registration

Separate Registration from Certification

Instantaneous, obligatory Registration mandate assigned to Births & Deaths Registry

Fee-free Certification right granted to the registrant, upon validation and verification of registered event by BDR within 7 days of registration

Legal recognition of marriages performed according to religious and customary norms to require Civil Registration

National Identification System

“**16,936,934** *Ghanaians* registered ... cards printed **16,743,832** ... cards uncollected and replaced *remain* **895,140** and **159,439** respectively” (12 July 2022)

Reboot — Fuse Births & Deaths Registry with National Identification Authority

Corporate Entities

Re-registration of all corporate entities (**capturing beneficial ownership**)

Social Organisations

Registration of all non-governmental, religious, charitable and trust-based bodies

Regulation of administration and funding of all social organisations

Distinguish Faith-Based Organisations from faiths

Internet Domain Names

Promote and incentivise patronage of the .gh CCTLD

Ghana Domain Name Registry

Re-delegation of .gh Registrar Assignment

IMEI & SIM Registration

National Communications Authority

Telephone Directory service and publication

Mandatory fixed-line telephone subscription for businesses and rented properties

Engineering Socio-Economic Development

The overarching mission of the CPP’s Developmental State paradigm is to achieve a high quality of life for all Ghanaians — based not just on a high standard of living for all Ghanaians, but also on a universal guarantee of lifelong socio-economic security.

This is expressed in our transformative **Long-Term Integrated Spatial & Socio-Economic Development Plan**.

International Economy

Gross World Product (global GDP) at current exchange values is USD 84.705 trillion

— World Bank (2020)

Seismic shifts and realignments:

Energy Transition
Technology Change
Production Systems
Wealth Distribution
Market Access (Trading Blocs)
Supply Chain Controls & Disruptions
Global East-West / North-South Split

[Economic Growth Strategy](#)

Ghana's GDP is approximately 0.075 percent of global GDP. Therefore, the fundamental direction of the CPP's Economic Growth & National Wealth Creation Strategy is toward rapidly expanding our engagement with the international economy in ways that are constructive — i.e. Collective, Proactive, Profitable.

Set rules governing the rebasing of the GDP (See National Debt)

Target a steady 10.4 percent average annual high-quality, equitably-shared, job-creating growth over 30 years (2029-2057)

Shift economic incentive structure from Import Distribution to Export Production

Increase agricultural and rural incomes faster than service industry and urban incomes

Facilitate citizens' access to:

Land

Labour

Management

Appropriate Technology

Capital (Debt / Equity)

Global Markets

[National Development Planning Commission](#)

Fold the regional "development authorities" into the NDPC

National Consensus on Development Strategy

If elected, the CPP will champion an effort to achieve a new all-party socio-economic policy consensus to replace the Neo-LNDC-NPP 2014 Senchi Consensus — ostensibly reached between the NDC and NPP, which was basically stillborn.

Intensification, Expansion, Differentiation & Diversification of Production for Export — **NOT** “Industrialisation”

Development Paradigm

The CPP proposes to adopt a new development paradigm to guide Ghana’s rapid social and economic transformation.

Our choice of model is grounded in our own experience, which confirms that the role of government in Ghana’s is not merely to *enable* growth and development, but to *engineer* growth and development.

Under a CPP government, the State will no longer limit its role to being a mere spectator to the entrepreneurial activities of the private sector, and taking a *laissez-faire* approach to economic development, as the PNDC, NDC and NPP have all chosen to do, based on their shared Neo-Liberal conviction.

Nor will we substitute empty slogans — such as “*The private sector is the engine of growth*” — for government action to create real employment opportunities for our youth.

In other words, whenever the private labour market fails to generate as many regular job opportunities as the economy needs to employ productively all the young Ghanaians who are turning 16 and becoming available for employment, a CPP government will intervene directly or indirectly, as necessary, to ensure that our youth are not abandoned to begin their adult lives in a state of unemployment, hopelessness and alienation from society.

Instead, a CPP government will nurture, support, stimulate, guide and effectively regulate both indigenous and foreign private business in Ghana, while undertaking strategic State enterprise wherever this is appropriate to defend the national interest; to protect consumers and the environment; and to maintain a balanced distribution of the nation’s wealth between providing essential public goods and services on one hand, and facilitating the ethical and socially responsible accumulation of private wealth on the other.

The CPP positively embraces its responsibility for managing all aspects of Ghana’s overall sustainable, equitable development. Under a CPP government, the Public Sector will resume the leading role in designing and executing a programme of accelerated socio-economic development — as was the case during Ghana’s golden age of development under the First Republic.

More significantly, on assumption of office we will begin immediately taking concrete steps to ensure that the skills and attitudes of the workforce are brought into alignment with the human resource needs of the economy, based on our development strategy that is expressed in our **Long-Term Integrated Spatial & Socio-Economic Development Plan**.

“Semi-annual report to Parliament on the implementation of the Plan”

Key Programmes

Golden Generation — Package of measures targeted at Ghanaians aged 0-7 years

“Ghana Beyond Aid”

“Ghana Beyond Hot Air (Empty Rhetoric)” —

End all recurrent foreign aid flows within 7 years

Mandate domestic financing of all recurrent public expenditure by 2025

Immediately streamline, rationalise, harmonise all foreign assistance programmes

All Foreign Aid Programmes must include guarantees of auto-redundancy by 2032

National Debt

“Ghana at risk of debt distress” — IMF assessment 2019

“IMF projects Debt Service-to-Revenue at 63 percent in 2022 and 67 percent in 2024”

(#1 in the world)

A CPP government will revise the current debt management strategy, with the objective of ending the current practices of borrowing to finance recurrent expenditure and contracting new debt to settle the interest on old debt.

Primary sustainability metrics —

Debt Service-to-Revenue Ratio

Multilateral Sovereign Credit Rating Agency

Sustainability

Indicators

Debt Service-to-Revenue Ratio

Rules governing the rebasing of the GDP (See National Debt)

Foreign Debt Service Payments-to-Export Earnings Ratio

“Ghana #3 in the world at ‘35’ percent in 2018 (45 percent in 2020)” (Starr FM, 31 August 2021)

IMF Bailout Terms

Debt Restructuring 2022 — Domestic ± Foreign

DDEP Haircut

IMF, World Bank

A CPP government will evaluate the development outcomes from Ghana's four decades of dependence on policy advice and multilateral funding from the Bretton Woods institutions.

Convene an International Conference or Expert Panel to critique the Washington Consensus, and to evaluate the efficacy of Ghana's and other African countries' Structural Adjustment Programmes, based on the Bretton Woods institutions' development model and policy advice — in the light of 40 years of experience.

>>

The World Bank serves two mandates:

1. '*End extreme poverty*' by reducing the share of the global population that lives in extreme poverty to 3 percent by 2030 (*sic*)
2. '*Promote shared prosperity*' by increasing the incomes of the poorest 40 percent of people in every country (?)

<<

[Bawumia's "carpenter or tornado versus roof" speech](#) at Accra Business School on Thursday 14 July 2022 (t=3498 [Start], 4143 [Carpenter], 4312 [Gold])

Logical Infrastructure

(Information & Institutional Infrastructure)

Data Deficit

National Cloud

Mandatory Open Source path for Public Sector IT Systems

Public Administration

"The 'administrative State' is the bulwark of any complex urban civilisation"

(<https://www.ft.com/content/ea1563e8-725f-11ea-ad98-044200cb277f>)

Working assumption is that Ghana's Public Sector does not possess now the capacity it requires to perform the role a CPP government will assign it.

Therefore **Public Sector Renewal** is a prerequisite for the successful implementation of the CPP's development programme.

