

## Chapter 5. National Security



*Ceremonial state sword, symbol of chiefly authority and power among the Akan*

GHANA HAS A RICH AND VARIED military history. During the nineteenth century, the Asante, one of the major ethnic groups in the country, relied on military power to extend their rule throughout most of what eventually became the modern state of Ghana. The Asante also engaged in a series of military campaigns against the British (in 1873, 1896, and 1900) for control of the country's political and economic systems. After the British established a protectorate, thousands of Ghanaians served in the Royal West African Frontier Force. In the two world wars of the twentieth century, tens of thousands of Ghanaians fought with the Western allies. From 1945 until 1957, the British used the Ghanaian army to maintain internal security.

At independence in 1957, Ghana's armed forces were among the best in Africa. However, President Kwame Nkrumah (1960–66) gradually destroyed this heritage by transforming the armed forces from a traditional military organization into one that he hoped would facilitate the growth of African socialism and Pan-Africanism, would aid in the fight against neocolonialism, and would help implement Nkrumah's radical foreign policy. Nkrumah also Africanized the officer corps as rapidly as possible. In 1966 the armed forces moved to end its use as a political tool by overthrowing Nkrumah. For the next twenty-five years, the military repeatedly intervened in the political process to stabilize Ghana and to improve the country's economy. In 1992, however, Ghana's military regime presided over multiparty elections, which the regime hoped would return the country to a parliamentary system of government.

The Ghanaian military, with a personnel strength of 6,850 in 1994, helped to maintain internal security and to preserve Ghana's territorial integrity. Throughout the 1980s, the generally pro-Western armed forces relied on a variety of sources for foreign military assistance, including the United States, Italy, Libya, and the Soviet Union. Organized into a 5,000-member army, a 1,200-member air force, and a 1,000-member navy, the military was capable of performing its missions. During the 1980s and early 1990s, moreover, the Ghanaian armed forces and some police personnel participated in United Nations peacekeeping operations in Cambodia, Croatia, Western Sahara, Iraq/Kuwait, Rwanda, and Lebanon. Ghana also con-

tributed troops to the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group peacekeeping force in Liberia.

## **International Security Concerns**

As of the mid-1990s, there was no external threat against Ghana; however, Ghana has experienced periodic tensions with two West African states, Togo and Liberia, which at the time some observers believed could lead to armed conflict. The parties involved in these disputes avoided hostilities by relying on diplomacy rather than on military force to resolve their problems.

In January 1976, Ghanaian-Togolese relations deteriorated after Togo urged a readjustment of their common border in Togo's favor. Ghana rejected this demand, citing the 1956 United Nations (UN) referendum, which had given western Togoland's population the choice of staying in Togo or of joining Ghana. Nevertheless, in March 1976, the Ghanaian government banned the National Liberation Movement for Western Togoland (NLMWT). Later that month, Ghanaian security forces arrested ten people near Togo's border and charged them with subversion for contacting Ghanaian dissidents in Togo. Although the NLMWT threatened to use force against Ghana unless the UN intervened in the crisis, it failed to launch a successful guerrilla war against Ghana.

In September 1982, Ghana closed the border to prevent Ghanaian dissidents who lived in Togo from crossing into Ghana. Nevertheless, tensions between the two countries resurfaced after Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings seized power in Ghana at the end of 1981. Rawlings warned the Togolese against allowing Ghanaian dissidents to use Togo's territory as a base from which to launch attacks against Ghana. In early 1984, after Ghana had reopened the border, the Togolese government calmed Accra's fears by threatening to arrest any Ghanaian exiles who held meetings in Togo.

In 1986 relations with Togo again deteriorated after Ghanaian security forces captured a group of armed dissidents who had crossed the border from Togo. Ghana's secretary for foreign affairs protested the use of neighboring countries as bases for subversive activities against the Rawlings regime. In September 1986, Lomé claimed that Togolese dissidents, operating from Ghana, had attempted a coup against the government of Togo's president, General Gnassingbe Eyadema. As a result, Togo temporarily closed the border with Ghana and then

deported 233 Ghanaians. In January 1989, relations between the two countries became strained again when Togo expelled 120 Ghanaians. After Togo reopened its land, air, and sea borders with Ghana in October 1990, relations between the two countries gradually improved.

On January 30, 1993, clashes that pitted Togolese security forces loyal to Eyadema against several opposition groups prompted approximately 55,000 refugees to flee to Ghana. Accra, which sided with Eyadema's opponents, responded by placing the Ghanaian armed forces on full alert, ostensibly to aid the refugees. Rawlings claimed that because of this trouble, he was considering a recall of all Ghanaian troops serving on missions abroad for the UN and in Liberia. After attackers stormed Eyadema's home in Lomé on March 25, 1993, the Togolese government closed its border with Ghana and accused the Rawlings regime of providing a safe haven for the raiders.

In early 1994, the two countries almost went to war following yet another incident. According to Togolese authorities, more than 100 armed Togolese crossed the border from Ghana in early January to assassinate Eyadema and to take control of the government. Togo immediately closed its border with Ghana, and each nation then accused the other's armed forces of launching cross-border raids. Although tensions eased later in the year, the Ghanaian minister of foreign affairs warned of further incidents unless Eyadema introduced basic democratic reforms.

Ghanaian-Liberian relations suffered a setback in September 1989 over rumors that Monrovia planned a forceful repatriation of resident Ghanaians following the return of more than 400 Liberians from Ghana. Although Accra denied that it had deported the Liberians, Monrovia retaliated by expelling 350 Ghanaians. A more serious problem occurred in 1990, when a rebel force known as the National Patriotic Front of Liberia reportedly seized about 2,000 Ghanaians living in Liberia. Many Ghanaians also resented the presence of approximately 6,000 Liberian refugees who had settled in a camp at Bruburam near Accra; they argued that Ghanaian security forces should halt the influx of refugees by detaining them at the border, by force if necessary.

Despite these difficulties, beginning in mid-1990 the Ghanaian government deployed three battalions of troops to Liberia as part of the Economic Community of West African States

Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) peacekeeping force. These troops served eight-month tours. In late 1994, about 1,000 Ghanaian troops were still serving in Liberia despite the government's growing impatience with the mission and the lack of progress toward a settlement of the conflict.

The ECOMOG operation was but one in a long list of international peacekeeping missions in which Ghana has participated. As early as 1978, Ghana contributed soldiers to the UN Interim Force in Lebanon; nearly 800 were still on duty there in mid-1994. Other UN missions to which Ghana has contributed include the Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (1991–94); Cambodia, where more than 1,000 Ghanaians served as security personnel during UN-supervised elections in 1992–93; Somalia (1994); and Rwanda, where nearly 850 Ghanaians troops were part of a 2,500-member peacekeeping force in 1994. Assignments with ECOMOG and other international peacekeeping operations were avidly sought after, in part because they presented opportunities for self-enrichment, such as black-market dealings, otherwise unavailable to the average soldier. So lucrative were UN assignments that there were reports of bribery for selecting such forces.

## **Internal Security Concerns**

Ghana has a long history of internal division, rooted in antagonisms and conflicts among the country's various ethnic groups. For example, the Asante (also seen as Ashanti—see Glossary) in the center of the country have long been at odds with southern peoples such as the Ga, Fante, Akwapim, Nzema, and Ewe. In the seventeenth century, the Asante began conquering smaller northern states. The Asante then moved south, where they came into contact with the Fante. Conflicts between these two groups ultimately led to British intervention. For much of the nineteenth century, the British battled the Asante for control of most of the territory that became modern Ghana (see *Arrival of the Europeans and The Colonial Era: British Rule of the Gold Coast*, ch. 1). Even after the country gained independence as the new nation of Ghana in 1957, ethnic divisions continued to trouble Ghanaian society.

Several dissident organizations, however, most of which had been created by exiles during the 1980s, dedicated themselves to deemphasizing ethnicity and to facilitating the growth of nationalism. In April 1982, various members of Ghana's banned political parties established the Campaign for Democ-

racy in Ghana and opened offices in Lagos and London. This group characterized the Rawlings regime as "an instrument of terror" and urged all Ghanaians to employ all legitimate means to ensure that democracy and constitutional order were restored in the country. In April 1984, J.H. Mensah, who had been the minister of finance in the Kofi Abrefa Busia government (1969–71), formed the Ghana Democratic Movement, which welcomed all citizens who believed in "the restoration of democracy in Ghana."

In the precolonial era, political opposition was tolerated only up to point, after which retribution was likely. During the colonial period in the Gold Coast, later renamed Ghana, the British jailed outspoken nationalists. Since independence, Ghana's security policy toward dissidents and political opponents has been harsh. During Kwame Nkrumah's presidency (1960–66), security personnel permeated all levels of Ghanaian society. Additionally, the Ghana Young Pioneers, created in June 1960, regularly reported all suspected dissident activities to the authorities. Nkrumah also encouraged rivalries among senior officials to discourage them from taking united action against him. Individuals who fell afoul of Nkrumah usually ended up in jail; more dangerous people received long-term sentences in the maximum security prison at Nsawam.

Since the downfall of Nkrumah, all governments except that of Hilla Limann (1979–81) have dealt harshly with any individual or organization deemed to be a threat to the established political order. Informants watched military personnel, members of political parties, academics, students, and ordinary citizens for signs of disloyalty, antigovernment activity, or coup-plotting. During the early years of the second Rawlings regime in the 1980s, the authorities also sought to prevent the emergence of prodemocracy groups. In mid-1987, for example, the police arrested members of the New Democratic Movement (NDM) and the Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards (KNRG), supposedly for plotting to overthrow the government. Gradually, however, Western and domestic pressures persuaded the Ghanaian government to permit political competition and to hold multiparty elections in late 1992.

## **The Armed Forces in National Life**

Ghana has a rich and varied military history. The military traditions of the Asante and several other Ghanaian peoples dominated the precolonial era. During the British period, the

military consisted of a modest army organized along infantry lines. At independence, Nkrumah expanded the armed forces to enhance the country's national prestige. The army grew in size and complexity, and the government established a separate air force and navy. This growth exceeded Ghana's national security requirements, however, and imposed an economic burden on the new state. In the decades since independence, Ghana has continued to maintain a comparatively large military force. By the early 1990s, it had become clear that the government would have to respond to popular demands for greater economic growth by reducing the size of the military establishment.

### **The Armed Forces in the Past**

The armed forces have traditionally played a significant role in Ghanaian society. The most important factors associated with the growth of the military's role in national life include the emergence of Asante militarism, the British conquest, and the political activities of the armed forces following independence.

#### ***The Asante Wars***

Historically, the Asante, who are members of the Twi-speaking branch of the Akan people, have exercised considerable influence in the region. The groups that constituted the core of the Asante confederacy moved north and settled in the vicinity of Lake Bosumtwi. Prior to the mid-seventeenth century, several Asante leaders, one of them Oti Akenten (r. ca. 1630–60), embarked on a program of military expansion that enabled the Asante to dominate surrounding groups, establish the most powerful state in the central forest zone, and form an alliance with neighboring states known as the Asante confederation.

In the late seventeenth century, Osei Tutu (d. 1712 or 1717) became *asantehene* (king of Asante). During his reign, the Asante confederation destroyed the influence of Denkyira, which had been the strongest state in the coastal hinterland and which had been exacting tribute from most of the other Akan groups in the central forest. Asante authorities then moved the confederation's capital to Kumasi and continued their policy of military expansion. During one southern expedition, rebels ambushed and killed Osei Tutu and most of his generals. The Asante confederation, which allowed newly con-



quered territories to retain their customs and chiefs, survived this catastrophe and continued to expand its boundaries, in the process transforming itself into an empire. Under succeeding leaders, Asante armies extended the empire's frontier southward. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Asante governed a territory as large as modern-day Ghana and were challenging the Fante states for control of the coast, where European traders had established a network of posts and fortifications.

The rapid growth of the Asante empire aroused the suspicions of the Fante, who believed that the Asante sought to subjugate the coastal states. Asante-Fante relations, therefore, remained hostile for most of the second half of the eighteenth century. Specific problems between the two Akan states included the Fante refusal to allow Asante traders direct access to the coast; a Fante law that prohibited the sale of firearms and ammunition to the Asante army; Fante support of Denkyira, Akyem, and other states in their revolts against Asante authority; and the Fante practice of granting sanctuary to refugees from the Asante empire. To resolve these problems, the Asante launched three successful military expeditions (in 1807, 1811, and 1816) against the Fante and by 1820 had become the strongest power in West Africa.

The Asante army, which achieved these and numerous other victories, relied on troops mobilized for specific campaigns rather than on a standing, professional force. Evasion of military service was punishable by death. The army, which lacked cavalry, possessed superior infantry comprising musketeers, bowmen, and spearmen. The armed force also included scouts (*akwansrafo*); an advance guard (*twafɔ*); a main force (*adonten*); the king's personal bodyguard (*gyase*); a rear guard (*kyidom*); and two wings, the left (*benkum*) and the right (*nifa*). Additionally, the Asante army had a medical corps (*esumankwafɔ*) that treated the army's wounded and removed the dead from the battlefield.

The Asante army's success against the Fante, coupled with the Asante's determination to preserve their empire, posed a threat to the British, who also wanted to control the coast for strategic, political, and economic reasons. Britain's commitment to stopping the slave trade made it impossible for the British to maintain good relations with the Asante, who, by 1820, had become the main source of slaves on the coast. Many British policy makers believed, moreover, that it was their duty

to promote Christianity and Western civilization. Some British merchants also believed that if Asante power could be destroyed, a vast market would be opened to them.

