

**GHANA COUNTRY ASSESSMENT**  
**OCTOBER 2001**  
**Country Information and Policy Unit**

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# 1. SCOPE OF DOCUMENT

**1.1.** This assessment has been produced by the Country Information & Policy Unit, Immigration & Nationality Directorate, Home Office, from information obtained from a variety of sources.

**1.2.** The assessment has been prepared for background purposes for those involved in the asylum determination process. The information it contains is not exhaustive, nor is it intended to catalogue all human rights violations. It concentrates on the issues most commonly raised in asylum claims made in the United Kingdom.

**1.3.** The assessment is sourced throughout. It is intended to be used by caseworkers as a signpost to the source material, which has been made available to them. The vast majority of the source material is readily available in the public domain.

**1.4.** It is intended to revise the assessment on a 6-monthly basis while the country remains within the top 35 asylum producing countries in the United Kingdom.

**1.5.** The assessment has been placed on the Internet ([http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/ind/asylum/asylum\\_contents02.html](http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/ind/asylum/asylum_contents02.html)). An electronic copy of the assessment has been made available to:

Amnesty International UK

Immigration Advisory Service

Immigration Appellate Authority

Immigration Law Practitioners' Association

Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants

JUSTICE

Medical Foundation for the care of Victims of Torture

Refugee Council

Refugee Legal Centre

UN High Commissioner for Refugees

## **2. GEOGRAPHY**

**2.1.** Ghana is a West African coastal state comprising the area formerly known as the Gold Coast together with the part of Togoland which had been administered by the British government. It is situated on the Gulf of Guinea and is bordered by Cote d'Ivoire to the west, Burkina Faso to the north and Togo to the east. The country covers an area of 238,537 square kilometres, and is divided into ten regions. The capital city of Ghana is Accra. [1]

**2.2.** The last census of 1984 enumerated the population at 12.3 million but the United Nations most recent estimate, made in 1998, put the total population at 19 million. English is the official language but there are a number of other major national languages. The main one is Akan, while others include Ga- Adangme and Ewe. [1]

## **3. HISTORY**

**3.1.** The land now known as Ghana received its first contact with Europeans in the second half of the fifteenth century by Portuguese traders. Later visits from various European nations eventually resulted in the British government assuming control in the nineteenth century. Independence was achieved on 6 March 1957 with the amalgamation of the Gold Coast and British Togoland to form a fully self-governing member of the Commonwealth. [1][3]

**3.2.** Since achieving independence Ghana has experienced relatively little in the way of political stability. The country became a republic on 1 July 1960, and Kwame Nkrumah, who had been Prime Minister of this state and its predecessor since 1952, was made President. Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) became the sole legitimate political party when the country was declared a one-party state in February 1964 and when a military coup deposed Nkrumah in the same month, the scene was set for a long period of political uncertainty. [1][3]

**3.3.** Following the Nkrumah regime, Ghana has seen numerous coups and changes of government. The official ban on party politics was removed in 1969 and following elections, Kofi Busia of the Progress Party assumed office as Prime Minister on 1 October. However the Busia government proved unable to resolve Ghana's economic problems and increasing hardship prompted renewed discontent. On 13 January 1972 the armed forces again seized power under the leadership of Lt-Col (later General) Acheampong. A National Redemption Council (NRC) comprising senior army and police officers assumed control of the country and political parties were once again banned. Following the NRC's seizure of power, several abortive coup attempts were made by the armed forces or supporters of the banned political parties. In July 1978 Lt-General (later General) Akuffo assumed power in a bloodless coup. He subsequently dismissed a number of leading officials of state agencies. [1]

**3.4.** In 1979 the ban on the formation of political associations was ended and parties were registered in preparation for the general election which was scheduled for June. In May however there was an abortive coup led by Rawlings. He was imprisoned for his part in this, but was released after a short while by other officers. On 4 June he successfully seized power and established an Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). In the

same month Acheampong, Akuffo, Afrifa and other senior officers were convicted on charges of corruption and executed. The AFRC indicated that its assumption of power was temporary and the general election took place as scheduled in June 1979. As a result the PNP (People's National Party) formed a governing coalition with the UNC (United National Convention) and the leader of the PNP, Dr Hilla Limann, was inaugurated as president on 24 September. The government's attempts to stimulate the economy failed and there was further discontent, and several attempts to seize power by members of the armed forces were reported. [1]

**3.5.** In his third attempted coup, Flt Lt Rawlings seized power on 31 December 1981 from the elected government of President Hilla Limann, which was widely perceived as inept and thoroughly corrupt. Rawlings instituted the rule of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) under which the 1979 constitution was suspended; the Council of State abolished; the legislature dissolved and political parties proscribed. In 1982, a system of Public Tribunals, in effect people's courts, was set up to run parallel with the normal court system and PNDC Law 4 was promulgated which allowed indefinite detention without trial for anyone considered to be a threat to national security. The military government also abolished the city and district councils and replaced them with People's Defence Committees (PDCs) and, in the workplace, Workers' Defence Committees (WDCs) (see annex D). In 1984, an amendment to the Habeas Corpus Act, PNDC Law 91, removed the power of courts to enquire into the reason for an individual's detention under PNDC Law 4. [1][8][9][20]

**3.6.** In June 1991, the PNDC had announced an amnesty for Ghanaian political exiles living abroad, as part of a consultative process on the new constitution. Those excluded from the amnesty were people who had been convicted by a court or tribunal of a criminal offence or those wanted by the police for a criminal offence. In response to pressure from human rights groups, the legislation permitting indefinite detention without trial was repealed with effect from 30 September 1992. The organisation of political parties was legalised in May 1992, although they were not permitted to register under the names of former parties active under earlier constitutions. [8][10][30]

**3.7.** The presidential election took place on 3 November 1992 and was won by Rawlings, standing on behalf of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), who took 58% of the popular vote. There were allegations from opposition parties of wide scale fraud in the conduct of the election but the international monitoring groups who had acted as observers concluded that, despite isolated irregularities, most noticeably in the inaccurate voters register, the outcome was valid. The opposition parties, nevertheless, boycotted the subsequent elections for the National Assembly, which were postponed and eventually held on 29 December 1992. As a result, President Rawlings' NDC took control of an Assembly with only two independent members and no other opposition. The largest opposition party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), announced in August 1993 that it was prepared to recognise the legitimacy of the NDC government and subsequently entered into dialogue with a view to reducing political tensions in the country. [15][16][17]

**3.8.** For the first time since Ghana achieved independence in 1957, an elected government had survived a full term and was called upon to defend its large parliamentary majority in democratically contested elections. The presidential and parliamentary elections were contested on 7 December 1996 and were scrutinised by international observers, including groups from the EU, the Commonwealth, two US non-governmental organisations, the

National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES). Media reports described the elections as free and fair, even hailing them as "among the fairest held in Africa". [35][36][37][38]

**3.9.** There were three candidates for the Presidency: the incumbent J Rawlings of the "Progressive Alliance" (NDC/EGLE/DPP), J A Kufuor of the "Great Alliance" (NPP/PCP) and E Mahama of the PNC. The parliamentary elections were contested by a variety of political parties and independent candidates. It was initially anticipated that a high turnout would be detrimental to the chances of the incumbent but despite a very high turnout of 76.8% Rawlings and the National Democratic Congress comfortably retained power. Rawlings' share of the vote held firm at 57.2% (in comparison to the 58.4% that he won in 1992) and, although his NDC party now has to contend with a genuine parliamentary opposition, it was able to maintain a clear majority. In March 1998 a new Council of Ministers was appointed [36][37][38][40][41][42]

## **Economic situation**

**3.10.** Following independence, in 1950's, Ghana's economy was one of the strongest in Africa. However, misplaced development schemes, mismanagement and widespread policy reversals have resulted in a sharp decline in the country's position. [1] Under the Provisional National Defence Council government of Flt Lt J J Rawlings (1981-1993) an economic recovery programme was instituted in close collaboration with the World Bank and the IMF. However, the government, whilst remaining determined to put the economy back on track has acknowledged the widespread poverty and poor standard of living in the country and has vowed to maintain expenditure on education and basic health. [1]

**3.11.** Ghana in 1983, became the first African country to implement an IMF approved structural adjustment programme, the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP). This programme has succeeded in reversing Ghana's severe economic decline. Fiscal and monetary restraint reduced inflation from 142% in 1983 to 10% in 1991. The adjustment process suffered significant setbacks between 1992 and 1997. Higher than planned public spending in the run up to the 1992 and 1996 elections increased inflationary pressures. Inflation peaked at 71% in 1995, while the exchange rate depreciated sharply against the dollar. Increased reliance on treasury bills led to a rapid increase in domestic debt, high real interest rates and a sharp increase in debt service obligations. [5]

**3.12.** Ghana's economic situation started to improve again in 1997. The domestic surplus increased sharply and inflation was brought down to 21%. Other measures included the introduction of VAT at the rate of 10% and a significant increase in electricity tariffs. This led to the resumption of the IMF second annual Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF), which had been suspended in 1996 due to excessive government spending in the run up to the elections. Performance during 1998 under the ESAF programme was 4.6% Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth, and in May 1999 a new three-year ESAF was approved. [5]

**3.13.** The government retained strong monetary and fiscal policies throughout 1999. Inflation was around 13% at end 1999 but rose to 17% in April 2000. The exchange rate has depreciated by 14.2 % in the first quarter of 2000 to 22.1% in early May 2000. Interest rates were raised to 43% in June 2000. The economic effects of the

1999 drop in world prices of Ghana's main exports, gold and cocoa, together with an increase in oil prices has been the main reason for the economic decline. Foreign exchange is becoming increasingly difficult to access, with queues forming through the banking system and a black market developing on the streets. Together with the depreciating Cedi, this is adding to the difficulties for importers. Ghana has applied for debt relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative. [5][6]

**3.14.** The economy remains dependent on agriculture, with about 41% GDP and 59% of employment derived from this sector, according to government statistics. Gold, cocoa, and timber are the traditional sources of export earnings, although cocoa and gold revenues fell due to the drop in the prices of these commodities on the world market. Tourism is the third largest foreign exchange earner. Service sector growth outpaced both agriculture and industry, according to an International Labour Organisation (ILO) study released in September 1999. The economy grew at a rate of 3.0%, down from 4.4% in 1999, due to the fall in the world price of gold and cocoa and the increase in the price of crude oil. Inflation increased from 14 % to 40%. Per capita GDP remained at approximately \$400. [4] In February 2001, petrol prices rose by 60 % following the government's decision to remove fuel subsidies, Ghana is dependent on oil imports. [7]

## **4. INSTRUMENTS OF THE STATE**

### **The Political System**

**4.1.** The Fourth Republic was inaugurated on 7 January 1993. Its constitution provides for an elected executive president, a council of state, a unicameral parliament and an independent judiciary. The constitution forbids legislation to make the country a one-party state and guarantees the right of Ghanaians to belong to a political party of their choice. Parties must, however, be registered and for this they are required to have a national organisation represented in all regions and must not be based on ethnic, tribal or religious grouping. [10] Legislative power is vested in the 200 member Parliament, which is elected by universal suffrage for four years. [1][4]

**4.2.** There are a number of political parties currently active in Ghana broadly divided into left and right groupings, reflecting the traditional Ghanaian political divide. For the purposes of the 1996 elections, the ruling NDC were joined by the EGLE (Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere) party and the Democratic People's Party (DPP) to form the "Progressive Alliance". [32][36][37][38]

**4.3.** In July 1999, the new National Reform Party (NRP) received its final certificate of registration. The NRP leader is Goosie Tanoh. The Party was formed from a splinter group that defected from the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC). The law requires that within 60 days of receiving their final certificate the party must submit detailed records of its assets and accounts. A few days after receiving its final certificate the NRP were linked to the Convention Party (CP) in possible alliance talks. The Convention Party had formerly been called the People's Convention Party (PCP). [59][68][69][74][76]

### **Recent events**

**4.4.** The Constitution provides citizens with the right to change their government, and

citizens exercised this right through a democratic process in presidential and parliamentary elections held in December 2000, which despite a few incidents of intimidation and election fraud, domestic and international observers judged to be generally free and fair. The political system includes recognised opposition parties, which express their views freely within Parliament and won a majority of the parliamentary seats in the December election. **[4]**

**4.5.** Presidential and Parliamentary elections took place on 7 December 2000. Opposition leader John Kufuor (NPP) polled 48.4% of the vote, not enough to win the first round, which required a 50% majority. John Atta Mills (NDC) scored 44.8% with the five other parties scooping the remaining votes. In the parallel parliamentary elections, the NPP achieved a majority taking 99 seats (out of 200 seats). NDC took 92, PNC 3, with 5 seats going to minor parties, and turnout was 62%. The Presidential run-off between Kufuor and Mills took place on 28 December 2000. Kufuor won this round, taking 57% of the votes cast. President Rawlings stood down from office on 7 January 2001, and John Kufuor was formally sworn in as President. The elections were reported to be generally free and fair. **[4][5][43][44][45]**

**4.6.** In March the Sports Minister Mallam Yusif Issah was dismissed from his post, after \$ 45,000 that he was carrying as bonuses for the national football team went missing. Mr Issah had only recently been appointed to this post. **[11]**

**4.7.** A number of former ministers, and people linked to the previous regime have been detained, or are being investigated. These enquiries appear to be based on evidence of corruption during the Rawlings' period. These actions do not appear to be part of a concerted attempt to suppress dissent, or intimidate those who may be opposed to the government. The government claims that its actions are part of a drive against corruption. **[12]**