Public Sector Renewal

Assess Organogram, Human Resources, Information Systems, Facilities

Map job functions (Organogram) and line items (Chart of Accounts) to *sub*-ministerial portfolios, in order to provide a logical translation layer that allows for consistent tracking in the event of renaming or realignment of ministries

General rules:

No new institutions;

Consolidate, rationalise and resource existing institutional architecture and make it effective and efficient;

Implement past PSR recommendations wherever they are applicable and appropriate;

Legislate the cabinet configuration with the objective of achieving the leanest manageable Strong Competent Executive;

Reorganisation — Reorientation; Resumption; Records; Registration; Reporting; Retrenchment; Recruitment; Remuneration; Retention; Retirement == **Results**

Remuneration

Retention

Retirement — Raise the age for mandatory retirement from the Public Services to 64, and permit exceptional retention of superannuated Public Servants until the age of 75

Retrenchment

Reorientation

Standard Forms & Reports — MSD @ OHCS

Records Management — “Investment in Public Records & Archives”

Professionalise IT (with Records Management) and Public Relations Classes within the Public Services, centralising recruitment respectively on NITA+PRAAD and ISD

Registration of Public Assets (Fixed Asset Register) — “Inventory of government property for publication and notification to Parliament”

Performance Management

Policy Version Control System

Public Services Commission

Office of the Head of the Civil Service

Local Government Service

Reintegrate Civil and Local Government Services

Rationalise PSC-OHCS-LGS architecture to place all civil servants back within a single organisational structure

Civil Service Entrance Examination

Personnel Database

Resumed suspended implementation of Human Resource Management Information System (HRMIS)

Recruitment

— Annual “Milk Round” of secondary and tertiary institutions to pre-select Public Service recruits on the basis of merit

— Vacation Internship in Public Services for High-Performing Students

Prohibit public (MDA) rental of private accommodation

[Ministries, Departments & Agencies](#)

Agriculture

Construction

Defence

[Development] Planning

Discipline Inspection (Monitoring & Evaluation)

Education

Employment

Energy

Finance (Treasury)

Foreign Affairs (& Trade)

Health & Habitat

(Human Resources)*

Information

Justice*

Land

(Law & Order)*

Local Government

Mineral Resources

National Security*

Public Works (Infrastructure)*

(Science & Technology)

Social Security (subsuming Social Welfare; “Women’s Affairs” | “Gender, Children & Social Protection”; Youth)

Sports

State Enterprise
Telecommunications
Trade (Commerce)
Transportation
Urbanisation & Housing
Water & Sanitation

Development Planning

National Development Planning Commission

Under a CPP government, the NDPC, supported actively by the Ghana Statistical Service and the National Information Technology Authority, will play its designated role as the central organ in the formulation, implementation and coordination of all socio-economic development policies, including a series of multi-year plans within the context of the overarching Millennium Master Development Plan.

A new Development Advisory Expert Group — to replace the existing “Economic Management Team” — will assist the NDPC in producing and executing the Millennium Master Development Plan, and will guide the Ministry of Finance in the preparation of the annual Budget.

“One Day, One Idea” — 1,000 New Ideas in 1,000 Days

Long-Term Integrated Spatial & Socio-Economic Development Plan

Commitment to produce an outline plan within Year 1 and a detailed plan within Year 2

Physical Infrastructure

Pan-African Perspective

Intelligent Design!!!

Urban Service Tunnel Architecture as standard

Water

Reintegrate Ghana Water Company with Community Water & Sanitation Agency

No new open drainage!

“Consumption is 120 litres per capita per day”

Energy

Carbon Neutrality

Power

Review Strategic National Energy Plan to reflect a Pan-African perspective

The CPP will pursue the **USD 234 million** Ghana-Burkina Faso-Mali 330 kV transmission line interconnection project, as envisaged under the ECOWAS Master Plan for the development of the West African Power Pool.

Energy Conservation —

Reduce ECG technical losses through the proper configuration and use of SCADA

Reduce ECG financial losses through the proper configuration and operation of its Billing System; the revalidation of customer billing records; and a prohibition on the accumulation of further fresh arrears of payments to State-owned Enterprises in the power supply chain

Standardise power distribution infrastructure nationwide, especially consumer meters and pre-payment systems

Electricity Tariff variation between peak and off-peak hours

Differential power pricing by source?

A CPP government will stem the financial losses to the State — estimated at USD 500 million per annum — arising from long-term “Take-or-Pay” contracts that the last NDC government entered into with private sector power generators. These ill-judged deals left Ghana with approximately 1,800 MW of power generation capacity in excess of peak demand plus the recommended reserve margin. This excess power was effectively unusable, since the plants were not connected to the pipeline supplying natural gas from Ghana’s Jubilee and Sankofa sources.

First, a CPP government will not enter into any new “Take-or-Pay” contracts.

Second, whether or not the existing contracts can be renegotiated, now that the Tema power enclave has been connected to the Western gas pipeline network, the CPP will expedite the extension of the electricity transmission infrastructure to reach potential paying consumers in Ghana and beyond.

“USD 1.2 billion still owed to IPPs”

Reconsider plans to introduce a domestic Wholesale Electricity Market (WEM)

Reintegrate baseload power generation (VRA+BPA), transmission (GRIDCO) and distribution (ECG+NEDCO) utilities

Merge Volta River Authority and Bui Power Authority

Merge ECG and NEDCO

Merge GNPC and Ghana Gas

Police-Paramilitary escorts for ECG+NEDCO field staff

“2 million post-paid meters versus 800 meter readers nation-wide”

Gas

A CPP government will rely on domestically produced natural gas as the primary feedstock for electricity generation during the remainder of the 21st century, but will also explore the numerous possible industrial and petrochemical uses of gas.

The CPP will resolve permanently the contention between Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC) and Ghana National Gas Company Ltd (GNGC) over the role of gas aggregator by fully merging these two Strategic State Enterprises.

Hydro

“Hydro power accounted for 43.2 percent of total installed electricity generation capacity (2015)”.

Promote the Inga Dam Project

Strengthen the capacity of the Ghana Meteorological Service for climate modelling and weather forecasting, to provide more accurate data for prudent long-term management of hydro reservoirs.

Mini- and micro-hydro

Nuclear

Nuclear Power Ghana — previously unknown State-Owned Enterprise / Regulatory Agency

“NPG will choose by end-2022 one of four candidate sites for Ghana's first nuclear power plant. Fifteen vendors from different countries have submitted Expressions of Interest in partnering NPG in constructing the plant [“to be operational by 2030”].

Ghana has ratified all 12 international treaties the IAEA prescribes in order to certify the compliance of a member State’s nuclear power programme”.

Presidential Directive to relocate GNPPPO oversight to the Presidency from the Ministry of Energy. (?)

NPG, the established owner-operator of Ghana’s proposed nuclear power plant(s), has successfully completed phase one activities, as required by the International Atomic Energy Agency. [Under] phase two of the programme, it has made strides in the required processes, and [is] “currently making efforts to facilitate the public announcement” by end-2022 of the preferred site; the technology Ghana has opted for; and the selected vendor/strategic partner for the project.

Renewables

Renewable Energy Master Plan —

“Increase the [quantum] of renewable energy in the national energy generation mix from 42.5 MW in 2015 to 1,363.63 MW (with grid connected systems totalling 1,094.63 MW)”

“The REMP envisages an investment over a 12-year period (2019-2030) of USD 5.6 billion, less than 20 percent of which will be public, yielding the creation of 220,000 jobs and carbon savings of about 11 million tonnes of CO₂ by 2030”.

“Mass production, maintenance and continuing design improvement of biomass-fuelled cooking appliances for domestic and commercial use that are less-polluting than coal pots, as well as industrial production of biomass briquettes and pellets”.

“Utility-scale solar power accounted for just 0.6 percent of total installed electricity generation capacity”.

Renewable Energy Authority — NO!

Fuel

Product Distribution Pipeline Network

Petrol Price Build-up

LPG

Make pipe-borne LPG the primary source of fuel for cooking in new industrial and urban development projects

Transport

Transportation Infrastructure investment as a vehicle for Economic Growth, Development and Poverty Eradication

Multi-modal Network Design

Segregate Freight, Public and Private Passenger Traffic

Railways

Standard-Gauge National Railway Network

Promote a Pan-African High-Speed Rail System

Roads & Highways

Road Safety

~3,000 road deaths per year

“1,454 deaths in S1-2021, 45 percent involving motorcycles”

Clamp down heavily on reckless riding and misbehaviour by urban motorcyclists

Cats' Eyes

Street Lighting

Feeder Roads

Trunk Roads

Urban Roads

Urban Mass Transport

“Metro Mass Transit began with 1,024 buses and 4,000 staff; 85 percent out of service; current working fleet 180-190”

Traffic Management! — Red Paint before Flyovers

Remove Toll Booths immediately

Repeal Tolls progressively

No need to impose a ban on Okada because it’s illegal anyway

Tighten MTTD enforcement against unlicensed commercial passenger transportation services

New Energy Vehicles — Charging Infrastructure

Ports & Harbours

!!!