Given the differences between the British and the Asante, a military clash between them was inevitable. After the Asante executed a Fante soldier who served in a British garrison for insulting their king, the British launched a military expedition against a 10,000-member Asante force near the village of Bon-saso. The Asante not only outnumbered the British but also used superior tactics. The fighting, which began on January 22, 1824, initially favored the Asante, who encircled the British force and killed Governor Charles MacCarthy. Eventually, however, the British drove the Asante back to Kumasi.

After reorganizing and re-equipping, the Asante in 1826 again invaded the coast, attacking the British and their allies. During the fighting on the open plains of Accra, the British used Congreve rockets, which frightened Asante warriors who believed the enemy was using thunder and lightning against them. The Asante panicked and fled to Kumasi. According to a peace treaty concluded in 1831, the *asantehene* recognized the independence of the coastal states and agreed to refer all future disputes to the British for adjudication. In exchange, the coastal states promised to allow the Asante to engage in legal trade on the coast and to respect the *asantehene*. During much of the following two decades, Captain George Maclean, president of a local council of British merchants, used tact and diplomacy to enforce the peace treaty.

After the British government resumed responsibility for the administration of the coastal forts in 1843, relations with the Asante gradually deteriorated. In addition to assaults on Asante traders, the *asantehene* believed that the British and their Fante allies no longer treated him with respect. When British Governor Richard Pine refused to return an Asante chief and a runaway slave to the *asantehene*, the Asante prepared for war. In April 1863, they invaded the coast and burned thirty villages. Pine responded by deploying six companies along the Pra River, the border between states allied with the British and the Asante. The deployed force built a network of stockades and a bridge, but it returned home without engaging the enemy after inexplicably having lost its guns, ammunition, and supplies.

The Second Asante War (1873–74) began as a result of the *asantehene's* attempt to preserve his empire's last trade outlet to the sea at the old coastal fort of Elmina, which had come into



*Ghanaian infantry depart Accra for a peacekeeping mission in Liberia.  
Courtesy Embassy of Ghana, Washington*

British possession in 1872. In early 1873, a 12,000-member Asante army crossed the Pra River and invaded the coastal area but suffered a defeat at Elmina. The British government then appointed Major General Garnet Wolseley administrator and commander in chief and ordered him to drive the Asante from the coastal region. In December 1873, Wolseley's African levies were reinforced by the arrival of several British units.

Approximately one month later, Wolseley sent an advance party across the Pra, warning the *asantehene* that he intended to begin hostilities. Wolseley, however, also offered an armistice. When negotiations failed, both sides prepared for war.

The most significant battle of the Second Asante War occurred at Amofo, near the village of Bekwai. Although the Asante performed admirably, superior weapons allowed the British to carry the day. Asante losses were unknown; the British lost four men and had 194 wounded. In the following days, Wolseley captured Bekwai and then Kumasi. On March 14, 1874, the two sides signed the Treaty of Fomena, which required the Asante to pay an indemnity of 50,000 ounces of gold, to renounce claims to Elmina and to all payments from the British for the use of forts, and to terminate their alliances

with several other states, including Denkyira and Akyem. Additionally, the *asantehene* agreed to withdraw his troops from the coast, to keep the trade routes open, and to halt the practice of human sacrifice.

The British victory and the Treaty of Fomena ended the Asante dream of bringing the coastal states under their power. The northern states of Brong, Gonja, and Dagomba also took advantage of the Asante defeat by asserting their independence. The Asante empire was near collapse. In 1896 the British declared a protectorate over Asante and exiled the *asantehene*, Prempeh, his immediate family, and several close advisers to the Seychelles Islands.

The last Anglo-Asante war occurred in 1899–1900, when the British twice tried to take possession of the *asantehene's* Golden Stool, symbol of Asante power and independence. In April 1900, the Asante reacted to these attempts by launching an armed rebellion and by laying siege to the Kumasi fort, where the British governor and his party had sought refuge. The British eventually defeated the Asante, both capturing and exiling the rebellion's leader, Yaa Asantewaa, and fifteen of her closest advisers. The conclusion of the last Anglo-Asante war resulted in the formal annexation of the Asante empire as a British possession.

### *World War I*

After establishing supremacy in the Gold Coast, the British created the Gold Coast Regiment as a component of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF), which kept peace throughout the territories of the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and the Gambia. In 1928 the WAFF became the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF). British officers and noncommissioned officers organized, trained, and equipped the Gold Coast Regiment. For much of the colonial period, the British recruited African enlisted personnel only from ethnic groups in the Northern Territories Protectorate, the northern third of the colony (see fig. 3). Eventually, the Gold Coast Regiment accepted a few African officers along with an increasing number of African noncommissioned officers from the south. Nevertheless, the north-south division continued to characterize the Gold Coast Regiment.

On July 31, 1914, four days before the British declaration of war on Germany, Accra mobilized its military forces. The Gold Coast Regiment included thirty-eight British officers, eleven

British warrant or noncommissioned officers, 1,584 Africans, (including 124 carriers for guns and machine guns), and about 300 reservists. Additionally, the four Volunteer Corps (Gold Coast Volunteers, Gold Coast Railway Volunteers, Gold Coast Mines Volunteers, and Ashanti Mines Volunteers) fielded about 900 men. These forces participated in the campaigns in Togo, Cameroon, and East Africa.

Deployment of the country's armed forces required the reduction of the British colonial establishment by 30 percent between 1914 and 1917 and the closure of several military installations in the Northern Territories. These actions persuaded many Gold Coast residents that British colonial rule was about to end. As a result, a series of disorders and protests against British colonial rule occurred throughout the country.

During August and September 1914, for example, riots broke out in Central Province and Ashanti, followed three years later by unrest at Old Nigo. The wartime weakening of the administrative structure in the Northern Territories also fueled opposition to chiefs who used their positions to exploit the people they ruled, to encourage military recruitment, or to advance the cause of British colonial rule. Disturbances among the Frafra at Bongo in April 1916 and in Gonja in March 1917 prompted the authorities to deploy a detachment of troops to the Northern Territories to preserve law and order.

## ***World War II***

Although many of the more radical Pan-Africanists and Marxist-Leninists hoped to enlist northern black troops and ex-servicemen in their anticolonial struggle, there was little unrest during the interwar period. During World War II, approximately 65,000 Ghanaians served in the RWAFF. The Gold Coast Regiment participated in campaigns in East Africa and Burma and in maneuvers in the Gambia.

Military service, particularly overseas, enhanced the political and economic understanding of many individual soldiers, a development that facilitated the growth of postwar nationalism. Military service, however, also underscored cultural and ethnic differences among Ghanaians. Many Asante and most southerners looked down upon northerners, who made up the majority of the Gold Coast Regiment. These divisions carried over into postwar politics and, according to some observers, have continued to prevent the development of a strong sense of national identity to the present day.

The Gold Coast also played a significant role in the Allied war effort. On June 27, 1942, the United States Army activated the Air Transport Command in Cairo under Brigadier General Shepler W. Fitzgerald. Ten days later, Fitzgerald moved his headquarters to Accra and organized the Africa-Middle East Wing. In late 1942, the United States Army expanded its presence in Accra by activating the Twelfth Ferrying Group Headquarters, the Forty-first Ferrying Squadron, and the Forty-second Ferrying Squadron. The Twelfth Ferrying Group, which was part of a transportation network reaching from the United States, via Africa, to the China-Burma-India theater of operations, ensured the movement of men and matériel through Senegal, Ghana, and Chad.

In contrast with the post-World War I era, Ghanaian veterans engaged in widespread political activities after World War II. In 1946 some former soldiers established the Gold Coast Ex-Servicemen's Union, which sought to improve economic conditions and to increase employment for veterans. During a February 1948 union-sponsored march, police killed two demonstrators and wounded several others. Unrest quickly spread throughout the country. Eventually, the union joined the United Gold Coast Convention and then became part of the Convention People's Party (CPP), which worked for independence under Nkrumah's leadership. After independence, the government passed the Ghana Legion Act, which outlawed ex-servicemen's organizations and which created instead a national Ghana Legion. Although it supposedly represented all Ghanaians, the establishment of the Ghana Legion marked the end of independent political action by ex-servicemen.

### **The Development of the Modern Army**

After independence, Ghana opted out of the RWAFF. According to Nkrumah, this action was necessary because the RWAFF was "one of the trappings of colonialism." The Ghanaian army had grown in size and complexity, moreover, and the government created a separate air force and navy. The military's ostensible mission was to aid the national police in maintaining internal security; however, Nkrumah wanted to use the armed forces to buttress his foreign policy and Pan-Africanist goals.

British officers who served in the Ghanaian armed forces thwarted Nkrumah's plans to use the military as a political tool. As a result, in September 1961 Nkrumah dismissed all British

military personnel and ordered the Africanization of the armed forces. By removing the British from command positions, Nkrumah destroyed an apolitical safeguard and exposed the military to political manipulation. However, much of the British-trained Ghanaian officer corps resisted Nkrumah's attempts to indoctrinate them with the political ideology of the CPP. Moreover, the officer corps shunned the political commissars whom Nkrumah had introduced into all units.

To break the power of the traditional Ghanaian military establishment, Nkrumah created his own private army in violation of the country's constitution. The Soviet Union supported this effort by providing military advisers and weaponry. After an unsuccessful attempt on his life, Nkrumah ordered the expansion of the presidential guard company to regimental strength. On the recommendation of Soviet security advisers, Nkrumah also added a civilian unit to the bodyguard. The military and civilian wings formed the Presidential Guard Department. In 1963 Nkrumah changed the name of this organization to the Presidential Detail Department. By February 1966, this unit's First Guard Regiment included a 1,500-member battalion, and the Second Guard Regiment was in the process of being formed and trained by Soviet advisers.

The Presidential Detail Department also supervised secret storage depots and training camps for Nkrumah's constantly expanding private army. These facilities were located at Elmina Castle, Akosombo, Afiana, and Okponglo. After Nkrumah's downfall, Ghanaian authorities discovered an array of weapons, including heavy machine guns, mortars, and artillery, at these sites. Anti-Nkrumah elements insisted that such weaponry, which exceeded the needs of the Presidential Detail Department, was destined for Nkrumah's private army.

Apart from trying to create a parallel military establishment, Nkrumah also established a multifaceted intelligence apparatus. In early 1963, one of Nkrumah's closest supporters, Ambrose Yankey, established the Special Intelligence Unit to monitor the activities of antigovernment individuals and groups. By 1966 this unit included 281 people, all of whom reportedly received training from Soviet and other communist advisers. Another intelligence unit, Department III, Military Intelligence, was not part of the Ministry of Defence. Instead, its task was to check independently on the loyalty of the regular armed forces. Department III, Military Intelligence, maintained an interrogation center at Burma Camp. The Bureau

for Technical Assistance conducted espionage in other African countries. Additionally, on October 1, 1965, the bureau established an all-African intelligence service known as the Special African Service (also known as the Technical Unit), which was designed to penetrate the intelligence services of other African countries. By 1966 this organization had grown from forty to sixty-seven personnel.

## **The Military and the Government**

### **The National Liberation Council, 1966–69**

The officer corps of the regular armed forces viewed the activities of the Nkrumah regime with increasing alarm. As a result, on February 24, 1966, a small number of army officers and senior police officials, led by Colonel E.K. Kotoka, commander of the Second Army Brigade at Kumasi; Major A.A. Afrifa, staff officer in charge of army training and operations; Lieutenant General (retired) J.A. Ankra; and J.W.K. Harlley, the police inspector general, successfully launched a coup d'état against the Nkrumah regime. The new government, known as the National Liberation Council (NLC), justified its action by citing Nkrumah's abuse of power, widespread political repression, sharp economic decline, and rampant corruption.

On April 17, 1967, a group of junior officers of the army reconnaissance squadron based at Ho in the Volta region launched a counter coup; however, intervention by other military units and the lack of a coherent plan on the part of the mutineers saved the NLC. After an investigation, the two young lieutenants who commanded the mutiny were tried by a military court, convicted, and executed. The courts also passed lengthy prison sentences on twenty-six of the reconnaissance squadron's noncommissioned officers who supported the coup attempt.

Pro-Nkrumah elements also plotted against the NLC. In late 1968, the authorities arrested Air Marshal M.A. Otu, who had succeeded Kotoka as general officer commanding the armed forces but not as an NLC member, and his aide, a navy lieutenant, for alleged subversive activity. A military court charged both men with plans to overthrow the NLC and to return Nkrumah to power, but eventually the two were acquitted.

There were no further incidents or threats to the NLC. After a civilian government came to power in October 1969, the



armed forces reverted to their traditional roles of maintaining internal security and safeguarding territorial integrity.

### **The Acheampong Regime, 1972–78**

On January 13, 1972, the military seized control of the government for the second time under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel I.K. Acheampong. The army justified its action by accusing the civilian government, headed by Busia, of having failed to resolve the various problems confronting the Ghanaian armed forces.

The origin of the army's disaffection lay in the 1971–72 austerity budget, according to which defense expenditures were too large for a country as small as Ghana. The subsequent reductions affected maintenance and materials. Reductions also increased the difficulties facing younger army officers. By the early 1970s, the lack of funds had forced the Ghana Military Academy to reduce the size of its annual class from about 120 to twenty-five cadets.

