



Centre for  
Human Rights and  
Restorative Justice

# HISTORY REFERENCES

Ghana Truth Commissions

## Abstract

Notes on discussions of history, as well as a list of coding themes and references to history in the Ghana Truth Commission.

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## Researcher Notes

Report details:

- published in 2004
- pdf has 1611 pages
- short sections summarizing the historical background of Ghana's security services, police, prisons, etc.
- according to NVivo's text search, the word history (using stems) is referenced 124 times, representing 0.10% coverage
- after deleting references from the bibliography, notes or headers, there are **95 broad references** to history in the content of the report
- history usually mentioned in terms of historical context

History is referenced in the report in the following ways:

- TRC's investigate past human rights violations
- Ghana has a history of prolonged conflict and antagonism
- need to deal with the country's history of human rights violations
- need to build a united Ghana to heal and address the country's wounds
- accounts of violence (e.g., killing, torture, abductions, disappearance, etc.)
- discussions of independence
- discussions of imperialism
- historic political and ideological tensions
- discussions of the National Liberation Movement
- discussions of ethnic animosity
- students as organized bodies in politics in Ghana
- Chiefs as custodians of cultural heritage
- need to teach the past better in schools
- idea of the nation's history
- need to stop glorifying those who attained political power as it does a disservice to the dissenters
- legacy of the pre-independence period (problems did not go away: economic disparities North and South, ethnic animosity etc.)
- shame of the past, do not want to think about it - leave the past to history
- evolution of the police service and its role in violence and regime turnover
- citizens making their own investigative bodies to uncover human rights violations
- role of lawyers and judges in perpetuating or not stopping human rights violations
- media as a tool of support and resistance
- church leaders try to take credit for revolution but not the case
- media needs to reinvent itself and champion human rights
- youth groups both resisted and supported political regimes
- Chiefs suffered human rights abuses

History and truth are discussed in the following ways:

- Not saying true or right history but dancing around it - idea the past has not been fully explored and the Commission needs to correct that / bring forgotten voices of dissent and patriotism forward
- Due to the shame of the past some want to let it be and ignore it

\*All references or history and truth are highlighted

## Links to Data Visualization

This section contains links to all data visualization for the Ghana report.

### Word Frequency Cloud

- [word frequency cloud](#)
- [excel sheet of word frequency cloud findings](#)

### Word Trees

- [history](#)
- [women](#)
- [children](#)
- [youth](#)
- [forgive](#)
- [victim](#)
- [truth](#)
- [reconciliation](#)
- [land](#)

\*NVivo software can only edit word trees by changing the central search term and branch sizes. Word trees includes references from bibliography, headers, and notes that cannot be edited out using NVivo software. Researchers will need to manually remove unsightly branches using editing software (e.g., paint, photoshop, etc.)

### History Hierarchy Coding Chart

- [history hierarchy coding chart](#)
- [excel sheet of history hierarchy coding chart results](#)

## History Coding for the Ghana Report

The following chart breakdowns the child nodes used for coding history references based on themes and discussions surrounding history in the Ghana report.

History	All references or discussions of history in the Ghana report
Education	References or discussions of schools, training, education, teaching, or school curriculums
Ethnicity	References or discussions of ethnicity
Heritage	References or discussions of heritage, commemoration, or remembrance
Human Rights	References or discussions of human rights or human rights violations
Imperialism and Colonialism	References or discussions of imperialism or colonialism
Independence	References or discussions of independence or independent (e.g., nation, press, etc.)
Institutions	References or discussions of institutions and their actors (e.g., police, military etc.)
Courts	References or discussions of courts, lawyers, and judges
Government	References or discussions of governments, leaders, presidents, etc.
Media	References or discussions of media, journalists, television etc.
Military	References or discussions of militaries, militia, soldiers etc.
Police	References of discussions of policing, the police and police officers
Religious	References or discussions of religion, church, or religious leaders
Legacy	References or discussions of the legacy, impact or effects of past violence or events
Nation	References or discussions of nation, nations, or nationalism
Politics and Ideology	References or discussions of politics and ideology
Reconciliation	References or discussions of reconciliation

Students	References or discussions of students
Violence	References or discussions of violence

## History References

This section contains all references to history from the Ghana report.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 95 references coded [0.81% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

1.1.2 Throughout the contemporary world, Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRCs) have emerged as a critical part of the responses of states, especially those undergoing political transition, to serious acts of human rights violations and impunity occasioned by a history of prolonged conflicts and antagonisms. TRCs are official bodies established to investigate and document past human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law, and to chart a path for achieving healing, peace and national reconciliation.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

1.1.5 The establishment of the National Reconciliation Commission (the “Commission”) came in the wake of Ghana’s historic elections of December 2000, which witnessed, for the first time in the country’s post-Independence history, a change of constitutionally elected government effected not by violent means but by popular vote. That event was a clear testimony to the strong desire of Ghanaians to live under conditions of democratic accountability and to forge a society firmly grounded in respect for human rights and the rule of law. The consolidation of democracy and the promotion of constitutional rule and

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

a culture of respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, as enshrined in Chapter Five of the Constitution of Ghana, 1992, demand that Ghana should deal with its history of egregious human rights violations that risk compromising the forward march of democracy and peace in the country. Building a future for Ghana that is united, secure, peaceful and humane also demands providing redress, including healing, for those who were hurt in the past by serious human rights violations and abuses in the nature of killings, abductions, disappearances, torture, detentions, seizure of property and illtreatment. The Commission was seen by the Ghana Parliament as a vehicle to facilitate the attainment of these goals.

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.1 The events leading to the Gold Coast becoming the Independent State of Ghana on 6th March, 1957 have had a great impact on the course of the country’s history and on its human rights record. Political and ideological tensions, as well as economic and social problems, that had either been ignored or poorly addressed in the Gold Coast continued to impinge on, and define, the character of the independent state of Ghana.

### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage



3.1.4.1 There were mutual suspicions between Ashanti and the Colony. With her history of imperialism Ashanti was disliked by her coastal neighbours who feared domination should they be put together as one political entity. On its part, Ashanti feared domination by the Colony. In the early 1940s there were efforts at rapprochement. These mutual suspicions did not die, but were fuelled by developments a decade later, as demonstrated by the formation of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) in 1954.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

ethnic animosities and resentments occasioned by a history of antagonism produced by inter-ethnic wars and imperialism;

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

4.1.2.5.3 However, there is evidence that certain practices of this group constitute human rights violations. These practices are part of the culture of the people, and therefore have been with Ghanaian society from pre-colonial times to the present. In other words, they are not limited to any particular period in the history of the country.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

political agitation for Independence that students in some secondary schools in Cape Coast and their politically-active teachers, were dismissed in 1949, leading to the founding of Ghana National College in Cape Coast to enable them complete their education. However, it was much later in the political history of Ghana that students, as an organised body, concerned itself with national political issues.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

of press freedom, new publications were established, such as The Echo, the Legon Observer and the Western Tribune. For the first time in the history of the country, the government set up the Ghana Press Council, as an independent body to protect press freedom, and to also protect the public from media harassment.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

4.7.2.4.4 In a document entitled “20 points for study”, the Christian Council complained that “never before in our history have so many Ghanaians disappeared in suspicious circumstances as in the period since 31st December, 1981”.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

5.5.1.3 The killings of the Senior Military Officers marked a turning point in our history and heralded a long period of blood-letting which stretched into the PNDC era.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

5.6.9.1 Azurg Alapelum's brother John Atanga was a police constable stationed at Savelugu. He had a history of mental illness. On 31st March, 1981 he took his annual leave. He was to report for duty on 11th May, 1981. When he did not report he was declared to have vacated his post and was formally dismissed from the Service with effect from 12th May, 1981. To date his relatives have not found him. However, there is no evidence of foul play.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

anarchy and disorder in the PNDC era would have been worse than Idi Amin era. Indiscriminate killings and atrocities unprecedented in our history would have characterized the era. For the majority of soldiers closer to the PNDC, their understanding of revolution was to terrorise, intimidate and maim the civilian population and disregard authority.”

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

8.3.26.1 The Police Standing Orders must be reviewed in the light of the history of Human Rights violations and abuses in Ghana and the need to nurture democratic culture.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

8.10.1 It is observed that through legislation, governments interfered with the independence of Chiefs. In spite of this negative history, it is still necessary for Chiefs as the custodians of our cultural heritage, to regain and sustain their political influence as neutral actors in the political domain. Chiefs must be empowered to play their role effectively through education, especially on the Chieftaincy Act, the rights and responsibilities of Chiefs, land administration as well as well basic management skills.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

##### 8.12.9 Re-presenting Ghana's History

8.12.9.1 The correct facts of Ghana's history must be taught in schools. To this end, school textbooks should be re-written, to ensure that all the patriots of Ghana's Independence get their rightful place in the nation's history. Historical accounts that glorify only those who attained political power at particular points in time do a disservice to dissenters, and those who sought to fight dictatorship and other evils in governance.