Isolation

Automation

Integration

!!!

Shipping

Re-establish Black Star Line with wind-powered hybrid fuel fleet

Air

Air Afrique or multi-nationalised Ethiopian Airways, not Ghana Airways

Post

Ghana Post recapitalisation

Telecommunication

Nationalise Airtel-Tigo and merge with GT

Strengthen MNO regulation for Subscriber Protection and Quality of Service

Voice Tariff Regulation

Data Tariff Regulation

Internet Content Regulation

Internet Content Production

Internet Access

Spectrum

Maximize spectrum availability

Clarify long-term spectrum license conditions

Incentivise Infrastructure Convergence by allocating spectrum for multiple technologies, in order to spur and optimise investment, and to reduce cost

5G

Industrial Policy

Pan-African Perspective

Vertically-integrated, labour-intensive production for export, based on locally available raw materials, in preference to capital-intensive production and import substitution

Limited support for strategic industries in the form of aid to competitiveness, in preference to protection against competition — lowering costs, increasing efficiency, facilitating access to technology, opening up export markets

Strategic State Enterprise

Under governments of the NPP and the NDC, both of which parties proclaim constantly their preference for the Private Sector as a driver of economic growth, State-Owned Enterprises have been starved of government attention and left to wallow in debt, recording net losses at the rate of GHS 1.7 billion annually, as reported in the latest accounts (for 2018).

The worst-performing State-Owned Enterprises are the energy and utility companies, whose finances have been disrupted by the determination of recent governments to privatise their ownership at the urging of foreign governments, in the interest of those foreigners' own multinational companies and politically-connected local agents.

The CPP places a higher priority on State ownership. Accordingly, the next CPP government will support the State-Owned Enterprises proactively and restore them to financial viability and sustainable operation, with a mandate to spearhead the process of accumulating State capital, in order to fund our socio-economic investment programme, to drive economic growth and to increase national wealth.

We will establish or re-establish State-Owned Enterprises in key strategic areas of the economy, with a view to fulfilling the following development objectives:

- Pioneering economic diversification initiatives.
- Generating capital to fund investment in infrastructure and socio-economic development.
- Creating employment and industrial training opportunities in order to deepen the pool of managerial and technical skills.

Specifically, the CPP government will invest in:

A national shipping line to transport our bulk cargo exports to global market destinations

A nation-wide Intra-City and Inter-City Bus Company — State Transport Company + Metro Mass Transit + Aayalolo

A nation-wide Wholesale & Retail Trading Company

Cooperative Enterprise

Urban Taxi Cooperatives

Modernised Peri-Urban Minibus (“Tro-Tro”) Cooperatives

Coordinated District Enterprises within the context of the National Development Plan

Modern Regional Trawler Fishing Cooperatives

Foreign Investment

Rethink policy on Foreign Short-Term Portfolio Investment

Private Enterprise

Legislate Mandatory Registration & Disclosure of Beneficial Ownership

Free Classified Adverts in Public Service media for Quality-Assured Locally-Made Products

Promote Large-Scale Enterprise

Facilitate Mergers & Acquisitions

Euthanise Nano- to Pico-Scale Enterprise

Create Chaebols in selected market segments

Public Private Partnership

Review or repeal Act 1039 (2020), the Public Private Partnership (PPP) Act, with a view to reversing the stated objective “to ***promote*** the use of private [enterprise] in the provision of public infrastructure and services”.

Fiscal Policy

Public Finance Management

The CPP will prioritise the achievement of the expected outcomes of past and current PFM reform efforts **within the broader context of an overarching agenda of Public Sector**

Reorganisation.

GIFMIS, HRMIS, IPPD2 —

Integrity of system operators

Technical competence of system management

Engage Internal Audit processes

Activate disabled technical audit controls built into PFM applications

Amend the PFM Act to criminalise the non-funding of government operations and specified public services

Blanket Public Sector Tax Exemption

Statutory Funds

Review the practice of creating separate statutory funds for individual budget line items — hypothecation.

Expand the scope of the **Ghana Stabilisation Fund** from petroleum alone to take in a portion of the revenues from exports of all the country's exhaustible mineral resources

Arrears

The persistent failure of recent governments to honour their financial obligations promptly has led to the build-up of arrears that represent a chronic blockage in vital arteries of our socio-economic system.

The government's culture of non-payment of bills and wages is perhaps the biggest single obstacle to the sustainability of State- and privately-owned enterprises, and public services.

It also poses the greatest systemic risk to the stability of the financial system.

Payment arrears inflict constant and unbearable, yet entirely avoidable, hardship on hundreds of thousands of Ghanaian citizens, and are among the root causes of corruption.

Clearing the backlog of payment arrears is the stimulus package the economy needs.

If a CPP government had been confronted with the adverse economic effects of the current CoVID-19 pandemic, it would have settled all outstanding public sector payment arrears to the utility companies *before* granting subsidies to utility consumers.

For the future, a CPP government will not permit the accumulation of fresh arrears of public sector wages, salaries or allowances; of legitimate payments to suppliers and contractors; of recurrent bills, especially those due to the public utilities; or of payments into the statutory funds.

Legislate for a Balanced Budget within the Medium Term Framework?

Expenditure

Having previously incurred the costs of its rushed implementation of Free SHS (GHS 3.2 billion) and the banking system clean-up ("GHS 21.6 billion"), the outgoing government's response to the CoVID-19 pandemic has put paid to whatever tenuous claim it might still have made of a non-negotiable commitment to the preservation of macro-economic stability.

In breach of its own legislation mandating the prudent management of the economy — the Fiscal Responsibility Act, 2018 (Act 982), the government’s spending and borrowing choices have created further structural imbalances in the public finances, leaving the next Minister of Finance with even less fiscal space than the current Minister inherited in 2017.

The government’s best-case projection is that it will take three years for the post-CoVID-19 economy to recover just to its fragile 2019 state.

Given these unfavourable circumstances, it would be imprudent for the CPP — or any other political party competing in the 2024 election — to make any commitments to significant new deficit spending during its first term.

The focus of the CPP government will be on preventing further deterioration of the nation’s finances, restoring sanity to our public accounts, and implementing broad system reforms in preparation for an economic take-off.

Public Sector Payroll

Implement the findings and recommendations of past CAGD consultancies, and public and private audits of IPPD2 to eliminate **permanently** the incidence of “ghost names”

Revenue

“Ghana’s tax effort [at 11.5 per cent in 2020] falls short of the minimum threshold of 20 percent [of GDP] set under the [convergence criteria for the] proposed Eco currency system of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)”.

“Tax-to-GDP ratio of 14.3 percent — versus 20 percent for ECOWAS and 24 percent for EU” (Ken Ofori-Atta, 14 July 2021)

“Ghana’s [tax-to-GDP ratio is projected to rise to] 13.24 percent in 2024. The average for middle-income countries is >25 percent. Ghana’s [total-revenue-to-GDP ratio] was 14.3 percent in 2020 and is expected to rise to 16.9 percent in 2024. The average for middle-income countries is ~30 percent”.

Target 25 percent Revenue-to-GDP ratio in 5 years, loosening to 22 percent after 10 years

Maximise dividends from State-Owned Enterprise

Tax Code

Reform — Simplify the Tax Code

Exempt the Public Sector from Direct & Indirect Taxation

Fiscal Centralisation — Amend all laws that effectively prohibit GRA from raising or administering local taxation

Review Exemptions — Convert Justifiable Investment Incentive Waivers to Rebates

Consolidate Oil & Gas Tax Legislation (Petroleum Revenue Management Act (PRMA) etc.)

Direct Tax

Transition rapidly to Income Tax as the primary revenue generator

Apply a flattened Income Tax rate curve in Year 1 of a new Direct Taxation Regime to encourage compliance

Implement a National Human Resource Management Information System as the basis for the Direct Taxation Regime

Indirect Tax

Complement reduced CST with fairer *ad valorem* handset tax enabled by IMEI registration

Reduce VAT progressively (to single-digit rate) and replace lost revenue with Income Tax

“Reduce Value Added Tax from 18.5 percent to ‘10- 15 percent’”.

Ultimately, phase out VAT entirely and replace it with a modest General Sales Tax

Company Tax

“Reduce Corporation Tax from 25 percent to ‘15-20 percent’”.