Many senior army officers had also complained that the 1966 coup had interrupted the normal promotion cycle. They maintained that officers who supported Kotoka received quicker promotions, whereas those whose loyalty was in question were held back. Ewe officers, who had been shunted aside since the end of the NLC regime, believed that Acheampong would restore an equitable ethnic balance to the officer corps. Lastly, the army objected to the Busia government's decision to broaden the army's mission to include such nonmilitary functions as engaging in anti-smuggling patrols, supporting anti-cholera drives, facilitating flood relief work, and participating in reconstruction projects.

To rule Ghana, Acheampong established the National Redemption Council (NRC) and acted as its chairman. Initially, the NRC consisted of six army officers and one civilian; however, Acheampong eventually broadened the NRC's membership to include officers from all the services. Newcomers included the air force and navy commanders and the inspector general of the police. Acheampong dropped the two lower-ranking army officers and the civilian member. The NRC assumed legislative and executive powers while the NRC chairman became head of state and commander in chief. The NRC chairman also was responsible for all NRC appointments and removals with the advice of not less than two-thirds of the NRC

members. The NRC could remove the chairman by a unanimous decision.

The NRC appointed nine military officers who ranked from major to colonel to serve as regional commissioners. Customarily, these commissioners worked in their traditional homelands. The NRC and the regional commissioners constituted the Executive Council. The NRC and the Executive Council, which together included about thirty senior military officers, ruled Ghana. The NRC militarized Ghanaian society, moreover, by appointing senior military officers to positions in all major departments, regional bodies, state corporations, and public boards. Additionally, Acheampong wanted to change the constitution to end party politics and to create a union government composed of civilians, military personnel, and police. Such a system, Acheampong believed, would create national unity, end tribalism, and facilitate economic development.

The failure to achieve these goals and the 1975 decision to transform the NRC into the Supreme Military Council (SMC) marked the beginning of Acheampong's downfall. The government maintained that the SMC would restore the military hierarchy that the 1972 coup had destroyed. Over the next two years, the Acheampong regime gradually lost popular support because of growing corruption, economic problems, and clashes between the SMC and the general public, culminating in violent disturbances during the 1978 referendum on union government.

### **The Akuffo Coup, 1978**

As public hostility toward the SMC increased, Ghana became increasingly ungovernable. On July 5, 1978, junior officers on the Military Advisory Committee persuaded senior officers, led by Lieutenant General Frederick W.K. Akuffo, to force Acheampong to resign. The creation of what was termed SMC II, however, failed to restore public confidence in the government, largely because Akuffo refused to abandon the idea of a union government without party politics. As a result, there were about eighty strikes in a four-month period to protest the regime's economic policies. In November 1978, when junior civil servants went on strike, the regime declared a state of emergency and dismissed more than 1,000 public employees. Akuffo eventually succumbed to this pressure by announcing that the ban on political parties would be lifted on January 1, 1979, and that free elections would be held.

## **The 1979 Coup and the First Rawlings Government**

Ghana's third military coup was planned by a small group of disgruntled officers. On May 15, 1979, less than five weeks before the national elections, Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings and several members of the air force (junior officers and corporals) unsuccessfully tried to overthrow the government. During the court martial of the coup's seven plotters, Rawlings justified his action by claiming that official corruption had eroded public confidence in the government and had tarnished the image of the armed forces. Rawlings also charged that Syrian and Lebanese businessmen living in Ghana had gained control of the country's economy at the expense of the African majority.

On the night of June 4, 1979, a group of junior officers and enlisted personnel of the Fifth Battalion and the Reconnaissance Regiment in Burma Camp freed Rawlings and staged a coup. These individuals then formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) to rule the country. The AFRC included a cross section of ranks from private and lance corporal to staff sergeant, airman, lieutenant, and naval commander. Although the scheduled elections occurred as planned on June 18, 1979, the AFRC retained power until September 24, 1979, when President Hilla Limann and the People's National Party (PNP) assumed control of the government.

Meanwhile, the AFRC purged the senior ranks of the armed forces and executed eight officers, three of whom had been former heads of state (Acheampong, Akuffo, and Afrifa). From July to September 1979, special courts held hearings and sentenced 155 military officers, former officials, and wealthy businessmen to prison terms ranging from six months to ninety-five years. Additionally, the AFRC collected back taxes from numerous government officials and threatened to seize the assets of many others unless they refunded money to the state that they had allegedly embezzled or stolen. The AFRC also charged hundreds of military officers with corruption and sentenced them to long prison terms. Many civil servants fell victim to the purge and lost their jobs as well.

## **The 1981 Coup and the Second Rawlings Government**

The combination of official corruption, Rawlings's continued political activities, and deteriorating economic conditions doomed the Limann government. On December 31, 1981,

Rawlings, supported by lower-ranking soldiers, most of whom served in the Reconnaissance Regiment, seized power. Rawlings then established the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) to rule the country, dissolved parliament, and banned all political parties. On January 21, 1982, Rawlings appointed a sixteen-member civilian government with a cabinet of secretaries and told them to "serve the people sacrificially." The PNDC also assumed control of the Ministry of Defence. The Rawlings regime further consolidated its power by promulgating PNDC Law 42, which suspended the constitution and gave the government wide powers over Ghanaian citizens.

Shortly after seizing power, Rawlings took action against individuals who had allegedly committed crimes against the Ghanaian people. In January 1982, for example, the PNDC ordered former members of the banned PNP and other undesirable elements to report to the nearest police station or army barracks. The authorities detained some of these individuals and released others after registering their names. The police and army continued this roundup by arresting allegedly corrupt individuals who had served in the Limann government, former members of parliament, businessmen suspected of trading on the black market, and alleged coup plotters. On June 30, 1982, one or more members of the PNDC and their accomplices abducted and then murdered three High Court of Justice judges and the personnel director of the Ghana Industrial Holdings Corporation.

Despite the popularity of the Rawlings regime, there were two coup attempts in late 1982 and in early 1983. On November 23, 1982, a group of soldiers tried to overthrow the regime, initiating hostilities at Gondar Barracks. Government forces, however, defeated the rebels and the police arrested more than twenty people. The second coup attempt occurred on February 27, 1983, when security forces arrested nine soldiers and two civilians in Achimota, near Accra. The authorities claimed that they also discovered heavy machine guns, rockets, ammunition, and a list of people to be assassinated. Kojo Tsikata, special adviser to the PNDC, also accused the United States embassy of involvement in the coup attempt, but the Ghanaian government never proved this allegation.

Challenges to the Rawlings regime continued throughout the 1980s. During 1985 and 1986, for example, there were at least seven coup attempts. On September 24, 1989, two days after Rawlings had assumed direct command of the armed

*Lieutenant General  
Frederick W. K. Akuffo, head  
of state and chairman of the  
Supreme Military Council,  
1978–79  
Courtesy Embassy of Ghana,  
Washington*



*Armored personnel carriers  
of the Ghanaian army  
Courtesy Embassy of Ghana,  
Washington*



forces, the government announced that it had foiled yet another attempted coup. The attempt was led by Major Courage Quarshigah, a popular officer in the Ghanaian armed forces, former commandant of the Ghana Military Academy, and a former close ally of Rawlings. Quarshigah and four other army officers were arrested. They were accused of planning to assassinate Rawlings as part of the coup, but several of the accused allegedly favored a return to constitutional rule under a civilian government.

Despite the so-called Quarshigah Affair and other attempted coups, Rawlings remained in control of the PNDC and the armed forces, which he commanded from September 1989 until June 1990. An Economic Recovery Program (ERP), supported by the International Monetary Fund (IMF—see Glossary) and the World Bank (see Glossary), was adopted to improve the lives of Ghanaians. The Rawlings regime also acceded to popular demands for a democratic, multiparty election. Despite these accomplishments, however, corruption, authoritarianism, and the misuse of power have continued to be significant problems.

## **The Military and the Economy**

Military costs have fluctuated widely since independence. During the Nkrumah era, the government maintained a large, relatively well-equipped military for reasons of national prestige. After the 1966 coup, the ruling NLC sought to improve the country's economy by lowering military spending. The NLC, however, was unwilling to reduce military manpower for fear of alienating the armed forces; instead, it saved money by canceling plans to purchase new equipment. To update its military inventory, Ghana strengthened links with nations such as Britain, Canada, and the United States, all of which represented possible sources of military assistance.

Since the downfall of Nkrumah, the level of Ghana's military spending has fluctuated widely, partly because of several major currency devaluations. According to the World Bank, however, Ghana's military spending has declined overall. In 1972 Ghana earmarked about 7.9 percent of total expenditures for defense, a figure that by 1989 was down to 3.2 percent. Since then, defense expenditures have declined even further. In 1992, the most recent year for which reliable figures are available, Ghana allocated about US\$105 million for the armed forces, or less than 2 percent of total budgetary expenditures.

## **Armed Forces Mission, Organization, and Strength**

Since independence, the mission of the armed forces has been twofold: to protect Ghana's territorial integrity from foreign aggression, and to maintain internal security. In the mid-1990s, ground forces held the dominant role in the defense establishment. In terms of organization, the military is composed of the army and its subordinate air and naval elements, numbering in all 6,850 active-duty personnel in 1994. The military command structure extends from the minister of defense in the national government to commanders in the field. Military units are deployed in the capital, Accra, and in Ghana's border regions. The 5,000-member Ghanaian army, which has an eastern and a western command, is organized into two brigades, with six infantry battalions; one reconnaissance regiment, with two reconnaissance squadrons; one airborne force, with one paratroop company; one artillery regiment; and one field engineer regiment.

Military equipment consists predominantly of older weapons of British, Brazilian, Swiss, Swedish, Israeli, and Finnish origin. Servicing of all types of equipment has been extremely poor, largely because of inadequate maintenance capabilities. As a result, foreign military advisers or technicians perform all major maintenance tasks. Included in the Ghanaian inventory are FV-601 Saladin and EE-9 Cascavel reconnaissance vehicles; MOWAG Piranha armored personnel carriers; 81mm and 120mm mortars; 84mm recoilless launchers; and 14.5mm ZPU-4 and 23mm ZU-23-2 air defense guns.

The 1,000-member Ghanaian air force consists of one counterinsurgency squadron equipped with MB-326K and MB-339 aircraft; three transport squadrons equipped with F-27 and F-28 Fokkers, a C-212 Aviocar, and Skyvan aircraft; and one training squadron equipped with MB-326F, Bulldog, and L-29 Delfin aircraft. The air force also has Bell, Mi-2 Hoplite, and SA-319 helicopters. It operates from bases in Accra (headquarters and main transport base), Tamale (combat and training base), Takoradi (training base), and Kumasi (support base). The air force's mission is to perform counterinsurgency operations and to provide logistical support to the army. Since independence, performance has been hindered by a lack of spare parts and by poor maintenance capabilities. On September 18, 1987, Air Force Commander J.E.A. Kotei announced plans to begin internal passenger service to supplement the efforts of Ghana Airways. Under this program, the government autho-

rized the transformation of Tamale airport into a civil-military airport.

Ghana's navy provides coastal defense, fisheries protection, and security on Lake Volta. During World War II, the Gold Coast Volunteer Naval Force, which had been established in 1936, provided sea patrols and conducted mine-detection and neutralization operations along the coast. In 1959 the Ghanaian government established a true navy and assigned a former Royal Navy officer the duties of chief of staff with the rank of commodore. In 1961 a Ghanaian army brigadier replaced the British commodore. On July 14, 1989, the navy recommissioned two ships, *GNS Yogaga* and *GNS Dzata*, at the western naval base in Sekondi. The vessels had been refurbished by a British shipyard, Swan Hunter. In 1994 the navy was organized into an eastern command, with headquarters at Tema, and a western command, with headquarters at Sekondi. The naval inventory includes two Kromantse-class corvettes and two Achimote-class and two Dazata-class fast attack craft.

The Ghanaian navy has experienced low readiness rates because of spare parts shortages. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, budgetary constraints and a lack of serviceable equipment forced the navy to reduce its manpower from about 1,200 to approximately 850 personnel. Nevertheless, in 1990 Ghana's navy deployed some of its ships to support the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) mission in Liberia. In late 1992, two of the navy's ships were in France for refitting.

Paramilitary forces consist of the 5,000-member People's Militia, which serves as a home guard force and is responsible for preventing and controlling civil disturbances and insurrection. A small, elite Presidential Guard consisting of one infantry battalion provides security for the president. The Ghanaian government also has created a National Civil Defence Force (also known as the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution), which includes all citizens able to perform military service. According to the country's defense plans, the National Civil Defence Force would be required to guard important installations in times of crisis to relieve pressure on the regular armed forces.

## **Military Manpower, Training, and Morale**

### **Manpower**

There is a two-year national service requirement for male



Ghanaians, but military manpower levels have always been maintained by voluntary enlistment. A limited number of women also serve in the armed forces, but all women are found in administrative positions, not in operational units. Since mid-1988, all national service personnel have undergone a six-month military training program that stresses drilling, weapons handling, physical fitness, and first aid.

The armed forces offer commissions to qualified individuals from civilian life or to those who have completed cadet training. The term of service usually is five years with reserve obligations thereafter. Most technical services officers are selected from civilian life on the basis of professional qualifications. Recruits for combat or combat support branches are required to complete two years of cadet training before receiving their commissions.

Enlisted personnel are recruited for particular service branches to satisfy specific branch needs. Enlistments last up to twelve years with various active- and reserve-duty options. Reenlistments are authorized for a total of eighteen years. In addition, unit commanders are empowered to extend this term of service on a case-by-case basis. Specifically, enlisted recruits for the technical services are required to possess at least a middle school or junior secondary school education. All personnel must pass a physical examination and be at least eighteen years of age.