## **The Constitution**

**4.8.** The Constitution was approved by a national referendum on 28 April 1992, and enshrined in it is a multi-party political system. Executive power is vested in the President who is also the Head of State. The President is elected by universal suffrage for a term of four years and appoints a Vice-President. The President can serve no more than two four-year terms. The constitution guarantees the fundamental human rights and freedoms of every Ghanaian citizen. **[10]**

**4.9.** The Constitution invests legislative power in the 200 member one chamber Parliament, which is elected for a four-year term. The President with the approval of Parliament appoints the Council of Ministers. The Constitution also provides for a 25 member Council of State comprising presidential appointments and regional representatives, and a 20 member National Security Council, both of which act as advisors to the President. It is also written into the Constitution that if no presidential candidate receives more than 50% of the votes cast, a new election between the two candidates with the highest number of votes is to take place within 21 days. **[1][10]**

## **The Police**

**4.10.** There are reports of frequent unlawful detention of suspects in police cells, and allegations that some police officers extort money or valuables from suspects before granting them bail. The police, are under the jurisdiction of an eight-member Police Council, and are responsible for maintaining law and order. A separate department, the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI), handles cases considered critical to state security and answers directly to the executive branch. Although the security apparatus is controlled by and responsive to the government, monitoring, supervision, and education of the police in particular remain poor. There are credible reports that the Police have committed some serious human rights abuses. **[4][9]**

**4.11.** In August 1997 the authorities filed murder charges against two policemen and a police labourer after the unexplained death of man in an Eastern Region police cell in February 1996. On 21 December 1997 police in Accra fired upon a car full of youths killing one and injuring another. A police spokesman said that they were responding to a report of an armed robbery and the car, which was in the area, refused to yield to or heed the police vehicle. Suspicious of this behaviour, the police fired warning shots aimed at the car's tyres but these passed through the rear window and killed one of the passengers. As at 30 January 1998 the case was under consideration and one of the officers was in custody. **[9][75]**

**4.12.** Police use of excessive force has resulted in a number of extrajudicial killings in 2000, as well as injuries, although the use of rubber bullets and water cannons improved the ability of the police manage crowd control situations without killings or serious injuries. Numerous incidents from earlier years remained unsolved. There were continued credible reports that members of the police beat prisoners and other citizens, and arbitrarily arrested and detained persons. Police corruption is a problem. **[4]**

**4.13.** In November 1998 the police established a special judicial tribunal to try officers suspected of unlawful and careless use of weapons. In each of the shooting cases reported in 1998 the officers involved were suspended from duty and an investigation was undertaken. The findings of the investigation are reported to the Attorney General's office for action. Some police personnel also undertook a retraining course for fifty officers to improve police skills and address the problem of the careless use of firearms. **[4]**

**4.14.** In 1999 the presidential Archer Commission issued a white paper critiquing police operations and providing specific directives as to how to address police manpower, training, and logistical needs. The Inspector General of Police (IGP) publicly acknowledged these problems and attempted to address them through training in human rights and riot control **[4]**

**4.15.** In January 2001, a non-partisan coalition of Ghanaian women, Sisters Keepers, demanded that President John Kufuor fire the police chief because of his inability to end the serial killing of women in Accra, the Ghana News Agency reported. "We can no longer tolerate the anti-people and anti-women attitudes repeatedly demonstrated by the head of the police," Elizabeth Akpalu, the co-ordinator of the coalition, said. She added that IGP Peter Nanfuri had "not deployed or organised to serve the public interest". So far, 30 women have been killed since 1997. Most have been found naked with torn clothes left nearby. Inspector General Nanfuri, under public pressure to quit, said in December last year that resignation

would be "cowardly, defeatist and a disgrace". In late January 2001, it was announced that Inspector General Nanfuri had been asked to go on "leave", and Mr Ernest Owusu-Poku had replaced him. [22]

**4.16.** In August 2001, President Kufuor directed Interior Minister Malik al-Hassan Yakubu to investigate three cases of alleged police misconduct, where military and police personnel raided the homes of civilians. The home of the national organiser of the EGLE party, Alhaji Seidu, and the palace of the ruler of the Sefwi Wiawso local community were both raided. Another team of military personnel stripped searched a resident of Damongo, in the Northern Region, then searched property. The Ghana News Agency reported that such raids have been more numerous lately. [46]

**4.17.** Heavy handed policing was implicated in the deaths of approximately 130 people at the Accra Sport Stadium on 9 May 2001, when police used tear gas in response to crowd trouble. This action caused a stampede towards the exits, which had been closed. The actions of the police have been widely criticised, and there were protest against the police, and riots in which the police were targeted. In a television address, police chief Ernest Owusu-Poku said that, on behalf of the Ghana Police service, he was sorry for the deaths and injuries and he offered his condolences to the victims' families. A commission has been set up to investigate the events that triggered this tragedy. A former sports minister Mr Enoch Mensah was briefly detained in connection with the rioting against the police. [47][48][49][50]

## **The Judiciary**

**4.18.** The civil law in Ghana is based on the Common Law, doctrines of equity and general statutes, which were in force in England in 1874 (as modified by subsequent Ordinances). Ghanaian customary law forms the basis of most personal, domestic and contractual relationships. Criminal Law is based on the Criminal Procedure Code, 1960, derived from English Criminal Law, and since amended. The Superior court system comprises of the Supreme Court, a Court of Appeal and a High Court of Justice. Inferior courts include Circuit Courts and District Courts among others. Trial by jury is practised in criminal cases and the Criminal procedure Code provides that all trials on indictment shall be by a jury or with the aid of Assessors. [1]

**4.19.** The constitution establishes both the judicial and financial independence of the judiciary. It abolished the tiers of public tribunals and replaced them by Regional Tribunals under the control of the Chief Justice. Chairmen of Regional Tribunals are required to have the qualifications to be a High Court judge. The public tribunals were, however, able to complete consideration of cases partly heard before them on the coming into force of the constitution. A right of appeal from the Regional Tribunal to the Supreme Court had already been established. The integrity of the legal system is undermined by a lack of financial resources. There were however no official charges of judicial corruption. [1][10][21]

**4.20.** It would appear that the judiciary is sometimes subject to executive influence. The Constitution enables the government to nominate up to 15 members of the Supreme Court, and confirmation of appointment is the responsibility of parliament, which is dominated by the government's party. The Chief Justice also has the power to appoint justices of his choice to hear cases. The belief that the judiciary can sometimes be subject to executive influence was furthered during 1998 by the judiciary's crackdown on members of the privately owned press. An editor was jailed for 9 days in another contempt of court case

where the legality was again questioned. All the affected journalists are opponents of the government and have made personal criticisms of the President and his family. [4][13]

**4.21.** Defendants are presumed innocent until proven guilty, trials are public and defendants have a right to be present, to be represented by an attorney, to present evidence and to cross-examine witnesses. The authorities respect and observe these rights in practice. [4]

**4.22.** Traditional courts continue to operate and the Chieftaincy Act 1971 gives village and paramount chiefs powers in local matters, including the implementation of customary tribal laws dealing with minor issues such as land disputes and customary divorce. Tribal customs are permitted but any customary practice that infringes an individual's fundamental human rights or which dehumanises or is injurious to the physical and mental well-being of a person is specifically proscribed by the constitution. [10]

### **Arrest, detention and the death penalty**

**4.23.** Arbitrary arrest and detention are problems. The Constitution provides for protection against arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile and states that an individual detained shall be informed immediately, in a language that the detained person understands, of the reasons for the detention, and of the right to a lawyer and to an interpreter, at state expense. It also requires judicial warrants for arrest and provides for arraignment within 48 hours. However, in practice many abuses occur, including detention without charge for longer than 48 hours and failure to obtain a warrant for arrest. Authorities do not routinely notify prisoners' families of their incarceration; such information is often obtained only by chance. Human rights activists criticised the common practice of arresting persons on Friday and keeping them in detention over the weekend until court was in session on Monday, which they described as a deliberate circumvention of the 48-hour detention rule. [4]

**4.24.** There are frequent reports that a large number of prisoners are held in detention for extended periods, sometimes years, without going to trial. The Attorney General has drafted a bill that would provide alternative dispute resolution methods to reduce the court backlog, including a time limit on pending cases. [4]

### **Prisons**

**4.25.** Ghana's prisons are antiquated and overcrowded but are subject to inspection by investigative teams from the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice's (CHRAJ). [4][9] A total of 106 inmates are reported to have died in 2000 of various diseases, with HIV/AIDS claiming 20 lives, according to the 2000 Annual Report of the Ghana Prisons Service; as quoted by local media. Other main causes of death included diarrhoea, pneumonia, anaemia, hypertension, and asthma. The report said inadequate state funding has caused prison conditions to deteriorate over the last few years. Malnutrition and lack of medical equipment were the two areas most affected by the lack of funds. [73]

**4.26.** Prisons are in most cases very poorly maintained, and conditions are extremely harsh. In 1996 the CHRAJ published a report on prison conditions. It described prisons as unsanitary, overcrowded, and poorly ventilated. In October

2000 the commissioner of CHRAJ reported that conditions in prisons had not improved. Prisoners are malnourished. Reports of the daily food allowance per prisoner vary. In July 1999, the Minister of Interior informed Parliament that the country's prisons, with a total capacity of 5,000, housed some 9,783 inmates. The Minister also reported that there were about 90 mattresses and few beds for the approximately 700 prisoners at the Kumasi central prisons. Overcrowding contributes to a high prevalence of skin and other communicable diseases among prisoners. In April 1999, the prisoners' daily food allowance was raised from approximately 1,800 Cedis to about 2,000 Cedis, bringing the total daily allowance to approximately 3,200 Cedis, including housing, medical, and clothing costs. However, in practice this was a decline in real terms due to inflation and an unfavourable exchange rate. [4]

**4.27.** Families still supplement prisoners' food and bribe prison guards for visitation rights. Prisoners also suffer from lack of medicine unless paid for or provided by the inmates or their families, and many die of preventable diseases such as malaria because of a lack of medication. The report concluded that prison conditions were "a flagrant violation of the individual's fundamental human rights." While the government concurred with the 1996 findings, it stated that lack of funding prevented further improvements. In April 2000, President Rawlings granted amnesty to some 1,000 prisoners based on recommendations of the Prisons Service Council. Many had served a third of their sentences, and none had been convicted for rape, robbery, or narcotics. However, a retired military officer from the PNDC era who had been sentenced to death after being convicted of killing an intruder on his farm also was released after serving 10 years in prison. [4]

**4.28.** President Rawlings also convened a medical board to consider early release for 156 seriously ill or aged prisoners. Juveniles were separated from the adult prison population more frequently; however, the commissioner of CHRAJ, in his October report, noted with concern the continuing sentencing and imprisonment of juveniles with adults. The Ghana Prisons Service Council has formed an assessment team to inspect facilities. In April 2000, the Minister of Interior stated that the prisons service would recruit 288 persons to increase staff at the prisons. Work would also begin, during the year, to upgrade prison and staff accommodations and construct 3 new prisons; however, no steps had been taken to implement these measures by year's end. The Prison Service Council, established in 1998, visited Central and Volta Region prison facilities in early 1999. Following these inspections, the Council suggested that prison authorities adopt a more humane approach to dealing with prisoners. The Council identified the number of remand prisoners due to the courts' inability to hear cases promptly as the greatest problem facing the prison system. Some suspects allegedly plead guilty in order to be sent to prison and leave the unsanitary conditions in the police remand cells. The Council also criticised health hazards (including poor sanitation) and the state of prison structures. In a December 1999 speech at a prison officers' graduation ceremony, President Rawlings stated that the government was considering the introduction of parole, suspended sentences, and community service as a way to alleviate the overcrowding in prisons; however, no steps were taken to implement these measures by year's end. [4]

## Health Care

**4.29.** The government provides medical care at a nominal rate, in 1992 there were 49 general hospitals and about 300 rural health clinics, there are also private health care facilities. However, there were strikes in 1999, when health workers took action over the non-payment of extra duty allowance and to demand better working conditions. There is a community health insurance scheme, but this has been criticised for not addressing the problems of health care amongst the poor. [1][81][82]

**4.30.** The Ghanaian Ministry of Health allocated 10 million Cedis to health care for the rural poor in 2000. The amount, which constitutes 3% of the budget for the health sector, will cover the needs of senior citizens, infants, pregnant women, and people whom the Department of Social Welfare has classified as rural paupers. The ministry's plans were outlined in a report on Ghana's achievements in implementing the goals of the 1995 World Social Summit that was held in Copenhagen. The report notes that since the introduction of a "cash and carry" health delivery system in Ghana, 69% of the sick, mostly rural dwellers have been unable to pay for medical services. [77]

**4.31.** Sickle Cell Anaemia is a hereditary condition that afflicts many people in Ghana, although the precise figure is hard to ascertain. This illness has many complications, the main ones being respirator and circulation problems. The severity of its symptoms varies from case to case, and is characterised by acute attacks of ill health and lethargy which are referred to as a "crisis". This condition is usually diagnosed in childhood, often before the sufferer is a year old. This condition can be life threatening, and limit the ability of a patient to lead a normal life. There are provisions for its treatment in Ghana, but patients are usually expected to meet some of the costs of this care. [55]

**4.32.** Ghana has a National AIDS Control Program, which encourages safe sex practices among sex workers, through its education programme, and providing condoms. However, the infection rate remains high and there is a danger of a major AIDS/HIV epidemic, which will result in many social problems, and have an impact on the economy. On 11 February 2000 the first lady Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings launch a national campaign and fund to combat AIDS, aimed at control and prevention. [83][84][85]

**4.33.** Ghana has an estimated 600.000 HIV/AIDS case as of April 2001, according to Health Minister Richard Anane, approximately 4.6% of the population. Ghana is active in promoting HIV/AIDS prevention and care, especially among the young. The new government has made dealing with HIV/AIDS a priority. However, the availability of certain drugs maybe limited, and the cost prohibitive. [23][24][25]