Tax Turnover before Excess Profit

Capital Gains Tax

Inheritance Tax

Property Tax

Centralise Property Rates administration

Rent Tax

Customs

“Single Window Platform for Processing Trade Transactions and Customs Clearances”

Integrated Customs Management System (ICUMS) *“saddled with challenges”*

Review / Reconsider Ghana Community Network Services Limited (GCNet)

Stamp Duty

Monetary Policy

Strong support for reformed, balanced, stable, counter-hegemonic International Monetary System

Rapidly expand National Currency Settlement of International Trade Accounts

Direct settlement of trade-related exchange transactions in national currencies, in particular CNY (e-CNY)

Embrace Modern Monetary Theory (MMT)

Formally set aside the doctrine of exclusive “inflation targeting”

Apply the “Dual Mandate” *as per law* — Full Employment *before* “Single-Digit Inflation” (Medium- to Long-Term Price Stability)

“Reference Rate (GRR) mechanism [...] aligned with the Monetary Policy Rate (MPR) and [managed so as to be] mutually acceptable to banks [, borrowers and depositors]”

Interest Rates — Level, Spread, Risk, Cost

Lower Interest Rates to <10 percent

Money

Short Term — Disincentivise Currency Speculation

Medium Term — Exchange Rate Stability

Trade (Current Account) Surplus

⇒ Revert progressively to a flexible fixed exchange rate mechanism

Long Term — Ultimately, Gold-backed national currency

The Big Idea: Gold Standard = De-dollarisation + GHS revaluation

Open a gold purchase window “at” the Bank of Ghana, through which BoG will acquire **reserve gold** (*from mining companies*), in exchange for a portion of its current holdings of USD R billion worth of dollar-denominated assets.

Establish a bullion centre to compete against London and Dubai

Digital Currency

Strong support for the **Central Bank Digital Currency** concept — conditional on an iron-clad consolidated **National Information Infrastructure** (substantial formalisation of all socio-economic activity)

Holy Grail: International mCBDC — Gold-backed Digital Crypto-Currency

Reserves

Transition to predominantly physical reserves — Gold, Platinum and other precious metals

Capital Mobilisation

First, release existing stock of tied-up capital (e.g. National Cathedral)

Issue CNS-denominated (Sino-, Panda-) Bonds

GHS-denominated International Bonds (subject to currency stabilisation)

Public Investment

Dividends from State-Owned Enterprises

Ghana Stock Exchange:

- Increase the liquidity of the stock market — Support the introduction of a market-making mechanism to increase the simplicity and velocity of equities trading
- Upgrade and revitalise the equities trading system
- Improve the transparency of stock exchange trading
- Facilitate the listing of a broader range of Ghanaian companies, in order to boost their access to investment capital

Foreign Investment

Feasibility Studies Repository

Target “**Africa’s best place to do business**” within 5 years

Private Investment

Venture Capital Funds

Social Security

Pensions

“Just 1.7 million active SSNIT contributors have access to pensions [out of an estimated workforce of 13 million Ghanaians]”

“11 percent total contribution”

SSNIT contributions to be assessed on total remuneration

Universal Index-linked Pension

Review SSNIT Investment Policy

Financial Services

Banking

Strengthen Banking Supervision

Mandate sector-specific Credit Allocation Ratios

Guarantee Deposit Insurance

No early credit redemption penalties

Regulate “Politically-Exposed Person” classification

Curb the loan-sharking business by protecting borrowers against penalties on default

Universal Financial Inclusion

Every 16-year-old to be assigned automatically an ID-linked default Post Office bank account

Every 16-year-old to be assigned automatically an ID-linked default mobile wallet

Settle outstanding claims of victims of the bailout

Compensate redundant bank staff

“Centralised Collateral Registry”

Nationalise Credit Referencing

Rationalise “Development Banks” NIB, ADB stake

No new National Development Bank

Inquire into the non-transparency of the Ghana Amalgamated Trust (GAT)

Mobile Money — Are balances investible? If so, by whom — MNOs or FIs?

(Payment Systems & Services Act (2019))

“50 percent of digital wallet subscribers have been targeted by fraudsters”

— Ken Ofori-Atta, Minister of Finance, 24 October 2018

Insurance

Personalised (versus Universal) Customer Risk Assessment and Pricing

Savings & Investment

Interest Rates — Level, Spread, Risk, Cost

Lower Interest Rates to <10 percent

Stock Exchange & Capital Markets

Gaming & Gambling

West African Monetary Zone

The CPP aspires to regional, and ultimately continental, currency union. While working toward this end, but taking full consideration of the need for monetary stability, a CPP government will review Ghana’s commitment to early adoption of the ECO common currency with Nigeria, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia and The Gambia.

A CPP government will exercise its best diplomatic effort to lead a successful reconciliation of the competing common currency initiatives of the WAMZ and the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA).

Capital & Exchange Controls

Enforce the Exchange Control Act and regulations governing foreign currency transactions

Crack down on transfer pricing by multinationals, and on all tax evasion by nationals and multinationals

Internal Trade

Market Re-regulation— Effective regulation and targeted price guidance

Consumer Protection:

Mandate Recommended Retail Price (RRP) labelling for strategic and essential consumer goods

Mandate use of Standard Weights & Measures (SWM) and Visible Price Indications (VPI) for fresh produce in approved, upgraded market locations

Reintroduce ubiquitous “Food Distribution Board” kiosks as Farmers’ Markets

Producers’ Markets for Made-in-Ghana Cottage Industry Products, Arts & Crafts (Arts Centre pilot)

Digital Marketplace

Production over Consumption

Consolidation & Voluntary Collectivisation over Proliferation of Pico-, Nano-, Micro-, Small-Scale Enterprises

Business Promotion

Merge Ghana Enterprise Agency (GEA), National Entrepreneurship & Innovation ... (NEIP), Micro & Small Loans Centre (MASLOC)

Better still ...

Dissolve GEA, NEIP and MASLOC

Pool and reallocate their capital, and delegate their function to selected commercial banks (in preference to micro-credit institutions)

Encourage the absorption of micro-credit institutions by commercial banks

Disincentivise:

Imports

Consumption

B2G

Nano-Enterprise

Open-Air Markets, Container- & Kiosk-based distribution, Itinerant Trade

(Organise Hawkers for Redeployment)

Importation of Second-hand Automobiles

Incentivise:

Exports

Production

G2G

B2B

B2C

E-Commerce

Vertical Integration

Large-Scale Enterprise

Competitiveness

Productivity

Service Standards

Consumer Rights Protection — Consumer Protection Agency

“Gold Star” Presidential Seal of Approval for certified high-quality goods and services

Competition

Regulation / Restriction of Hostile Takeovers, Acquisitions & Mergers

International Trade

The experience of other countries that have achieved rapid economic transformation suggests that the preferred potential main source of capital to finance sustained investment in Ghana’s development is the global marketplace for traded goods and services, which turns over USD 20 trillion annually.

Replace USD as the medium of pricing and settlement for bilateral trade transactions

WTO

European Partnership Agreements

Export-Led Growth

Target USD 100 billion export earnings by 2035

Global and Local Supply Chains

Exports

Comparative Advantage in the Global Market

Strengthen ExIm “Bank” — Joint Finance / Trade supervision

Export Free Zones

Traditional Exports

Gold

Ban doré gold hand-carry by international travellers, to stem the trade in illicit gold

Investigate London Bullion Market Association (LBMA) “gold price discovery” mechanism

Establish a bullion centre to compete against Zurich, London, Istanbul, Mumbai, Hong Kong and Dubai

Nationalise Gold Mining

Refine all gold pre-exportation by 2024

The CPP will restructure the debt of PMMC

As a means of rebranding Ghana and attracting foreign investment into large-scale mining, the CPP government will direct the Bank of Ghana and the Precious Minerals Marketing Company to begin minting a 24-karat New Gold Coast Guinea as an investment vehicle.

Cocoa

Producer Pricing

Target 2 million tonnes gross national production by 2035

“Local processing of cocoa has increased from 27 percent to 40 percent”.