## **Training**

Military training for all officer candidates of the army, air force, and navy is conducted at the Ghana Military Academy near Accra. Entrance to the academy is by examination, and the curriculum includes military and general subjects. Army cadets train for two years. At the end of the first six months, a few candidates may be selected to finish their studies at foreign institutions such as the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst in Britain. The Ghana Military Academy, established in 1960, also provides short courses in higher military education for the officers of the three services. The best senior officers are selected periodically to attend the Army Staff College at Camberley in Britain or one of several other senior service schools in foreign countries.

The Armed Forces Training School at Kumasi trains army, air force, and navy recruits. The basic army training course lasts nine months and is followed by advanced individual train-

ing in the assigned unit. This school also provides specialist training. A parachute training school is located at Tamale and a jungle warfare school at Achiasi.

The army has conducted numerous field exercises with a variety of code names, including Hot Foot, Deep Thrust, Operation Swift Sword, Full Impact, and Starlight Stretch. These exercises test an array of skills. Full Impact 88, for example, marked the first time that Ghanaian army, air force, and navy units trained together. Deep Thrust 89 emphasized jungle warfare, junior leadership, and physical fitness. Starlight Stretch 89, which was held at Daboya in the northern region, improved low-level operations for company groups in the infantry battalion.

To enhance regional collective security, the Ghanaian army also has participated in joint exercises with Burkina Faso (Burkina, formerly Upper Volta). In November 1983 and in early 1985, the two countries sponsored joint exercises code-named Bold Union and Teamwork 85. The latter involved 5,500 troops and ninety officers from the two armed forces. These personnel engaged in maneuvers in which government soldiers defended themselves against a battalion-strong enemy force which had installed itself on Dwarf Island near the strategically critical Akosombo Dam.

The Ghanaian government subsequently pledged to help defend its neighbor in case of armed aggression. As a result of this agreement, Ghana and Burkina have continued joint exercises. In late 1986, a 3,000-member contingent of soldiers from Ghana and Burkina participated in a week-long exercise to test the combat readiness of their armed forces and security agencies. Then, in September 1987, the two countries staged a three-day exercise code-named Operation Vulcan in northern Ghana's Tamale region. During this exercise, paratroopers of the two countries parachuted into "friendly" territory to give support to ground forces under simulated enemy fire. Later that year, Ghana and Burkina concluded a three-month exercise in which four British trainers participated.

Historically, the Ghanaian air force has relied on foreign military assistance from India, Israel, Canada, Britain, and Italy for pilot training. In early 1959, Indian and Israeli officers supervised the formation of Ghana's air force. In mid-1959, an Indian air force senior air commodore established a headquarters for the service at Accra. In July 1959, Israeli air force instructors trained the first group of Ghanaian cadet fliers at

Accra International Airport. Two years later, ten Ghanaians qualified as pilots.

In late 1960, Ghana terminated the training agreement with Israel. Shortly thereafter, Accra and London signed an accord whereby 150 officers and airmen from the British Royal Air Force (RAF) assumed responsibility for training the Ghanaian air force. The commander of this RAF contingent also replaced the Indian air commodore as chief of staff of the Ghanaian air force. In mid-1961 a small group from the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) supplemented the British mission. In September 1961, as part of his Africanization program, Nkrumah appointed an army brigadier as chief of staff and relieved all RAF officers of their commands. The RAF contingent remained in Ghana, however, to help develop the Ghanaian air force as part of the British Joint Services Training Mission.

In more recent years, Ghana has relied on Nigeria for air force training. In late 1989, twenty-five Ghanaian pilots and technicians graduated from various training programs in Kano, Nigeria. In 1989 Nigeria donated twelve Czech-built L-29 Delfin trainers to the Ghanaian air force. The Ghanaian and Nigerian air forces also conducted joint operations under the auspices of the ECOMOG peacekeeping force in Liberia in the early 1990s.

Naval training has concentrated on improving the skills of personnel both on shore and at sea. In addition, the Ghanaian navy regularly participates in joint air-and-sea search-and-rescue operations. The United States navy has supplemented these efforts by allowing United States ships participating in the West African Training Cruise to visit Ghana. During the 1990 training cruise, the United States donated an array of educational materials and conducted a symposium on fisheries enforcement. Inclement weather forced the cancellation of a joint amphibious exercise, however.

The paramilitary People's Militia usually receives its training during evenings, weekends, and short periods of attachment to regular army units. The Presidential Guard, which evolved from the President's Own Guard Regiment established by Nkrumah, enjoys a higher training priority and commands a greater proportion of the military's resources (see *The Development of the Modern Army*, this ch.).

## **Morale**

Morale in the Ghanaian armed forces has been influenced by several factors. During the early postindependence period,

military morale suffered because of ethnic tensions and the low esteem attached to the armed forces by the civilian sector. The politicization of the army and jealousy between officers and noncommissioned officers also lowered morale. During the years of military rule, morale gradually improved. In the ranks, however, esprit de corps has generally remained low because of poor pay and a lack of opportunities for education and promotion.

A 1979 purge of the armed forces reversed this trend. By the late 1980s, morale throughout the armed forces was generally good because service conditions and the public perception of the military had improved. Also, the PNDC had improved the professionalism of the army. After Ghana contributed troops to the ECOMOG peacekeeping force in Liberia in mid-1990, however, morale declined once more, especially among enlisted personnel, who opposed what they perceived to be an open-ended commitment to a war irrelevant to Ghana. Controversy arose when some individual Ghanaian soldiers exploited their position as peacekeepers to enrich themselves by engaging in black-market activities and other questionable behavior.

### **Uniforms, Ranks, and Insignia**

Each component service has its own distinctive uniforms and insignia. At independence Ghana opted to retain the British order of military ranks and corresponding insignia. In the 1990s, Ghanaian ranks are still identical with British ranks and insignia except that Ghana has substituted a black star or the Ghanaian coat of arms for the British crown on appropriate insignia (see fig. 14; fig. 15).

Officers in the army, air force, and navy and enlisted men in the army and air force wear their insignia on the shoulder. Naval enlisted men wear their insignia as cap badges except for leading seamen and first and second class petty officers, who wear cap badges and shoulder insignia. Field uniforms of the army are olive green, those of the navy are dark blue, and those of the air force are light blue. Service caps are identical with British service caps.

### **Foreign Military Assistance**

Like most African armed forces, the Ghanaian military has depended on foreign military assistance since independence. Initially, Ghana looked to the West, especially Britain, for

equipment, training, and command support. As Ghanaian politics became radicalized and the world divided along East-West lines, Ghana's military diversified its sources of military aid by developing ties to radical states such as the former Soviet Union, China, the German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany), and Libya. After the Cold War ended, Ghana again turned to the West for most of its military needs.

## **Britain**

Between 1958 and 1961, Britain not only satisfied all Ghana's military requirements but also allowed British military personnel to serve in various command positions in the Ghanaian armed forces. By the end of 1961, the British had trained forty-three Ghanaian army cadets at Sandhurst and thirty-four at the British Officer Cadet School, Eaton Hall.

Although it initially had opposed the formation of a Ghanaian air force and navy, Britain eventually agreed to help train personnel from these services. In 1960 the British instituted an air force training and supply program on condition that the Indian and Israeli advisers who had established the air force were withdrawn. Additionally, between 1960 and 1963, Britain supplied twelve Chipmunk trainers, three Heron transports, and nine Whirlwind and Wessex helicopters.

The Ghanaian navy also benefited from British training. Each year from 1960 to 1966, four or five Ghanaian naval cadets attended the Britannia Royal Naval College at Dartmouth. By early 1967, eighty-seven Ghanaian naval officers and 740 enlisted personnel were serving in British home bases or were receiving training with the Royal Navy. There also were twenty-seven officers and forty senior enlisted personnel from the Royal Navy in Ghanaian command and training positions.

In April 1962, Accra allowed Britain to consolidate its military presence in Ghana by creating the Joint Services Training Team (JSTT). This organization, which was composed of officers and ranks from the three services under the command of a brigadier, began its work with a total personnel strength of 248 officers and men. The JSTT provided training and advisory support; some British officers also assumed command positions in the Ghanaian air force and navy. There were no British commanders in the army. The JSTT continued to function until 1971, when Ghana terminated its training agreement with Britain.

Ghanaian Rank	2D Lieutenant	Lieutenant	Captain	Major	Lieutenant Colonel	Colonel	Brigadier	Major General	Lieutenant General	General	Field Marshal
ARMY											
U.S. Rank Title	2D Lieutenant	1ST Lieutenant	Captain	Major	Lieutenant Colonel	Colonel	Brigadier General	Major General	Lieutenant General	General	GENERAL OF THE ARMY
Ghanaian Rank	PILOT OFFICER	FLYING OFFICER	FLIGHT Lieutenant	SQUADRON LEADER	WING COMMANDER	GROUP CAPTAIN	AIR COMMODORE	AIR VICE MARSHAL	AIR MARSHAL	AIR CHIEF MARSHAL	MARSHAL OF THE AIR FORCE
AIR FORCE											NO INSIGNIA
U.S. Rank Title	2D Lieutenant	1ST Lieutenant	Captain	Major	Lieutenant Colonel	Colonel	Brigadier General	Major General	Lieutenant General	General	GENERAL OF THE AIR FORCE
Ghanaian Rank	NO RANK	SUB-Lieutenant	Lieutenant	Lieutenant Commander	Commander	Captain	Commodore	Rear Admiral	Vice Admiral	Admiral	ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET
NAVY											NO INSIGNIA
U.S. Rank Title	Ensign	Lieutenant Junior Grade	Lieutenant	Lieutenant Commander	Commander	Captain	Rear Admiral Lower Half	Rear Admiral Upper Half	Vice Admiral	Admiral	Fleet Admiral

Figure 14. Officer Ranks and Insignia, 1994

GHANAIAN RANK	NO RANK	PRIVATE	LANCE CORPORAL	CORPORAL	SERGEANT	STAFF SERGEANT			WARRANT OFFICER CLASS II	WARRANT OFFICER CLASS I
						STAFF SERGEANT	SERGEANT 1ST CLASS	MASTER SERGEANT/ FIRST SERGEANT		
ARMY		NO INSIGNIA								
U.S. RANK TITLE	BASIC PRIVATE	PRIVATE	PRIVATE 1ST CLASS	CORPORAL/SPECIALIST	SERGEANT	SERGEANT	MASTER SERGEANT/ FIRST SERGEANT	SERGEANT MAJOR/ COMMAND SERGEANT MAJOR		
GHANAIAN RANK	AIRCRAFTSMAN CLASS II	AIRCRAFTSMAN CLASS I	LEADING AIRCRAFTSMAN	CORPORAL	SERGEANT	FLIGHT SERGEANT			WARRANT OFFICER CLASS II	WARRANT OFFICER CLASS I
AIR FORCE	NO INSIGNIA	NO INSIGNIA								
U.S. RANK TITLE	AIRMAN BASIC	AIRMAN	AIRMAN 1ST CLASS	SENIOR AIRMAN / SERGEANT	STAFF SERGEANT	TECHNICAL SERGEANT	MASTER SERGEANT	SENIOR MASTER SERGEANT	CHIEF MASTER SERGEANT	
GHANAIAN RANK	NO RANK	ORDINARY SEAMAN	ABLE SEAMAN	LEADING SEAMAN	PETTY OFFICER CLASS II	PETTY OFFICER CLASS I	CHIEF PETTY OFFICER CLASS II	NO RANK	CHIEF PETTY OFFICER CLASS I	
NAVY		NO INSIGNIA	NO INSIGNIA				NO INSIGNIA			
U.S. RANK TITLE	SEAMAN RECRUIT	SEAMAN APPRENTICE	SEAMAN	PETTY OFFICER 3D CLASS	PETTY OFFICER 2D CLASS	PETTY OFFICER 1ST CLASS	CHIEF PETTY OFFICER	SENIOR CHIEF PETTY OFFICER	MASTER CHIEF PETTY OFFICER	

Figure 15. Enlisted Ranks and Insignia, 1994

Even after Accra diversified its sources of foreign military assistance and Africanized the armed forces, however, Britain continued to be active in Ghana. In 1974–75 the Vosper Thornycroft shipyard refitted a corvette warship under a US\$2.5 million contract. In 1978 Fairey Marine provided a Spear MK 2 Class coastal patrol boat to the Ghanaian navy. In March 1984, the British firm Plessy reported that it had arranged to furnish Ghana with equipment for air traffic control. The British also received an August 1985 contract for about US\$75,000 worth of electronics equipment. A few years later, Britain agreed to refurbish four Skyvan military and VIP transports; by mid-1991, the British had completed work on two of these aircraft and delivered them to Ghana. A limited number of British military personnel also participated in joint exercises with the Ghanaian armed forces.

## **Canada**

From 1962 to 1968, Canada maintained a significant military presence in Ghana. This relationship began on January 8, 1962, when Ottawa established a thirty-member Canadian Armed Forces Training Team (CAFTTG) to assist with the training of young Ghanaian officers. Except for pay and allowances, Ghana bore the cost of this training program. During their time in Ghana, CAFTTG personnel served at the Teshi Military Academy (later Ghana Military Academy), the Military Hospital, the Ministry of Defence, Army Headquarters, the Armed Forces Training School (Kumasi), the Air Force Station (Takoradi), the Airborne School (Tamale), and the Training School (Accra). RCAF pilots also augmented the RAF team that was training Ghanaian air force pilots. In 1969, the Canadian government decided to phase out all military assistance programs in developing countries. Ottawa later reversed this decision, however, and established a one-man CAFTTG office in Ghana until 1982, when this individual returned to Canada.