#### Reference 17 - 0.02% Coverage

1.1.2 The establishment of the National Reconciliation Commission (hereinafter referred to as “the Commission”) came in the wake of Ghana's historic elections of December, 2000, which witnessed, for the first time in the country's post-Independence history, a change of constitutionally-elected government effected, not by violent means, but by popular vote. That event was a clear testimony to the strong desire of Ghanaians to live under conditions of democratic accountability, and to forge a society firmly grounded in the respect for human rights

and the rule of law. The consolidation of democracy and the sustenance and promotion of constitutional rule and a culture of respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms as enshrined in Chapter five of the 1992 Constitution, demand that Ghana should deal with its history of egregious human rights violations that risk compromising the forward march of democracy and peace in the country. Building a future for a Ghana that is united, secure, peaceful and humane also demands providing redress, including healing, for those who were hurt in the past by serious human rights violations and abuses in the nature of killings, abductions, disappearances, torture, detentions, seizure of property and ill-treatment. The Commission was seen by Parliament as a vehicle to facilitate the attainment of these goals.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

served as the location for the sittings of Parliament in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Republics of our post independent history. Above all other structures, it is associated with our hopes and aspirations of building our new state on the principles of Freedom and Justice, the perennial goals to which the founders of our state dedicated its existence and inscribed on our Coat of Arms as the words of the nation's motto. ...Alas, for too many years of our nation's history, especially during the prolonged eras of unconstitutional government, the attainment of these goals proved illusory, giving way rather to the establishment of a tragic culture of extensive violations, by state actors, of the human rights of the citizenry of this county, leaving in its wake considerable rancour, anguish and ill-feeling within several segments of society. It is, therefore, altogether most fitting and proper when we are, through the instrumentality of this Commission, seeking to come to terms with its unhappy past and forge a new era of reconciliation and unity in our nation, that the National Reconciliation Commission should be housed in this building to undertake its momentous task

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

The events which led to Ghana becoming a State that achieved Independence on 6th March, 1957, have had a great impact on the course of the nation's history. Problems that had emerged before Independence continued to dog the footsteps of the new nation; problems that had been shelved or side-stepped did not go away; and problems that emerged subsequent to the attainment of Independence, came in to compound the already difficult situation. These legacies of the pre-Independence period have remained of significance in charting the course of the new nation, and on the human rights record of the various governments since Independence.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.4.1 There were mutual suspicions between Ashanti and the Colony. With her history of imperialism, Ashanti was disliked by her coastal neighbours, who feared domination should they be put together as one political entity. On its part, Ashanti feared domination by the Colony. In the early 1940s there were efforts at rapprochement. The Joint Provincial Council of the Colony made representations to Ashanti on the issue of working together against the colonial government. In reply the Asantehene stated:

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.5.1 Among the legacies that Ghana inherited at the time of its birth as an independent country were: ethnic animosities and resentments occasioned by a history of antagonism produced by inter-ethnic wars and imperialism; uneven economic development between the North and South and between the colonial holdings and Trust Territory; fears of cultural domination; the emergence of a landless urban poor as a result of urbanization; the integration into the political entity of persons who wished to belong elsewhere or who wished for a different form of government; and political leaders who were in antagonistic relationship to each other.

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

3.4.3 This 'Aliens Compliance Order', as this order came to be known, gave all aliens a period of fourteen days within which to regularize their stay in Ghana or leave. While the government was within its rights to check illegal immigration, the nature and history of cross-border migration within the West African sub-region, as well as Ghana's own policy on African unity meant that the potential number of affected persons was large. It was estimated that there were about 250,000 Togolese nationals, about 5,000 Biafran (Eastern Nigerian) refugees under the protection of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), hundreds of thousands of Nigerians, Malians, and nationals of Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Niger and Dahomey (Benin). Ambassadors of these neighbouring countries pleaded for more time to enable them process the necessary documentation, but these entreaties did not change the government's stand.

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

many of the problems Ghana confronted in her post-Independence history, lay in events in the immediate pre-Independence period.

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

4.1.2.5.3 However, there is evidence that certain practices of this group constitute human rights violations. These practices are part of the culture of the people, and therefore have been with Ghanaian society from pre-colonial times to the present. In other words, they are not limited to any particular period in the history of the country.

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

political agitation for independence that students in some secondary schools in Cape Coast were dismissed in 1949, leading to the founding of Ghana National College in Cape Coast to enable them complete their education. However, it was much later in the political history of Ghana, that students, as an organised body, concerned itself with national political issues.

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

4.2.2.5.8 The NLC Government lifted the ban against foreign journalists from operating in the country, outlawed the censoring order placed on outgoing press messages, and allowed the re-publication of banned papers such as Ashanti Pioneer. In this atmosphere of press freedom, new

publications were established, such as the Echo, the Legon Observer and the Western Tribune. For the first time in the history of the country, the government set up the Ghana Press Council, as an independent body to protect press freedom, and to also protect the public from media harassment.

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

4.7.2.4.4 In a document entitled “20 points for study”, the Christian Council complained that “never before in our history have so many Ghanaians disappeared in suspicious circumstances as in the period since 31st December, 1981”.

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

6.1.3 The killing of the senior military officers marked a turning point in our history and heralded a long period of blood-letting which stretched into the PNDC era.

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

Little did I know then that this short, cryptic message was a hint of one of the most bloodcurdling and traumatic political events ever to happen in the short history of this peaceloving nation since her birth in 1957.

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

I felt instantly that my honour and dignity had been irreparably dented. No sooner had this ugly incident happened than my son Patrick left for Britain where he has been domiciled till to-day. He came to Ghana in July this year i.e. 2002 and sitting down at the living room with him, he told me and I quote “Daddy do you know that I cannot look straight into your eyes”. I asked him to forget and leave the past to history.

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

were looted by the soldiers who prevented the women from entering the market to retrieve their goods. It was a wanton, senseless attack on the citizens which deprived many of their livelihood. Overnight they had become poor and wretched. As Joss Aryee told the Commission in his evidence, some died, others went mad and many more became paupers. It was, indeed a traumatic experience unparalleled in the history of this nation.

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

6.23.1 Azurg Alapelum’s brother John Atanga was a police constable stationed at Savelugu. He had a history of mental illness. On 31st March, 1981 he took his annual leave. He was to report for duty on 11th May, 1981. When he did not report he was declared to have vacated his post and was formally dismissed from the Service with effect from 12th May, 1981. To date his relatives have not found him. However there is no evidence of foul play.

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

1.1.1.3.5 The last expatriate staff left the Air Force in 1970. 1.1.1.4 History of Training Institutions, Training and Recruitment

The history of training institutions in the Ghana Armed Forces began with the West Africa Command Training School (WACTS). The WACTS was established in 1940 and by 1943, had three schools under it, namely, the West Africa Command Jungle Battle School in Nigeria, the West Africa Command Clerks Training School in the Gold Coast and the West Africa Command School of Education in Sierra Leone.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

1.6.1.2 As a result of the history of political detentions, the service has acquired an unsavoury image and reputation in matters of human rights.<sup>9</sup>

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

1.6.4.4 There is no evidence of a sustained policy on in-service Human Resource Development, given the calibre of personnel available for recruitment. Continuing Education has not been a feature of the service both on account of its history and the state of its facilities.

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

1.10.5.1 The GAF, in association with the police, staged their first direct appearance on the political scene, by removing the elected civilian government on 24th February, 1966. There have been four other successful interruptions in the nation's history and these have been discussed in greater detail later in this report. Some of these incursions into politics by the Security Services, under the cloak of liberating the country from bad and corrupt governments, have stemmed from personal desires, other than the noble declarations by them at the time of seizure of power. The breakdown of Command and Discipline in the Services, occasioned by structural

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

1.10.5.6.2 It is a fact that at some point in the history of the GAF, there was no regional balance within the institution. This has created some command and control problems as ethnic loyalties tended to interfere with work situations. Ethnocentrism has gained roots in the forces to the extent that at a point in time, one or two ethnic groups dominated the GAF, and this was unhealthy for the development of a sense of nationalism.

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

1.10.6.2 The Police Service requires that each officer swear an oath of allegiance to the State, and to obey only lawful orders of the legally-constituted authority. The officer also swears to discharge the duties of his office according to law and this presupposes that the law and the State are supreme considerations in every Policeman's action. This should have been sufficient safeguard against abuse of power and a check on excessive government/political interference.

However, the history of the Police Service and evidence before the Commission bear ample testimony of the inability of the Police Service to maintain its institutional integrity.

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

1.11.2 The clearest indicator of the partnership between the Police and the Military in the history of Ghana was the coup d'état of the 24th February, 1966. Both the Police and the Military had suffered neglect and humiliation at the hands of the Nkrumah Administration. Both institutions had experienced dismissals in their top brass, with Madjitey, the former Head of the Police, in detention under the PDA. The existence of the President's Own Guard Regiment (POGR) put both institutions at a disadvantage and impelled the Police chiefs to team up with the Armed Forces, to overthrow the regime.

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

1.13.1 The history of the Police Service, shows that primarily, the Ghana Police Service was expected to be modelled on the British system, which encouraged, the principles of good policing, public co-operation and abhorred excessive use of physical force, and providing service in the interest of community welfare and existence. It is for this reason that the subordinate ranks were trained only in the use of truncheons, rifles and riot control equipment. Rifles were used mainly for special escorts, and for guarding sensitive installations, but even when on guard duty, the guard commander held the ammunition. Only the senior officers were trained in the use of side arms. In fact, Service Instruction No 97 spelt out in detail the circumstances under which a policeman could use firearms, as well as the procedure to be followed should such a situation arise.

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

members of the NLC. Thus for the first time, in the history of the country, the security services became directly involved in the governance of Ghana. 21

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

1.21.1 The NRC and SMC 1 Regimes were the most favourable to the Police Service. However, the regimes' good treatment of the service was meant to prop it up as a countervailing force to any destabilisation elements. Indeed, but for the ineffective mobilisation of the Police Armoured Car Squadron, the history of events of 4th June, 1979 would have been different.

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

1.25.1.4 In the usual manner of seizures of power, the 1979 Third Republic Constitution was suspended, the members of the government were dismissed; Parliament was dissolved; and all political parties were banned. Members of Parliament of the PNP, the party leadership and other functionaries were ordered to report to the nearest Police station. For the first time, Members of Parliament of the minority parties were also ordered to report themselves, and they were all subsequently detained. The President and his Ministers were also arrested and detained for being

criminals and running a government that was “the most disgraceful government in the history of the country”. Some of these persons were thereby forced to go into exile in the neighbouring countries.

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

2.0.2 This Chapter also documents the contribution that the introduction of a new system of adjudication, as well as new investigative bodies made to the enjoyment or otherwise of human rights by the citizenry. Since these bodies operated outside the generally accepted norms of judicial and quasi-judicial inquiry, the issue of whether these well established norms serve a purpose, is brought into focus. This Chapter also recounts some violations and abuses that members of the two groups of the Legal Profession suffered, either individually or collectively, in the course of pursuing their profession. It also sheds some light on Bench-Bar relations and what impact this has made on the nation’s post Independence history.

#### Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

gave presentations at which they expressed views that were critical of the PNDC. Mr Justice F.K. Apaloo, delivering the Keynote Address, expressed the view that the assumption of judicial powers by the PNDC was “dangerous and unprecedented” in the annals of Ghana’s legal history. During a subsequent symposium, Mr. Justice Taylor criticised the human rights record of the AFRC and the victimisation of so-called kalabule people for the woes of the time. These views of the two Judges, were reported from the angle of comments made by Tsatsu Tsikata in his own presentation at the same symposium, which were critical of the judiciary in general, and the judges in question in particular. Under the headline “Self-contradictions of Judiciary Exposed”, the newspaper presented their judicial history in an unflattering light, thereby presenting the Judges’ criticisms as hypocritical and anti-PNDC.<sup>85</sup>

#### Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

41.1 The Bench in its decisions played a significant role in the development of a culture of human rights violations in the history of this country. Individual members of the Judiciary had their rights abused, and the Judiciary was unable to protect itself from Executive interference with its work. This was seen in the instances in which when some judges were dismissed for no tangible reason and without adherence to due process, other judges accepted new appointments with no hesitation, to replace the dismissed judges, In the case of the interpretation of human rights-related legislation such as the Preventive Detention Act, judges have consistently adopted a narrow positivist approach that supported the position of the Executive and deprived the citizenry of their human rights. This failure to hold the balance between the individual and the State, and undue deference to the Executive for reasons of self-preservation, resulted in widespread and unchecked violations of human rights of the citizenry, and produced some of the most terrible instances of the impact of an unrestrained use of Executive power, on the lives of ordinary people.

#### Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage



3.0.3 The sources of information for this report were: newspapers of the mandate period, memoranda from media practitioners, focus group discussions with journalists, published literature and other secondary sources. These have been helpful in illuminating the various ways in which media were complicit in, or resisted human rights abuses and repression throughout much of Ghana's post independence history.

#### Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.5 The history of radio and television as state-owned monopolies provides a critical background to understanding the peculiar role every government of Ghana exacted from GBC employees. Indeed, until the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Decree, 1968 (NLCD 226), was passed to turn the Ghana Broadcasting Service into a public corporation in 1968, the Civil Service Act governed the GBC. Accordingly, the men and women who worked at the GBC as journalists perceived themselves as civil servants, serving the government of the day. It was not until 1996, three years after the restoration of democratic governance under the Fourth Republic, that the airwaves were liberalized, allowing for private participation in radio and television broadcast in Ghana. This state of affairs meant that it was largely, but not exclusively, government-controlled GBC and their press counterparts which were complicit and/or resistant to the illegitimate actions of unconstitutional governments.

#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.7 The discussion of the media under the post-independence government of Dr. Nkrumah and the CPP is significant, particularly for a proper understanding and appreciation of the pattern of coercion, co-optation and resistance to government that has characterized the entire history of the media during the mandate period. As noted by a former employee of GBC, there were "stressful conditions imposed on the people who worked at the GBC from the First Republic to the end of the PNDC regime."<sup>4</sup> According to him, harassment, intimidation and interference in the work of professional broadcasters have been common violations of human rights by both military and civilian governments in Ghana.

#### Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.1 The history of media repression, co-optation and resistance began with the colonial authorities. This precedent was crystallized during the regime of the CPP and became an established pattern by successive regimes throughout the country's history. The first press laws to be introduced in the country were by the British colonial government. The Book and Newspaper Registration Ordinance was passed in 1887, requiring newspaper editors to send returns of their circulation as well as the title of their newspapers, the location of their offices, printers, and publishers to the Colonial Secretary. Printers were expected to print their names and addresses on the first and last pages of the newspaper. In 1893 the Newspaper Registration Ordinance established a register of newspaper proprietors in order to help the authorities identify offending publishers.<sup>5</sup> The British also passed the Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance in 1934, to curb the "unruly" behaviour and attitude of the Ghanaian nationalist press toward the colonial government. The Criminal Libel law and other draconian press laws from the colonial period, remained on the books and were used against errant journalists from time to time.

#### Reference 51 - 0.02% Coverage

3.2.7.6 Many instances of harassment of journalists recounted by journalists of the time, also served to undermine claims by the NLC that its policies towards the press were liberal, and that it was committed to press independence and press freedom. According to one account, Journalist Ponsford Peregrino-Peters, a journalist found himself in trouble with the regime after reporting a story that the United States of America had delivered food and arms to the government. Peregrino-Peters, along with his editor, Oscar Tsetse, was arrested and put into a military guardroom for several weeks. Another example of media intolerance and intimidation, along with heroism and resistance, is well documented in press histories. On 14th December, 1967, the NLC caused the dismissal of four editors, three of whom worked for the state-owned press: John Dumoga (Daily Graphic), Moses Danquah (Ghanaian Times), Henry Thompson (Evening News) and an editor of the Ashanti Pioneer. Their crime was criticising the Abbot Laboratory (a U.S. pharmaceutical company) Agreement with the NLC regime. A new editor for the Daily Graphic, Cameron Duodu, was appointed to replace the dismissed editor, by the NLC. He was also later to be dismissed, ironically, by the civilian Progress Party Government, for criticising Dr. Busia's policy of "dialogue with South Africa".

#### Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

The Ghanaian Press which for a greater part of our history has been state-owned and government-controlled lived up to its image as sycophantic and oblivious to anything negative for the government. The period of UNIGOV confirmed for me the role of the state-owned media in managing the news in favour of governments. 112

#### Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

3.7.2.7 Both the Christian Messenger and The Standard also hailed the AFRC's revolution and its policies as well. The 24th June, 1979 editorial in The Standard completely backed the executions of "Mr" Acheampong and Maj-Gen Utuka at the Teshie firing range. The paper was of the view that the executions had brought the sordid history of the notorious second military regime to a close. The paper termed the executions a "disciplinary action", taken by the AFRC in public to serve as a deterrent, adding that the AFRC's determination to tackle the economic problem of the country is seen through its action of executing the two officers. The Standard ended by saying that the fate of leaders since Independence, should be a warning to future aspiring political leaders: Nkrumah and Busia had both died in exile, the assets of Ankrah and Afrifa had been frozen, and Mr. Acheampong had been shot by firing squad.

#### Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus the church leaders carried on until they pushed the nation into the crisis of June 19. Frightened by their realization of what would have happened to themselves if June 19 had succeeded – stupefied by looking back at the dangerous, self-effacing tiger riding game they had been playing – the church leadership are now cleverly trying to give the impression that they were not responsible for instigating the crisis. But history will judge them as fast as they are able

to realize that they have misunderstood and misjudged the moral and divine solidity of the foundations of the revolution, the people's power it has gathered, and the strength of the historic forces that push the process forward.

#### Reference 55 - 0.02% Coverage

3.10.7 During the regime of the NRC and SMC I, when opposition from civil society groups was open, the state-owned media could have played a more professional role by being less sycophantic, or even neutral. However, not much courageous journalism was shown. Thus, whenever Ghanaian journalists have been denounced, the accusation has been mainly that of sycophancy, if not outright cowardice. A typical example was when the Front for the Prevention of Dictatorship (FDP) and the People's Movement for Freedom and Justice (PMFJ) came into being in 1976 and 1978 respectively to fight military dictatorship, the press did not give them space to air their views. Other examples were: in 1977, the GBA and the Ghana Medical Association, both operating under the umbrella of the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies (ARPB), spearheaded a daring confrontation with the military government by ordering their members to go on strike, they were vilified by the media. Asante again observes that military periods were unique times for Ghanaian journalism to have gone into history as either hero or villain, but it chose the latter by "prostituting itself to any government that came to power." 201 The press chose to lose its dignity and self-respect in the eyes of civil society, rather than incur the displeasure of the government of the day.

#### Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

3.10.9 Even under military rule, state-owned media like the Daily Graphic were occasionally able to criticise some of the regimes' policies that they considered objectionable, such as the 'Abbot Agreement' under the NLC regime, and Elizabeth Ohene and Ajoa Yeboah Afari's condemnation of the executions in 1979. Through satires, such as "Abonsam Fireman" in The Standard; "Thoughts of a Native Daughter" by Ajoa Yeboah-Afari, "Carl Mutt" by Henry Ofori and "Woes of a Kwatriot" by Kwesi Yankah in The Mirror were some of the columns that voiced dissent by satire, during those critical periods of the nation's history. In the PNDC period, some dissent could also be found during discussions on television programmes such as "Talking Point" or during radio discussion programmes. Most noteworthy of all is the role the private press, in particular The Pioneer, the Free Press, The Standard and the Christian Messenger played

#### Reference 57 - 0.02% Coverage

3.10.10 The legacy of Ghana's illiberal, sometimes brutal socio-political history, has been a media with stunted growth; a media in which journalists, particularly of the stateowned media, have developed a culture of self-censorship and where the media in general, still show a tendency to be sycophantic to governments as well as various centres of power. Coercion, co-optation and corruption of the media by various governments, resulted in the fragmentation of the press along political lines, with many journalists pursuing their private agenda not necessarily for the public good, but for the attainment of factional and parochial goals. This legacy is hard to overcome even in a democratic era. Journalists are still likely to undermine each other and are

not as sensitised to human rights abuses and violations as they ought to be. Relations remain polarised between journalists of the state-owned media, and those in the privately owned sector. The former views the latter with suspicion as “largely untrained” and lacking appropriate professional skills, and the latter views the former as lacking courage to be critical of government. Hard to change is the habit of settling old and personal scores, and even at the present time, it is not uncommon to hear of people being “fixed” in the media.

#### Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

3.10.13 Considering that the media are expected to be facilitators of the process of truth and reconciliation, it is important that journalists, collectively and individually examine some of the past actions of the media, in order to better understand the role the media have wittingly or unwittingly played in the country’s noble and ignoble history. There is a need to recognise and acknowledge their role in promoting a culture of human rights abuse, as well as their role in helping to nurture a culture of respect for human rights and dignity. This is what would enable the media to spearhead the process of their own institutional re-invention, improve their capacity to champion the cause of human rights, and thereby prevent future governments from using them to legitimize their actions.

#### Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

5.0.2 The Commission believes that a study of the activities of these movements during the mandate period would enable the nation appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change or continuity in these movements; understand why the movements underwent a transformation or ceased to exist altogether, and above all assess their impact on the development or otherwise of a culture of respect for human rights.

#### Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

5.9.3.6 In April, 1983, the PNDC amended its 1981 Proclamation with PNDC Law 42. The ARPB responded to its provisions by pointing out that it “contains essential elements and highlights the point of arbitrariness and dictatorship which have never seen a parallel in the 26-year history of Ghana”.<sup>33</sup> The statement further questioned why Ghanaians had not been consulted about the law and queried: “Were Ghanaians not promised that this was the time for them to be involved in the decision-making process.

#### Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

The Convention People’s Party is a powerful force, more powerful indeed, than anything that has yet appeared in the history of Ghana. It is the uniting force that guides and pilots the nation and is the nerve centre of the positive operation in the struggle for Africa irredentism. Its supremacy cannot be challenged. The Convention People’s Party is Ghana, and Ghana is the Convention People’s Party.<sup>48</sup>

#### Reference 62 - 0.02% Coverage

5.13.1.2.2 This “Aliens Compliance Order”, as this Order came to be known, gave all aliens a period of fourteen days within which to regularize their stay in Ghana, or leave. The Leader of the Opposition, Dr. GK Agama, indicated that the opposition was in agreement with the government in enforcing the order that aliens without resident permits should leave the country.<sup>74</sup>The problem with the Order was not the policy, but the manner of its implementation. While the government was within its legal rights to check illegal immigration, the nature and history of cross-border migration within the West African sub-region, as well as Ghana’s own policy on African unity, should have been taken into account. These factors of sub-regional migration, meant that the potential number of affected persons was large. It was estimated that there were about 250,000 Togolese nationals, about 5,000 Biafran (Eastern Nigerian) refugees under the protection of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), hundreds of thousands of Nigerians, Malians, and nationals of Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Niger and Dahomey (Benin). Ambassadors of these neighbouring countries pleaded for more time to enable them process the necessary documentation, but these entreaties did not change the government’s stand.

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6.0.2 The chapter has also captured the flow of tides that characterized studentgovernment relationships in some detail, to enable the public to follow the history of these movements within the mandate period; understand the activities of these movements under military and civilian regimes; appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change and continuity in these movements; and also understand why some of the movements underwent a transformation, whilst others ceased to exist altogether.

#### Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

6.7.4.1 The student movement at the UCC decided to take a two-week break from their studies and go out to the rural areas to spread the message of the revolution and explain its tenets to the rural people. This decision by students of UCC was communicated to the public in a statement issued in Accra on 6th July, and signed by the President of the SRC, John S Achuliwor.<sup>72</sup> According to the SRC President, the “students’ decision to undertake such an important national assignment was to ensure that the gains being made by the people towards creating a just society are in no way reversed.” Although the students recognized that such a move would affect their own studies they were willing to make that sacrifice as they were of the firm belief “that no efforts should be spared in thwarting the efforts of those who seek to turn back the moving hands of history.” The statement also informed the public that during the period of the assignment, the students would assist the authorities in locating piled up foodstuffs in food growing areas and would be so organized that where possible, they would assist in even the harvesting of

#### Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

They constituted the left at the department which had other lecturers of rightist political persuasion, notably Professor Folson. Complementing the dominant leftist camp of lecturers were Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr and Tsatsu Tsikata, all of the Law faculty. What these lecturers had in common was their academic brilliance and Marxism. They

indeed inspired my generation to adopt a radical Marxist view of history and political developments. They were popular with the students and were always on the lecture circuit mostly at the University's auditorium where they engaged other lecturers of the right in debate. Young, fiery and articulate, they obviously won the battle for the minds of students, at least in the radical leadership of the National Union of Ghana Students.

#### Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

6.9.1.1 The last day of 1981 saw a struggle between the forces supporting the democratically-elected government of President Limann and those of Flt Lt Jerry John Rawlings, former Chairman of the AFRC. The struggle was short-lived, and the government was overthrown. On 2nd January, 1982, Flt Lt Rawlings broadcast to the nation, and called upon "workers, farmers, fishermen, artisans, students and soldiers to make it their collective responsibility to take their destinies into their own hands."<sup>113</sup> He accused the PNP Administration of failing to continue the "house-cleaning" that it had promised to do and that it was the "most disgraceful government in the history of this country". He also complained that the PNP Government had gone ahead to "mutilate all the positive and concrete achievements of the people in order to pave the way for their own corruption", and made democracy mere paper guarantees. Flt Lt Rawlings then announced the suspension of the 1979 Constitution, the dissolution of Parliament and the formation of the new government, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

#### Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

provable history of links to western imperialists" was to be allowed to control the council.

#### Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

7.0.2 The chapter is organized to reflect the historical chronology of their life as youth movements under particular regimes, and the part they played in sustaining the regime. The hope is that the public would better appreciate the whys and wherefores of these movements, as well as the importance of their contribution to the socio-political history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change and continuity in these movements; and understand why the movements underwent a transformation or ceased to exist altogether, during the mandate period.

#### Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

and claims of Almighty God. Moreover, it seems that the movement confuses the work and example of a great man with divine acts which are unique in history. The incipient atheism is quite foreign to the traditional concepts of African Personality. Surely it is our duty to ask that some consideration be given to convictions of loyal citizens of Ghana who, by virtue of their Christian Faith, desire that nothing shall hinder their children from growing up to be loyal and faithful Christian men and women. Is there a finer basis for citizenship than this? 26

#### Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

8.0.1 This chapter deals with the role that chiefs have played in the political history of Ghana between the period 6th March, 1957, and 6th January, 1993. The assessment of the role of chiefs is done with specific reference to their efforts in the protection or otherwise, of human rights. One fact that became obvious from the work of the Commission was that, the chiefs themselves were often victims of human rights abuses, and that the chieftaincy institution suffered human rights abuses more than any other institutions, during the mandate period.

#### Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

8.1.5 The history of Ghana is replete with cases, in which several courageous chiefs stood up to colonial governors and challenged their authority. In 1866, for instance, King Aggrey of Cape Coast refused to recognize the authority of the Governor of Cape Coast Castle beyond the bounds prescribed by the Bond of 1844. King Aggrey considered himself to be the lawful enthroned King of Cape Coast, for which reason the Governor had no right to set limits to his powers as king, and to set free, persons he himself had tried and imprisoned. The dispute between the King and the Governor led to the dethronement and exile of the King to Sierra Leone<sup>9</sup>.

#### Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

### 9.1 ABOUT THE THREE MAIN RELIGIONS IN GHANA 9.1.1 THE TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS GROUP 9.1.1 History

9.1.1.1 Traditional Religion is the oldest religion in Ghana. It is not organized in the manner of Christian or Islamic religions. The nature and history of the Traditional Religious group is quite different from other religious groups. It has no organised hierarchy or association to spearhead its activities at the national level and so its influence on national politics has been minimal. In 1985, the late Osofo Okomfo Damuah, a Roman Catholic Priest, left the Catholic Faith to establish the Afrikania Mission<sup>2</sup> of Ghana. This Mission, for the first time, provided a mouthpiece for the various traditional religious groups that had come together to form the Mission.

#### Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

9.3.2.8 The people of Ghana were subjected to propaganda that suggested that President Nkrumah's emergence was more extraordinary than the emergence of Buddha, Jesus Christ and the Prophet Mohammed. In an editorial of the Evening News<sup>64</sup> was the inscription, "All day, all night we are reinforced in our belief that the whole phenomena [sic] of Dr. Nkrumah's emergence is second to none in the long history of the world messiah from Buddha, Mohammed and Christ." To enhance that image, there were continued appellations in the media and on various platforms. For example, Dr. Nkrumah was alleged to have gone to the wilderness for spiritual

#### Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

The sordid history surrounding the notorious second military regime, which put itself in power in 1972, has come to a close. The disciplinary action has been taken by the Armed Forces

Revolutionary Council in public to serve as deterrent to anybody who goes about clinging on to power to amass illegal wealth and put Ghanaians into the economic predicament in which we find ourselves today.<sup>90</sup>

#### Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

Never before in our history have so many Ghanaians disappeared in suspicious circumstances as in the period since December 31, 1981. The cases of the three judges and a retired major are typical of the other incidents including two hundred listed on the 28 July 1982 by the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies. 97

#### Reference 76 - 0.04% Coverage

3.3.23.7.1 A policy of resettlement should be designed for serving personnel. Arrangements should be made to enable those who are unsuitable for active service to be discharged and resettled. Counselling should be instituted as an integral part of life in the Police Service, to reduce the number of burnt out personnel whose activities bring dishonour to the Service. 3.3.24 Professionalism And Police Ethics 3.3.24.1 Identification of role of the Police Service as a public service, in accordance with democratic values, must transcend all organizational levels and demonstrate a professional ethic based on accountability, impartiality, Police dignity and recognition of the value of their work. 3.3.24.2 Abuse of power continues to be a problem. The training of officers should emphasise the importance of respecting the bounds of their authority and using the power conferred on them by the State responsibly. 3.3.24.3 The raising of unauthorised barriers for the purpose of extorting money from drivers and passengers as well as the use of Police vehicles to facilitate the commission of crime are problems that must be tackled by the Police administration in earnest. Officers-in-charge of areas where unauthorised barriers are found must receive official censure for inadequate supervision of subordinate staff. 3.3.25 Corruption 3.3.25.1 Corruption in the Police Service is a major obstacle that must be overcome in working towards an efficient and responsive Police Service. The inefficacy of laws are traceable to poor enforcement occasioned by corruption. Strenuous efforts must be made to tackle this problem. Police authorities must devise mechanisms for monitoring the lifestyles and conduct of Police personnel to ensure that the transaction costs of corruption would be raised to levels that would discourage corrupt practices. 3.3.25.2 A new Code of Conduct must be formulated to check corruption. The Police administration must establish an office of Internal Policing. This office, whose existence should be widely publicised, should be tasked to receive complaints of corruption and extortion from the general public, and act on them. 3.3.25.2 It is further recommended that regular spot-checks must be instituted by the Police Administration at the various barriers to check extortion and corruption. 3.3.25.3 Service personnel must be motivated with improved conditions of service, including provision of adequate equipment and emoluments, to improve their self-respect and institutional loyalty. 3.3.26 Standing Orders 3.3.26.1 The Police Standing Orders must be reviewed in the light of the history of Human Rights violations and abuses in Ghana and the need to nurture democratic culture. 3.3.26.2 Modern techniques on crowd control and conduct of Police Investigations should be studied and incorporated into the reviewed Standing Orders. 3.3.26.3 Live ammunition should not be used to control crowds, and the Standing Orders must prohibit this. 3.3.27 Community Partnership 3.3.27.1 New community and problem-solving approaches to policing, based on closer contact



and co-operation with society, through institutions, community organizations or the citizens themselves, must be encouraged and sustained.

