

## GHANA

Polity5 regime codes:

fac	scode	polity	pers	bmon	bday	byear	emon	eday	eyear	exec	exconst	polcomp
0a	GHA	1	2	7	1	1960	9	21	1962	7	3	5
0b	GHA	-3	1	9	22	1962	2	20	1964	7	2	2
0c	GHA	-9	2	2	21	1964	2	24	1966	3	1	1
0d	GHA	-4	4	2	25	1966	7	30	1970	5	2	3
0e	GHA	4	1	7	31	1970	1	13	1972	7	5	5
0f	GHA	-7	6	1	14	1972	7	5	1978	4	1	1
0g	GHA	-5	0	7	6	1978	1	1	1979	5	1	3
1X	GHA	-1	1	1	2	1979	9	24	1979	5	2	7
1Xa	GHA	5	2	9	25	1979	12	31	1981	7	5	7
1O	GHA	-7	9	1	1	1982	5	10	1991	4	1	1
1Oa	GHA	-4	2	5	11	1991	11	3	1992	5	2	3
2X	GHA	-1	4	11	4	1992	12	8	1996	5	3	6
2O	GHA	2	4	12	9	1996	1	6	2001	5	4	8
2Oa	GHA	6	3	1	7	2001	12	6	2004	7	6	8
2Ob	GHA	8	14	12	7	2004	99	99	9999	8	6	9

PITF Problem Events:

- 1) 09/62-02/64 (ARC 09/62-02/64)
- 1) 01/72-01/72 (ARC 01/72)
- 2) 12/81-12/81 (ARC 12/81)

**0a)** July 1, 1960 (independence) – The Gold Coast was granted nominal independence as a self-governing territory within the British Commonwealth by an act of the British parliament; its name was changed to Ghana and its elevated status was set to begin on March 6, 1957, the anniversary of its incorporation in the British Empire. Although that date is generally recognized as the country’s official date of independence, the country continued to vest effective executive authority in the Queen’s representative: Governor-General appointed by the British Government. The main political debate during the transitional period was between those who preferred centralized authority in a unified state and those who favored decentralized authority in a federal state. The former position was advocated by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the Conventional People’s Party (CPP); the latter position was taken by several of the minority ethnic groups. On January 20, 1960, the CPP-controlled National Assembly passed a bill calling for a plebiscite to gain popular approval for declaring Ghana a constitutional republic. In comprehensive elections held in April, a constitution establishing a strong presidential system was approved, Nkrumah was elected president, and the CPP won 89 of 104 seats in the National Assembly. The main opposition came from the United Party representing the Ashanti in the north. Ghana was proclaimed a republic on July 1, 1960.

### Adverse Regime Change: October 1982 – September 1984

**0b)** September 22, 1962 (suppression of opposition) – Following an assassination attempt on August 2, 1962, the government used its controversial Preventive Detention Law to detain opposition leaders. Protests and strikes in September 1962 led to an even broader scope of detentions, effectively suppressing the opposition. The president’s authority to control subversive activity was strengthened by the CPP-controlled legislature.

**0c)** February 21, 1964 (constitutional amendment; one-party state) – Having survived a series of assassination attempts, President Nkrumah’s authority was bolstered by legislation in the National Assembly proposing establishment of a one-party state and designation of Nkrumah as

president for life. The President rejected these bills but did voice support for organizing a referendum to amend the constitution to establish a one-party state. The referendum was approved in January 1964 and Ghana was officially declared a one-party state on February 21, 1964. The president was also given sweeping powers to dismiss judges, annul judgments, and control the universities. In general elections held on June 9, 1965, CPP candidates ran unopposed.

**0d)** February 25, 1966 (military coup) – On March 24, 1966, while President Nkrumah and his entourage were on an official to China, officers of the armed forces staged a military coup and took over control of the government. A military junta, the National Liberation Council led by Lt-Gen. Joseph A. Ankrah, was formed and the government was dismissed, the CPP was declared illegal, and parliament was dissolved. All political prisoners jailed by the Nkrumah regime were released. The Preventive Detention Act of 1958 was repealed and press censorship was lifted. On July 1, 1967, a mainly civilian, 17-member Executive Council was established for administration. On January 26, 1968, the NLC published a draft constitution, selection of a constituent assembly was decreed, and plans were made for a return to civilian rule. Ankrah resigned on April 2, 1969, and was replaced by Lt-Gen. Akwasi Afrifa. The ban on political activities was lifted on May 1, 1969. General elections were held on August 29, 1969, and resulted in an overwhelming victory by the Progressive Party (105 of 140 legislative seats) and the selection of Dr. Kofi Busia as prime minister. Executive authority remained with the NLC, now renamed the Presidential Commission.