Target 70 percent pre-export processing by 2035

Brand Premium Ghana Cocoa as “CMB-TQ”

Create a multi-national (Ivory-Gold) Cocoa Marketing Board

— **Côte d’Ivoire-Ghana Cocoa Initiative**

Relocate the global commodity market for Cocoa to West Africa

Re-nationalise Bulk Cocoa Purchasing — Discontinue Licensed Buying Company (LBC) system

Domesticate financing of cocoa bulk purchases — Discontinue annual foreign CPC loan syndication

Timber

“Ban all raw timber and log exports”

Bauxite

“Estimated 900 million tonnes of bauxite reserves at Awaso (Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai, Western North), Nyinahin-Mpasaaso (Atwima Mponua, Ashanti) and Kyebi”

Ghana Integrated Aluminium Development Company

Manganese

Diamonds

New Traditional Exports

Target “new traditionals” to account for at least 50 percent of export earnings by 2030

Diversification

Commodities

Strategic

Oil Palm

Rubber

Sugar

Salt

Lithium

Iron (Ghana Integrated Iron & Steel Development Corporation)

Non-Strategic

Pineapple

Banana

Cashew

Coffee

Pepper

Carob (*Ceratonia siliqua*) (“Dawadawa”?) — Locust bean gum

Export Processing Zones

Market Access

China, RCEP, ASEAN

EU

Brexit

USMC

AGOA

ECOWAS

African Continental Free Trade Area — Outward-facing versus Inward-facing

Imports

Services

Bulk Goods

Manufactured Goods

Rescind reduction of benchmark valuation by 30 percent for vehicles and 50 percent for all other imported goods

Prioritise Common External Tariff (AfCFTA, ECOWAS protocols)

Employment & Labour Relations

Full Employment

The CPP government will task the Ghana Statistical Service to track employment data continuously and publish that data alongside the other key macroeconomic indicators

Labour Market Information System

Supply Side:

National Human Resource Management Information System

Demand Side:

State-Owned Enterprise

Community Service Organisation

“Workers’ Brigade”

“NABCO non-permanent 3-year engagement for tertiary graduates only — **with no provision for Social Security**”

Fold NABCO into National Service Scheme

Employment Register by Year 1

National Central Online Employment Exchange by Year 2

Mobility — Migrant Labour

Minimum **Living** Wage legislation

Workers' Compensation

Statutory Retirement

Raise the age of compulsory retirement immediately to 64 and then link it to life expectancy

Permit superannuated Public Service employment up to age 75

Social Work

Domestic Work

No under-aged DWs

Mandatory DW contracts

Child Labour

Under-aged co-habitants must be adopted and or otherwise treated exactly the same as own children

Wages & Salaries

Implement Single Spine Salary Structure without Exceptions

Statutory Pay

Mandatory Paid Annual Leave?

Menstrual Leave

Maternity Leave

Paternity Leave

Education, Training & Human Resource Development

“The World Bank’s 2019 Human Capital Report [rates] the quality of education in Ghana as extremely low, [carrying] a ‘learning gap’ of 6 years, compared to Singapore’s 1 year”.

Human Resource Inventory & Needs Assessment by Year 1

Arrest and then Reverse the Brain Drain

Extraordinary focus on age range 0-7 years

Expected Outcomes

Above-average competence — by world standards — in the domains of:

Communication

Computation

Cognition

Civilisation

Basic Competencies —

Literacy & Numeracy;

Rationality;

Identity (Honour, Patriotism);

Civility (Honesty, Morality, Solidarity);

Utility

Prioritise Qualitative Competencies and Outcomes over Quantitative Inputs and Outputs

Primary Indicators — EGRA + EGMA Results; BECE + WASSCE Pass Rates; TIMSS Rankings

NOT Gross Enrolment Ratio + Gross Enrolment Ratio for Girls

Language

The CPP is committed to upgrading the status of English from being merely the **official** language of Ghana to being the first **native** language of all Ghanaians — understood, spoken, read and written **to international standard** by every Ghanaian child by the age of 7.

This historic ethno-linguistic transition will be achieved while simultaneously preserving all the indigenous languages of Ghana; such that every 7-year-old demonstrates native-standard fluency and literacy in at least one indigenous language — as well as basic proficiency in at least one other indigenous African language.

The CPP's policy of **native multilingualism** will serve the strategic nation-building purposes of preserving traditional knowledge and native wisdom; promoting inter-ethnic harmony and ethno-cultural integration; and consolidating national and continental unity.

English

English as a First Language ... for X Speakers

Third Language

Life Skills

Civic Education

In order to instil a sense of patriotism and the habits of good citizenship in all children, Civic Education will be taught in place of Religious & Moral Education.

Metrics, Standards, Testing, Inspection

The Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA) results (2015) show that just **2 percent** of all 7-year-olds can read to the age-appropriate standard, with **50 percent unable to recognise a single English word**. The corresponding (EGMA) results for Mathematics reveal that **75 percent of 7-year-olds are unable to grasp a single basic arithmetic concept**.

Nationwide Standards

Personalised Learning Processes **using Customised** **Special-Purpose Electronic Teaching Devices**

Aptitude Testing

Continuous Assessment & Testing

Standard Aptitude Testing

“Skills-Based Certification”

Aptitude Before Certificate (Credential)

Examination Boards — WAEC monopoly?

Curriculum Reform

Realignment with assessed human resource needs

Evaluate “New Core Curriculum” (30 December 2020)

Compulsory Content

Epistemics — Before being taught any subject, students must first be provided with a clear understanding of what they are going to learn, and why they need to learn it.

Compulsory Subjects —

English — Oral, Comprehension, Articulation, Composition, Deduction, Dialectic;

Mathematics — Numbers, Arithmetic, Computation & Estimation, Logic;

Civics — (Non-Verbal) Communication, Collaboration, Civilisation, Consciousness, Citizenship;

Information Science (versus elective Information Technology);

Applied Natural Sciences — Physics, Chemistry, Biology;

No French;

The number of subjects examined on completion of Basic School will be reduced from nine to four — namely English, Mathematics, Integrated Science and one elective based on the child's competence or aspiration, such as Advanced Mathematics, Applied Science, Information Technology, non-Ghanaian Languages, Music, Art, etc.

Comparative World Civilisations

“Comprehensive Sexuality Education”

Hell, NO!

Access

Prioritisation of Achievement over Enrolment

General rule: No further inorganic expansion of access until minimum defined standards of achievement are attained — and sustained — universally

Progressively decongest schools and universities

Reinstate strict calendar-year-of-birth-based admissions as a corollary incentive to Universal Birth Registration coverage

Basic Education

Early Childhood Education

(Pre-School)

“Public K1 intake for 2021 is 800,000” (16 January 2021)

Primary Education

Secondary Education

Science, Technology, Engineering & Mathematics

“[Just] 58.1 percent of the 26,733 students admitted to UST in 2022-2023 were enrolled in Science, Technology, Engineering & Mathematics (STEM)-related programmes”

Refocus UST on its core Applied Science & Technology training mandate

Careers Guidance

All graduates will be guided toward the careers that best suit their individually assessed abilities.

Technical & Vocational Training

The Technical & Vocational courses offered will be chosen in response to the needs of the economy, with emphasis on technical skills that spur productivity.

The CPP will facilitate this by fostering close collaboration between COTVET and the Association of Ghana Industries.

Guilds of Master Craftsmen

Apprenticeship

Tertiary Education

The CPP supports the Public Universities Bill in principle ...

Collaboration with Historically Black Colleges & Universities (USA)

Teacher Training

Graduate Entry Requirement

“National (Basic Education) teacher deficit is ... a nominal *surplus*”

“285,000 demand versus 300,000 supply”

“Rural-versus-Urban misallocation of teaching resources, requiring rationalisation”

“5,000 primary school classes without teachers, especially in 75 designated poor rural districts”

“Need for effective Inspection & Supervision [and Outcome-Indexed Teacher Performance Management]” YES!

“Accountability demands that GES management and political office-holders **must** patronise Public School” PROBABLY NOT!

“Need for Public Sector Payroll Decentralisation” NO!

Source — Kofi Asare, Education Watch (28 October 2022),

Medical Training

Journalism Training

Graduate Entry Requirement

Legal Training

Graduate Entry Requirement

National Service

“120,000 postings per year”

“Service person’s non-taxable monthly allowance is GHS 559.04”

“GHS 40 charge (GHS 41 electronic payment)”

Distance Learning

Technology-enabled remote learning, virtual classroom model

Mass Media Instruction —

EdTV over GBC

Adult Education

Lifelong Learning

Education Funding

No such thing as “Free” Education

Merit Scholarships

Subject-of-National-Interest Scholarships

Recipient-of-National-Interest Scholarships (e.g. Cocoa farmers’ children)

Need-based Scholarships (**Means Tested!**)

“Student Loans Trust Scheme”?