Apart from training assistance, Canada also provided a modest amount of military equipment to Ghana during the immediate postindependence period. Shortly after the Ghanaian air force was formed, Ghana purchased numerous aircraft from Canada, including fourteen Beavers, twelve Otters, and eight twin-engined Caribou transports.

## **Soviet Union**

In January 1958, Ghana and the Soviet Union opened diplomatic relations. According to many Western observers, Moscow



planned to use Ghana as a base to extend its influence and communism throughout West Africa. Nkrumah, on the other hand, hoped that close relations with the Soviet Union would enable him to diversify Ghana's sources of military assistance. Ghana temporarily achieved its goal; Moscow, however, failed to establish a communist foothold in West Africa.

The two countries maintained a multifaceted military relationship. In 1961 Ghana purchased eight Ilyushin-18s, on credit, at more than US\$1.5 million each. High operating costs forced the Ghanaian government to return four of these aircraft to the Soviet Union and to transfer the other four to Ghana Airways. Two years later, Moscow presented an Mi-4 helicopter to Nkrumah as a personal gift. In 1965, after a year of internal unrest and several assassination attempts against him, Nkrumah concluded an arms deal with the Soviet Union for the purchase of weapons for the presidential guard. The shipment included twenty-four light artillery pieces, twenty-one medium mortars, fifteen anti-aircraft guns, twenty heavy machine guns, and a large amount of ammunition.

Apart from these military sales and the gift of a helicopter, the Soviet Union deployed an array of military, security, and technical advisers to Ghana in the 1960s. In 1964, for example, Soviet crews manned four patrol boats based at Tema; according to anti-Nkrumah elements, these patrol boats cruised the coast of Ghana and carried arms to opposition groups in nearby countries. By early 1966, the Soviet Union had begun construction of a new air base near Tamale in northern Ghana. Soviet instructors worked at secret Bureau of African Affairs camps, at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute in Winneba, and at numerous other security and military training facilities. Additionally, at least seventy-six Ghanaian army officer cadets attended military schools in the Soviet Union. Ghana Young Pioneers also received training at Komsomol schools in the Soviet Union.

After the downfall of Nkrumah in 1966, up to 1,100 Soviet personnel were expelled from Ghana. The new government broke diplomatic relations with Moscow and terminated all military assistance agreements. In the following years, Soviet-Ghanaian cooperation was minimal. In the mid-1980s, Ghana unsuccessfully petitioned the Soviet Union to reactivate some of the projects that had been abandoned after Nkrumah was overthrown. In late 1986, Ghana's National Secretariat of Committees for the Defence of the Revolution reportedly signed an

agreement with the Soviet Union for assistance in training national cadres. At the end of the 1980s, an unknown number of secret service personnel and commandos received training in the Soviet Union. As of late 1994, there was no indication that Ghana and Russia, the most powerful of the successor states of the former Soviet Union, had concluded any military assistance agreements.

### **German Democratic Republic**

Like other major communist powers, East Germany sought to exploit Kwame Nkrumah's radicalism to erode Western influence in Ghana and to use Ghana as a base for spreading communism throughout West Africa. The relationship between the two countries began in 1964, when Ghana's Bureau of African Affairs approached the East German Trade Mission in Accra and requested intelligence training for its staff. Subsequently, two East German officers who worked for the Ministry of State Security traveled to Ghana to assess the bureau's training requirements. One of these officers remained in Ghana and inaugurated a "Secret Service and Intelligence Work" course for seven members of the Bureau of African Affairs. This officer later offered an "Intelligence Work Under Diplomatic Cover" course for six other people who worked in the Bureau of African Affairs and who eventually were assigned to posts in Zambia, Nigeria, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, and Burundi. East Germany also helped the Ghanaian government to create an intelligence section in the Bureau of African Affairs. These activities ended after Nkrumah's downfall.

### **China**

Next to the former Soviet Union, China was the most active communist nation in Ghana. Chinese activities began in October 1962, when Beijing provided a loan for the construction of two arms factories; Ghana, however, never used the funds. Two years later, the two countries signed a secret agreement for the provision of military equipment and advisers for Ghana's "freedom fighters." In late 1964, a five-member team of Chinese guerrilla warfare experts arrived at Half Assini Training Camp. Shortly thereafter, this team inaugurated a twenty-day course that consisted of training in the manufacture and the use of explosives, guerrilla tactics, and "basic guiding and thinking on armed struggle." Other Chinese instructors offered another course at Obenimase Camp in Ashanti Region on strategy and

tactics, explosives, weapons use, telecommunications, and battlefield first aid. An unknown number of Ghanaians also attended a three-month espionage training course in China. Students from many other African nations, including Zaire, Niger, Cameroon, Fernando Po, Tanzania, Zambia, Rwanda, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina, Gabon, Nigeria, and Guinea, also received intelligence training from the Chinese in Ghana.

After the 1966 change of government, Ghana expelled 430 Chinese nationals, including three intelligence officers and thirteen guerrilla warfare specialists. Although they resumed diplomatic relations in 1972, Ghana and China never re-initiated significant military ties.

## **Israel**

In April 1959, Israel, with help from India, supervised the establishment of the Ghanaian air force. A small Israeli team also trained aircraft maintenance personnel and radio technicians at the Accra-based Air Force Trade Training School. Although the British persuaded Nkrumah to withdraw Israeli advisers from Ghana in 1960, Ghanaian pilots continued to receive some training at aviation schools in Israel. After Nkrumah's overthrow, Israeli military activities in Ghana ended.

## **United States**

Military relations between Ghana and the United States have been minimal and have been concentrated in the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program, which includes professional military education, management, and technical training. Between fiscal year (FY) 1950 and FY 1990, the value of training under the IMET program amounted to US\$3.5 million. Estimated IMET figures for FY 1991 were US\$252,000; for FY 1992, US\$175,000; and for FY 1993, US\$250,000. No credits under the United States Foreign Military Sales program were given to Ghana after 1955; in FY 1995, however, \$300,000 in credits was reportedly made available. Private United States companies received about US\$905,000 worth of commercial export licenses for Ghanaian arms purchases from FY 1950 to FY 1990.

## **Italy**

Since independence, Ghana has relied on Italy for an array of military aircraft. In early 1966, the Ghanaian air force estab-

lished a jet fighter/ground-attack squadron, which was composed of seven Italian Aermacchi MB-326s (within two years, three of these aircraft crashed and were later replaced). A small group of Italian Air Force instructors supervised this squadron. In 1983 and 1984, the Ghanaian air force accepted delivery of eight SIAI-Marchetti SF-260TP turboprop trainers. In mid-1987, Ghana ordered two Aermacchi MB-339 jet trainers from Italy.

## **Libya**

Little is known about the Ghanaian-Libyan military relationship. An unknown number of Libyan military personnel have participated in Ghanaian military exercises as observers. During the second Rawlings regime, an undetermined number of Libyan soldiers received jungle warfare training in Ghana. In May 1983, the Ghanaian government acknowledged that it had received unspecified quantities of military equipment, mostly artillery pieces and ammunition, as gifts from Libya. To all appearances, Accra's ties to Libya weakened after Ghana moved closer to the West in the late 1980s.

## **State Security Services**

The origins of Ghana's police force lie in efforts by the British council of merchants to protect trading routes and depots. In 1830 the committee hired numerous guards and escorts. Fourteen years later, the British established the 120-member Gold Coast Militia and Police (GCMP). The authorities disbanded this force in 1860 and created a ninety-member corps called the Queen's Messengers. Military units assumed the GCMP's paramilitary duties.

During the Asante wars, the Queen's Messengers joined the Hausa Constabulary, imported from Nigeria, and formed the Gold Coast Armed Police Force. In 1876 the British reorganized this unit into the Gold Coast Constabulary, which was divided into two forces in 1901, with the paramilitary mission assigned to the Gold Coast Regiment and the police functions given to the Gold Coast Police Force. The Northern Territories Constabulary, which the British created in 1907, joined the Gold Coast Police Force shortly after World War I. This left the Gold Coast with one police force, a situation that prevailed until independence.



*Ghanaian air force personnel on parade  
Contingent of the Ghanaian navy on parade  
Courtesy Embassy of Ghana, Washington*

During the 1950s, the British instituted several changes in the Gold Coast Police Force to modernize, enlarge, and better equip the force. Of greater importance was Britain's decision to Africanize the police. During the first decade of this century, the British had restricted access to senior positions in all branches of the colonial administration. This restriction became a major concern of Ghanaian nationalists, who agitated against it, an action that gradually caused a reduction in the number of British officers. In 1951, for example, sixty-four of eighty senior police officers were foreigners; however, by 1958, only eleven of 128 senior officers were foreigners.

This Africanization continued under Nkrumah. In 1958 Nkrumah appointed the first Ghanaian police commissioner, E.R.T. Madjitey. By the early 1960s, the only expatriates who remained on the force were a few technical advisers and instructors. Nkrumah, however, distrusted the police. After an unsuccessful assassination attempt against Nkrumah in 1964 by a police constable, he disarmed the police, discharged nine senior officers, detained eight others, and removed the Border Guards unit from the police and placed it under military control. Nkrumah also reduced the size of the police force from 13,247 in 1964 to 10,709 in 1965.

After the demise of the Nkrumah regime, the size of the police force increased from 17,692 in 1966 to 19,895 in 1968. The government also restored the Border Guards unit to police control (in 1972 this unit again became an autonomous unit). By the early 1980s, the police enjoyed respect from most Ghanaians because, for the most part, they were not involved with government attempts to suppress political dissidents or to punish those suspected of trying to overthrow the Rawlings regime, duties normally assigned to the armed forces.

In 1993 Ghana's law enforcement establishment consisted of 351 police officers, 649 inspectors, and 15,191 personnel in other grades distributed among 479 stations. The national headquarters are in Accra; they operate under command of an inspector general. An eight-member Police Council, established in 1969, advises the inspector general on all personnel and policy matters. The inspector general supervises ten police regions, each commanded by an assistant commissioner of police. The police regions in turn are divided into districts, stations, and posts. The police service is composed of General Administration, Criminal Investigations Department, Special Branch, Police Hospital, and National Ambulance Service.

Recruitment into the police is conducted at the rank-and-file and the commissioned-officer levels. All recruits must be between eighteen and thirty-four years of age, must pass a medical examination, and must have no criminal record. Escort Police applicants must have at least basic facility in spoken English, General Police applicants must have completed middle school or junior secondary school, and officer corps applicants must hold a university degree.

Training for rank-and-file personnel in the Escort and the General Police forces is conducted at the Elmina police depot; Escort Police also have been trained at several regional depots. Since 1975 recruits have attended a nine-month course of instruction in physical training and drill, firearms use, unarmed combat, and first aid. Escort Police are given general education and instruction in patrol and escort duties. General Police are trained in criminal law and procedures, methods of investigation, current affairs, and social sciences.

The Accra Police College, established in 1959, offers a nine-month officer cadet course and two- to six-week refresher courses in general and technical subjects. Police officers staff the college; guest lecturers come from the police, other government agencies, and universities. The officer cadet course offers instruction in criminal law and procedures, laws of evidence, police administration, finance, social sciences, practical police work, and physical fitness. Upon graduation, cadets are sworn in and promoted to assistant superintendent.

Since the early 1990s, the reputation of the police has improved, primarily because fewer individual officers have used their positions to extort money from civilians. Moreover, an increasing number of police have been deployed overseas to support Ghana's commitment to international peacekeeping operations. In 1992–93, for example, a police contingent served with the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia. In addition to supervising local police and maintaining law and order, this contingent also tried to prevent gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

## **Criminal Justice**

Prior to the advent of British imperial rule, traditional law, which sought to maintain social equilibrium and to ensure communal solidarity, governed social relations among Ghana's peoples. Among the Talensi ethnic group of northern Ghana, for example, homicide was viewed as a transgression against

the earth, one's ancestors, and the victim's lineage. Deterrence from crime or rehabilitation of an offender were not objectives of the legal system. Among the Asante, the same concern with social equilibrium and communal solidarity prevailed. Serious crimes such as murder, unintentional homicide, suicide, sexual offenses, treason, cowardice in war, witchcraft, and crimes against the chief were termed *oman akyiwade*, offenses that threatened the mystical communion between the community on the one hand and one's ancestors and Asante gods on the other. The authorities punished such behavior with a sentence of death in the case of murder or by the sacrifice of an appropriate animal in the case of lesser offenses. *Efiseɛm*, or minor crimes, did not rupture this relationship; hence, an offender could repay his debt to society with a ritual *impata*, or compensation.

The British imposed upon Ghana's traditional societies criminal laws and penal systems designed to "keep the multitude in order" rather than to preserve the equilibrium between the human and spiritual worlds. The development of penal law, however, was uneven. From 1828 to 1842, a council of merchants exercised criminal jurisdiction in and around British forts on the coast. The council often abused this power, thereby alienating many Ghanaians. After creating the Gold Coast Colony in 1874, the British gradually reformed and improved the legal and the penal systems. After more than a century of legal evolution, the application of traditional law to criminal acts disappeared. Since 1961 the criminal law administered by the court system has been statutory and based on a Criminal Code. This code is founded on British common law, doctrines of equity, and general statutes which were in force in Britain in 1874, as amended by subsequent Ghanaian ordinances.