**4.34.** In June 2001, Ghana's Health Ministry drew up a five-year plan to combat HIV/AIDS at a cost of about \$45 million, the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) reported. The plan includes the earmarking of about \$30 million for the treatment of people living with HIV, about 120 of whom die daily, GBC reported the deputy director-general of the Ghana Health Service, Sam Adjei, as saying. Director-General Adjei said the plan focuses on reducing HIV transmission, promoting care and support for people with HIV, developing the information and research needed to

fight the virus and setting up an HIV/AIDS programme for the some 28,000 health workers in Ghana. [86]

**4.35.** Ghana also hopes to begin manufacturing generic versions of HIV/AIDS drugs soon, the Accra radio JOY FM reported Minister Anane as saying. Two local pharmaceutical companies have been short-listed but the government plans to contract only one. The government is also negotiating with a Thai firm to help the local company manufacture the drug, JOY FM reported. Locally produced drugs would substantially reduce the costs to consumers. Anti-retroviral cocktail costs on average \$55 per month. A consignment of drugs necessary in the prevention of mother-to-child infections is expected to be delivered in October 2001, Minister Anane said. [87]

## **5. HUMAN RIGHTS**

### **Introduction**

**5.1.** The Constitution of the Fourth Republic, inaugurated on 7 January 1993, guarantees the fundamental human rights and freedoms of every Ghanaian citizen. There is no evidence to suggest that individuals' constitutional rights have been systematically abused. The constitution made provision for the establishment of the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), established by Parliament in 1993, it is charged with investigating alleged violations of human rights and taking action to remedy proven violations. The CHRAJ continues to hold workshops to educate the public, traditional leaders, the police, and the military on human rights issues. It mediates and settles cases brought to it by individuals with grievances against government agencies or private companies. The majority of the complaints lodged with the Commission were from those who believed that they suffered injustice as a result of public or private employers' abuse of power, unfairness, and high handedness. In July 1998 the Supreme Court ruled that CHRAJ had jurisdiction to investigate government actions before the 1992 Constitution came in to force and in cases where statutes of limitations had prevented investigations by the courts. In 1997 the government has sought to stop the CHRAJ from ordering redress, in cases of arbitrary dismissal, prior to the restoration of civilian rule in 1993. The Court also ruled that the CHRAJ's powers to review government confiscation of property did not extend to confiscation authorised by special courts set up by military decree.

[4][9][13][10][ 21]

**5.2.** There are a number of civil rights organisations active in Ghana. The most active are the Ghana Committee on Human and Peoples' Rights and the Human Rights Committee of the Ghana Bar Association, both organisations opened branch offices in 1993. During 1993 the law faculty at the University of Ghana at Legon set up a Human Rights Study Centre. [21]

**5.3.** On 28 January 2000 the Ghanaian cabinet recommended six international human rights treaties for parliamentary ratification. These treaties are the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, CCPR 1996, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, CESCR 1996, and the Optional Protocol to the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, OPC. The others are the International Convention on the protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and members of their Families 1990, UN

Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment 1994, and the Convention on the Non-Application of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity. [80]

**5.4.** The Cabinet also approved for ratification Convention 182 of the 87<sup>th</sup> Session of the International Labour Organisation in June 1999. This Convention relates to the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour. The Geneva Convention Bill 1998 was also proposed for ratification, which relates to sanctions for breaches of four Geneva conventions. [80]

## **Freedom of Assembly**

**5.5.** The Constitution provides for freedom of peaceful assembly, and the government generally respects this right in practice; however, at times it restricted this right. The government does not require permits for demonstrations. Parliament passed a public order law in late 1994 requiring that all organisers of "special events" or "processions" inform the police of their intentions at least 5 days in advance so that the police can institute precautionary measures. The law also provides for curfews and arrest without warrants in specified instances. In November 1999, a presidential aide called street demonstrations by registered political parties "a provocative attempt to destroy the democratic order" and "a declaration of war on the national democratic order and an act totally against the national interest." Other government and ruling party officials echoed this view, as did other organised bodies who were widely believed to have done so at the government's behest. [4]

**5.6.** The University in Accra banned campus demonstrations. However university students obtained a waiver and demonstrated peacefully against proposed fees in May 1998. In August 1998 police used water cannons, tear gas and rubber bullets and truncheons to disperse protestors at an unauthorised demonstration. On 13 August 1999 police used tear gas, rubber bullets and water cannons to disperse students who had gathered in Accra to demonstrate against fee increases. The People's National Convention (PNC) expressed disgust at the manner in which the police disrupted the peaceful demonstration. Three days later students in Kumasi also demonstrated against the increase in university fees and general hardships. [56][57][58][70][71]

**5.7.** On 2 May 2000, Accra textile traders were told that they could not hold a demonstration to protest a textile price hike because they lacked a police permit, although there is no legal requirement for a permit. On 25 July 2000, thousands of trade union members demonstrated nation-wide to demand an increase in the minimum wage. Police allowed the demonstrations to take place; however, they used water cannons on the Accra demonstrators to prevent them from blocking traffic at a major traffic circle. No injuries were reported in Accra or elsewhere. In July 2000 the radio personality who was pressured not to hold a "million man march" in October 1999 held a poorly attended march on the same theme without any government interference. In December 2000, police used rubber bullets and tear gas to disperse a crowd gathered at the Supreme Court to hear a ruling on the use of thumbprint voter identification cards in the presidential and parliamentary elections scheduled for 7 December. One man was injured by a rubber bullet. [4]

**5.8.** The 1997 ban on campus demonstrations remained in effect, but generally was

not enforced, at the public university in Accra. However, in January and June 2000, police dispersed student demonstrations in Kumasi and caused some minor injuries. The students were demonstrating to demand disbursement of their student loans. Police reportedly beat the students who allegedly were throwing stones at the police, and some students were injured from police use of water cannons. In the June demonstration, 35 students were detained, but the police dropped the charges after the students apologised for their actions. [4]

**5.9.** Political parties generally held rallies and national congresses without hindrance during the year; however, in February the police prevented the NRP from holding a rally in the Labadi district of Accra, although the NRP had given the police the required advance notice of the event. Allegedly the police stopped the rally to prevent potential conflict because the NDC had planned a rally for the same day. The NRP held its rally at a later date. [4]

## **Freedom of Association**

**5.10.** The Constitution provides for freedom of association and the government generally respects this right in practice. NGO's are Required to register with the Registrar General's office and the Department of Social Welfare, but this registration is routine. The Electoral Commission (EC) must accredit political parties. The parties must show evidence of a "national character," such as official representation in all 10 of the country's regions. The EC evaluates whether the party has shown evidence of a viable national support base before granting accreditation and can annul the registration of a party that fails to meet the criteria for being a viable party. In July 1999 the EC certified a breakaway faction of the ruling party as a political party in its own right. [4]

**5.11.** However, this right is partially restricted with regards to union activity. The Trades Union Ordinance confers broad powers on the government to refuse to register a trade union, but it has not interfered with the right of workers to associate in labour unions and has encouraged pluralism in labour organisations. The Industrial Relations Act (IRA), initially enacted in 1958 and amended in 1965 and 1972, governs trade unions and their activities. A draft labour law has been prepared, which is designed to reconcile contradictory and outdated labour laws and conform to ILO standards. The percentage of workers belonging to unions appears to be decreasing from 9% in 1998 as more of the workforce enters the informal sector where there is no union activity. Civil servants have their own union, the Civil Servants Association, which operates outside of the TUC umbrella. [4]

**5.12.** The law recognises a right to strike, but there have been no legal strikes since independence. Under the IRA, the government established a system of settling disputes, first through conciliation, then through arbitration. A union may call a legal strike if the government does not call for formal arbitration. However, no union has ever gone through the complete process. There were numerous unsanctioned strike actions during the year, none of which met the requirements for a legal strike detailed in the IRA. The IRA prohibits retribution against strikers, and this law is enforced. On 2 May 2000, Accra textile traders were told that they could not hold a demonstration to protest a textile price hike because they lacked a police permit. Instead they presented a petition to the government on the issue. On 25 July 2000,

thousands of trade union members demonstrated nation-wide to demand an increase in the minimum wage. Police used water cannons on the Accra demonstrators to prevent them from blocking traffic at a major traffic circle. No injuries were reported in Accra or elsewhere. The government convened a committee to investigate reports that a gold-miners' strike in May 1999 was instigated by persons not employed by the mine. The committee completed its report in September 1999, but the conclusions have not been made public. Unions have the right to affiliate with international bodies. The TUC is affiliated with the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity headquartered in Accra and is also a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. [4]

## **Freedom of Speech and the Press**

**5.13.** The Constitution provides for freedom of speech and of the press, and in practice these provisions are generally were respected. However, the Rawlings' government continued to put pressure on the media during its period in office. Opposition political parties and others frequently criticise the government, but during 2000 the government has permitted more control of print and electronic media to be transferred to the private sector. In February 2000 the Supreme Court ruled in a 4 year-old case that the President couldn't appoint chief executives to the state-owned media. The government has yet to initiate a formal investigation into the substance of a tape publicised in October 1999 that appeared to implicate former President Rawlings in several infamous extralegal actions of the pre-democratic era. Neither did the government pursue prosecution of the journalists and publisher involved in the broadcasting of the tapes. [4]

**5.14.** The Rawlings' government continued to pressure some journalists and media organisations, sometimes directly (e.g., through telephone calls), and by filing libel suits when it found coverage to be offensive. Consequently, some journalists exercised self-censorship. The criminal libel laws provide for 10 years' maximum imprisonment for reporting intended to injure the reputation of the State. Two pending suits for criminal libel suits filed by the government are outstanding, but government officials have filed many in their personal capacities as have private individuals. In March 2000 a civil libel case brought by the First Lady, Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, in 1999, was resolved successfully out of court by the National Media Commission (NMC), and the NMC settled out of court two pending libel cases brought by private citizens during the year. In November 1999, the editor of the Free Press was sentenced in a criminal libel case involving allegations about the First Lady. [4] Ebenezer ("Eben") Quarcoo, was sentenced to 90 days in prison with hard labour by the Circuit Court in Accra, he was also fined 1.5 million Cedis, or sentenced to two years' imprisonment if he failed to pay; but he was released in December 1999 after the fine was paid. He was convicted of intentionally libelling the first lady, in an article published in December 1994. [14]

**5.15.** There are more than a dozen newspapers including three government-owned dailies, two government-owned weeklies, and several privately owned newspapers published weekly, twice weekly, or three times a week. One of the government-owned dailies has national circulation. However, most newspapers circulate only in regional capitals, and many of the smaller private newspapers are available only in the capital. Some independent newspapers claimed that they were unable to obtain

advertising revenues due to government pressure on businesses. The government-owned media occasionally reported charges of corruption or mismanagement in government ministries and government-owned enterprises, but they rarely criticised the government's policies or President Rawlings' activities. In the past, the government occasionally disciplined or dismissed journalists working in government-subsidised media for articles deemed unacceptable. The government ended subsidies to the state-owned publishing companies, and profit-making printing companies publish the newspapers, but these have not been privatised. Some privately owned newspapers were harshly critical of the government's policies and of former President Rawlings, his wife, and his regime generally, and some reporters and editors were alleged, at times, to have failed to abide by professional ethical guidelines. Those affected by such lapses, most often government officials, showed a tendency to go to court. The government officials, and private individuals filed numerous civil libel suits, over 100 were outstanding before the courts, and one criminal libel suit remained in progress at end of 2000. The NMC is researching comparative freedom of information (FOI) legislation with the intent to propose draft FOI legislation, but this draft legislation had not been presented to the government as yet. [4]

**5.16.** On 5 January 2000, police forcibly entered the house of a freelance journalist to arrest him for involvement with an allegedly seditious article about President Rawlings. The police ransacked his house and removed some documents. On 31 January 2000, the editor of the independent newspaper that printed the article was sentenced to one day in jail and a 1 million Cedis fine for publishing an unrelated story about a commercial case pending before the courts. The judge stated that the article "made comments and formed opinion" on the case, which could prejudice the decision in court. On 13 January 2000, the editor of an independent newspaper and president of the West African Journalists' Association was detained by military police acting on orders and taken to military headquarters overnight for questioning. The editor had printed a story regarding the refusal by soldiers to take part in a December 1999 route march; the military claimed that the article was "calculated to create disaffection and acrimony" among soldiers in the wake of the coup in Cote D'Ivoire. After public criticism by journalists and private citizens, the editor was released the next morning. Opposition parties, trade unions, journalists' associations, and foreign diplomats criticised the detention. The ruling party and the military justified the detention on the grounds that the journalist had endangered the country's peace and stability and stated that the military therefore had the right to intervene. [4]

**5.17.** On 19 September 2000, military police acting under orders from the Deputy Minister of Defence detained the news editor of an Accra newspaper. Earlier that day the editor had attempted to contact the Deputy Minister after receiving an allegation that he had threatened a guard at a local security company. The editor was released later that day. On 7 November 2000, BNI officials arrested and detained for questioning 2 journalists. One of the journalists, a presenter for a government-owned television station, was arrested on the charge of insulting behaviour after he criticised, during a public broadcast, the President's behavior at a political rally. He was released that evening on bail of 50 million Cedis. Charges were never pressed. The second journalist, the editor-in-chief of a private newspaper, was held for nearly 12 hours for questioning on a charge of "dishonestly

receiving" information. He allegedly had received computer diskettes, apparently stolen from NDC headquarters, which contained information on alleged plans for election fraud on the part of the NDC. The editor was released on bail 5 million Cedis. On 21 December 2000, he was charged with the equivalent of possession of stolen goods and ordered to report to BNI three times a week until the case is concluded. The Ghana Journalists Association and the Private Newspaper Publishers Association condemned the arrests and criticised the BNI's role in the incident, which they stated circumvented due process. On 10 November 2000, 2 computer technicians were arrested, charged with giving the journalist the diskettes, and remanded into BNI custody. On the same day, the Minister of Communications accused the journalists of misleading the public and defended the role of the BNI by noting that it may legitimately assist police in investigations as necessary. [4]