**0e)** July 31, 1970 (event) – On July 30, 1970, the National Assembly voted unanimously to disband the Presidential Commission and, on August 28, 1970, Edward Akufo-Addo was elected president. Executive authority was vested mainly in the prime minister.

#### **Adverse Regime Change: January 1972**

**0f)** January 14, 1972 (military coup) – On January 13, 1972 Col. Ignatius Acheampong deposed the civilian government in a military coup, establishing himself as head of state and leader of the National Redemption Council, later transformed into the Supreme Military Council (SMC). Acheampong attempted to perpetuate military rule with the creation of a “union government” excluding political parties; he held a national referendum on this proposal on March 30, 1978, that was blatantly manipulated, and which triggered a strong popular backlash. Acheampong was removed by his fellow SMC officers on July 5, 1978, before the plan could be enacted. Acheampong was succeeded by Lt-Gen. Fred Akuffo.

**0g)** July 6, 1978 (event) – The removal of Acheampong and the subsequent declaration of the SMC’s intent to organize a constituent assembly, promulgate a new constitution, and hand over the administration of government to an elected civilian government on July 1, 1979, succeeded to a considerable degree in dampening the popular outcry triggered by the “union government” referendum. However, a further statement made on July 31 seemed to favor a more restricted form of no-party government similar to the “union government” proposal and met with strong criticism. Austerity measures enacted by the SMC triggered a serious outbreak of strikes and urban unrest in October 1978 leading to the decree of emergency powers on November 6.

**1X) Date of Change to Factional-Autocratic:** January 1, 1979 (lifting of ban on political parties)

**Brief Explanation of Change To:** General Akuffo was unable to manage the rising internal dissatisfaction with the SMC regime, and after a series of strikes agreed to suspend the ban on political parties beginning January 1, 1979. Political activities, characterized by intense factionalism along economic and ethnic lines, resumed in advance of elections scheduled for June 18, 1979.

**Identify Main Factions:**

- *Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC)* — The military during this period was fragmented into two distinct groups: senior officers who supported the return to civilian rule, and supported the traditional civilian economic and political elites, and junior officers opposed to the return of power to the traditional elites, which entailed amnesty for senior officers of the SMC. Lt. John Rawlings led the junior officers in a military coup on June 4, forming the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) to briefly govern Ghana before the return to civilian rule in September, although the AFRC continued to maintain substantial political power as the *June 4 Movement*, which set itself up to monitor the civilian leadership. Rawlings ultimately overthrew the civilian government after AFRC leaders were asked to resign. The AFRC was initially supported by students and some disenfranchised ethnic groups, although this support waned after the 1982 coup.
- *People's National Party (PNP)* — The PNP was founded by former members of the Convention People's Party (CPP), and was largely seen as its successor organization, representing the entrenched political and economic elites of the country. The PNP intended to pursue "progressive" policies. Shortly after returning to power, a split between the "old guard," consisting of many former officials under Nkrumah, and youth factions emerged. T
- *Opposition to PNP* — Four political parties emerged in opposition to the PNP in the 1979 election. The *Popular Front Party (PFP)* led the opposition to the PNP and was seen as the successor organization to the late Dr. Busia's Progress Party (PP). Other opposition parties included the *Action Congress Party (ACP)*, representing students and the intelligentsia, the *United National Convention (UNC)*, led by former officials under Dr. Busia, and the *Social Democratic Front*, supporting radical socialist reforms.
- Other Minor Factions:

*Tribal Groups:* Leaders of the five largest tribal groups represent the oldest ruling class in Ghana, and have continued to maintain influence in the political system. These groups include: the *Akan*, which occupy areas south and west of the Black Volta; the *Ewe*, which occupy southeastern Ghana and the southern parts of neighboring Togo and Benin; the *MoleDagbane*, which occupy the region north of the Black Volta; the *Guan*, which recently took control of the coastal plains; and the *Ga-Adangbe*, occupying the Accra Plains.