### **Criminal Code and Courts**

Two of the three categories of offenses cited in the Criminal Code concern transgressions against the individual. The third category includes a series of offenses against public order, health and morality, and the security of the state, as well as piracy, perjury, rioting, vagrancy, and cruelty to animals. Several offenses reflect Ghana's traditional laws, including drumming with the intent to provoke disorder, cocoa smuggling, and settlement of private disputes by methods of traditional ordeal.



Criminal Court procedure is guided by the Criminal Procedure Code of 1960 as subsequently amended. As in British law, habeas corpus is allowed, and the courts are authorized to release suspects on bail. Ghana's legal system does not use grand juries, but, in accordance with constitutionally guaranteed fundamental rights, defendants charged with a criminal offense are entitled to a trial by jury.

Five degrees of offenses are recognized in Ghana. Capital offenses, for which the maximum penalty is death by hanging, include murder, treason, and piracy. First-degree felonies punishable by life imprisonment are limited to manslaughter, rape, and mutiny. Second-degree felonies, punishable by ten years' imprisonment, include intentional and unlawful harm to persons, perjury, and robbery. Misdemeanors, punishable by various terms of imprisonment, include assault, theft, unlawful assembly, official corruption, and public nuisances. Increased penalties apply to individuals with a prior criminal record. Corporal punishment is not permitted. Punishments for juveniles are subject to two restrictions: no death sentence may be passed against a juvenile, and no juvenile under age seventeen may be imprisoned. Regulations and laws such as these are not applied equitably. Indeed, defendants habitually resort to one or another measure to avoid or ameliorate punishment.

The Ghanaian court system is a multifaceted organization. The Supreme Court of Ghana, which consists of the chief justice and four other justices, is the final court of appeal and has jurisdiction over matters relating to the enforcement or the interpretation of constitutional law. The Court of Appeal, which includes the chief justice and not fewer than five other judges, has jurisdiction to hear and to determine appeals from any judgment, decree, or High Court of Justice order. The High Court of Justice, which consists of the chief justice and not fewer than twelve other justices, has jurisdiction in all matters, civil and criminal, other than those involving treason.

Before mid-1993, lower courts consisted of circuit courts, which had jurisdiction in civil matters and in all criminal cases except offenses in which the maximum punishment was death or the offense was treason; district or magistrate courts, with jurisdiction over civil suits and criminal cases except first-degree felonies; and juvenile courts, empowered to hear charges against persons under seventeen years of age. In 1982 the PNDC created a parallel hierarchy of special courts called public tribunals, which exercised only criminal jurisdiction,

including some offenses under the Criminal Code (see *The Judiciary*, ch. 4). Members of the public tribunals and their panels were mostly lay people who sat with lawyers. Proceedings were often swift and could result in death sentences. There were no provisions for appeals until 1984, when the PNDC established the National Public Tribunal, which consisted of three to five members, to receive appeals from lower tribunals. Its decisions, however, were final and could not be appealed. In 1982 a five- to seven-member Special Military Tribunal was also established to handle crimes committed by military personnel.

In July 1993, the Parliament of the Fourth Republic incorporated the public tribunals into the existing lower courts system, except for the National Public Tribunal, which was abolished. A new hierarchy of lower courts was established consisting of community tribunals, circuit tribunals, and regional tribunals. The tribunals have original jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases, and decisions can be appealed through higher courts. In late 1994, indications were that the new tribunals had not yet begun to function in many parts of the country, at least partly for lack of funds.

### **Prison System**

There was no prison system in traditional Ghanaian societies. In the mid-nineteenth century, the British council of merchants established a network of harsh prisons in forts such as Cape Coast Castle. By 1850 four such prisons could hold up to 129 prisoners. Convicts usually worked on road gangs. The Prisons Ordinance of 1860 outlined regulations for the safe-keeping of prisoners. Later ordinances further defined the nature of the colony's prison regimen, or "separate system," which required solitary confinement by night, penal labor, and a minimum diet. By the early 1900s, British colonial officials administered the country's prisons and employed Europeans to work as guards in the prisons. After World War II, Ghanaians gradually replaced these individuals. By 1962 Ghanaians staffed all positions in the prison system.

Under Nkrumah the government showed little concern for reform and modernization of the penal system. After Nkrumah's overthrow, the National Liberation Council (NLC) authorized a civilian commission to investigate the prison system and to make recommendations for improvements. The commission's report, issued in 1968, revealed numerous prob-

lems. Of the country's twenty-nine prisons, nine were judged unfit for human habitation, two were suitable only for police lockups, and thirteen were appropriate only for short-term detainment. Because of corruption and incompetence, however, the NLC failed to act upon the commission's recommendations. As a result, prison conditions continued to be substandard, with poor ventilation, sanitation, and food-preparation facilities.

Ministerial responsibility for the prison system has shifted periodically since independence, but the operation of prisons is fixed by statute and is divided into adult and juvenile correction. The former is governed by the Prisons Ordinance, which outlines rules for prison operation and treatment of prisoners. The constitution of 1969 established a Prison Service, the director of which is appointed by the chief executive and is responsible to the minister of interior. The Criminal Procedure Code determines procedures for handling young offenders.

The Prisons Service Board formulates prison policy and regulations and administers the country's prisons. The board consists of a Public Services Commission member as chairman, the prison services director, a medical officer of the Ghana Medical Association, a representative of the attorney general, the principal secretary of the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, and three other appointed members, one of whom must be a woman and two of whom must be representatives of religious organizations.

To ensure the welfare and the proper treatment of prisoners, the constitution requires the Prisons Service Board to ensure that prison conditions are reviewed at intervals of not less than two years. Reports of unjustified treatment of prisoners and recommendations for reform measures are required of the board.

The prisons service is a career establishment with a promotion system based on training and merit; its members have retirement privileges similar to those of other public services. Prisons service standards require one staff member for every three prisoners, but the ratio in many institutions has risen to one to five or more.

Although understaffing has been a long-standing problem, the quality of prison officers and guards has improved over the years. Women are included in both categories. Although recruited from all over the country, prison personnel largely come from the Ewe and Ga ethnic groups. The prisons service

maintains a training school and depot at Mamobi, near Accra. This facility offers a six-month training course for senior staff members, special courses for matrons, and preparatory courses for promotion examinations.

In 1992, the most recent year for which data were available, the prison system consisted of twenty-seven institutions, including six central prisons for men at Accra (Ussher Fort and James Fort), Sekondi, Kumasi, Tamale, and Nsawam; two for women at Ekuasi (near Sekondi) and at Ho; fifteen local prisons sited throughout the country, six of which have annexes for women; and two "open" prisons, one at James Camp near Accra, and the other at Ankaful near Cape Coast. About 70 percent of commitments are for less than six months. Outside the criminal justice system, the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare operates probation homes in Accra and Jakabu Ashanti for boys and in Kumasi for girls; detention centers in Accra, Sekondi, Cape Coast, and Kumasi handle juveniles of both sexes.

Persons convicted and sentenced to a period of police supervision (parole) rather than imprisonment are subject to a licensing arrangement. Violations of the license terms are punishable by one-year imprisonment. Upon convicting an offender of any age, a court may release that individual on probation for six months to three years. Failure to comply with the terms of the probation can result in the probationer's having to serve the sentence for the original offense. Probation has been used mainly for young persons.

## **Human Rights**

Ever since the Nkrumah government of the late 1950s and early 1960s, successive Ghanaian governments have devised policies to contain or to eliminate political opposition. Observers, both domestic and international, point to the Preventive Detention Act of 1958 as the first major official act of human rights infringement. Subsequently, international human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Africa Watch have reported many cases of abuse.

The NLC, which ousted Nkrumah in 1966, used authoritarian tactics against real and imagined adversaries. The Busia government, which followed the NLC, also employed harsh measures against its opponents. Beginning in 1972 when Acheampong seized power, respect for the state and its institutions and laws withered, a development that in turn caused an

*President Jerry John Rawlings, on an official visit to Washington in March 1995, discussed Ghana's role in international peacekeeping, regional stability in West Africa, trade, and mutual cooperation with President William J. Clinton.  
Courtesy The White House*



increase in human rights violations. In 1979 Jerry Rawlings sought to redress this situation by launching an army mutiny, which led to several executions, including those of three former heads of state.

Following a second coup on December 31, 1981, Rawlings promised to put power in the hands of the people by revolutionizing the country's political and economic system. To achieve this goal, Rawlings suspended the constitution, banned political parties, and arrested numerous party leaders. On February 18, 1983, the Rawlings government promulgated PNDC Law 42, the Provisional National Defence Council (Establishment) Proclamation (Supplementary and Consequential Provisions) Law, which was retroactive to December 31, 1981. According to Amnesty International, this law gave the PNDC and its chairman, Rawlings, "wide and apparently arbitrary power over the citizens of Ghana." Additionally, Amnesty International voiced concern about the establishment of public tribunals to try political criminals, the detention without trial of suspected government opponents, the imprisonment after an unfair trial of such people, reports of arbitrary killings by armed forces personnel, and the beating and ill treatment of political opponents and criminals by armed forces personnel.

Since the late 1980s, Ghana has continued to experience human rights problems. These include restrictions on such

basic rights as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and freedom of assembly; the right of citizens to change their government; and due process of law. In June 1989, Ghanaian authorities established regulations for registering all religious organizations, froze the assets of four churches, and expelled expatriate missionaries who were Jehovah's Witnesses or Mormons. Additionally, the PNDC detained the president and the secretary general of the Ghana Bar Association without charge for more than a week after the association announced its intention to hold a conference commemorating the 1982 murder of three judges by soldiers. After the association canceled its plans, the government released the president and the secretary general.

Ghanaian authorities also arrested numerous American citizens who belonged to a religious group known as the Black Hebrews and held them without charge for lengthy periods. In September 1989, the Ministry of Defence ordered the imprisonment of Major Courage Quarshigah and four others for "their alleged involvement in activities which could have compromised the security of the state," that is, for having attempted a coup. Eventually, the government detained another group of five people in connection with the so-called Quarshigah Affair. By the end of 1989, there were about 200 political detainees and prisoners. The government failed to respond to appeals by Amnesty International to investigate reported mistreatment of these detainees and prisoners.

Significant restrictions on personal freedoms continued in 1990. Summary arrests and detention without formal charges were also numerous. Additionally, Lebanese and other resident foreign businessmen were jailed and held without formal charges and without benefit of trial. In August 1990, authorities charged the chairman and other officials of the Movement for Freedom and Justice, a political group that advocated greater respect for human rights and democratization, with conspiracy and publication of a false statement regarding their detention. The movement's officials later retracted their charge of illegal detention and apologized to the government.

According to Africa Watch, the Ghanaian government in 1991 continued to hold at least seventy-six political prisoners and other detainees. In a radio interview on May 31, 1991, Secretary for Foreign Affairs Obed Asamoah claimed that some of these detainees were subversives. If they were brought to trial, Asamoah added, they would be convicted and executed. In late

1991, the PNDC arrested several opposition leaders for criticizing the Rawlings regime. Human-rights advocates also reported various examples of mistreatment of prisoners, such as keeping them in isolation for long periods and in dark, small cells without clothes or bedding. During political demonstrations, the police were often accused of using excessive force against anti-government elements.

With the introduction of the 1992 constitution, observers hoped that Ghana's human rights record would improve because the new constitution contains a system of checks and balances, it guarantees basic human rights and freedoms, and it provides for an autonomous organization called the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice. This commission, established in September 1993, is empowered to investigate alleged human rights violations, and it may take action to remedy proven abuses.

When the commission uncovers a human rights violation, it can seek resolution through negotiation, report the incident to the attorney general or auditor general, or institute proceedings. As of late 1994, the commission had received some 2,500 complaints and petitions from Ghanaians with human rights grievances against present and past governments, of which about 1,000 had been dealt with.

Another prominent human rights organization is the Ghana Committee on Human and People's Rights. Established in early 1991 specifically to watch for and to publicize violations of basic freedoms, it was credited with contributing to an improved human rights climate in the early 1990s.

## **Military Trends**

Like many African militaries, the Ghanaian armed forces are in a state of transition. In the past, the military was an important instrument of state power, the purposes of which were to defend the country's national security, to suppress domestic dissidents, and, when necessary, to assume the reins of government. In the 1990s, growing popular demands for a better material life, for democratization, and for respect for human rights are slowly changing the nature of Ghana's military establishment.

After seizing power in 1981, the Rawlings regime assigned a high priority to economic development, and it downplayed the necessity for a large, traditional military. As part of an international financial and economic aid program, the World Bank

and the IMF forced Ghana to keep its military budget low. For this reason, there have been no major weapons purchases for at least a decade, and many of Ghana's more sophisticated weapons systems have fallen into disrepair. By the late 1980s, it had also become evident that most Ghanaians favored a multiparty, rather than a military, form of government and that they opposed the use of the armed forces as an instrument to silence political debate.

These trends are likely to continue for the foreseeable future. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, additional budget cuts doubtless will have further reduced the size of the Ghanaian armed forces. Moreover, the government will be increasingly unwilling or unable to finance the high costs of acquiring, operating, and maintaining advanced weapons.

Despite the inevitable downsizing of the Ghanaian military establishment, Accra undoubtedly will maintain and perhaps will increase its commitment to international peacekeeping forces. Ghana also is likely to support efforts to persuade the Organization of African Unity to take up the role of peacekeeper on the African continent. The success of Ghana's future participation in peacekeeping operations will depend on the ability of its armed forces to adapt to highly demanding service in far-off countries.