Sports Scholarships

Public versus Private

“Private education accounts for 42 percent of pre-tertiary enrolment”

School Feeding Programme

Mass production and distribution of Food Packages (MREs)

Vertical and Horizontal Linkages to Agriculture and Industry

Personalised Nutrition Plans

Diet Change Considerations

“Dual-Track”

Terminate the “Dual-Track” System

Facilities

15,391 Primary and 11,383 Junior Secondary Schools

“Deficit of ‘4,000’ [3,992] JHSs”

“5,400 ‘Schools Under Trees’”

“GHS 3.5 billion needed to fix SUTs”

“GETFund: ‘Receivables capped at 25 percent’; ‘60 percent of GHS 1.4 billion allocation committed to debt service’; and ‘Partially securitised at 20.5 percent’”

— Kofi Asare, Africa Education Watch, B&FT (Tuesday 16 November 2021)

Productivity

Science & Technology

Critical & Strategic Applied Technologies

— Information; Refrigeration; Solar Power; Lithium Ion Batteries; Building Materials;

Low-cost Satellites

Research & Development

A CPP government will re-evaluate the currently pending Ghana National Research Fund Bill. In any event, as informed by the UN’s 2030 Sustainable Development Goals, the CPP will more than quadruple the proportion of our GDP allocated to Research & Development — from 0.4 percent to 1.5 percent, while increasing to 5,000 the number of Ghanaians engaged in full-time publicly- and privately-funded research (i.e. from 37 to 167 per million citizens), and raising the proportion of female researchers to at least 25 percent.

More immediately, the CPP government will create opportunities to apply, and wherever possible to commercialise, the results of past research and development undertaken by the institutions under the Council for Scientific & Industrial Research, by the public universities and by private innovators.

Some of the priority areas of future research will be:

Plant Improvement

Farmer Productivity Multiplication

Agriculture Mechanisation
Food Preservation & Processing
Herbal Medicine
Malaria Eradication
Communicable Disease Control
Environment Sustainability
Refrigeration Technologies
Energy Conservation
Alternative Energy Sources
Petroleum Exploration And Production
Building Materials
Construction Methods

Agriculture

Land Tenure
Managed Market
Post-Harvest — Storage, Preservation, Processing
Mechanisation
Soil Nutrition
Pest Control

State Farms

Ghana Commodity Exchange (versus Buffer Stock Company)

“In April 2019, 2,720 50 kg mini-bags (136 tonnes) of maize was traded out of the six warehouses” in the GCX domain (Ejura, Kintampo, Kumasi, Sandema, Tamale, Wenchi).

Although GCX claims to provide a market for 100,000 farmers, the estimated quantity of maize traded on this platform is less than 2,000 tonnes per year, i.e. <0.005 percent of the national crop (2,760,000 tonnes in 2019).

A CPP government will merge the under-capitalised National Food Buffer Stock Company (NAFCO) with the Ghana Commodity Exchange, and reorient their combined operation toward fulfilling the CPP’s signature manifesto commitment to guarantee farmers a market and a floor price for specified produce under formal production contracts.

Food Crops

Modernise and regulate handling, packaging and transportation of produce to reduce post-harvest loss

“40 percent of 2020 maize crop lost to flood and drought (*sic*)”

“50 kg maxi-bag wholesale market price was GHS 180, now GHS 350”

“‘Olonka’ retail market price was GHS 5, now GHS 8”

Yam

Cassava

Groundnuts

Cashew Nuts

Cash Crops

Oil Palm, Cotton, Rubber, Shea, Carob, Jute, Sisal, Bamboo ...

Tree Crop Development Authority — Sound concept, but no need for yet another authority

Cannabis???

Cocoa

Domesticate 100 percent of Jute Sack production

Disease and Pest Control / Eradication

Livestock

Sheep

Cattle

Ranching — End the cattle-driving tradition

Poultry

Fishing

Modern Regional Trawler Fishing Cooperatives

Pre-Mixed Fuel

Canoe ID

300 landing beaches

Uncalibrated (bucket) dispensing
GHS 260 million gross annual subsidy

PMF Automation & Dispensing System launch scheduled for 5 September 2023

Sericulture

Horticulture
Cut flower trade
Vegetables
Cold Chain

Greenhousing

Irrigation
Arid zone concentration
Micro-irrigation systems
“[Only] 7.6 percent of all cropland and pastureland in the USA is irrigated” (2012)

Fertigation

Forestry
Rosewood?
Afforestation
Furniture Industry

Construction

Construction Industry Initiative —
Professionalise
Standardise
Industrialise
Securitise

Key Change Agents:

Ghana Institute of Planners (GIP)
Engineering Council (Act 819, 2011)
Ghana Institution of Engineers (GhIE)
Ghana Institution of Surveyors (GhIS)
Ghana Institute of Architects (GIA)
Architectural & Engineering Services Limited (AESL)

Ghana Chamber of Construction Industry — “Regulator”

Guilds of Construction Professionals

Public Works Department

State Construction Corporation
State Housing Corporation

Building Code
Infrastructure
Housing
Re-roofing — Roof Loan Scheme
Urban Area Redevelopment Programme

Mining & Quarrying

Geological Survey Department
Minerals Commission

Enact legislation governing Minerals Revenue Management
Review the duration of prospecting (exploration) licenses
Rehabilitate and Upgrade bulk haulage infrastructure
Expedite Environmental Protection Agency issuance of permits

Replace Mandatory Environmental Impact Assessment Reports with Mandatory Environmental Impact Mitigation Plans

Develop Industrial Minerals

Mining accounted (**officially**) for 48.4 percent of merchandise exports in 2020, up from 42.6 percent in 2019 and exceeding by [a nominal?] 12 percent the combined contribution of crude oil and cocoa.

Proceeds from mineral exports increased by 4.8 percent from USD 6.678 billion in 2019 to USD 6.998 billion in 2020.

Source: Chamber of Mines Annual Report ...

Gold

Artisanal & Small-Scale Mining

Formalise, Collectivise & Modernise Small-Scale Mining

The Minerals Commission estimates that ASM engages 1-2 million Ghanaians.

In 2014, ASM yielded approximately 1.5 million ounces of gold and 200,000 carats of diamonds, yielding USD 1.9 billion and USD 9.1 million respectively in export earnings.

ASM aggravates the degradation of fresh water resources, and the effects of exposure to mercury cause USD 240 million per year in healthcare costs.

“Artisanal mining accounted for 25 percent of vegetation loss [...] from 2005-2019. ... ‘The accumulation of small-scale mines across the landscape is startling. The deforestation impact is huge compared to industrial mines’, said the main author of the study, a Data Analyst in the Biosphere Sciences lab at NASA’s Goddard Space Flight Centre. Although it only accounts for about one-third of the country’s gold production today, artisanal mining caused seven times more deforestation than industrial efforts between 2007 and 2017.”

(<https://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/images/148434/the-large-footprint-of-small-scale-mining-in-ghana>)

Illegal Gold Mining

Low Earth Orbit Satellite Observation & Monitoring

Drone Observation & Monitoring

Manganese

Production plummeted by 56.2 percent in 2020 — to 2.358 million tonnes, from 5.383 million tonnes in 2019 — primarily due to the **government’s directive** that the sole producer, Ghana Manganese Company, **stop operation**, resulting in the suspension of manganese production in Q1 2020.

Diamonds

With the suspension of production by the sole large-scale producer, Great Consolidated Diamond Company, diamond purchases continued a downward trend in 2020, falling by 25.1 percent to 25,292 carats from 33,789 carats in 2019.

Bauxite

Ghana Bauxite Company, the sole producer, recorded a 4.1 per cent improvement of its output in 2020, with its bauxite shipments rising from 1.116 million tonnes in 2019 to 1.162 million tonnes.

Lithium

Atlantic Lithium Limited's flagship project at Ewoyaa is set to be Ghana's first lithium-producing mine, and is funded under an agreement with Piedmont Lithium.