**Changes within Factional Period:**

**1Xa) September 24, 1979 (civilian government installed)** – On May 15 junior officers led by Lieutenant John Rawlings attempted to overthrow the Akuffo regime, but were stopped and jailed by authorities only to be released by sympathetic military officers who overthrew the

government on June 4, 1979, two weeks before scheduled elections. Rawlings and his cohort of supporters arrested and later executed SMC leaders, forming the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) in its place. The AFRC explained that it was driven to intervene in order to ensure that the interests of the military were ensured after the transfer of authority to the civilian government. Despite the coup, elections were held on schedule on June 18 and Ghana returned to constitutional rule with the inauguration of Hilla Limann of the PNP on September 24. The Limann government suffered from weak institutions and deep intra-party divisions, and was seriously constrained by the persistent threat posed by Rawlings and his officers in the form of the *June 4 Movement*.

**1O) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic:** January 1, 1982 (military coup)

**Brief Explanation of Change From:**

**Adverse Regime Change: December 1981**

On December 31, 1981, a group of ex-soldiers executed a coup to overthrow the Limann government and restore Lt. Rawlings to power. Rawlings suspended the 1979 constitution, dissolved the parliament, and proscribed existing political parties. They established the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), initially composed of seven members with Rawlings as chairman, to exercise executive and legislative powers. In 1983, Rawlings was elected president at the head of a one-party state dominated by Rawlings' National Democratic Congress (NDC) and he continued to rule in that capacity through the 1990s.

**Changes within Autocratic/Stabilization Period:**

**1Oa)** May 11, 1991 (preparation for return to civilian government) – On May 11, 1991, faced with rising internal dissent against the one-party state, President Rawlings agreed to establish a Consultative Assembly to write a new constitution for a return to democratic rule. The new constitution was approved in a national referendum on April 28, 1992, and on May 18 the ban on political parties was lifted in preparation for presidential and legislative elections in November and December, respectively.

**2X) Date of Change to Factional-Autocratic:** November 4, 1992 (presidential election)

**Brief Explanation of Change To:** On November 3, Lt. Rawlings, representing the National Democratic Congress (NDC), won the first presidential elections under the Fourth Republic with 58% of the vote. The election results were disputed by the opposition, who charged the government with voter fraud, mismanagement of electoral lists, and argued that six months was too short a period of time to mount an effective opposition campaign against the entrenched NDC, although the elections were described as free and relatively fair by outside observers. The opposition boycotted the December legislative elections in protest, leaving the NPP with only eight seats in the 200-seat Parliament.

**Identify Main Factions:**

- *National Democratic Congress (NDC)* — The NDC was established by John Rawlings as the ruling party organization following his 1981 coup. The NDC continued to maintain dominance after the return to democratic governance in 1992, winning the 1992 and 1996 elections.
- *New Patriotic Party (NPP)* — The NPP emerged as the primary opposition party in the 1992 presidential election against Rawlings' NDC and the 1996 general elections (boycotted the 1992 legislative elections). The NPP carries a center-left agenda.
- Other minor factions:

*Tribal Groups* — same as previous period.

*Nkrumahist Parties* — The followers of late President Nkrumah stood in the 1992 elections as the *National Convention Party* and the *People's Convention Party*. These two parties failed to win a significant percentage of the vote in 1992, and unified prior to the 1996 elections, to little avail.

**2O) Date of Change from Factional-Autocratic:** December 9, 1996 (general elections)

**Brief Explanation of Change From:**

In elections held on December 7, President Jerry Rawlings won a second term with 57% of the vote. In legislative elections, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) retained an absolute majority in parliament, but the NPP increased its holdings to 68 of 200 seats.

**Changes within Democratic Consolidation Period:**

**2Oa)** January 7, 2001 (general elections) – Elections were held for both president and parliament on December 7, 2000, with a run-off election for president held on December 28. President Rawlings was constitutionally prohibited from seeking a third term, and was succeeded by John Atta-Mills as candidate for the NDC. NPP candidate John Kufuor won the presidential run-off election with 56.9% of the vote, and the NPP won a plurality in parliament with 99 of 200 seats. Kufuor was inaugurated on January 7, 2001, marking the first peaceful transition of power by election since 1979.

**2Ob)** December 7, 2004 (general election) – In elections on December 7, 2004 incumbent President John Kufuor was re-elected with 52% of the vote, defeating NDC candidate John Atta-Mills. In parliamentary elections held the same day the NPP took an absolute majority in parliament by winning 128 of 200 seats. These elections were reported as free and fair by outside observers, and were generally peaceful.