\* \* \*

Historically, the Ghanaian armed forces have played a significant role in the life of the country. As a result, there is abundant literature about the growth and the development of the Ghanaian military. Useful historical works include Henry Brackenbury's *The Ashanti War: A Narrative*, Mary Alice Hodgson's *The Siege of Kumassi*, Alan Lloyd's *The Drums of Kumasi: The Story of the Ashanti Wars*, and Frederick Myatt's *The Golden Stool: An Account of the Ashanti War of 1900*.

The best account of the military during the colonial period is *The History of the Royal West African Frontier Force* by A. Haywood and F.A.S. Clarke. Other important studies of this era include Hugh Charles Clifford's *The Gold Coast Regiment in the East African Campaign* and Sir Charles Prestwood Lucas's *The Gold Coast and the War*.

The postindependence evolution of the Ghanaian armed forces is examined in Simon Baynham's *The Military and Politics in Nkrumah's Ghana*, Robert Pickney's *Ghana under Military*



*Rule, 1966–1969*, Albert Kwesi Ocran's *Politics of the Sword: A Personal Memoir on Military Involvement in Ghana and of Problems of Military Government*, and *Politicians and Soldiers in Ghana, 1966–1972*, edited by Dennis Austin and Robin Luckham.

Material about Ghana's military is also available in a variety of periodical sources, including *West Africa*, *African Defence Journal*, *Africa Research Bulletin*, and *Africa Confidential*. Other useful publications include *New African*, *Africa Events*, and *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Two International Institute for Strategic Studies annuals, *The Military Balance* and *Strategic Survey*, are essential for anyone wishing to understand the evolution of Ghana's security forces. The same is true of three other annuals: *Africa Contemporary Record*, *Africa South of the Sahara*, and *World Armaments and Disarmament*. The last is published by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)



## Appendix

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Table 1. Metric Conversion Coefficients and Factors

When you know	Multiply by	To find
Millimeters .....	0.04	inches
Centimeters .....	0.39	inches
Meters .....	3.3	feet
Kilometers .....	0.62	miles
Hectares (10,000 <sup>2</sup> ) .....	2.47	acres
Square kilometers .....	0.39	square miles
Cubic meters .....	35.3	cubic feet
Liters .....	0.26	gallons
Kilograms .....	2.2	pounds
Metric tons .....	0.98	long tons
.....	1.1	short tons
.....	2,204	pounds
Degrees Celsius (Centigrade)	1.8	degrees Fahrenheit
	and add 32	

Table 2. Population Distribution by Region, 1960, 1970, and 1984<sup>1</sup>  
(in thousands)

Region	1960	1970	1984
Ashanti .....	1,109.1	1,481.7	2,090.1
Brong-Ahafo .....	587.9	766.5	1,206.6
Central .....	751.4	890.1	1,142.3
Eastern .....	777.3	1,209.8	1,680.9
Greater Accra .....	491.8 <sup>2</sup>	903.4	1,431.1
Northern .....	531.6	727.6	1,164.6
Upper East .....	— <sup>3</sup>	542.9	772.7
Upper West .....	757.3 <sup>3</sup>	319.9	438.3
Volta .....	1,094.2	947.3	1,211.9
Western .....	<u>626.2</u>	<u>770.1</u>	<u>1,157.8</u>
TOTAL .....	6,726.8	8,559.3	12,296.0

<sup>1</sup> Latest available data. Ghana's 1994 population is estimated at 17.2 million, but no regional breakdown is available.

<sup>2</sup> Represents only Accra administrative area. The rest of what is now Greater Accra Region was part of Eastern Region in 1960.

<sup>3</sup> In 1960 Upper East and Upper West regions were combined in Upper Region.

Source: Based on information from Ghana, *Monthly Economic Bulletin*, Accra, 3, May 1970, 2; Ghana, Statistical Service, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, Accra, December 1991, Table 95; and United States, Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook*, Washington, 1994, 151.

Table 3. Population Density, Growth Rate, and Rural-Urban Distribution by Region, 1970-84

Region	Area <sup>4</sup>	Population Density <sup>1</sup>		Growth Rate <sup>2</sup>	Population Distribution <sup>3</sup>	
		1970	1984		Rural	Urban
Ashanti . . . . .	24,389	61	86	2.5	67.5	32.5
Brong-Ahafo . . . . .	39,557	19	31	3.3	73.4	26.6
Central . . . . .	9,826	91	116	1.8	71.2	28.8
Eastern . . . . .	19,323	63	87	2.4	72.3	27.7
Greater Accra . . . . .	3,245	278	441	3.3	17.0	83.0
Northern . . . . .	70,384	10	17	3.4	74.8	25.2
Upper East . . . . .	8,842	61	87	2.6	87.1	12.9
Upper West . . . . .	18,476	17	24	2.3	89.1	10.9
Volta . . . . .	20,570	46	59	1.8	79.5	20.5
Western . . . . .	<u>23,921</u>	32	48	3.0	77.4	22.6
GHANA . . . . .	238,533	36	52	2.6	68.0	32.0

<sup>1</sup> Persons per square kilometer.

<sup>2</sup> Average annual compound rate for 1970-84 period, in percentages.

<sup>3</sup> In percentages, for 1984; towns with 5,000 or more inhabitants.

<sup>4</sup> In square kilometers.

Source: Based on information from Ghana, Statistical Service, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, Accra, December 1991, Tables 94, 95, and 96.

Table 4. Medical and Paramedical Personnel in Government Institutions by Region, 1989<sup>1</sup>

Region	Physicians	Medical Assistants	Dentists	Dental Assistants	Nurses <sup>2</sup>	Nurses <sup>3</sup>	Midwives	Pharmacists	Dispensary Assistants
Ashanti .....	24	35	2	3	163	379	136	5	108
Brong-Ahafo .....	19	23	2	5	65	703	74	3	62
Central .....	16	37	5	5	226	730	103	4	74
Eastern .....	50	41	4	6	318	1,240	287	4	135
Greater Accra .....	60	39	12	14	1,078	1,138	335	10	123
Northern .....	18	36	— <sup>4</sup>	3	275	544	110	6	44
Upper East .....	15	17	—	4	109	414	90	2	47
Upper West .....	9	16	—	—	138	283	131	3	27
Volta .....	35	30	2	5	277	901	156	6	69
Western .....	43	40	4	8	394	563	89	5	76
Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital <sup>5</sup> .....	121	1	5	9	306	292	170	11	47
Korle-Bu Hospital <sup>5</sup> .....	<u>218</u>	—	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>649</u>	<u>623</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>62</u>
TOTAL .....	628	315	39	70	3,998	7,810	1,736	67	874

<sup>1</sup> Latest available data. Figures do not include medical personnel working in quasi-governmental institutions.

<sup>2</sup> Includes registered nurses and nurse anesthetists.

<sup>3</sup> Includes community health nurses.

<sup>4</sup> — means negligible.

<sup>5</sup> Korle-Bu Hospital in Accra and Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital in Kumasi are both teaching hospitals.

Source: Based on information from Ghana, Statistical Service, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, Accra, December 1991, Table 85.

Table 5. Enrollment and Gender Breakdown by Education Level, Selected Academic Years, 1980-81 to 1990-91

Education Level	1980-81		1985-86		1989-90		1990-91	
	Student Enrollment	Gender Breakdown <sup>1</sup>	Student Enrollment	Gender Breakdown <sup>1</sup>	Student Enrollment	Gender Breakdown <sup>1</sup>	Student Enrollment	Gender Breakdown <sup>1</sup>
Primary								
Males .....	766,406	56	718,173	55	939,010	55	991,877	55
Females .....	<u>611,328</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>577,727</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>764,064</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>811,271</u>	<u>45</u>
Total primary .....	1,377,734	100	1,295,900	100	1,703,074	100	1,803,148	100
Middle <sup>2</sup>								
Males .....	316,063	60	315,253	58	62,117	60	n.a.	n.a.
Females .....	<u>213,632</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>224,670</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>40,951</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>n.a.</u>	<u>n.a.</u>
Total middle	529,695	100	539,923	100	103,068	100	n.a.	n.a.
Junior secondary <sup>2</sup>								
Males .....	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	366,830	59	377,108	62
Females .....	<u>n.a.</u>	<u>n.a.</u>	<u>n.a.</u>	<u>n.a.</u>	<u>258,188</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>232,235</u>	<u>38</u>
Total junior secondary .....	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	625,018	100	609,343	100
Senior secondary								
Males .....	78,017	69	89,220	69	112,542	67	133,581	67
Females .....	<u>35,140</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>40,787</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>55,458</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>65,679</u>	<u>33</u>
Total senior secondary .....	113,157	100	130,007	100	168,000	100	199,260	100



Table 5. Enrollment and Gender Breakdown by Education Level, Selected Academic Years, 1980-81 to 1990-91

Education Level	1980-81		1985-86		1989-90		1990-91	
	Student Enrollment	Gender Breakdown <sup>1</sup>	Student Enrollment	Gender Breakdown <sup>1</sup>	Student Enrollment	Gender Breakdown <sup>1</sup>	Student Enrollment	Gender Breakdown <sup>1</sup>
<b>Polytechnics<sup>3</sup></b>								
Males	n.a.	n.a.	7,203 <sup>4</sup>	72 <sup>4</sup>	8,403	73	n.a.	n.a.
Females	n.a.	n.a.	2,785 <sup>4</sup>	28 <sup>4</sup>	3,065	27	n.a.	n.a.
Total polytechnics	n.a.	n.a.	9,988 <sup>4</sup>	100 <sup>4</sup>	1,468	100	n.a.	n.a.
<b>University of Ghana</b>								
Males	3,098	84	2,807	81	3,269	81	3,076	76
Females	607	16	645	19	771	19	976	24
Total University of Ghana	3,705	100	3,452	100	4,040	100	4,052	100
<b>University of Science and Technology</b>								
Males	2,432	86	2,702	84	2,902	83	3,099	82
Females	384	14	500	16	575	17	697	18
Total University of Science and Technology	2,816	100	3,202	100	3,477	100	3,796	100
<b>University of Cape Coast</b>								
Males	1,139	81	1,259	82	1,387	80	n.a.	n.a.
Females	266	19	280	18	347	20	n.a.	n.a.

Table 5. Enrollment and Gender Breakdown by Education Level, Selected Academic Years, 1980-81 to 1990-91

Education Level	1980-81		1985-86		1989-90		1990-91	
	Student Enrollment	Gender Breakdown <sup>1</sup>	Student Enrollment	Gender Breakdown <sup>1</sup>	Student Enrollment	Gender Breakdown <sup>1</sup>	Student Enrollment	Gender Breakdown <sup>1</sup>
Total University of Cape Coast .....	1,405	100	1,539	100	1,734	100	n.a.	n.a.
Total university enrollment								
Males .....	6,669	84	6,768	83	7,558	81	6,175 <sup>5</sup>	79 <sup>5</sup>
Females .....	<u>1,257</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>1,425</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>1,693</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>1,673<sup>5</sup></u>	<u>21</u>
Total university enrollment .	7,926	100	8,193	100	9,251	100	7,848 <sup>5</sup>	100 <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In percentages.

<sup>2</sup> As a result of education reforms of the mid-1980s, middle schools were phased out and junior secondary schools were phased in.

<sup>3</sup> Full-time and part-time students.

<sup>4</sup> 1986-87 figures.

<sup>5</sup> Enrollment in the University of Ghana and in the University of Science and Technology only.

n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from Ghana, Statistical Service, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, Accra, December 1991, Tables 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, and 77; and World Bank, various sources.

Table 6. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at Market Prices, Selected Years, 1986-92<sup>1</sup>

	1986	1988	1990	1992
Total GDP (in billions of cedis) <sup>2</sup>				
At current prices . . . . .	511	1,051	2,032	3,009
At constant 1987 prices . . . . .	713	787	854	934
Real change (in percentages) . . . . .	5.1	5.5	3.3	3.9
In billions of United States dollars . . . . .	4.62	5.11	5.55	6.06
Per capita GDP (in thousands of cedis)				
At current prices . . . . .	38.8	74.8	135.5	188.5
At constant 1987 prices . . . . .	54.2	56.0	56.9	58.5
Real change (in percentages) . . . . .	1.7	2.2	0.0	0.9
In United States dollars . . . . .	352	364	369	380

<sup>1</sup> Latest available data.

<sup>2</sup> For value of the cedi—see Glossary.

Source: Based on information from Ghana, Statistical Service, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, Accra, December 1991, Table 87; and Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Ghana, 1994-95*, London, 1994, 16.

Table 7. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by Sector, 1983 and 1991<sup>1</sup>

Sector	1983		1991	
	Value <sup>2</sup>	Percentage	Value <sup>2</sup>	Percentage
<b>Agriculture</b>				
Agriculture and livestock . . . . .	92,047	50.0	873,493	33.9
Cocoa production and marketing . . . . .	10,227	5.6	244,602	9.5
Forestry and logging . . . . .	5,609	3.0	99,986	3.9
Fishing . . . . .	<u>2,044</u>	<u>1.1</u>	<u>33,942</u>	<u>1.3</u>
Total agriculture . . . . .	109,927	59.7	1,252,024	48.6
<b>Industry</b>				
Mining and quarrying . . . . .	1,944	1.1	45,587	1.8
Manufacturing . . . . .	7,101	3.9	225,078	8.7
Electricity and water . . . . .	358	0.2	51,950	2.0
Construction . . . . .	<u>2,796</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>89,195</u>	<u>3.5</u>
Total industry . . . . .	12,199	6.6	411,811	16.0
<b>Services</b>				
Transportation and communications . . . . .	7,663	4.2	114,688	4.5
Wholesale and retail trade . . . . .	43,120	23.4	442,787	17.2
Finance and insurance . . . . .	3,311	1.8	107,391	4.2
Government and other . . . . .	<u>8,670</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>243,456</u>	<u>9.4</u>
Total services . . . . .	62,764	34.1	908,322	35.3
Less imputed bank service charges . . . . .	-2,259	-1.2	-35,461	-1.4
Import duties . . . . .	1,407	0.8	38,077	1.5
GDP at market prices . . . . .	184,038	100.0	2,574,774	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Figures may not add to totals because of rounding.