**5.18.** On 11 December 2000, men wearing security uniforms assaulted journalists from a private television station who were covering a press conference at NDC headquarters in Accra. The journalists allege that the officers who assaulted them were not members of the security service, but rather "machomen" disguised in uniform. The Ghana Journalists' Association, the National Union of Ghana Students, and the NPP condemned the assault. Police investigations were ongoing at year's end. [4]

**5.19.** According to the National Communications Authority, Accra has 1 government-owned and 12 private FM radio stations, and there are about 40 private FM stations across the country. Most stations are independent and air a wide range of viewpoints. There are several private metropolitan television stations that broadcast in Accra and in Kumasi. One semi-private Accra station began broadcasting in Kumasi in November. There is one government-owned television station that broadcasts nation-wide. There are also three private cable networks that serve Accra, Kumasi, and Takoradi. [4]

**5.20.** The government readily granted accreditation to foreign journalists. The BBC and Radio France International have full-time FM re-broadcasting stations in Accra, and several foreign radio broadcasts, including Voice of America (VOA), have part-time affiliations with local stations in several cities. Foreign periodicals were sold in Accra and other major cities and circulated freely even when they contained articles critical of the government. Most citizens obtain their news from the electronic media, the VOA, and the BBC radio service. Several companies have cable or satellite rebroadcasting stations that serve the country's three major cities. [4]

**5.21.** In the period prior to the December 2000 presidential and parliamentary elections, the government-owned television and radio stations allotted the equal broadcasting time to each of the parties fielding presidential candidates, although news coverage of government activities such as the commissioning of projects favoured the ruling party. During the December presidential and parliamentary elections, FM radio stations acted as watchdogs, and called attention to irregularities in the voting process. [4]

**5.22.** There are currently three Internet Service providers (ISP's) in the country. In July 2000 the National Communications Authority closed three other ISP's on the grounds that they were providing Internet telephone services, which violated a 5-year

exclusivity agreement that the government had given to two telephone companies. The companies replied that they were unable to monitor telephone use of their ISP and should not be held responsible for such use. The government maintained that such use could be monitored. One company had its equipment confiscated without due process, and the owner was held in jail overnight but not charged. That company stated that it would bring the matter to court; however, in November 2000 the government restored the company's equipment, and it resumed operations. [4]

**5.23.** In October 2000, there was an attack on newspapers critical of the Ghanaian government, the offices of the " Crusading Guide" newspaper were smeared with excrements. The paper had reported the details of the Djentuh case, please see section on the freedom of the individual, and its Editor in Chief Kweku Baako has been critical of the NDC in the past. [52]. The privately owned "Free Press" and " Ghanaian Chronicle", papers also critical of the government, have been subjected to similar attacks in the past. The News editor of the "Crusading Guide" Mr Sedi Bansah was also recently detained, but later released on bail. [53]

**5.24.** The present Ghanaian government appears to respect press freedom, and there appears to be few infringements of this. In July Ghana's parliament voted unanimously to repeal the country's criminal libel law, which had been used in the past to prosecute journalists. The abolition of the law fulfils a campaign promise by President John Kufuor during the December presidential elections. The first deputy speaker of parliament, Freddy Blay, said after Friday's vote that the absence of the law was not a license for journalists to publish falsehoods, the radio reported. The government had announced in January that it would not use the law, pending its deletion from Ghana's criminal code. [2][18][19]

## **Freedom of the Individual**

**5.25.** In June 1991 the PNDC announced an amnesty for political exiles which did not however include persons who were implicated in acts of subversion against the government. However, in March 1992 the government granted an amnesty to 17 prisoners who had been convicted on charges of alleged subversion. In January 1994, President Rawlings extended an amnesty to some previously convicted prisoners and renewed the offer of an amnesty to political exiles overseas. The offer still did not extend to those convicted of a criminal offence, declared wanted by the police or previously sentenced to death by a court or Public Tribunal. This offer was again renewed on 6 January 1995 - rapists, murderers and drug smugglers exempted - and a number of Ghanaians have taken advantage of it to return to live in the country unmolested. For example, on 22 January 1995, J H Mensah, the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning until 1972, made a high profile return visit to Ghana, having been issued with a Ghanaian passport on 12 January 1995 after spending fourteen years in exile. [1] [8][29][30][31]

**5.26.** Amnesty International has highlighted the recent case of Anthony Kofi Mensah Djentuh, a former senior civil servant, and his wife Maria O'Sullivan-Djentuh a businesswoman. A Circuit Tribunal in Accra convicted them on 16 August 2000, of assaulting a public officer and offensive conduct. They were acquitted on a charge of deceiving a public officer. Amnesty International attribute these charges against Mr and Mrs Djentuh, to an attempt by the Ghanaian authorities to find their 23-year-old son, Selassie O'Sullivan-Djentuh. [54]

**5.27.** The Djentuh family has allegedly been subject to a number of incidents of harassment and intimidation. Mr Selassie Djentuh was reported to have been abducted and assaulted on 15 January 2000 by members of the presidential guard, but was released after three days. In March 2000, he was charged in connection with a traffic accident that occurred in November 1999, and fined. Mr Djentuh and his brother have since left Ghana. **[54]**

## **Freedom of Movement**

**5.28.** Both Ghanaian citizens and foreigners are free to move throughout the country without seeking permission, though numerous police checkpoints exist across the country. Such checkpoints, which are in evidence on most roads and in the cities, are an accepted fact of life and operate in a bid to control smuggling. Most are left unmanned during daylight hours. Complaints about police harassment caused the government to reduce the number of checkpoints from 125 to the 38 most essential posts. Ghanaians are able to obtain passports on demand and are free to leave the country and to return. In 1986 relations between Ghana and Togo became strained following subversive activity by Ghanaian dissidents based in Togo and an attempted coup in Togo which was allegedly initiated from Ghanaian territory. The common border between the two countries was closed in October but was re-opened by Togo in February 1987 and by Ghana in May. In October 1991 the two governments signed an agreement of the free movement of goods and persons between their countries. However, in October 1992 Ghana denied claims, by the Togolese government, that it was implicated in subversive activity by Togolese dissidents based in Ghana. In November 1999, President Rawlings formally protested to the Togolese government after five Ghanaians were killed by Togolese security forces on the border between the two countries. **[1][9]**

**5.29.** The law includes provisions for the granting of refugee and asylee status in accordance with the 1951 U.N. Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol. The authorities co-operate with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other humanitarian organisations in assisting refugees. The country has a liberal policy of accepting refugees from other West African nations. The government provides first asylum. The country continued to provide first asylum to approximately 9,454 Liberians, 1,058 Togolese and 2,103 Sierra Leoneans. It also provided first asylum to citizens of other countries. **[4]**

## **Freedom of Religion**

**5.30.** The constitution guarantees freedom of religious observance, practice and teaching. There is no evidence of any religious persecution in Ghana. Traditional religious practices are common, but rites and customs, which dehumanise or are injurious to the physical and mental well being of a person, are prohibited. The government has taken steps to promote interfaith understanding. At government meetings and receptions there is usually a multi-denominational invocation, and religious leaders from various faiths are often present. **[10][64]**

**5.31.** Approximately 40% of Ghana's estimated population of 18 million are at least nominally Christian. Christian denominations include Roman Catholic, Methodist, Anglican, Mennonite, Evangelical Presbyterian, Presbyterian, African Methodist

Episcopal Zionist, Christian Methodist, Evangelical Lutheran, F'eden, numerous charismatic faiths, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons), Seventh-Day Adventist, Pentecostal, Baptist, and the Society of Friends. Christianity often includes an overlay of traditional beliefs. About 30 % of the population adhere to traditional indigenous religions or other religions. These religions include a belief in a supreme being, referred to by the Akan ethnic group as Nyame or by the Ewe ethnic group as Mawu, and lesser gods who act as intermediaries between the supreme being and man on earth. Veneration of ancestors also is a characteristic, as they too provide a link between the Supreme Being and the living and may even be reincarnated at times. The religious leaders of those sharing these diverse beliefs commonly are referred to as priests and are trained in the arts of healing and divination. These priests typically operate shrines to the supreme deity or to one of the lesser gods, relying upon the donations of the public to maintain the shrine and for their own maintenance. [64]

**5.32.** Muslim make up about 25% of the population. Three principal branches of Islam are represented in the country: the orthodox Sunnis and Tijanis, and the Ahmadis; the orthodoxy of the latter group has been questioned. The Shi'a branch virtually is absent from the country's Islamic community. [64]

**5.33.** The government assisted in mediating inter-religious disputes. The Greater Accra Regional Co-ordinating Council conducted a workshop on managing religious conflicts in April 2000, several weeks before the annual ban on drumming, between 8 May and 8 June, which resulted in a workable compromise between religious and traditional leaders. The participants agreed that in 2000, drumming should be subdued and confined inside churches, in order for the traditionalist sects and Christians to practice their beliefs unhindered. While tension persists between the Christian community and the traditional authorities over the annual ban on drumming in the ethnic Ga traditional area, both groups agreed to exercise restraint; there were no reports of violence during the spring 2000 annual ban. In April 2000, the National Commission for Civic Education held an interfaith forum to address religious conflict. Discussion centred on the idea that freedom of worship must be preserved, and religious groups therefore should respect each other's religious beliefs and practices. [64]

**5.34.** On 20 February 2000, the Ho district (Volta region) chief executive led a joint operation with police and health personnel to immunize the children at an Apostolic Faith of Kpalexose ("Well-Rooted Faith" in the Ewe language) church, a local church founded in 1931, against poliomyelitis. Church members consistently have refused immunisations on the grounds that their faith forbids the use of orthodox medicine. Police surrounded the church during worship services and health personnel administered the vaccine. It was reported that 155 children up to age 5 received the vaccine. The local community reportedly supported the overriding of individual religious convictions as being in the greater national interest of eradicating polio. [64]

## **Freedom from Racial Discrimination**

**5.35.** Ghana is a multicultural country whose national borders encompass several tribal groups. Almost all Ghanaians have a sense of tribal as well as national identity and tribal rivalries occur. Discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, however, is strictly forbidden in the

constitution and no one particular tribal group is favoured by the government. Although some political parties draw greater support from one tribe than another, none is tribally based and no such party can be legally registered. [4][10]

## **6. HUMAN RIGHTS: SPECIFIC GROUPS**

### **Ethnic groups**

**6.1.** Although the Rawlings' government plays down the importance of ethnic differences, its opponents occasionally complain that the Ewe ethnic group from the eastern part of the country dominates it. Former President Rawlings and some of his close advisers were Ewe, but most ministers were of other ethnic origins. In the 1997 International Foundation for Electoral Systems report on public opinion, 25% of the respondents said that they felt discrimination because of their tribal origins. [4]

**6.2.** Instances of ethnic tension do exist though and these sometimes result in fighting. In the lesser populated and developed Northern Region, there have been long running tribal disputes over land rights and chieftaincy matters which on occasions erupt into violence. The most recent outbreaks have been in 1992 and 1994, the latter serious enough to require the declaration of a state of emergency in the area and the large-scale deployment of troops, to put a stop to the fighting. The government initiated peace talks between the two sides and the state of emergency was lifted in August 1994. However, there were sporadic outbreaks of violence during the early part of 1995. Since 1994 the Inter-NGO Consortium and the Nairobi Peace Initiative facilitated peace talks between the warring groups. Delegations from the Dagomba, Konkomba, Nanumba, Gonja, Nchumuru, Nawuri and Bassare ethnic groups met at the Peace and Reconciliation Consultation in Kumasi between 26 February and 1 March 1996, to sign agreements, peacefully resolving their differences. In response to reports of latent insecurity, the Permanent Peace Negotiating Team (PPNT, a facilitative body whose primary purpose is to mediate disputes) extended its activities to some northern parts of the Volta Region in October 1997. In December it supervised a peace accord among all parties to the conflict who were residing there. [1][9]

**6.3.** In August 1997, a number of disturbances occurred in the Brong-Ahafo Region leaving three people dead and displacing more than 1,000 people from their homes. The riots in the Banda area of the Wenchi District were the result of land disputes between the chiefs of the Brohani and Menji tribes. Riot police were subsequently brought in, in an attempt to contain any further incidents. [32][33]

**6.4.** Clan disputes also sometimes arise. A dispute between two clans of a farming village in Nkwanta District on 1 January 1998 resulted in eight people being killed, after one faction attacked another. No arrests were made although police investigations are believed to be continuing. This particular dispute dates back two years. [79]

### **Religious groups**

**6.5.** The constitution guarantees freedom of religious observance, practice and teaching. There is no evidence of any religious persecution in Ghana. Traditional religious practices

are common, but rites and customs, which dehumanise or are injurious to the physical and mental well being of a person, are prohibited. [10]

**6.6.** There appears to be increasing violence in Ghana between Muslim sects. The worse trouble spots were listed by the Inspector General of Police Mr Peter Nanfuri as: Yamale, Wa, Pusiga, Prang, Wenchi, Kintampo, Kumasi, Accra, Secondi-Takoradi and Cape Coast. The disturbances according to Mr Nanfuri, have centred around the Tijania and Usuna factions. At Tamale, Wa and Wenchi lives have been lost and property destroyed. There have also been attempts to burn mosques. The Inspector General directed police to arrest anyone who used public places of worship to attack verbally other religious groups. He also said the police would deal severely with any Moslem faction, which took up arms against others. The Muslim elders are reported to have commended the police and other security agencies for ensuring peace in the country. [62][65][66]