The project is proven to produce a premium SC6 product suitable for conversion and use in batteries.

Only 15km² drilled to date within the broader 560km² Cape Coast lithium portfolio.

Life of Mine revenues of USD 4.84bn, Post-tax NPV₈ of USD \$1.33bn, IRR of 224 percent over 12.5 years at USD 1,359 per tonne of SC6

Cash operating costs of USD 278 per tonne of 6% lithium spodumene concentrate Free on Board ("FOB") at Takoradi

USD 125 million capital cost with industry-leading payback period of <5 months

Iron

Petroleum

Mandatory majority national ownership

Transparency — Petroleum Register

"The Income Tax Act should be the only legislation governing the taxation of petroleum operations ... no [individualised] tax exemptions should be granted in Petroleum Agreements"

Upstream

A CPP government will set a daily production target for the upstream oil and gas industry of 1 million barrels of oil equivalent (mboe) by 2032.

Gas

Implement Zero-flare regulation

Gas #1 fuel for power generation

The CPP government will seek to develop an export market for Ghana's surplus gas production within the ECOWAS region and further afield. To this end, we will explore the feasibility of extending the West African Gas Pipeline network.

Oil

Exploration & Development

In order to achieve the daily production target of 1 million barrels of oil equivalent (mboe) by 2030, the range and pace of exploration activity will need to be expanded and accelerated.

The CPP favours a full transition to a transparent bidding process for awarding petroleum exploration licences, but takes note of the failure of the maiden licencing bid round in 2019 to attract interest and thus yield the anticipated billions of dollars of investment.

We note the reasons given by International Oil Companies for their lack of interest. As a party that appreciates the importance of building investor confidence in Ghana, a CPP government will address the concerns expressed by the IOCs.

Specifically, the CPP will vastly improve the stewardship of the nation's petroleum data, by harnessing existing data assets within a world-class **National Petroleum Data Repository**, and investing proactively in the acquisition, analysis and interpretation of petro-technical and petro-business data.

Petroleum Agreements

A CPP government will review the Petroleum (Exploration & Production) Act of 2016 (Act 919) and subsidiary legislation, with the aim of determining whether the national interest is best served by the current modernised concession contract or "Ghana hybrid" model. This review will take equal account of the:

- a) Volumes of investment needed to exploit Ghana's deep-water offshore oil and gas resources;
- b) Lifespan of Ghana's oilfields; and
- c) "Energy Transition" from carbon to hydrogen as the primary source of energy within the global economy, which has already begun.

The CPP will enforce the rule governing the operation of both local and foreign participants in the petroleum industry that requires them to make and maintain full disclosure of their beneficial ownership.

Petroleum Revenue Management

The CPP will be prudent with oil revenues and will end the capping of the stabilisation fund and will allow it to grow to the USD 500 million mark initially intended by the Petroleum Revenue Management Act (PRMA) and will only transfer any funds if required into the consolidated fund over and above the stipulated figure outlined above.

The CPP government will revisit the provisions of the Petroleum Revenue Management Act of 2011 (Act 815), as amended in 2015, with a view to maximising the sustainable development return on expenditure of oil and gas revenues, while tightening public accountability for those expenditures.

Subject to the content of our **Long-Term Integrated Spatial & Socio-Economic Development Plan**, a CPP government is likely to designate the following areas as investment spending priorities for petroleum revenues:

- **Petroleum Exploration & Production**
- Alternative (New) Energy
- Environment
- Water & Sanitation
- Infrastructure for Telecommunication & Transportation
- Infrastructure for Education, Science & Technology
- Infrastructure for Health
- Agriculture & Industry
- Rural Development
- Housing
- Law & Order
- Public Safety
- Social Welfare

Downstream

BOST to target strategic fuel stock equivalent to 90 days' (from 42 days') consumption

Recapitalise and retrofit Tema Oil Refinery with capacity to process domestic crude oil in volumes sufficient to meet national and regional demand

Merge Tema Oil Refinery + Bulk Oil Storage & Transport Company + GOIL

Petrochemicals

Fuel

90-day Strategic National Reserve

Petrol

Price Build-Up

Diesel

LPG

Charcoal

Firewood

Local Content

“A CPP government will build the capacity of indigenously-owned companies to enable them increase the national share of participation and value addition in the extractives industry”.

“A CPP government will direct the Petroleum Commission to investigate and correct any instance of unequal remuneration for work of equal value that exists between expatriate and Ghanaian technical professionals employed by IOCs and oil services subcontractors”.

The CPP will introduce effective regulation to prevent the Local Content provisions in the Petroleum Act from being abused as a pretext for “fronting”, cronyism and other forms of corruption.

Model State-owned Enterprise as the local partner, e.g. GOIL + Exxon Mobil

Salt

Industry

Agro-Processing

Cocoa

Cassava

Metals Processing

Aluminium

Iron & Steel

Ceramics

Brick & Tile

Light Manufacturing

Furniture

Textiles & Garments — Ban importation of used clothing

Assembly

Vehicles — Ban importation of used automobiles

Lithium- versus Hydrocarbon-powered engines?

Automotive

Conservation

Nature

Biodiversity

Mampong Plant Medicine Research Centre

Aburi Botanical Gardens

Wildlife Sanctuaries

National Parks

Resources

Reuse & Recycling

Develop [CITES-compliant?] export trade in handcrafted ivory products

Prohibit the use of all (or at least specified) timber species and precious metals for coffins;
facilitate the mass production of fibreglass substitutes ... or better still incentivise cremation

Environment

Reuse & Recycling

Municipal Solid Waste (MSW)

Waste-to-Energy (W2E)

Waste Incineration to replace Peri-Urban Landfill

Energy Transition

De-Carbonisation

Turquoise Economy

Red, Gold & Green Ghana Programme:

Double forest cover by target date —

Mandate the replanting of 10 trees for each felled timber log

Engage 1 million Ghanaians in Planting 1 billion trees

Soil Conservation

Riverbank Protection

Physical and biological control of algae and invasive aquatic weeds (Water Hyacinth, Water Lettuce) in lakes and rivers, especially within the Volta Basin

Waste-to-Energy — Possible exploitation of aquatic weeds for biogas production

Recycling

Reclamation

PET Recirculation Programme

Consumer Electronics Industry Equipment Recycling Obligation

Re-afforestation

Green Belts

Tree-Lined Transport Routes

Botanical & Zoological Gardens

National Parks, Forest Reserves, Game Reserves

Urban Parks & Gardens

Health & Sanitation

Sanitation

Free-to-use public toilets and baths

>>

The rate of open defecation dropped marginally from 20.2 percent in the year 2000 Census to 17.7 percent in 2021.

“Sachet” water has overtaken pipe-borne water as the main source of oral hydration for the greatest number of Ghanaians.

<<

— 2021 Population & Housing Census

Universal Access to Indoor Water & Sanitation by target date

Nationalise Waste Collection & Disposal

Landfill Sites

Disease Prevention & Control

Reduce the incidence of Malaria to zero by target date

Reduce Maternal & Infant Mortality to $\leq X$ by target date

Neglected Tropical Diseases ...

Eradicate Buruli Ulcer

Eliminate blindness resulting from cataracts, glaucoma, diabetes ...

Free Remedial Surgery for Obstetric Fistula

“Sickle Cell Anaemia affects 2 million Ghanaians” (2022)

Breed Sickle Cell Anaemia out of the gene pool within the next generation

“Doctor-patient ratio was 1:6,355 in 2020”

WHO benchmark is 1:1,320 (*Commonwealth: 1:5,000*)

“Nurse- patient ratio was 1:701 in 2020”

WHO benchmark is 1:1,000

“Number of ‘functional’ CHPS Compounds was 5,547 in 2020 (79.03 percent coverage of demarcated CHPS zones)”

— Medium-Term National Development Policy Framework (2022-2025)

“Fewer than 100 functional (out of 800) ER CHPS Compounds”

— John Ekow Otu, Deputy Director of Health Services, Eastern Region

National Health Insurance

Insurance — Universal, risk-based, premium-funded insurance for wellness, instead of a claims reimbursement system for medical service providers and the pharmaceutical industry, funded out of general taxation but covering only 40 percent of the population

National Health Records Database by Year 1

Cross-subsidy as necessary to cater for illness related to underprivileged communities

Prioritisation of prevention over intervention

Patient rating of medical service providers and personnel

Coroner’s System Reform

Herbal Medicine

Visiting Medical Service

Remote Diagnosis

Telemedicine

Mental Health

Addiction

Alcohol

Narcotics

Nicotine

Rehabilitation

Drug Treatment

Housing & Urban Development

Proactive Urbanisation

New Capital Project

New Smart Cities

Cities are now recognised universally as natural growth poles in our globalised world, and urbanisation is seen as a positive cause of rapid economic development, not as the negative effect of a sudden disruption of the rural economy.