<sup>2</sup> At current prices, in millions of cedis (for value of the cedi—see Glossary).

Source: Based on information from Ghana, Statistical Service, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, Accra, 1987, Table 74; and Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Ghana*, 1994-95, London, 1994, 15.

*Table 8. External Debt, Selected Years, 1986-92<sup>1</sup>*  
(in millions of United States dollars)

	1986	1988	1990	1992
<b>External debt</b>				
Long-term .....	1,754	2,214	2,705	3,131
Short-term .....	187	72	312	404
IMF credit <sup>2</sup> .....	<u>786</u>	<u>762</u>	<u>745</u>	<u>740</u>
Total external debt .....	2,726	3,048	3,761	4,275
<b>Public disbursed debt</b>				
Official creditors .....	1,464	1,892	2,483	2,894
Private creditors .....	<u>252</u>	<u>290</u>	<u>189</u>	<u>202</u>
Total public disbursed debt .....	1,716	2,182	2,672	3,096
<b>Debt service</b>				
Principal .....	112	424	250	185
Interest .....	<u>111</u>	<u>128</u>	<u>105</u>	<u>115</u>
Total debt service .....	223	552	356	300

<sup>1</sup> Figures may not add to totals because of rounding.

<sup>2</sup> IMF—see Glossary.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Ghana, 1994-95*, London, 1994, 34.

*Table 9. Public Finance, Selected Years, 1988-94*  
(in millions of cedis)<sup>1</sup>

	1988	1990	1992	1994
Revenue .....	153,791	267,347	400,000	1,078,069
Current expenditure .....	<u>-111,004</u>	<u>-198,193</u>	<u>-283,000</u>	<u>-742,376</u>
Balance .....	42,787	69,154	117,000	335,693
Development expenditure .....	-32,893	-56,280	-157,000	-174,200
Net lending <sup>2</sup> .....	<u>-5,983</u>	<u>-9,487</u>	n.a. <sup>3</sup>	<u>-93,457</u>
Overall balance .....	3,911	3,387	n.a.	68,036
<b>Financing</b>				
Domestic .....	-6,166	-27,977	n.a.	-151,813
External .....	2,255	24,590	n.a.	83,777

<sup>1</sup> For value of the cedi—see Glossary.

<sup>2</sup> Net loans, advances, and investment in public boards, corporations, and companies.

<sup>3</sup> n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from Ghana, Statistical Service, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, Accra, December 1991, Table 33; and Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Ghana, 1994-95*, London, 1994, 28.

Table 10. Balance of Payments, Selected Years, 1986-94<sup>1</sup>  
(in millions of United States dollars)

	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994 <sup>2</sup>
Merchandise exports .....	773	881	891	986	1,246
Merchandise imports .....	<u>-713</u>	<u>-993</u>	<u>-1,199</u>	<u>-1,457</u>	<u>-1,760</u>
Trade balance .....	61	-112	-308	-470	-514
Exports of services .....	45	78	93	129	n.a. <sup>3</sup>
Imports of services .....	-344	-400	-429	-505	n.a.
Net private transfers .....	72	172	202	255	n.a.
Net official transfers .....	<u>123</u>	<u>196</u>	<u>214</u>	<u>214</u>	<u>n.a.</u>
Current account balance .....	-43	-66	-228	-378	-190
Direct investment .....	4	5	15	22	n.a.
Other capital .....	<u>59</u>	<u>204</u>	<u>310</u>	<u>299</u>	<u>n.a.</u>
Capital account balance .....	63	209	325	321	n.a.

<sup>1</sup> Figures may not add to totals because of rounding.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated.

<sup>3</sup> n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Ghana, 1993-94*, London, 1993, 32; Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Report: Ghana* [London], No. 3, 1994, 6; and Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Ghana, 1994-95*, London, 1994, 32.

Table 11. Major Political Parties and Military Regimes, 1897-1994

Period	Description
1897-1920s	British West Africa Aborigine Rights Protection Society. Founded by small urban elite to protect property rights from British encroachment. Became limited vehicle for later tribal leader protest as well.
1920s	National Congress of British West Africa. Regional educated elites' first effort to influence British to provide some elected voice for Africans.
1947-55	United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). Postwar movement of educated Africans demanding a voice in government. Brought Kwame Nkrumah back from Britain as its secretary.
1949-66	Convention People's Party (CPP). Founded by Nkrumah. Served as main force for independence, then as his vehicle to power and rule. Governing party, 1957-66. Abolished after 1966 coup.
1954-56	National Liberation Movement (NLM). Conservative, federalist opposition to CPP in crucial 1956 election. Largely Asante-based. Joined United Party (UP).
1955-1960s	United Party (UP). Led by Kofi A. Busia. Unified NLM and other CPP opponents as CPP's primary opposition. Gradually crushed by government.
1966-70	National Liberation Council (NLC). Name adopted by army and police leaders of coup that overthrew Nkrumah. Dedicated to return to democratic civilian rule.
1969-72	Progress Party (PP). Led by Busia and consisting of former UP supporters. Won 1969 election. Lost support of people and army through efforts to impose order on country's economy.
	National Alliance of Liberals (NAL). Led by K.A. Gbedemah and consisting of other followers of CPP's right wing. Defeated by PP in 1969. Joined others in opposition Justice Party (JP).
1972-75	National Redemption Council (NRC). Name adopted by Lieutenant Colonel Ignatius K. Acheampong and associates after overthrow of Busia government. Ruled country without civilian input, with soldiers assigned to every organization.
1975-79	Supreme Military Council (SMC). Created by Acheampong out of the NRC. After ouster of Acheampong in 1978, began steps toward civilian rule, calling for elections in June 1979. On eve of elections, overthrown by junior officers of Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC).
1978-81	People's National Party (PNP). Created to contest 1979 election. Attracted former NAL members and others. Chose Hilla Limann as its candidate and won election by slim majority.
	Popular Front Party (PFP). Party of former Busia supporters. Formed opposition in new parliament.
1979	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). Name adopted by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings and associates after Ghana's first violent coup. Without concrete platform except to punish corruption. Withdrew in favor of elected Limann government after four months in power.
1982-92	Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). Composed of leaders of Rawlings's second coup. With considerable evolution of personnel and objectives, continued until 1992 to be sole center of political power in Ghana.
1992-94	National Democratic Congress (NDC), National Independence Party (NIP), New Patriotic Party (NPP), People's Heritage Party (PHP), and People's National Convention (PNC) were major parties organized to contest 1992 presidential election. NDC party of Rawlings and PNDC; NPP largely Asante-based, nominated Adu Boahen; NIP, PHP, and PNC all Nkrumahists. NDC

Table 11. Major Political Parties and Military Regimes, 1897-1994

Period	Description
1992-94	elected, formed first government under Fourth Republic; remaining parties formed opposition. In 1993 NIP and PHP formed (new) People's Convention Party (PCP).

Table 12. Voting Patterns in the District Assembly Elections by Region, 1988-89

Region	District	Candidates	Registered Voters	Votes Cast	Percentage Turnout
Ashanti .....	18	2,211	950,222	577,735	60.8
Brong-Ahafo .....	13	1,629	650,143	391,489	60.2
Central .....	12	1,421	549,564	307,668	56.0
Eastern .....	15	1,825	744,160	452,449	60.8
Greater Accra .....	5	693	792,012	350,861	44.3
Northern .....	13	1,471	508,560	308,191	60.6
Upper East .....	6	822	358,174	222,068	62.0
Upper West .....	5	458	212,192	143,017	67.4
Volta .....	12	1,343	568,590	334,445	58.6
Western .....	<u>11</u>	<u>969</u>	<u>589,221</u>	<u>328,479</u>	<u>55.3</u>
GHANA .....	110	12,842	5,922,838	3,416,402	58.9

Source: Based on information from Ghana, *Local Government Information Digest*, Special Editions I and II, Nos. 4-5, Accra, 1989.



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## Glossary

*asafo*—Traditional warrior organization of the Akan and other coastal peoples of southern Ghana, originating in the early seventeenth century or earlier. Traditionally, the *asafo* served as an independent outlet for popular dissatisfaction, and they had a voice in the enthronement (enstoolment) and dethronement (destoolment) of chiefs. Among other tasks, the *asafo* performed police and militia duties, collected tribute, and built roads. People's Defence Committees and Committees for the Defence of the Revolution of the Provisional National Defence Council era were inspired in part by the *asafo* tradition.

Asante/Ashanti—Terms used interchangeably to refer to what are probably the best-known people and state among the Akan. *Asante* is the original Akan term. *Ashanti*, according to popular accounts, is a corruption that originated early in the colonial period. Although Asante is now preferred, Ashanti remains in use in contemporary Ghana, for example, Ashanti Region.

cedi (pl. cedis; ¢ or c)—Ghanaian unit of currency, composed of 100 pesewas. Introduced after independence by Kwame Nkrumah, it has undergone several devaluations, including one that proved politically unpopular in December 1971. In 1982 the value of the cedi was US\$1.00 = 2.75 cedis. In October 1983, the Provisional National Defence Council further devalued the cedi, which produced an exchange rate of US\$1.00 = 90 cedis in March 1986. Beginning in September 1986, the cedi was freed to float against other currencies, which yielded an exchange rate of US\$1.00 = 326 cedis by 1990 and US\$1.00 = 1,040 cedis by late 1994.

clan—A group whose members are descended in the male line from a putative common male ancestor (patriclan) or in the female line from a putative common female ancestor (matriclan). Clans may be divided into subclans organized on the same principle or into lineages (*q. v.*) believed to be linked by descent from a common ancestor less remote than the founding ancestor of the clan.

fiscal year (FY)—An annual period established for accounting purposes. In Ghana, the government's fiscal year is the

same as the calendar year.

**Global 2000**—Program founded and chaired by Jimmy Carter, former president of the United States, to deliver agricultural assistance to farmers in the developing world. Provides improved seedlings, financial assistance, and extension services, and has as its goal the attainment of agricultural self-sufficiency in participating countries. Ghana became a member country in the mid-1980s.

**gross domestic product (GDP)**—A measure of the total value of goods and services produced by the domestic economy during a given period, usually one year. Obtained by adding the value contributed by each sector of the economy in the form of profits, compensation to employees, and depreciation (consumption of capital). The income arising from investments and possessions owned abroad is not included, hence the use of the word *domestic* to distinguish GDP from gross national product (*q.v.*).

**gross national product (GNP)**—Total market value of all final goods and services produced by an economy during a year. Obtained by adding the gross domestic product (*q.v.*) and the income received from abroad by residents minus payments remitted abroad to nonresidents.

**International Monetary Fund (IMF)**—Established on July 22, 1944, the IMF began operating along with the World Bank (*q.v.*) on December 27, 1945. The IMF is a specialized agency affiliated with the United Nations that takes responsibility for stabilizing international exchange rates and payments. The IMF's main business is the provision of loans to its members when they experience balance-of-payments difficulties. These loans often carry conditions that require substantial internal economic adjustments by the recipients.

**lineage**—A group whose members are descended through males from a common male ancestor (patrilineage) or through females from a common female ancestor (matrilineage). Such descent can in principle be traced. Lineages vary in genealogical depth from the lineage ancestor to living generations; the more extensive ones often are internally segmented. A lineage is generally a branch of a clan (*q.v.*).

**matriclan**—A group of men and women who are descended in the female line from a putative common female ancestor.

**matrilineage**—A group of male and female descendants of a

female ancestor, each of whom is related to the common ancestor through female forebears.

patriclan—A group of men and women who are descended in the male line from a putative common male ancestor.

patrilineage—A group of male and female descendants of a male ancestor, each of whom is related to the common ancestor through male forebears.

Shia (also Shiite, from Shiat Ali, the Party of Ali)—A member of the smaller of the two great divisions of Islam. In the mid-seventh century, the Shia supported the hereditary claim of Ali, the Prophet Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, and of his descendants to presumptive right to the Islamic caliphate and leadership of the Muslim community. On this issue, they divided from the Sunnis, the larger of the two great divisions of Islam.

World Bank—Informal name used to designate a group of four affiliated international institutions: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA). The IBRD, established in 1945, has the primary purpose of providing loans to developing countries for productive projects. The IDA, a legally separate loan fund administered by the staff of the IBRD, was set up in 1960 to furnish credits to the poorest developing countries on much easier terms than those of conventional IBRD loans. The IFC, founded in 1956, supplements the activities of the IBRD through loans and assistance specifically designed to encourage the growth of productive private enterprises in the less developed countries. The MIGA, founded in 1988, insures private foreign investment in developing countries against various non-commercial risks. The president and certain senior officers of the IBRD hold the same positions in the IFC. The four institutions are owned by the governments of the countries that subscribe their capital. To participate in the World Bank group, member states must first belong to the International Monetary Fund (IMF—*q.v.*).



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