**6.7.** The Kumasi police arrested 108 members of the al-Sunna and Tijaniya Muslim sects following clashes, which started on 30 August 1998. The regional police commander said that suspects were being screened and those found to have been involved in the unrest would be prosecuted. The Ashanti regional Security Council has urged members of both the Sunna and Tijaniya sects to respect and tolerate each other's views. The council also directed that the use of public address systems by the two sects should stop. A meeting was held between the council and members of the two sects in Kumasi. The regional minister Daniel Ohene-Agyekum warned that the council would deal sternly with all those who foment religious conflicts. He also said the police would be issued with search warrants to check the premises of any person or group of persons suspected of harbouring arms. He stated that the military and the police would continue to monitor the Zongo and Aboabo communities to ensure there is no breach of the peace. [65][66]

## **Homosexuals**

**6.8.** The practice of homosexual acts is illegal in Ghana though the law is not strictly enforced and homosexuality is generally regarded with tolerance. [34]

## **The Disabled**

**6.9.** The Constitution specifically provides for the rights of the disabled, including protection against exploitation and discrimination. In practice the disabled are not discriminated against in any systematic or overt manner. The Constitution also states that "as far as practicable, every place to which the public has access shall have appropriate facilities for disabled persons." However, in practice this provision has yet to be implemented. [4]

# **7. WOMEN AND CHILDREN**

## **Women**

**7.1.** The Ghanaian constitution makes the provision that women are afforded the same rights and freedoms as men and that there should be no discrimination on account of a person's gender. Women are guaranteed equal rights with regard to employment, training and promotion and the constitution states that workplaces should provide child-care facilities, thereby removing possible obstacles to women's occupational progress. Although

in reality women may still be subject to some level of societal discrimination, usually within traditional rural communities, various groups exist to promote and protect the role of women. One such group is the "31st December Women's Movement" headed by Nana Rawlings (wife of the ex-Head of State). [21][78]

**7.2.** Rural women can be punished with banishment by traditional village authorities for being pregnant out-of-wedlock or suspected witchcraft. The press reported that hundreds of women accused of witchcraft were sent to penal villages in the Northern Region by traditional authorities such as a shaman. The CHRAJ estimates that over 5,000 women are residents in witches' camps in the Northern Regions. Although the women face no legal sanction if they leave, most fear that they would be beaten to death if caught outside the penal villages. In 1999 the Presbyterian Church sponsored a "go home" project to reintegrate into society women accused of witchcraft and forced to live at the Gambaga "witches" village. A total of 55 of 200 such women have reunited with their families. The project also provided for loans to enable the liberated women to become more financially independent and to contribute to the well being of their families. [4]

**7.3.** The press reported that hundreds of women accused of witchcraft were sent to penal villages in the Northern Region by traditional authorities, such as a shaman. In 1998 a total of 815 persons (802 women and 13 men, from 35 to 90 years old) were found to be living in witches' villages in four districts in the Northern Region. The CHRAJ estimates that as many as 5,000 women are living in camps throughout northern Ghana. In some cases, the women were sentenced by village authorities who claimed to have the power to determine who were witches. In other cases, relatives, or the women themselves, came to the village believing that they were witches, and asking to be protected and/or cured of the affliction. NGO's estimate that the number of women in witches' camp is growing. NGO's also have found that at the Gambaga witches camp, 99% of those there are illiterate. Forced labour also occurs at the camps for women accused of witchcraft. Legislation passed in 1998 provides some additional protection to women banned from their communities for alleged witchcraft. The CHRAJ and NGO's have mounted a campaign to end this practice, which violates the victims' constitutional rights, but little concrete action has been taken. The challenge lies not only in persuading custodians of the witches' homes to abolish the practice, but also in educating the community so the women will be allowed to return safely to their homes. In 1998 FIDA had persuaded custodians to abolish the Gambaga witches home in the Northern Region, contingent on the performance of "exorcism" rites and payment of accommodation and discharge fees. However, a few months later, there was an increase in the number of alleged witches banished to the home, largely due to the communities' belief that these women were responsible for an outbreak of cerebrospinal meningitis which claimed many lives in the region. [4] In April 2001, Janet Tibu filed a lawsuit against village elders who had accused her of witchcraft, this case is still ongoing. [26]

**7.4.** Women in urban centres and those with skills and training encounter little overt bias, but resistance to women entering non-traditional fields persists. Only about one quarter of university students are women, although women's enrollment is increasing. Women, especially in rural areas, remain subject to burdensome labour conditions and traditional male dominance. Traditional practices and social norms often deny women their statutory entitlements to inheritances and property, a legally

registered marriage (and with it, certain legal rights), and the maintenance and custody of children. Women's rights groups are active in educational campaigns and in programs to provide vocational training, legal aid, and other support to women. The Government also is active in educational programs, and President Rawlings and his wife were among the most outspoken advocates of women's rights. In August 2000, the Government established a women's desk responsible for addressing the gender imbalance in the civil service. [4]

## **(i) Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)**

**7.5.** Female genital mutilation (FGM), which is widely condemned by international health experts as damaging to both physical and psychological health, is a serious problem. A 1998 study estimated that 9 to 12% of women have been mutilated, but some estimates are as high as 30% . A Ministry of Health survey conducted between 1995 and 1998 found that FGM is practised among nearly all the northern sector ethnic groups, up to 86% in rural parts of the Upper West and Upper East Regions. A 1998 study reported that 51% of all women who had undergone FGM were excised before age 1, and 85% of total excisions were performed on girls under the age of 15. A 1999 survey indicated that more than 50% of the women who were mutilated indicated that they disapproved of the practice. Officials at all levels have spoken out against the practice, and local NGO's are making some progress through their educational campaigns to encourage abandonment of FGM and to retrain practitioners. There were no reports of arrests in 2000. There have been seven arrests for the practice of FGM since the 1994 law that made FGM a crime. Of those arrested, two offenders have been prosecuted and convicted. In some cases in which FGM is performed, the victims actively seek out practitioners, sometimes without their parents' knowledge, in a quest to become ready for marriage. [4]

**7.6.** Members of the legal community advocate legislation to close loopholes in the FGM law, including extending culpability to family members and others who aid in carrying out FGM and to Ghanaians who commit the crime outside the country's borders. Any person who conceals information about an instance of FGM would be liable. In addition, FGM would be banned no matter how medically safe the procedure is made--dispelling a belief by some that FGM is acceptable as long as the girls' health is protected. Traditional chiefs became more outspoken in their opposition to the practice of FGM. [4]

## **(ii) The Trokosi system**

**7.7.** The Constitution prohibits slavery, but it exists on a limited scale. Trokosi, a traditional practice found among the Ewe ethnic group and in part of the Volta Region, is an especially severe abuse and a violation of children's and women's rights. Trokosi is a system in which a young girl, usually under the age of 10, is made a slave to a fetish shrine for offences allegedly committed by a member of the girl's family. In rare instances, boys are offered. [4][27]

**7.8.** The belief is that, if someone in that family has committed a crime, such as stealing, members of the family may begin to die in large numbers unless a young girl is given to the local fetish shrine to atone for the offence. The girl becomes the property of the fetish priest, must work on the priest's farm, and perform other

labours for him. Because they are the sexual property of the priests, most Trokosi slaves have children by them. Although the girls' families must provide for their needs such as food, most are unable to do so. There are at least 2,200 girls and women bound to various shrines in the Trokosi system, a figure that does not include the slaves' children. Even if released, generally without skills or hope of marriage, a Trokosi woman has continued obligations to the shrine for the duration of her life. When the fetish slave dies, the family is expected to replace her with another young girl for the fetish shrine. [4][27]

**7.9.** Trokosi was made illegal In June 1998, when the Ghanaian Parliament passed and the President signed legislation to ban the practice of Trokosi. This was a part of comprehensive legislation to protect women and children's rights. Human rights activists believe that the goal of eradicating the Trokosi practice is attainable with the new law. NGOs, such as International Needs, and government agencies, like CHRAJ, have been campaigning against Trokosi for several years and are familiar with the locations of the fetish shrines and the numbers of women and children enslaved. Activists know the community leaders and fetish priests, and thus know with whom to negotiate. CHRAJ and International Needs have had some success in approaching village authorities and fetish priests at over 316 shrines, winning the release of nearly 1,000 Trokosi slaves by mid-2000 and retraining them for new professions. The followers of Trokosi claim this to be a religion, but the Ghanaian authorities do not recognise it as such. However, the process of eliminating this practise is obstructed by some traditionalist in the local areas, who oppose the actions of the government and human rights groups in curbing this practise. [27][64]

## **Children**

**7.10.** The Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC) is a policymaking and co-ordinating body established to improve the lives of children. The GNCC has provided the Women and Juvenile Unit of the police force with office equipment. The GNCC also has administered training programs for law enforcement and judicial officials around the country to familiarise them with the Children's Act and other pertinent child labour legislation. [4]

**7.11.** Forced or bonded labour, including that performed by children, is prohibited. However, at least 2,200 women and girls are bound to shrines through the localised Trokosi system. Forced labour also occurs at the camps in the north for women accused of witchcraft. Apart from the Trokosi system, it is difficult to determine the extent to which forced or bonded labour by children is practised. There have been newspaper reports of children being sold into slavery for either sexual exploitation or labour, such as 10 to 12 year-old boys toiling in the service of fisherman in exchange for a yearly remittance to their families. A June report described this practice as rampant in 156 fishing villages along the Afram River and settlements along the Volta Lake in the Afram plains. Labour legislation sets a minimum employment age of 15 years and prohibits night work and certain types of hazardous labour for those under 18 years of age. In practice child employment is widespread, and young children of school age often perform menial tasks during the day in the market or collect fares on local buses. In August the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare estimated that 18,000 children are working in Accra and 800,000 countrywide. Of those, 70% have no education while 21% have only a primary education. [4]

**7.12.** The migration of children from rural to urban areas is increasing, due to economic hardship. Children are driven to the streets to fend for themselves, increasing child labour and the school dropout rate. Observance of minimum age laws is eroded by local custom and economic circumstances that encourage children to work to help support their families. A 1996 ILO survey revealed that the economic activity of more than 75 % of children between ages 5 and 14 takes place in the context of a family enterprise. **[4]**

**7.13.** In 1998, the President signed into law legislation to provide additional child labour protection and strengthen the punishment for violators under a comprehensive children's act. The act incorporates the existing labour legislation's minimum age for employment and prohibitions on night work and hazardous labour. In addition, the legislation allows for children, age 15 years and above, to have an apprenticeship whereby the craftsmen and employers have the obligation to provide a safe and healthy work environment along with training and tools. Fines and imprisonment for violators are increased considerably. The traditional practice of forced childhood marriage also became illegal under the 1998 Children's Act. **[4]**

**7.14.** On 1 March 2000, the government signed a memorandum of understanding with the ILO to inaugurate the International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) in Ghana. Implementation of the IPEC began during the year; a national co-ordinator and steering committee were established, and the government's statistical service was conducting a national survey of the child labour problem. In May 2000 the acting executive secretary of the Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC) expressed concern about the increasing use of child labour in fishing enterprises, and advocated greater law enforcement of child labour laws, and appealed to parents and fishing communities to combat the practice. Officials only occasionally punish violators of regulations that prohibit heavy labour and night work for children. Inspectors from the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare are responsible for enforcement of child labour regulations. They visit each workplace annually and make spot checks whenever they receive allegations of violations. **[4]**

**7.15.** Trafficking in children has also been reported. In April 2001, Police arrested a number of suspected child traffickers in northern Ghana. One man and a woman were handed over to Ghanaian authorities at the border locality of Paga by their Burkinabe counterparts after being caught in Burkina Faso in late March 2001, with 14 children aged 10 to 18 years. The group was on its way to The Gambia where the children were to have worked for fishermen. A third man caught with false identification documents was reported to still be in detention in Burkina Faso. According to a BBC report, another man was caught with six children whom he claimed to be taking to work on his orange farm in the centre of the country. He said he had taken the children from a village in the Upper West region with the consent of their parents. **[4][28]**

### **(i) Education**

**7.16.** Within the limits of its resources, the government is committed to protecting the rights and welfare of children. However, costs associated with schooling, such as

uniforms and school supplies, preclude some children from attending school. While the government states that basic education is free, in practice schools impose fees per term, the sum varying from school to school and students must also purchase uniforms and books. In addition teachers often withhold material during their regular lessons and ask students to pay additional fees for after-hours 'tutoring' in those subjects as a way to supplement their incomes. Some children are unable to attend school because they must work to supplement their family's income, and travel long distances to reach the school; or there is a lack of teachers, especially in more rural areas. The government has taken some concrete steps to support education, including support of "informal" schools (NGO-sponsored schools that are not regulated by the government and provide non-traditional education), and increased emphasis on making sure students progress from one school grade to another. The dropout rate is decreasing, from 9.1 % nation-wide in 1998 to 8 % in 1999; however, the school enrolment rate has also dropped slightly from 2.58 million in 1997 to 2.56 million in 1999. Overall enrolment probably is even lower, taking into account the country's almost 2.4% annual population growth. [4]