#### Reference 77 - 0.04% Coverage

3.8.14 In the past the involvement of academics in treasonable activities on campuses were camouflaged as the exercise of academic freedom. Governments adopted the practice of planting informants on the campuses and in the lecture rooms, to engage in surveillance on lecturers and students. To avoid the recurrence of such practices, there is the need for academics to appreciate the value of academic freedom and to strive to preserve it. They should initiate discussion on issues pertaining to the legitimate exercise of academic freedom and so develop standards that enhance the enjoyment of academic freedom for all. 3.8.15 The development of an independent press has narrowed the space that student leaders had when they were regarded as the alternative voices in the political space. Public space for alternative voices should be preserved so as to reduce the impact of student leaders who concede, years after the fact, that they did not really know what they were playing at when they took a stand against the government. 3.9 YOUTH 3.9.1 Politically-inclined Youth groups are capable of being exploited as a support-base for subversion of the State. The State must show more interest in its youth. Efforts must be made to tackle the problems of out of school youth, so that they would not be available for easy manipulation and exploitation, as unemployed and under-employed youth form a ready source of support for agitators who promise utopia. 3.9.2 NCCE should design appropriate civic education materials for use by youth organisations registered with the National Youth Council. The programmes should help the youth to develop into responsible and patriotic citizens. However, care must be taken in the design, not to lift partisan objectives above national interests. 3.9.3 All youth organisations that handle out-of-school-youth must provide opportunity for such youth to receive civic education. The National Anthem and the National Pledge must be taught to the out-of-school youth 3.9.4 The National Youth Council should be appropriately resourced provided with appropriate direction to enable it serve the purposes for which it was established. 3.10 RECOMMENDATIONS/REFORMS – THE INSTITUTION OF CHIEFTAINCY 3.10.1 It is observed that through legislation, governments interfered with the independence of Chiefs. In spite of this negative history, it is still necessary for Chiefs as the custodians of our cultural heritage, to regain and sustain their political influence as neutral actors in the political domain. Chiefs must be empowered to play their role effectively through education, especially on the Chieftaincy Act, the rights and responsibilities of Chiefs, land administration as well as well basic management skills. 3.10.2 Chiefs, who are regarded as opinion leaders, should be more vocal on issues of human rights violations in the country. 3.10.3 Chiefs should refrain from inordinate lobbying of politicians, particularly those in government, for projects to be sited in their communities. Such lobbying renders the institution vulnerable to manipulation by the politicians, particularly those in Government. 3.10.4 The Regional Houses of Chiefs should strengthen their capacity to handle chieftaincy litigation more effectively. It is desirable for the National House of Chiefs to be proactive in handling matters likely to get Chiefs locked in prolonged and expensive stool and land litigation.

#### Reference 78 - 0.03% Coverage

3.12.8.1 A culture of tolerance should be developed in this country. Ghanaians should learn that it is acceptable for people, even friends, to disagree. Dissent on issues should be encouraged and there should be space for alternative voices to be heard. 3.12.9 Re-presenting Ghana's History 3.12.9.1 The correct facts of Ghana's history must be taught in schools. To this end, school textbooks should be re-written, to ensure that all the patriots of Ghana's Independence get their rightful place in the nation's history. Historical accounts that glorify only those who attained political power at particular points in time do a disservice to dissenters, and those who sought to fight dictatorship and other evils in governance. 3.12.9.2 NCCE should design appropriate civic education materials for use in schools to inculcate patriotism and voluntarism among pupils and students. The National Anthem and the National Pledge must be taught and used in all schools on a daily basis. 3.12.10 Standards Of Decency 3.12.10.1 Ghanaians must strive to develop common standards of morality and decency. These standards would guide the behaviour of citizens in general, as well as holders of public office. 3.12.10.2 Public institutions charged with the protection of Human Rights as well as societal watchdogs such as the press, should not in their turn perpetrate human rights abuses by abusing their power. In a situation of poverty, some persons within these bodies yield to the temptation to abuse their power for personal profit. 3.12.11 Dealing with Ethnocentrism 3.12.11.1 The maintenance of national cohesion is a subject that should engage the attention of all well-meaning Ghanaians. Persistent denials of the existence of Ethnocentrism in the country in general and in public life in particular, will not make the problems disappear. Ethnocentrism must be acknowledged for the great evil that it is, and the dangers it presents to our nationhood, national cohesion and the equitable distribution of national resources must be constantly attacked. The benefits of our national diversity must be celebrated. 3.12.11.2 Specific policies and programmes targeted at addressing issues generated by ethnic animosities, ethnic stereotypes and ethnocentrism as a basis for discrimination must be vigorously confronted. Anti-discrimination legislation must be adopted to give people a remedy whenever they can prove discrimination on any of the grounds set down in Article 17 of the Constitution of 1992. Some countries have achieved a measure of success in combating such problems, not by pious injunctions and exhortations, but by legislation and the conversion of such conduct into wrongful conduct, entitling a wronged person to damages. Ghana must adopt such methods, for nothing short of frontal assault would be effective in tackling ethnocentrism.

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

5.0.2 The Commission believes that a study of the activities of these movements during the mandate period would enable the nation appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change or continuity in these movements; understand why the movements underwent a transformation or ceased to exist altogether, and above all assess their impact on the development or otherwise of a culture of respect for human rights.

Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

5.9.3.6 In April, 1983, the PNDC amended its 1981 Proclamation with PNDC Law 42. The ARPB responded to its provisions by pointing out that it "contains essential elements and highlights the point of arbitrariness and dictatorship which have never seen a parallel in the 26-year history of Ghana". The statement further questioned why Ghanaians had not been consulted about the law and queried: "Were Ghanaians not promised that this was the time for them to be

involved in the decision-making process. Is this the substitute for the Parliament which the people of Ghana elected their representatives to?" These activities did not please the government and it was not long before reprisals followed.

#### Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

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#### Reference 82 - 0.02% Coverage

5.13.1.2.2 This "Aliens Compliance Order", as this Order came to be known, gave all aliens a period of fourteen days within which to regularize their stay in Ghana, or leave. The Leader of the Opposition, Dr. GK Agama, indicated that the opposition was in agreement with the government in enforcing the order that aliens without resident permits should leave the country. The problem with the Order was not the policy, but the manner of its implementation. While the government was within its legal rights to check illegal immigration, the nature and history of cross-border migration within the West African sub-region, as well as Ghana's own policy on African unity, should have been taken into account. These factors of sub-regional migration, meant that the potential number of affected persons was large. It was estimated that there were about 250,000 Togolese nationals, about 5,000 Biafran (Eastern Nigerian) refugees under the protection of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), hundreds of thousands of Nigerians, Malians, and nationals of Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Niger and Dahomey (Benin). Ambassadors of these neighbouring countries pleaded for more time to enable them process the necessary documentation, but these entreaties did not change the government's stand.

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6.0.2 The chapter has also captured the flow of tides that characterized studentgovernment relationships in some detail, to enable the public to follow the history of these movements within the mandate period; understand the activities of these movements under military and civilian regimes; appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change and continuity in

#### Reference 84 - 0.02% Coverage

6.7.4.1 The student movement at the UCC decided to take a two-week break from their studies and go out to the rural areas to spread the message of the revolution and explain its tenets to the rural people. This decision by students of UCC was communicated to the public in a statement issued in Accra on 6th July, and signed by the President of the SRC, John S Achuliwor. According to the SRC President, the "students' decision to undertake such an important national assignment was to ensure that the gains being made by the people towards creating a just society are in no way reversed." Although the students recognized that such a move would affect their

own studies they were willing to make that sacrifice as they were of the firm belief “that no efforts should be spared in thwarting the efforts of those who seek to turn back the moving hands of history.” The statement also informed the public that during the period of the assignment, the students would assist the authorities in locating piled up foodstuffs in food growing areas and would be so organized that where possible, they would assist in even the harvesting of food crops. They would also appeal to the producers of food to feel free to bring their produce to the market without fear of molestation or otherwise. This statement was obviously in response to the shortage of food on the market as a result of the fear of molestation from soldiers. This move to quit the campus in favour of conscientising the people in the rural areas was, according to Professor Kofi Awoonor, then a mentor of the student movement, unrealistic given the fact:

#### Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

They constituted the left at the department which had other lecturers of rightist political persuasion, notably Professor Folson. Complementing the dominant leftist camp of lecturers were Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr and Tsatsu Tsikata, all of the Law faculty. What these lecturers had in common was their academic brilliance and Marxism. They indeed inspired my generation to adopt a radical Marxist view of history and political developments. They were popular with the students and were always on the lecture circuit mostly at the University’s auditorium where they engaged other lecturers of the right in debate. Young, fiery and articulate, they obviously won the battle for the minds of students, at least in the radical leadership of the National Union of Ghana Students.

#### Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

make it their collective responsibility to take their destinies into their own hands.” He accused the PNP Administration of failing to continue the “house-cleaning” that it had promised to do and that it was the “most disgraceful government in the history of this country”. He also complained that the PNP Government had gone ahead to “mutilate all the positive and concrete achievements of the people in order to pave the way for their own corruption”, and made democracy mere paper guarantees. Flt Lt Rawlings then announced the suspension of the 1979 Constitution, the dissolution of Parliament and the formation of the new government, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

#### Reference 87 - 0.02% Coverage

6.9.1.15 The students in Accra were also sent out to undertake a clean-up exercise that lasted six hours according to a newspaper report . At the end of the programme, the students converged at the Nicholson Stadium at Burma Camp where they were addressed by the NUGS President, Philip Gardiner, and the Chairman of the PNDC. Gardiner was reported to have affirmed students support for the PNDC and warned that NUGS would force the removal of any imperialist agent who might be appointed to work with the PNDC. Gardiner made it clear that PNDC should not stand in their way if they wanted to change the country for the betterment of the ordinary people. The NUGS President then reminded students of their responsibility to the underprivileged and declared, “if we fail to use our education for the betterment of the people then we are traitors”. To the PNDC, he gave the caution that it should be wary of imperialists

because they would do everything humanly possible to obstruct the success of the revolution. To this end, the NUGS President advised the PNDC to stay away from the old way of doing things. As a first step, it was to avoid appointing to high office any persons who could be shown to have subscribed to the past ideals of ruling the country and that no “person with a provable history of links to western imperialists” was to be allowed to control the council.

#### Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

7.0.2 The chapter is organized to reflect the historical chronology of their life as youth movements under particular regimes, and the part they played in sustaining the regime. The hope is that the public would better appreciate the whys and wherefores of these movements, as well as the importance of their contribution to the socio-political history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change and continuity in these movements; and understand why the movements underwent a transformation or ceased to exist altogether, during the mandate period.

#### Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

Not only myself, but the heads of churches in Ghana, are shocked by the godlessness of this movement and by some of its phrases and songs for the children to repeat or to sing. We made our views known to the Minister of Education last April, saying that we found it impossible to give our support and co-operation in the development of the movement as at present constituted. It is an affront to our age-long traditions that, in Ghana of all countries a national institution for the training and development of boys and girls should entirely ignore the existence and claims of Almighty God. Moreover, it seems that the movement confuses the work and example of a great man with divine acts which are unique in history. The incipient atheism is quite foreign to the traditional concepts of African Personality. Surely it is our duty to ask that some consideration be given to convictions of loyal citizens of Ghana who, by virtue of their Christian Faith, desire that nothing shall hinder their children from growing up to be loyal and faithful Christian men and women. Is there a finer basis for citizenship than this?

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8.0.1 This chapter deals with the role that chiefs have played in the political history of Ghana between the period 6th March, 1957, and 6th January, 1993. The assessment of the role of chiefs is done with specific reference to their efforts in the protection or otherwise, of human rights. One fact that became obvious from the work of the Commission was that, the chiefs themselves were often victims of human rights abuses, and that the chieftaincy institution suffered human rights abuses more than any other institutions, during the mandate period.

#### Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

8.1.5 The history of Ghana is replete with cases, in which several courageous chiefs stood up to colonial governors and challenged their authority. In 1866, for instance, King Aggrey of Cape Coast refused to recognize the authority of the Governor of Cape Coast Castle beyond the bounds prescribed by the Bond of 1844. King Aggrey considered himself to be the lawful enthroned King of Cape Coast, for which reason the Governor had no right to set limits to his

powers as king, and to set free, persons he himself had tried and imprisoned. The dispute between the King and the Governor led to the dethronement and exile of the King to Sierra Leone .

#### Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

### 9.1 ABOUT THE THREE MAIN RELIGIONS IN GHANA 9.1.1 THE TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS GROUP 9.1.1 History

9.1.1.1 Traditional Religion is the oldest religion in Ghana. It is not organized in the manner of Christian or Islamic religions. The nature and history of the Traditional Religious group is quite different from other religious groups. It has no organised hierarchy or association to spearhead its activities at the national level and so its influence on national politics has been minimal. In 1985, the late Osofo Okomfo Damuah, a Roman Catholic Priest, left the Catholic Faith to establish the Afrikania Mission of Ghana. This Mission, for the first time, provided a mouthpiece for the various traditional religious groups that had come together to form the Mission.

#### Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

9.3.2.8 The people of Ghana were subjected to propaganda that suggested that President Nkrumah's emergence was more extraordinary than the emergence of Buddha, Jesus Christ and the Prophet Mohammed. In an editorial of the Evening News was the inscription, "All day, all night we are reinforced in our belief that the whole phenomena [sic] of Dr. Nkrumah's emergence is second to none in the long history of the world messiah from Buddha, Mohammed and Christ." To enhance that image, there were continued appellations in the media and on various platforms. For example, Dr. Nkrumah was alleged to have gone to the wilderness for spiritual exercise just as Jesus Christ did. Again, according to the Evening News, just as John the Baptist heralded the Mission of Christ on earth, Dr. Nkrumah's emergence was also said to have been foretold by Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey. The Evening News in a report captioned: "The Seven Days in the Wilderness", and "Nkrumah in the Hour of Transfiguration", graphically compared Dr. Nkrumah and Christ. Dr. Nkrumah was also considered martyr par excellence by J R P Marutle in the following poem:

#### Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

The sordid history surrounding the notorious second military regime, which put itself in power in 1972, has come to a close. The disciplinary action has been taken by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council in public to serve as deterrent to anybody who goes about clinging on to power to amass illegal wealth and put Ghanaians into the economic predicament in which we find ourselves today.

#### Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

Never before in our history have so many Ghanaians disappeared in suspicious circumstances as in the period since December 31, 1981. The cases of the three judges and a retired major are typical of the other incidents including two hundred listed on the 28 July 1982 by the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies.

## History Child Node References

The following section contains history references from the Ghana report organized by the child nodes outlined in History Coding for the Ghana Report. Some references appear under several subheadings since they contained discussions of multiple themes.

### *Education*

References or discussions of schools, training, education, teaching, or school curriculums

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 9 references coded [0.16% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

8.10.1 It is observed that through legislation, governments interfered with the independence of Chiefs. In spite of this negative history, it is still necessary for Chiefs as the custodians of our cultural heritage, to regain and sustain their political influence as neutral actors in the political domain. Chiefs must be empowered to play their role effectively through education, especially on the Chieftaincy Act, the rights and responsibilities of Chiefs, land administration as well as well basic management skills.

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

##### 8.12.9 Re-presenting Ghana's History

8.12.9.1 The correct facts of Ghana's history must be taught in schools. To this end, school textbooks should be re-written, to ensure that all the patriots of Ghana's Independence get their rightful place in the nation's history. Historical accounts that glorify only those who attained political power at particular points in time do a disservice to dissenters, and those who sought to fight dictatorship and other evils in governance.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

##### 1.1.1.3.5 The last expatriate staff left the Air Force in 1970. 1.1.1.4 History of Training Institutions, Training and Recruitment

The history of training institutions in the Ghana Armed Forces began with the West Africa Command Training School (WACTS). The WACTS was established in 1940 and by 1943, had three schools under it, namely, the West Africa Command Jungle Battle School in Nigeria, the West Africa Command Clerks Training School in the Gold Coast and the West Africa Command School of Education in Sierra Leone.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

1.6.4.4 There is no evidence of a sustained policy on in-service Human Resource Development, given the calibre of personnel available for recruitment. Continuing Education has not been a feature of the service both on account of its history and the state of its facilities.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

They constituted the left at the department which had other lecturers of rightist political persuasion, notably Professor Folson. Complementing the dominant leftist camp of lecturers were Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr and Tsatsu Tsikata, all of the Law faculty. What these lecturers had in common was their academic brilliance and Marxism. They indeed inspired my generation to adopt a radical Marxist view of history and political developments. They were popular with the students and were always on the lecture circuit mostly at the University's auditorium where they engaged other lecturers of the right in debate. Young, fiery and articulate, they obviously won the battle for the minds of students, at least in the radical leadership of the National Union of Ghana Students.

#### Reference 6 - 0.04% Coverage

3.3.23.7.1 A policy of resettlement should be designed for serving personnel. Arrangements should be made to enable those who are unsuitable for active service to be discharged and resettled. Counselling should be instituted as an integral part of life in the Police Service, to reduce the number of burnt out personnel whose activities bring dishonour to the Service. 3.3.24 Professionalism And Police Ethics 3.3.24.1 Identification of role of the Police Service as a public service, in accordance with democratic values, must transcend all organizational levels and demonstrate a professional ethic based on accountability, impartiality, Police dignity and recognition of the value of their work. 3.3.24.2 Abuse of power continues to be a problem. The training of officers should emphasise the importance of respecting the bounds of their authority and using the power conferred on them by the State responsibly. 3.3.24.3 The raising of unauthorised barriers for the purpose of extorting money from drivers and passengers as well as the use of Police vehicles to facilitate the commission of crime are problems that must be tackled by the Police administration in earnest. Officers-in-charge of areas where unauthorised barriers are found must receive official censure for inadequate supervision of subordinate staff. 3.3.25 Corruption 3.3.25.1 Corruption in the Police Service is a major obstacle that must be overcome in working towards an efficient and responsive Police Service. The inefficacy of laws are traceable to poor enforcement occasioned by corruption. Strenuous efforts must be made to tackle this problem. Police authorities must devise mechanisms for monitoring the lifestyles and conduct of Police personnel to ensure that the transaction costs of corruption would be raised to levels that would discourage corrupt practices. 3.3.25.2 A new Code of Conduct must be formulated to check corruption. The Police administration must establish an office of Internal Policing. This office, whose existence should be widely publicised, should be tasked to receive complaints of corruption and extortion from the general public, and act on them. 3.3.25.2 It is further recommended that regular spot-checks must be instituted by the Police Administration at the various barriers to check extortion and corruption. 3.3.25.3 Service personnel must be motivated with improved conditions of service, including provision of adequate equipment and emoluments, to improve their self-respect and institutional loyalty. 3.3.26 Standing Orders 3.3.26.1 The Police Standing Orders must be reviewed in the light of the history of Human Rights violations and abuses in Ghana and the need to nurture democratic culture. 3.3.26.2 Modern techniques on crowd control and conduct of Police Investigations should be studied and incorporated into the reviewed Standing Orders. 3.3.26.3 Live ammunition should not be used to



control crowds, and the Standing Orders must prohibit this. 3.3.27 Community Partnership  
3.3.27.1 New community and problem-solving approaches to policing, based on closer contact and co-operation with society, through institutions, community organizations or the citizens themselves, must be encouraged and sustained.