Accordingly, the CPP will pursue **planned urbanisation** as a key development policy instrument.

Reactive Urbanisation

Suburban Redevelopment

Home Improvement Benefit

Rural Resettlement

Model Village in every District

Urban Planning

Land Use & Spatial Planning Authority

Zoning — Compliance by design before enforcement

Continuous Construction Monitoring by National Technical Means

Green Belt Model — Peri-urban concentric agricultural and forest reserve rings

Parks & Gardens

Building

The CPP understands that in order to plug the gap between the demand for housing and the supply — estimated at 2 million units — the State will need to lead the following initiatives:

- The choice of building materials must be localised
- The design of housing units must be standardised
- The construction of housing must be industrialised
- The funding of housing construction must be collectivised
- The construction industry must be strongly and proactively regulated
- The pool of construction workers must be rapidly expanded, up-skilled and centrally certified

These initiatives, taken together, will minimise the cost of housing, while serving as an opportunity to resolve the problems associated with unplanned urban sprawl, and simultaneously creating mass employment.

Builders

Formation of Building Craftsmen

Guild of Master Builders

Building Code

Building Technology

Building Materials

Promote the “[substitution of] locally-sourced calcinated clay for [30-40 percent] of imported clinker” in cement production.

Reference Continental Blue Investment Ghana Limited, operator of “the world’s largest calciner plant to date” — with annual output of 550,000 metric tonnes (expanding to 1.4 million metric tonnes) — and producer of the [Supacem](#) brand.

Public Housing

Real Estate Development

“Ghana Housing Authority (GHA)” — NO!

Mortgage Financing

“National Housing & Mortgage Finance Company” — NO!

“National Housing & Mortgage Finance Fund set up in 2019 Budget”

“Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs)”

“Mortgage Interest Tax Deductibility”

“Legislate for Pension-Backed Mortgages and to allow >5 percent of Pension Funds to be invested in Real Estate ...”

“Tax rebates on some imported building materials” — Hell, NO!

Rural Housing

Tenancy

Mandatory registration of tenancies

Statutory tenancy agreement templates

Rent

Reduction of maximum permissible rent advance from 6 months to 3 months — with enforcement

Land Reform

With input from a process of broad consultation, involving chiefs, farmers, women, the youth, businessmen etc., a CPP government will formulate, during its first term, proposals for a comprehensive Land Reform Programme, the non-negotiable outcomes of which will be:

Common ownership of all land

Guaranteed right of land use for every citizen

All land-use leasehold transactions to be brokered by the State

No land sale in the absence of prior mortgage finance or State-escrowed cash funding

“Online Blockchain-enabled Land Acquisition Framework”

In the interim:

In any event and in the interim, the State will undertake a Compulsory Land Acquisition Programme, with the target of expanding the proportion of land in public ownership (“from 21 percent”) to 50 percent within 5 years

Evaluate Land Administration Project(s)

Redefine and Circumscribe “Stool” and “Family” “Ownership”

Land Disputes — Allocate, Consolidate or Expropriate Contested Stool and Family Land

Lands Commission

Concession System Model conferring the right to develop land within a limited time window for a pre-planned immutable use and to a pre-approved design, and to occupy that land for a specified fixed period, optionally renewable subject to specified conditions with automatic summary forfeiture of the right, without compensation, in the event that it is not exercised in strict accordance with these terms

Non-tradeable Lifetime Lease?

Lands Trust

International Supervision

Justice Reform

Fundamental Principles:

Objective (not Subjective) Jurisprudence;

Active Inquisition (not Passive Audition);

Presumption of Nothing (not Innocence);

Balance of forensic evidence (not “Proof beyond a *reasonable* doubt”);

Universal admissibility of evidence;

Unify the Civil and Customary Legal Codes into a Single-Source Simple Civil Code

In the meantime ...

Vastly expand the scope of “**Strict Liability**” offences to speed up the dispensation of justice

Guarantee final judgement in all legal processes within a defined time period

Eliminate formalities and limit technicalities

Specify and fix the number of Supreme Court Justices — 7

Community Service Orders

Suspend Civic Rights (e.g. the vote) for specified categories of offenders

Further specialisation of courts — “Establishment of courts dedicated to trying Sanitation, Traffic, Commercial, Domestic ...” offences.

Regulation of legal fees

Legal Aid

Public Legal Service — Especially for Conveyancing

Mandatory *pro bono* representation quota for all lawyers

Publish Client Ratings for all lawyers

Automate Registry & Bailiff functions

Develop *fee-free* Artificial Intelligence replacement for routine legal services

Legal Education

Extradition Treaties based on **strict reciprocity**

No extradition of Ghanaian citizens

Security & Law Enforcement

National Security

Cybersecurity

Ghana National Cyber Security Policy & Strategy, Ministry of Communications

Cybersecurity Act, Act 1038 (2020)

African Union Convention on Cyber Security & Personal Data Protection (Malabo Convention), [International] Convention on Cybercrime (Budapest Convention) “... ratified by Parliament in 2018 and 2019”

Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT) at National Communications Authority (NCA)
Security Operations Centres at Bank of Ghana and National Information Technology Agency (NITA)

“Cyber Security Fund to be introduced in the 2019 budget”

— Ken Ofori-Atta, Minister of Finance, 24 October 2018

Narcotics Control

The CPP notes with the gravest concern recent reports that, as was the case in the late 1990s and early 2000s, Ghana’s ports are once again being used by organised criminal networks in the trans-shipment of narcotics.

A CPP government will crack down uncompromisingly and effectively on drug trafficking and drug dealing, while investing in rehabilitation and mental health services for those unfortunate citizens who fall prey to substance abuse and addiction.

Policing

Ghana is under-policed relative to the international benchmark definition of 1:500

Expand police recruitment in order to raise the force strength to 150,000 (i.e. 1:200) — far exceeding the current ratio of **1:1,200**.

Resume high-visibility night and day urban and highway police mobile patrols

Equip all police stations and patrols with CCTV; FRT / BV technology referencing a functional National Identity Register; dashboard cameras; and body cameras, to deter corruption and to monitor performance

Establish Unarmed Community Police Force of 250,000

“Police Complaints Bureau”

Domestic Violence

Reporting & Surveillance

Citizens' Hotline — "Crime Stopper"

Neighbourhood Anti-Crime Message Exchanges

Burglar alarm mandate

Street lighting!

Prisons

"An estimated 98 percent of prisoners in Ghana are young males".

End the system of "cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment" of prisoners in Ghana that the United Nations human rights rapporteur documented in 2013.

Abolish Prisons Service forced labour schemes.

Seek out and destroy all unofficial prisons — "prayer camps", "witches' villages" etc.

End the abuse of human rights and relieve the congestion of detention centres that results from **protracted remand**, which accounts for a reported 20 percent of the entire prison population.

In-prison remand hearings to shorten custody periods for non-convicts

Only one-quarter of Ghana's prisons are purpose-built. Within its first term of office, a CPP government will modernise all existing prisons, including Prisons Service staff quarters, while **expanding the total designed prison capacity to 30,000 inmates**, in anticipation of much more effective law enforcement.

Penal System Reform

Criteria:

Recidivism

Restitution

Retribution

Rehabilitation

Reintegration

Community Service

Defence

Armed Forces

UN Peace-Keeping Operations

Non-Combat Home Deployments

Military-Civilian Relations

Border Guard

Border Demarcation

Reconstruct the border posts at all major crossing points — particularly Aflao and Elubo

Border Patrol

UAV Command

Border Communities

Coast Guard

“Seajacking in the Gulf of Guinea now accounts for 95 percent of all maritime piracy worldwide”.

Oil Platform & Pipeline Protection

Anti-Piracy Measures

“Terrorism”

Fire Service

Disaster Management

Earthquake Preparedness

Flood Prevention

NADMO

Government