**7.17.** There is little or no discrimination against female children in education, but girls and women frequently drop out of school due to societal or economic pressures. The government actively campaigns for girls' education and in 1997 established a girls' education unit within the basic education division of the Ghana Educational Service. Although the percentages of girls enrolled in school increased from 1996, but participation is still low. In September 1999, the government estimated that girls' enrolment in primary school had increased from 75% in 1992 to 81% in 1997. Enrolment of women at the university level has increased by 5 % from 1993 to 1998. A 1997 country report by the Ghana National Commission on Children further substantiated the gap between enrolment of boys and girls, particularly at the high school level. In the 8 districts examined, there were 22,418 boys and 14,318 girls enrolled at the high school level. In the report, officials attribute the lower female enrolment to the fact that many girls marry early or become pregnant. In the 1998-99 academic year, the University of Ghana enrolled 852 women and 2,226 men. In May 2000 the First Lady launched an initiative to establish the country's first women's university. [4]

**7.18.** The Ghanaian chapter of the international non-governmental organisation ActionAid recently donated English and mathematics textbooks to eight primary schools in Tamale in the Northern Region. ActionAid has distributed at least 3,700 mathematics books and 3,200 English language books to Tamale area schools this year. ActionAid said its effort was aimed at easing the financial burden on poor parents who every year have difficulty in paying for school equipment and other needs, the Accra daily reported. The NGO has also built schools for needy communities in the area. Education is compulsory for all children from six to 16 years. Ghana boasts a 61.5% adult literacy rate for females above 15 years old and 79.4% for males in the same age category, according to the UN Human Development Report of 2001. [88]

## **8. OTHER ISSUES**

### **Civil Disturbances**

**8.1.** In October 1997 one youth was shot dead and two others were seriously wounded and a number arrested when approximately six hundred demonstrators protested against the fact that refuse had not been collected for several weeks in Nima, a slum area on the north-eastern side of Accra. One of the two wounded subsequently died. In November 1997 one civilian and one police officer were killed during a clash between police and citizens in the diamond-mining town of Akwatia in the Eastern Region. Thirty-five police officers stormed the Akwatia diamond market to arrest illegal diamond traders. A mob, which eventually numbered 5,000, attacked the police. The mob seriously injured 9 police officers, including one that later died. 2,000 people were later arrested, the majority of which were released. [9]

**8.2.** In January 1998 four people were killed and 26 wounded in a dispute between rival Moslem sects over the ownership of a graveyard in the western town of Wenchi. The trouble started when the Tijaniyyas allegedly tried to stop members of the Al-Suna sect from burying dead members of their sect. Police are reported to have made more than 60 arrests after members of the orthodox Tijaniya Moslem group attacked members of the Al-Suna sect with guns and machetes, killing four of them. By mid-January order had returned but the area remained tense. The regional crime officer said a screening exercise would be carried out to see who would be brought to trial. There does not appear to be any further information available about whether these trials have taken place yet. [60][61]

**8.3.** In May 1998 three people were reported to have been shot dead by police in Aflao according to Ghanaian radio. The first one was shot when police used their guns in an attempt to ward off a group who turned on police who had come to the aid of a woman they were attacking. The group then caught up with the police, and attacked one. The police later opened fire when the group began attacking the police station, killing two more members of the group. [63]

**8.4.** On 1 October 1998 there was a violent demonstration by students at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumasi which resulted in the university being closed. On 5 October however it opened again, and the registration of continuing and fresh students proceeded smoothly. It was reported that the campus was calm. [67]

## **Security Situation**

**8.5.** As a military regime, the government of President Rawlings (the then PNDC) aligned itself closely with other left-wing countries such as Libya, Cuba and the former Eastern Bloc. The country has, however, attempted to forge stronger links with more developed nations in the search for financial and technical aid. Although relations with various neighbouring countries were tense during the 1980s (most notably Togo and Cote d'Ivoire), general improvements have occurred since Ghana's transition towards democracy. Ghana's respectability in the region was also aided by Rawlings' year as chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) until July 1995. Ghana has contributed troops to the Nigerian-led ECOMOG, a regional intervention force, which has been stationed in Liberia since 1990 and has been instrumental in monitoring the situation in Sierra Leone since a military coup there in May 1997. [39][72]

### **(i) National Service**

**8.6.** Under the 1980 National Service Act, there is a compulsory national service, which includes eight weeks of military training. Both men and women, who are over 18, must perform two years national service, upon completion of their studies. This can be one year before entering university and one year after graduation. Education establishments must provide the National Service Secretariat with a list of graduates. Failure to perform national service can result in a sentence of up to five-years imprisonment, and means that a person is debarred from taken an official post, and is unable to obtain a passport. However, there is no information of anyone ever being convicted for this offence. There is no provision for conscientious objection in the Ghanaian armed forces, and this would appear to apply to National Service as well. **[51]**

### **Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)**

**8.7.** NGO's interested in human rights continued to grow in number and effectiveness, and there were 20 NGO's in the field at the end of the year. These NGO's operated without government interference. The Government appears to co-operate with and to be responsive to human rights NGO's, with the exception of granting ready access to prisons. Prominent NGO's include the Red Cross, Amnesty International (AI), the International Federation of Woman Lawyers (FIDA), Women in Law and Development in Africa, and Ghanalert. The Government co-operates with international humanitarian organisations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). **[4]**

# ANNEX A

## POLITICAL PARTIES/COMMON ABBREVIATIONS

### **United Nkrumahist Party**

Informally launched 13 June 1998. Has been granted a provisional certificate of registration by the Electoral Commission under the Political Parties Law 1992.

### **PARTIES IN EXISTENCE SINCE MAY 1992**

Ghana was ruled by the **Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC)** military regime from 31 December 1981 until the restoration of democracy with the inauguration of the Fourth Republic on 7 January 1993. The ban on the formation of political organisations in Ghana was lifted by the PNDC on 18 May 1992 and the following are the main parties/organisations:

**Convention Party (CP). (Formerly called the People's Convention Party - PCP)** In December 1993, formed by NIP, People's Heritage Party (PHP) and faction of PNC; Chair, J K Tamakloe. The largest Nkrumahist grouping.

**Democratic People's Party (DPP).** Formed in Accra, 1992; Chair, T N Ward-Brew.

**EGLE (Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere) Party.** Formed in Accra, 1992; Co-Chair, Oworaku Amofa & Capt Nii Okaj. Alliance of supporters of President J. Rawlings.

**Ghana Democratic Republican Party (GDRP).** Formed in Accra, 1992; leader, Dr Kofi Amoah.

**Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP).** Registered 18 June 1996. Founder, Dan Lartey, businessman and unsuccessful NIP (National Independence Party) Presidential candidate in Nov 1992, Chairman E.B. Mensah.

**National Democratic Congress (NDC).** Formed in Accra, 1992; Chair, Alhaji Issifu Ali. Governing party.

**New Patriotic Party (NPP).** Formed in Accra, 1992; Chair, Samuel Arthur Odoi-Sykes, Secretary General Daniel Botwe.

**National Reform Party (NRP).** 28 July 1999. Interim National Chairman Peter Kpordugbe.

**People's National Convention (PNC).** Formed in Accra, 1992; former leader was Dr Hilla Limann but 1996 Presidential candidate was Edward Mahama. Chair Edward Mahama.

**United Ghana Movement (UGM).** Received its final certificate of registration on 10 January 1997. Chair, Dr Charles Wereko-Brobby.

For the purposes of the 1996 elections, two political alliances were formed: the **Progressive Alliance** consisting of the NDC, EGLE and DPP, and the **Great Alliance** which was made up of the NPP, PCP and the PNC. Other political parties, which were formed following the lifting of the ban on political activity in 1992, but which are no longer part of the political scene are:

**Inter-Party Co-ordinating Committee (ICC).** Formed by NPP, PHP, NIP and PNC after major opposition parties withdrew in protest from the December 1992 Assembly elections to offer some form of credible extra-parliamentary opposition.

**National Independence Party (NIP).** Formed in Accra, 1992, originally by Botsio and Gbedemah, who both later crossed to the PHP, largely comprising members of the Kwame Nkrumah Welfare Society (KNWS); Chair, Alhaji Ayarma.

**New Generation Alliance (NGA).** Formed in Accra, 1992.

**Nkrumah National Party.** Formed in Accra, 1992; led by Kwesi Pratt; formed largely from KNRG, URF, DAG.

**People's Heritage Party (PHP).** Formed in Accra, 1992; Chair, Frimpong Ansah; Deputy Chair, Alhaji Farl.

**Popular Party for Democracy and Development (PPDD).** Formed in Accra, 1992; Chair, Kwame Wiafe; Secretary General, Kwesi Pratt. Nkrumahist. Merged with PCP in May 1996.

### **PARTIES/REGIMES PRIOR TO 31 DECEMBER 1981**

**United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC).** Formed 1947; leader, Dr J B Danquah.

**Convention People's Party (CPP).** Formed 1949 as breakaway party from UGCC; socialist; leader, Kwame Nkrumah. Governing party from 1951-1966.

**Northern People's Party (NPP).** Formed 1954 by a group of northern chiefs.

**National Liberation Movement (NLM).** Formed September 1954 in Ashanti region.

**United Party (UP).** Formed in 1957 to oppose CPP; leader, Dr Kofi Busia.

**National Liberation Council (NLC).** Military regime, 1966-1969; ousted CPP in coup of 24 February 1966. Chair, General Joseph Ankrah.

**Progress Party (PP).** Formed May 1969; leader, Dr Kofi Busia. Governed 1969 - 1972. Perceived as massively corrupt.

**National Alliance of Liberals (NAL).** Formed May 1969; leader, Komla Gbedemah (former CPP founder member), lost August 1969 elections to PP.

**National Redemption Council (NRC).** Military regime, 1972-1975; ousted PP in coup on 13 January 1972, led by Lt Col (later Gen.) Ignatius Kutu Acheampong.

**Supreme Military Council (SMC).** Replaced executive council of the NRC in October 1975.

**Union Government (UNIGOV).** Power sharing government (between army, police and public) proposed by Acheampong in September 1976. Never formed and partly responsible for his downfall in 1978 when Gen. Akuffo took over SMC.

**Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC).** Military government led by Flt Lt J J Rawlings which seized power on 4 June 1979, the first Rawlings incursion.

**Action Congress Party (ACP).** Formed 1 January 1979; leader Col Frank Bernasko.

**United National Convention (UNC).** Formed 1 January 1979; leader, William Ofori Atta.

**Popular Front Party (PFP).** Formed 1 January 1979 by Victor Owusu and Alhaji Yakubu Tali.

**Social Democratic Front (SDF).** Formed 1 January 1979; led by Alhaji Ibrahim Mahama.

**People's National Party (PNP).** Formed 1 January 1979; led by Dr Hilla Limann and Imoru Egala. Governed from September 1979 to December 1981.

### **OPPOSITION GROUPS IN EXISTENCE PRIOR TO THE RAISING OF THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN MAY 1992**

**Campaign for Democracy in Ghana (CDG).** Formed 5 May 1982 in Lagos; based in London; leader Maj. (retired) Kojo Boakye Djan.

**Co-ordinating Committee of Democratic Forces of Ghana (CCDFG).** Formed 1991; alliance of 11 opposition movements and other organisations; Chair, Maj. (retired) Kojo Boakye Djan.

**Dawn Group.** Formed in London; pro-Rawlings offshoot of Convention People's Party (CPP); socialist.

**Democratic Alliance of Ghana (DAG).** Formed in London; Chair, Bright Oduro Kwarteng.

**Democratic Concerned Citizens Party.** Formed in London.

**Free Democrat's Union (FDU).** Leader, Maj. (retired) Kojo Boakye Djan.

**Ghana Democratic Movement (GDM).** Formed in London, 1983.

**Ghana Democratic Republic Party.** Formed in July 1992, USA; leader, Kofi Amoah.

**Ghana Democratic Union.** Formed in Nigeria; leader, Dr Eduko Quarfo.

**Ghana Movement for Freedom and Justice (GMFJ).** Formed in London, August 1986, by Kojo Smith, former member of GDM.

**Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards (KNRG).** Formed in Accra; African Socialist; Chair, Sonnie Provencal.

**Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ).** Formed in Accra, 1990; Secretary General, John Ndebugre.

**New Democratic Movement (NDM).** Formed in Accra; socialist; Chair, Kwame Karikari.

**United Party (UP).** Centre right; leader, J H Mensah.

**United Revolutionary Front (URF).** Formed in London; a coalition of Marxist-Leninist groups.

## ANNEX B - PROMINENT PEOPLE, PAST AND PRESENT

**Accra Five** - (Kwame Ofori Appiah, Alex Ofei, Emmanuel Kofi Osei, Owusu Boakye, Sylvester Addae-Dwomoh) businessmen, based in London, who were arrested in Ghana on 2 September 1994 and were subsequently charged with treason. It is alleged that they offered money to any soldier willing to support a coup attempt and that they attempted to announce their take-over of the government from Ghana Broadcasting Corporation. In February 1999 four of the accused were found guilty and sentenced to death. These were Alex Ofei, Kwame Ofori Appiah, Sylvester Addae Dwomoh and John Owusu Boakye. Emmanuel Osei Kofi was found not guilty.

**Gen. Ignatius Kutu Acheampong** - leader of the National Redemption Council (NRC) which seized power in a military coup on 13 January 1972. To offset rivalries within the NRC, Acheampong replaced it with the Supreme Military Council (SMC) in 1975, though he was in turn replaced by Gen. William Akuffo in 1978. When the AFRC came to power in June 1979, Acheampong was executed along with a number of others including Akuffo and Afrifa, following his conviction on charges of corruption.

**Karim Salifu Adam** - a former soldier and member of the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Adam is alleged to have recruited groups of young men to work as builders in Burkina Faso but once there to have given them military training to support his coup plans. Arrested on 23 May 1994 on his return to Ghana, his trial began in May 1996 and has yet to reach a conclusion.

**Lt-Gen. Akwasi Afrifa** - replaced Ankrah as chairman of NLC in April 1969 before the restoration of civilian rule later that year. When the AFRC came to power in June 1979, Afrifa along with other senior officials was executed following his conviction on charges of corruption.

**Gen. William Akuffo** - took over from Acheampong as SMC leader on 5 July 1978 and pressed ahead with plans to return the country to civilian rule. Ousted when Rawlings staged a second coup on 4 June 1979 (the first in May being unsuccessful) and was subsequently executed.

**Edward Akufo-Addo** - non-executive civilian president from August 1970 until NRC seized power in 1972.

**Gen. Joseph Ankrah** - head of National Liberation Council (NLC), 1966-69.

**Kofi Annan** - United Nations (UN) Secretary General.

**Prof. Adu Boahen** - unsuccessful 1992 presidential candidate for the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

**Dr Kofi Busia** - leader of the Progress Party (PP) which was victorious in the August 1969 elections. Busia held the office of Prime Minister from 1 October of that year until the military coup of January 1972.

**Alhaji Damba** - implicated in a series of small explosions, which took place on 5-7 November 1992 following the presidential election results, for which a shadowy organisation calling itself "Farighan" claimed responsibility. Suspicion fell on Damba, his wives (three in all) and family who were arrested. Damba himself fled but he and others were sentenced in absentia to terms of between two and ten years. Damba is now living in exile in Nigeria.

**Flt-Lt William Kofie Domie** - arrested in September 1989 for alleged involvement in a plot to overthrow the government (see Quarshigah). Domie died in detention on 29 September 1989, after committing suicide by hanging. All others allegedly involved were later released.

**Cpl Halidu Giwa, Sgt Malik and Lance Cpl Adjongba** - the leading conspirators in the June 1983 jailbreak and coup attempt. Executed in March 1984 following recapture, after they had been sentenced to death in absentia.

**"The three judges"** - on 30 June 1982 three Justices of the High Court (Mr Justice Fred Poku Sarkodee, Mrs Justice Cecilia Koranteng-Addow and Mr Justice Kwadwo Agyei Agyepong) and a retired army officer (Maj. Sam K. Acquah) were kidnapped from their homes by four armed men. Their corpses were found in the Accra Plains a few days later. Amidst allegations that these killings were politically motivated and that the government was responsible, an inquiry was launched. The findings of the Special Investigation Board were particularly damning for Capt. Kojo Tsikata (see below) who was named as "the brains behind the plot".

**J A Kufuor** - defeated NPP presidential candidate in 1996, who gained 39.9% of the vote. On 24 October 1998 Kufuor was elected to stand as the NPP's presidential candidate at the 2000 presidential election. He successfully contested the election and was inaugurated as president on 7 January 2001.

**Dr Hilla Limann** - President of Ghana from 1979-81 as leader of the People's National Party (PNP), until the 31 December 1981 coup, which preceded the PNDC regime. Although arrested after this coup Limann was subsequently released and later went on to challenge for the presidency in 1992 as the candidate of the People's National Convention (PNC). Died 23 January 1998.

**J H Mensah** - senior NPP politician.

**John Atta Mills** - Former Vice-President and favoured by Rawlings as his successor when he steps down in 2000. He was unsuccessful in the December 2000 presidential elections.

**Dr Kwame Nkrumah** - founder of the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949, prime minister of the Gold Coast (and later Ghana) from 1952 until independence. Became first Ghanaian president in 1960 and was deposed by a military coup in February 1966. Went into exile until his death in 1972.

**Victor Owusu** - unsuccessful Popular Front Party (PFP) candidate who stood against Limann in 1979 elections.

**Maj. Courage E K Quarshigah** - alleged architect of the September 1989 attempt to assassinate Rawlings and overthrow the PNDC government. The "Quarshigah conspiracy" as it later became known was never proven and no one ever stood trial. All those accused were eventually released, Quarshigah being freed in 1992.

**Fit-Lt Jerry John Rawlings** (President since 1992) Former President of Ghana and Head of State since 31 December 1981 when he seized power by way of a military coup. Rawlings had previously staged an unsuccessful coup in May 1979 and was imprisoned. However, he was subsequently released by other officers and seized power on 4 June of the same year before establishing the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). Rawlings then returned the country to democratic civilian rule about three months later, maintaining that his regime's major concern had been the eradication of corruption (a number of senior officials were executed during AFRC rule). However, following a period of unpopular PNP rule, Rawlings returned to power, this time with the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). The PNDC military government held power from the end of 1981 until 1992 when political activity resumed. Rawlings became presidential candidate for the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and was successful in both the 1992 and 1996 presidential elections, though he is due to stand down in 2000. He stood down, and handed over power on 7 January 2001 to his successor John Kufuor.

**Nana Konadu Agyemang Rawlings** - wife of the ex-President, and head of the 31st December Women's Movement.

**Tommy Thompson, Eben Quarcoo and Kofi Coomson** - Thompson (publisher of the Free Press), Quarcoo (editor of the Free Press) and Coomson (editor of the Ghanaian Chronicle) were arrested in 1995 following the publication of articles accusing government officials of drug dealing to fund arms deals. They were subsequently charged with "international libel" which carries a possible ten-year jail sentence. They challenged the constitutional law on sedition in the Supreme Court but lost and are now on bail awaiting trial. **Tommy Thompson died in late 1998**

**Capt. Kojo Tsikata** - former National Security Advisor to the President. A close ally to Rawlings, Tsikata was implicated in the political killing of three judges and a retired army officer in June 1982. Bowed out of politics shortly before the 1996 elections.

## ANNEX C - CHRONOLOGY OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS, 1957-1997

- 1957** On 6 March, Ghanaian independence from the Commonwealth is achieved, led by Dr Kwame Nkrumah of the Convention People's Party (CPP).
- 1960** Ghana becomes a republic on 1 July, with Dr Nkrumah as President.
- 1964** Ghana is a one-party state, with the CPP as the sole authorised party.
- 1966** Dr Nkrumah is removed from his political office in a coup d'etat on 24 February. The coup leaders establish the National Liberation Council (NLC), led by General Joseph Ankrah.
- 1969** General Ankrah is replaced by Brigadier Akwasi Afrifa in April, a new constitution is introduced and the ban on party politics is lifted the following month. In August, an election for a new National Assembly is held, the Progress Party (PP) wins and is led by Dr Kofi Busia, who is subsequently appointed Prime Minister. The PP government takes office in October.
- 1972** The army seize power in January, the constitution is abolished and all political institutions are replaced by the National Redemption Council (NRC) under the chairmanship of Lt-Col Ignatius Acheampong.
- 1975** The NRC is replaced by the Supreme Military Council (SMC) also led by Acheampong.
- 1976** Acheampong announces plans for a return to civilian rule in the form of union government.
- 1978** A referendum is held in favour of union government. On 5 July, Acheampong's deputy, General Akuffo assumes power in a bloodless coup.
- 1979** **January** - The ban on party politics is lifted and 16 new parties are subsequently registered.  
**May** - A coup staged by junior officers of the armed forces, led by Flt-Lt Jerry Rawlings, fails on 15 May and he is subsequently imprisoned.  
**June** - Following his release by other officers, Rawlings seizes power on 4 June and establishes an Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). Acheampong, Akuffo, Afrifa and other senior officers are convicted on charges of corruption and executed. On 18 June, a general election takes place, contested by 5 parties and won by Dr Hilla Limann's People's National Party (PNP), which forms a coalition government with the United National Convention (UNC).  
**September** - Dr Limann is inaugurated as President.
- 1980** **September** - Limann announces an amnesty for all political exiles and refugees except those sentenced in absentia by the AFRC. Most prisoners sentenced by special courts during the term of the AFRC are freed in 1980 after applying to the courts for reconsideration of their convictions. However, at the end of 1981, at least 27 such prisoners are still being held.  
**October** - The government announces that a number of agricultural development schemes established by Rawlings are being turned into camps for training active subversives. About 10 people are questioned and detained, one of them being Kojo Tsikata, a former army Captain and close associate of Rawlings.  
**March & May 1980 and February 1981** - Several attempts to seize power by members of the armed forces are reported.
- 1981** Throughout the year, prisoners convicted of economic crimes during the rule of the AFRC try to get their sentences revoked by the courts and some prison sentences are quashed. However, in November, the Supreme Court rejects a writ submitted by B S K Kwakye, former Inspector General of Police, alleging that his 25-year prison

sentence imposed in his absence by the AFRC was unlawful. The government swiftly orders the re-arrest of all those sentenced by the AFRC and its courts, who had been released since the return to civilian rule in September 1979.

**December** - On 31 December, Rawlings seizes power for the second time. He abolishes the constitution and assumes chairmanship of a Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). Limann and other prominent members of the PNP are imprisoned or placed in preventative detention.

**1982 March** - On 2 March, the PNDC issues a Preventative Custody Law (PNDCCL 4) naming 492 persons to be taken into preventative custody for an indefinite period. A number are later released during the year, but by the end of 1982, at least 22 of the people named in PNDCCL 4 are still detained without trial. People's Defence Committees (PDCs) replace City and district councils, in order to create mass participation at local level in the revolution. Military personnel staged an abortive coup.

**June** - On 30 June, 3 High Court judges and a retired army major are abducted from their homes and shot. Although the commission of inquiry is still in progress at the end of the year, 5 people had already been charged with murder and complicity to murder.

**November** - On 23 November, soldiers stage a coup attempt, suppressed by PNDC troops. Sgt Aloga Akata-Pore (a member of the PNDC) is arrested and detained.

**1983** The final report of the Special Investigation Board appointed to investigate the murders of the three High Court judges and former army officer is issued on 30 March, recommending the prosecution of ten people on charges of murder or conspiracy to murder. The ten include Joachim Amartey Kwei and Aloga Akata-Pore (former members of the PNDC) and ex-Captain Kojo Tsikata, the Head of Security and Special Advisor to the PNDC. A special Adjudicator states that there was insufficient evidence to prosecute five of them, including Tsikata and Akata-Pore. Former President, Hilla Limann and the former Vice-President are released on bail by the end of the year.

**February & March** - Minor attempts to overthrow the government are made.

**May** - University students are engaged in violent protests. The PNDC close the universities and turn them into training schools for revolutionary cadres.

**June** - On 19 June, military exiles from Togo, led by Sergeant Malik, infiltrate Accra, but troops loyal to the PNDC suppress the coup. Hundreds of people are detained following the attempted coup either for their suspected involvement or because they had welcomed the apparent overthrow of the PNDC. Three representatives of the "Free Press" newspaper, which had frequently criticised the government, are also arrested under PNDC Law 42.

**August** - The perpetrators of the coup attempts of November 1982 and June 1983 are put on trial. Four are executed on 13 August.

**1984** Three leading conspirators who had been put on trial are executed in March. The three representatives of the Free Press are released. The universities are re-opened and in December, PDCs are redesignated Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDR). The right of habeas corpus against detention under PNDC Law 4 is removed.

**1985 February** - A number of alleged plotters are arrested in Kumasi and accused of planning to assassinate Rawlings. Later in February, a coup plot is detected in the army and two Majors and three Sergeants are tried.

**May** - Five conspirators allegedly linked to dissidents in Togo are executed.

- 1986** A number of people are tried for their involvement in a conspiracy to overthrow the government by dissident Ghanaians, and several death sentences are subsequently carried out. In August, Victor Owusu, leader of the disbanded Popular Front Party (PFP), is arrested for alleged subversion.
- 1987** In January, 340 prisoners are released, yet the PNDC announces further arrests in connection with an alleged conspiracy to overthrow the government and in November more arrests are made, including former officials of the PNDC.
- 1988** Three universities are closed for four months following renewed student unrest.
- 1989** In January, the student loan scheme provokes considerable student discontent, and newspaper and magazine licences become subject to review under new legislation in March. On 24 September, it is alleged that Maj. Courage Quarshigah, former commander of the military police, together with four other members of the security forces, conspired to assassinate Rawlings and overthrow the government. A number of arrests are made and Flt-Lt William Kofi Domie dies in detention on 29 September. He had allegedly hanged himself. In January 1990, five further arrests are made in relation to the alleged coup. (The plot was never proven and all alleged participants had been released by mid-1992.)
- 1990** There is increasing demand for an end to the ban on political activity and association. In July, a national commission for democracy (NCD) is established to review Ghana's political and economic future through regional debate, despite criticism from the new Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ). On 30 December, Rawlings announces proposals for the establishment of a constitution by the end of 1991.
- 1991** On 10 May, the PNDC endorse the restoration of a multi-party system. However, it is emphasised that the formation of political associations remains prohibited. An alliance of opposition movements, human rights organisations and trade unions, known as the Co-ordinating Committee of Democratic Forces in Ghana (CCDFG) demands that a constitutional conference be convened to determine a schedule for transition to democracy. Rawlings announces that presidential and legislative elections will take place in late 1992.  
**December** - Rawlings orders the arrest of the Secretary General of the MFJ, John Ndebugre, for allegedly failing to stand when the national anthem was played. An Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) assumes the functions of the NCD.
- 1992** **April** - A national referendum is held on 28 April, and the adoption of the draft constitution is approved by 92% of the votes cast.  
**May** - Legislation is introduced to end the ban on political association, imposed in 1981. Political parties are required to apply to the INEC for legal recognition. 21 former organisations remain proscribed and emergent parties are not permitted to use the names or slogans of these organisations.  
**June** - Six opposition groups obtain legal status and a coalition of pro-government organisations, the National Democratic Congress (NDC), is formed to contest the elections on behalf of the PNDC. The Eagle, or Egle, Party refuses to join the coalition, although they later did so, together with the National Convention Party (NCP).  
**September** - Rawlings retires from the armed forces and is nominated as the presidential candidate of the NDC. This is to be contested by candidates of the People's Heritage Party (PHP), the National Independence Party (NIP), the People's National Convention (PNC) which nominated Dr Hilla Limann, and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Prior to the election there are reports of violence between NPP and NDC supporters.

- October** - The legislation, which permitted indefinite detention without trial, is repealed.
- November** - The presidential election takes place on 3 November and Rawlings is declared the winner with over 50% of the votes cast. Although Commonwealth observers deem the conduct of the elections to be free and fair, the NPP disagree. A curfew is imposed in Kumasi following riots in which opposition supporters killed an NDC ward chairman. Explosives are detonated in Accra and Tema. A prominent member of the PHP and opposition supporters are detained in connection with the bombings.
- December** - On 29 December, the legislative elections are boycotted by the opposition parties on account of the alleged electoral fraud of the previous month. The NDC therefore receives the majority of seats. Only 29% of the electorate votes.
- 1993 January** - Rawlings is sworn in as president of the Fourth Republic.
- March** - The two main perpetrators of the bombings are fined and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.
- November** - A 20-member national security council, chaired by Kow Arkaah, is established.
- December** - The PHP, NIP and a faction of the PNC merge to form the People's Convention Party (PCP).
- 1994 February** - 500 people are killed in the ethnic clashes of the Northern Region between those of Konkomba and Nanumba origin. Government troops are dispatched and impose a state of emergency in seven districts for three months. Six thousand Konkombas reportedly flee to Togo.
- March** - Twelve people are killed at Tamale (the capital of the Northern Region) when security forces fire on Dagomba demonstrators who had allegedly attacked Konkombas.
- April** - Negotiations between the ethnic groups involved in the conflict begin. It is reported that the authorities had discovered a conspiracy to overthrow the government, which involved threats to kill Quarshigah and the editors of two private newspapers. The opposition question the veracity of these claims.
- May** - The NPP announces its withdrawal from the conciliation discussions between the government and the opposition, due to lack of progress. The state of emergency in the Northern Region is extended.
- June** - A peace agreement is signed by the seven ethnic factions involved in the fighting in the Northern Region, imposing an immediate cease-fire. Government troops are to remain there and a negotiating team is established to attempt to resolve inter-ethnic differences.
- August** - The state of emergency is ended as the government announces that order has been restored.
- September** - Five civilians who had allegedly conspired to overthrow the government are charged with treason.
- October** - There is an increase in tension in the Northern Region when further arrests are made, after several people are killed.
- November** - Following a joint rally of the NPP, PNC and PCP, the parties announce that they will present a single candidate to contest the presidential election in 1996.
- 1995 February** - Valued-added tax (VAT) is imposed, leading to widespread protests.
- March** - About 100 people are killed as a consequence of ethnic violence in the Northern Region and a curfew is imposed.
- April** - A joint committee of prominent members of the Konkombas and Nanumbas is established.

**May** - On 11 May 1995, the peaceful "Kume Preko" march in Accra, organised by the Alliance For Change (AFC) to protest against the imposition of Value Added Tax and the high cost of living, was violently disrupted by armed men purporting to belong to the Association of CDRs. The violence resulted in the deaths of five people (four demonstrators and one alleged ACDR member). The police moved quickly to contain the violence and a number of arrests were made, although no one was subsequently charged due to a lack of evidence. Later marches organised by the AFC passed off peacefully

**June** - VAT is suspended and the old sales tax re-instated.

**November** - A Commission of Human Rights and Administrative Justice commences investigations into allegations of corruption on the part of government ministers and civil servants.

**1996 January** - Opposition parties demand that Rawlings resign following allegations that he had assaulted Vice-President Arkaah during a meeting.

**February** - Three journalists who had published a report alleging the government's complicity in a case of drug trafficking involving a Ghanaian diplomat are arraigned. The NCP and the PCP merge to form the People's Convention Party (PCP), which later disbanded. Six people are killed in the Techiman area following a dispute over tribal status and authority.

**May** - A violent confrontation between two Muslim factions in Atebubu leads to one death and damage to property.

**August** - The NPP and PCP announce their formation of an electoral alliance, to be known as the Great Alliance. The NCP is to support the NDC. A demonstration is organised by taxi-drivers.

**September** - Rawlings is nominated as presidential candidate of the NDC.

**October** - At least twenty people are wounded in clashes between the NDC and NPP militant supporters in Tamale and Kibi.

**November** - A network of Domestic Election Observers, comprising 25 groups, is created to oversee the December elections.

**December** - Presidential and parliamentary elections take place on 7 December. Rawlings and the NDC are re-elected, despite reducing its majority of seats. International observers declare that the elections had been conducted fairly and that 76.8% of the electorate had voted. Fifteen people are injured in clashes between NDC and opposition supporters in Bimbilla, north of Accra, following the announcement of the election results.

**1997 January** - Rawlings is sworn in as President on 7 January.

**March** - A new Council of Ministers is appointed, although ten members of the previous administration remain in office. Ghana celebrates 40 years of independence. The Minister of Finance announces the re-introduction of VAT two years after widespread unrest led to its withdrawal.

**May** - The head of the US Information Service is expelled from Ghana because of "activities unacceptable from a diplomat". He had allegedly become personally involved in the criminal libel case brought by the government against the editors of the Free Press for publishing an article accusing government members of drug trafficking. In what was assumed to be a retaliatory measure, the US authorities expel a Ghanaian diplomat in June.

**August** - Serious disturbances in Wenchi District of Brong-Ahafo Region result in the deaths of three people. The troubles are a result of a land dispute between the chiefs of the Brohani and Menji tribes.

**October** - On 30 October 1997 in Nima, a slum area in Accra, one youth was killed (though some press reports claimed that two were killed) when police fired on a crowd of rioters protesting at the failure of authorities to collect their refuse. After the riot the Interior Minister testified before Parliament that the lives of the police were threatened before they resorted to the use of arms.

**November** - More than 2,000 are arrested in the diamond-mining town of Akwatia in the Eastern Region in a joint police and military operation, following clashes between police and illegal diamond traders. On 30 November 1997 a policeman shot and killed a taxibus driver's assistant after a traffic violation. The driver was later caught and beaten by army and police personnel. The policeman responsible for the killing was jailed pending immediate and full-scale investigations. The police commander denounced the action regardless of whether a traffic violation had been committed.

**1998 January** - four people were killed and 26 wounded in a dispute between rival Moslem sects over the ownership of a graveyard in the western town of Wenchi. The trouble started when the Tijaniyyas allegedly tried to stop members of the Al-Suna sect from burying dead members of their sect. Police are reported to have made more than 60 arrests after members of the orthodox Tijaniya Moslem group attacked members of the Al-Suna sect with guns and machetes, killing four of them. By mid-January order had returned but the area remained tense. The regional crime officer said a screening exercise would be carried out to see who would be brought to trial. On 23 January the former President Hilla Limann died.

**May** - Three people were reported to have been shot dead by police at Aflao according to Ghanaian radio. The first one was shot when police used their guns in an attempt to ward off a group who turned on police who had come to the aid of a woman they were attacking. The group then caught up with the police, and attacked one. The police later opened fire when the group began attacking the police station, killing two more members of the group.

**July** - Two journalists were jailed for one month each in for contempt in connection with an article written about President Rawling's wife Nana Konadu Agyeman. The Interior Minister has said that the cases of those killed during the 11 May 1995 demonstration organised by the Alliance for Change have been closed because "no clear point of responsibility can be identified" regarding the killing of 4 civilians at the demonstration. The Alliance for Change expressed shock at this statement.

**October** - There was a violent demonstration by students at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumasi, which resulted in the university being closed. On 5 October however it opened again, and the registration of continuing and fresh students proceeded smoothly. It was reported that the campus was calm.

**1999 January** - On 13 January, a farmer was fatally shot and 12 policemen injured during a riot at Juaso, outside of Kumasi in the Ashanti Region. A former chief held a year-end party for his supporters although the police had prohibited the gathering. The 36-year-old farmer was reportedly hit by a warning shot fired by the police. The ex-chief and more than 60 townspeople were arrested by a joint police and military team in connection with the riot.

**February** - A high court sentenced four people to death at the end of a long running treason trial. A fifth was discharged and acquitted. The prosecution said the accused, led by two fugitive army officers had planned to overthrow the government by force in September 1994. On 14 February, police fired live bullets indiscriminately into a Konkomba market crowd, while attempting to

stop looting, killing a 15-year-old boy and injuring two other persons. On 25 February, the King of the Ashanti, King Otumfuo Opoku Ware II died. The Asante are Ghana's largest ethnic group. There followed consultative meetings between the Ashanti Queen Mother and the Kumasi Traditional Council. Barima Kwaku Dua, the youngest son of the Queen Mother, was nominated as successor and crowned King Otumfuo Osei Tutu II. He was 'enstooled' in Kumasi, the Ashanti capital on 26 April.

**June** - The Minority group in Parliament tabled a motion to challenge the level of coverage of political parties by the state-owned media. On 24 June, an employee of the National Security Council allegedly shot and killed an agricultural officer following a traffic dispute near Abelemkpe in Accra. The suspect, who reported having shot an armed robber, was arrested and released on bail. The case is ongoing.

**July** - A new party the National Reform Party (NRP) receives its final registration certificate. The party was formed by defectors from the NDC

**August** - Students demonstrate in Accra and Kumasi over fees and general hardship. Police use tear gas, rubber bullets and water canons against the students in Accra. On 12 August, the Deputy Superintendent of Police allegedly shot a vendor at Soe, near Bolgatanga in the Upper East Region, in a dispute over the siting of a kiosk. The vendor died 3 days later. A stray bullet fired by police during the confrontation injured one other person. The police are investigating. The Inspector General of Police (IGP) attended the vendor's funeral. On August 19, a policeman allegedly shot and killed a passenger in a truck after the driver refused to stop when signaled to do so in Winneba in the Central Region. The policeman reportedly was on the lookout for armed robbers and tried to deflate the truck's tires with an AK-47, killing the victim by mistake. The incident is under investigation.

**September** - On 25 September, a policeman reportedly shot and killed a driver at his residence in Korpeya. The police maintained that the policeman shot him in self-defence.

**November** - On 13 November a plainclothes police inspector shot and killed the driver of a timber truck at a police barricade in Barekese. Initial reports stated that the man was shot accidentally in a scuffle with the police, but eyewitnesses reported that there was no scuffle and the driver was killed deliberately. Police authorities suspended the inspector immediately and initiated an investigation that was underway at year's end. There was a serious disturbance in November 1999 during a football game between an Islamic and Methodist middle school. Property belonging to Muslims in the town of Agona Nyakrom, was destroyed. Youths attacked Muslims in this area including the headmaster of the Islamic school, who was badly beaten. Five people were shot during these disturbances. Newspapers report that as a result of this incident, large numbers of Muslims had moved out of the area

**December** - On 24 December 24, a patrol team of police and military personnel shot and killed two passengers in a taxi in Tema. The taxi driver reportedly had failed to stop at a checkpoint. The police say they fired warning shots, but witnesses said there were more than 10 bullet holes in the vehicle and the tires were flat from the shooting. At year's end, there had been no further action.

**2000 January** - Mr Cabral Blay Amihere the editor of the Independent newspaper was detained by the military, after publishing an article which said that soldiers had refused to obey an order relating to march, and was held overnight on 13/14 January 2000. In light of this incident, the Ghana Journalist Association held a meeting to discuss the intimidation of journalists, and urged that only Constitutional methods be used to seek redress against journalists who print articles where the truth is disputed.

**December** - Presidential and Parliamentary elections took place on 7 December 2000. Opposition leader John Kufuor polled 48.4% of the vote, not enough to win the first round. John Atta Mills scored 44.8% with the five other parties scooping the remaining votes. In parallel parliamentary elections, the NPP achieved a majority taking 99 seats. NDC took 92, PNC 3, Convention People's Party 1, independents 4. The Presidential run-off between Kufuor and Mills took place on 28 December 2000. Kufuor won taking 57% of the votes cast, and he was formally sworn in as President of Ghana on 7 January 2001.

**2001 February** - Petrol prices rise by 60% following the government's decision to remove Fuel subsidies.

**May** - Over 130 people were killed in Accra football stadium following a stampede. Police were criticised for their handling of crowd trouble, which proceeded the stampede. There were riots against the police following this tragedy.

## **ANNEX D**

### **The Committees for the Defence of the Revolution**

In 1982, the military government abolished the city and district councils and replaced them with People's Defence Committees (PDCs) and, in the workplace, Workers' Defence Committees (WDCs), in an attempt to create mass participation at the local level in the revolution. These were reorganised as Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs) in 1984. Also in 1984, the Civil Defence Organisation (CDO) was created as a voluntary militia to assist with matters of internal security. They were reorganised in 1987/88 to adopt a role less geared to para-military activities. [1][20]

### **The Association of CDRs**

The CDRs were subsequently disbanded in January 1993 and have no status under the 1992 Constitution. Their successor, the Association of CDRs (ACDR), is a purely voluntary organisation, which has lost most of the political influence of its predecessor and its members are not able to act outside the law. Whilst the CDO's political influence is significantly reduced, it still has the ability to mobilise people in support of the President, if required. [34]

By 1990, although freedom of political expression was limited and some abuses of civil rights still occurred, the situation was that only a very small number of active opponents of the PNDC had any reason to fear persecution. In July that year, at least partly in response to Western pressure, the PNDC set up the National Commission for Democracy (NCD), chaired by Justice Annan, to organise a series of regional debates on Ghana's political and economic future. [1]

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