#### Reference 7 - 0.04% Coverage

3.8.14 In the past the involvement of academics in treasonable activities on campuses were camouflaged as the exercise of academic freedom. Governments adopted the practice of planting informants on the campuses and in the lecture rooms, to engage in surveillance on lecturers and students. To avoid the recurrence of such practices, there is the need for academics to appreciate the value of academic freedom and to strive to preserve it. They should initiate discussion on issues pertaining to the legitimate exercise of academic freedom and so develop standards that enhance the enjoyment of academic freedom for all. 3.8.15 The development of an independent press has narrowed the space that student leaders had when they were regarded as the alternative voices in the political space. Public space for alternative voices should be preserved so as to reduce the impact of student leaders who concede, years after the fact, that they did not really know what they were playing at when they took a stand against the government. 3.9 YOUTH  
3.9.1 Politically-inclined Youth groups are capable of being exploited as a support-base for subversion of the State. The State must show more interest in its youth. Efforts must be made to tackle the problems of out of school youth, so that they would not be available for easy manipulation and exploitation, as unemployed and under-employed youth form a ready source of support for agitators who promise utopia. 3.9.2 NCCE should design appropriate civic education materials for use by youth organisations registered with the National Youth Council. The programmes should help the youth to develop into responsible and patriotic citizens. However, care must be taken in the design, not to lift partisan objectives above national interests. 3.9.3 All youth organisations that handle out-of-school-youth must provide opportunity for such youth to receive civic education. The National Anthem and the National Pledge must be taught to the out-of-school youth 3.9.4 The National Youth Council should be appropriately resourced provided with appropriate direction to enable it serve the purposes for which it was established. 3.10 RECOMMENDATIONS/REFORMS – THE INSTITUTION OF CHIEFTAINCY 3.10.1 It is observed that through legislation, governments interfered with the independence of Chiefs. In spite of this negative history, it is still necessary for Chiefs as the custodians of our cultural heritage, to regain and sustain their political influence as neutral actors in the political domain. Chiefs must be empowered to play their role effectively through education, especially on the Chieftaincy Act, the rights and responsibilities of Chiefs, land administration as well as well basic management skills. 3.10.2 Chiefs, who are regarded as opinion leaders, should be more vocal on issues of human rights violations in the country. 3.10.3 Chiefs should refrain from inordinate lobbying of politicians, particularly those in government, for projects to be sited in their communities. Such lobbying renders the institution vulnerable to manipulation by the politicians, particularly those in Government. 3.10.4 The Regional Houses of Chiefs should strengthen their capacity to handle chieftaincy litigation more effectively. It is desirable for the National House of Chiefs to be proactive in handling matters likely to get Chiefs locked in prolonged and expensive stool and land litigation.

#### Reference 8 - 0.03% Coverage

3.12.8.1 A culture of tolerance should be developed in this country. Ghanaians should learn that it is acceptable for people, even friends, to disagree. Dissent on issues should be encouraged and there should be space for alternative voices to be heard. 3.12.9 Re-presenting Ghana's History  
3.12.9.1 The correct facts of Ghana's history must be taught in schools. To this end, school textbooks should be re-written, to ensure that all the patriots of Ghana's Independence get their rightful place in the nation's history. Historical accounts that glorify only those who attained political power at particular points in time do a disservice to dissenters, and those who sought to fight dictatorship and other evils in governance. 3.12.9.2 NCCE should design appropriate civic education materials for use in schools to inculcate patriotism and voluntarism among pupils and students. The National Anthem and the National Pledge must be taught and used in all schools on a daily basis. 3.12.10 Standards Of Decency 3.12.10.1 Ghanaians must strive to develop common standards of morality and decency. These standards would guide the behaviour of citizens in general, as well as holders of public office. 3.12.10.2 Public institutions charged with the protection of Human Rights as well as societal watchdogs such as the press, should not in their turn perpetrate human rights abuses by abusing their power. In a situation of poverty, some persons within these bodies yield to the temptation to abuse their power for personal profit. 3.12.11 Dealing with Ethnocentrism 3.12.11.1 The maintenance of national cohesion is a subject that should engage the attention of all well-meaning Ghanaians. Persistent denials of the existence of Ethnocentrism in the country in general and in public life in particular, will not make the problems disappear. Ethnocentrism must be acknowledged for the great evil that it is, and the dangers it presents to our nationhood, national cohesion and the equitable distribution of national resources must be constantly attacked. The benefits of our national diversity must be celebrated. 3.12.11.2 Specific policies and programmes targeted at addressing issues generated by ethnic animosities, ethnic stereotypes and ethnocentrism as a basis for discrimination must be vigorously confronted. Anti-discrimination legislation must be adopted to give people a remedy whenever they can prove discrimination on any of the grounds set down in Article 17 of the Constitution of 1992. Some countries have achieved a measure of success in combating such problems, not by pious injunctions and exhortations, but by legislation and the conversion of such conduct into wrongful conduct, entitling a wronged person to damages. Ghana must adopt such methods, for nothing short of frontal assault would be effective in tackling ethnocentrism.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Not only myself, but the heads of churches in Ghana, are shocked by the godlessness of this movement and by some of its phrases and songs for the children to repeat or to sing. We made our views known to the Minister of Education last April, saying that we found it impossible to give our support and co-operation in the development of the movement as at present constituted. It is an affront to our age-long traditions that, in Ghana of all countries a national institution for the training and development of boys and girls should entirely ignore the existence and claims of Almighty God. Moreover, it seems that the movement confuses the work and example of a great man with divine acts which are unique in history. The incipient atheism is quite foreign to the traditional concepts of African Personality. Surely it is our duty to ask that some consideration be given to convictions of loyal citizens of Ghana who, by virtue of their Christian Faith, desire that nothing shall hinder their children from growing up to be loyal and faithful Christian men and women. Is there a finer basis for citizenship than this?

## *Ethnicity*

References or discussions of ethnicity

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 4 references coded [0.05% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

ethnic animosities and resentments occasioned by a history of antagonism produced by inter-ethnic wars and imperialism;

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.5.1 Among the legacies that Ghana inherited at the time of its birth as an independent country were: ethnic animosities and resentments occasioned by a history of antagonism produced by inter-ethnic wars and imperialism; uneven economic development between the North and South and between the colonial holdings and Trust Territory; fears of cultural domination; the emergence of a landless urban poor as a result of urbanization; the integration into the political entity of persons who wished to belong elsewhere or who wished for a different form of government; and political leaders who were in antagonistic relationship to each other.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

1.10.5.6.2 It is a fact that at some point in the history of the GAF, there was no regional balance within the institution. This has created some command and control problems as ethnic loyalties tended to interfere with work situations. Ethnocentrism has gained roots in the forces to the extent that at a point in time, one or two ethnic groups dominated the GAF, and this was unhealthy for the development of a sense of nationalism.

Reference 4 - 0.03% Coverage

3.12.8.1 A culture of tolerance should be developed in this country. Ghanaians should learn that it is acceptable for people, even friends, to disagree. Dissent on issues should be encouraged and there should be space for alternative voices to be heard. 3.12.9 Re-presenting Ghana's History 3.12.9.1 The correct facts of Ghana's history must be taught in schools. To this end, school textbooks should be re-written, to ensure that all the patriots of Ghana's Independence get their rightful place in the nation's history. Historical accounts that glorify only those who attained political power at particular points in time do a disservice to dissenters, and those who sought to fight dictatorship and other evils in governance. 3.12.9.2 NCCE should design appropriate civic education materials for use in schools to inculcate patriotism and voluntarism among pupils and students. The National Anthem and the National Pledge must be taught and used in all schools on a daily basis. 3.12.10 Standards Of Decency 3.12.10.1 Ghanaians must strive to develop common standards of morality and decency. These standards would guide the behaviour of citizens in general, as well as holders of public office. 3.12.10.2 Public institutions charged with the protection of Human Rights as well as societal watchdogs such as the press, should not in

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## *Heritage*

References or discussions of heritage, commemoration, or remembrance

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 1 reference coded  
[0.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

8.10.1 It is observed that through legislation, governments interfered with the independence of Chiefs. In spite of this negative history, it is still necessary for Chiefs as the custodians of our cultural heritage, to regain and sustain their political influence as neutral actors in the political domain. Chiefs must be empowered to play their role effectively through education, especially on the Chieftaincy Act, the rights and responsibilities of Chiefs, land administration as well as well basic management skills.

## *Human Rights*

References or discussions of human rights or human rights violations

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 23 references coded [0.24% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

1.1.2 Throughout the contemporary world, Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRCs) have emerged as a critical part of the responses of states, especially those undergoing political transition, to serious acts of human rights violations and impunity occasioned by a history of prolonged conflicts and antagonisms. TRCs are official bodies established to investigate and document past human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law, and to chart a path for achieving healing, peace and national reconciliation.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

1.1.5 The establishment of the National Reconciliation Commission (the “Commission”) came in the wake of Ghana’s historic elections of December 2000, which witnessed, for the first time in the country’s post-Independence history, a change of constitutionally elected government effected not by violent means but by popular vote. That event was a clear testimony to the strong desire of Ghanaians to live under conditions of democratic accountability and to forge a society firmly grounded in respect for human rights and the rule of law. The consolidation of democracy and the promotion of constitutional rule and

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

culture of respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, as enshrined in Chapter Five of the Constitution of Ghana, 1992, demand that Ghana should deal with its history of egregious human rights violations that risk compromising the forward march of democracy and peace in the country. Building a future for Ghana that is united, secure, peaceful and humane also demands providing redress, including healing, for those who were hurt in the past by serious human rights violations and abuses in the nature of killings, abductions, disappearances, torture, detentions, seizure of property and illtreatment. The Commission was seen by the Ghana Parliament as a vehicle to facilitate the attainment of these goals.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

4.1.2.5.3 However, there is evidence that certain practices of this group constitute human rights violations. These practices are part of the culture of the people, and therefore have been with Ghanaian society from pre-colonial times to the present. In other words, they are not limited to any particular period in the history of the country.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

8.3.26.1 The Police Standing Orders must be reviewed in the light of the history of Human Rights violations and abuses in Ghana and the need to nurture democratic culture.

Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

1.1.2 The establishment of the National Reconciliation Commission (hereinafter referred to as “the Commission”) came in the wake of Ghana's historic elections of December, 2000, which witnessed, for the first time in the country's post-Independence history, a change of constitutionally-elected government effected, not by violent means, but by popular vote. That event was a clear testimony to the strong desire of Ghanaians to live under conditions of democratic accountability, and to forge a society firmly grounded in the respect for human rights and the rule of law. The consolidation of democracy and the sustenance and promotion of constitutional rule and a culture of respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms as enshrined in Chapter five of the 1992 Constitution, demand that Ghana should deal with its history of egregious human rights violations that risk compromising the forward march of democracy and peace in the country. Building a future for a Ghana that is united, secure, peaceful and humane also demands providing redress, including healing, for those who were hurt in the past by serious human rights violations and abuses in the nature of killings, abductions, disappearances, torture, detentions, seizure of property and ill-treatment. The Commission was seen by Parliament as a vehicle to facilitate the attainment of these goals.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

served as the location for the sittings of Parliament in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Republics of our post independent history. Above all other structures, it is associated with our hopes and aspirations of building our new state on the principles of Freedom and Justice, the perennial goals to which the founders of our state dedicated its existence and inscribed on our Coat of Arms as the words of the nation's motto. ...Alas, for too many years of our nation's history, especially during the prolonged eras of unconstitutional government, the attainment of these goals proved illusory, giving way rather to the establishment of a tragic culture of extensive violations, by state actors, of the human rights of the citizenry of this county, leaving in its wake considerable rancour, anguish and ill-feeling within several segments of society. It is, therefore, altogether most fitting and proper when we are, through the instrumentality of this Commission, seeking to come to terms with its unhappy past and forge a new era of reconciliation and unity in our nation, that the National Reconciliation Commission should be housed in this building to undertake its momentous task

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

The events which led to Ghana becoming a State that achieved Independence on 6th March, 1957, have had a great impact on the course of the nation's history. Problems that had emerged before Independence continued to dog the footsteps of the new nation; problems that had been shelved or side-stepped did not go away; and problems that emerged subsequent to the attainment of Independence, came in to compound the already difficult situation. These legacies of the pre-Independence period have remained of significance in charting the course of the new nation, and on the human rights record of the various governments since Independence.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

4.1.2.5.3 However, there is evidence that certain practices of this group constitute human rights violations. These practices are part of the culture of the people, and therefore have been with Ghanaian society from pre-colonial times to the present. In other words, they are not limited to any particular period in the history of the country.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

1.6.1.2 As a result of the history of political detentions, the service has acquired an unsavoury image and reputation in matters of human rights.<sup>9</sup>

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

2.0.2 This Chapter also documents the contribution that the introduction of a new system of adjudication, as well as new investigative bodies made to the enjoyment or otherwise of human rights by the citizenry. Since these bodies operated outside the generally accepted norms of judicial and quasi-judicial inquiry, the issue of whether these well established norms serve a purpose, is brought into focus. This Chapter also recounts some violations and abuses that members of the two groups of the Legal Profession suffered, either individually or collectively, in the course of pursuing their profession. It also sheds some light on Bench-Bar relations and what impact this has made on the nation's post Independence history.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

41.1 The Bench in its decisions played a significant role in the development of a culture of human rights violations in the history of this country. Individual members of the Judiciary had their rights abused, and the Judiciary was unable to protect itself from Executive interference with its work. This was seen in the instances in which when some judges were dismissed for no tangible reason and without adherence to due process, other judges accepted new appointments with no hesitation, to replace the dismissed judges, In the case of the interpretation of human rights-related legislation such as the Preventive Detention Act, judges have consistently adopted a narrow positivist approach that supported the position of the Executive and deprived the citizenry of their human rights. This failure to hold the balance between the individual and the State, and undue deference to the Executive for reasons of self-preservation, resulted in widespread and unchecked violations of human rights of the citizenry, and produced some of the most terrible instances of the impact of an unrestrained use of Executive power, on the lives of ordinary people.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.3 The sources of information for this report were: newspapers of the mandate period, memoranda from media practitioners, focus group discussions with journalists, published literature and other secondary sources. These have been helpful in illuminating the various ways



in which media were complicit in, or resisted human rights abuses and repression throughout much of Ghana's post independence history.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.7 The discussion of the media under the post-independence government of Dr. Nkrumah and the CPP is significant, particularly for a proper understanding and appreciation of the pattern of coercion, co-optation and resistance to government that has characterized the entire history of the media during the mandate period. As noted by a former employee of GBC, there were "stressful conditions imposed on the people who worked at the GBC from the First Republic to the end of the PNDC regime."<sup>4</sup> According to him, harassment, intimidation and interference in the work of professional broadcasters have been common violations of human rights by both military and civilian governments in Ghana.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.1 The history of media repression, co-optation and resistance began with the colonial authorities. This precedent was crystallized during the regime of the CPP and became an established pattern by successive regimes throughout the country's history. The first press laws to be introduced in the country were by the British colonial government. The Book and Newspaper Registration Ordinance was passed in 1887, requiring newspaper editors to send returns of their circulation as well as the title of their newspapers, the location of their offices, printers, and publishers to the Colonial Secretary. Printers were expected to print their names and addresses on the first and last pages of the newspaper. In 1893 the Newspaper Registration Ordinance established a register of newspaper proprietors in order to help the authorities identify offending publishers.<sup>5</sup> The British also passed the Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance in 1934, to curb the "unruly" behaviour and attitude of the Ghanaian nationalist press toward the colonial government. The Criminal Libel law and other draconian press laws from the colonial period, remained on the books and were used against errant journalists from time to time.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

3.10.13 Considering that the media are expected to be facilitators of the process of truth and reconciliation, it is important that journalists, collectively and individually examine some of the past actions of the media, in order to better understand the role the media have wittingly or unwittingly played in the country's noble and ignoble history. There is a need to recognise and acknowledge their role in promoting a culture of human rights abuse, as well as their role in helping to nurture a culture of respect for human rights and dignity. This is what would enable the media to spearhead the process of their own institutional re-invention, improve their capacity to champion the cause of human rights, and thereby prevent future governments from using them to legitimize their actions.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

5.0.2 The Commission believes that a study of the activities of these movements during the mandate period would enable the nation appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history

of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change or continuity in these movements; understand why the movements underwent a transformation or ceased to exist altogether, and above all assess their impact on the development or otherwise of a culture of respect for human rights.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

##### JANUARY, 1993 8.0 Introduction

8.0.1 This chapter deals with the role that chiefs have played in the political history of Ghana between the period 6th March, 1957, and 6th January, 1993. The assessment of the role of chiefs is done with specific reference to their efforts in the protection or otherwise, of human rights. One fact that became obvious from the work of the Commission was that, the chiefs themselves were often victims of human rights abuses, and that the chieftaincy institution suffered human rights abuses more than any other institutions, during the mandate period.

#### Reference 19 - 0.04% Coverage

3.3.23.7.1 A policy of resettlement should be designed for serving personnel. Arrangements should be made to enable those who are unsuitable for active service to be discharged and resettled. Counselling should be instituted as an integral part of life in the Police Service, to reduce the number of burnt out personnel whose activities bring dishonour to the Service. 3.3.24 Professionalism And Police Ethics 3.3.24.1 Identification of role of the Police Service as a public service, in accordance with democratic values, must transcend all organizational levels and demonstrate a professional ethic based on accountability, impartiality, Police dignity and recognition of the value of their work. 3.3.24.2 Abuse of power continues to be a problem. The training of officers should emphasise the importance of respecting the bounds of their authority and using the power conferred on them by the State responsibly. 3.3.24.3 The raising of unauthorised barriers for the purpose of extorting money from drivers and passengers as well as the use of Police vehicles to facilitate the commission of crime are problems that must be tackled by the Police administration in earnest. Officers-in-charge of areas where unauthorised barriers are found must receive official censure for inadequate supervision of subordinate staff. 3.3.25 Corruption 3.3.25.1 Corruption in the Police Service is a major obstacle that must be overcome in working towards an efficient and responsive Police Service. The inefficacy of laws are traceable to poor enforcement occasioned by corruption. Strenuous efforts must be made to tackle this problem. Police authorities must devise mechanisms for monitoring the lifestyles and conduct of Police personnel to ensure that the transaction costs of corruption would be raised to levels that would discourage corrupt practices. 3.3.25.2 A new Code of Conduct must be formulated to check corruption. The Police administration must establish an office of Internal Policing. This office, whose existence should be widely publicised, should be tasked to receive complaints of corruption and extortion from the general public, and act on them. 3.3.25.2 It is further recommended that regular spot-checks must be instituted by the Police Administration at the various barriers to check extortion and corruption. 3.3.25.3 Service personnel must be motivated with improved conditions of service, including provision of adequate equipment and emoluments, to improve their self-respect and institutional loyalty. 3.3.26 Standing Orders 3.3.26.1 The Police Standing Orders must be reviewed in the light of the history of Human Rights violations and abuses in Ghana and the need to nurture democratic culture. 3.3.26.2 Modern techniques on crowd control and conduct of Police Investigations should be studied and

incorporated into the reviewed Standing Orders. 3.3.26.3 Live ammunition should not be used to control crowds, and the Standing Orders must prohibit this. 3.3.27 Community Partnership  
3.3.27.1 New community and problem-solving approaches to policing, based on closer contact and co-operation with society, through institutions, community organizations or the citizens themselves, must be encouraged and sustained.

#### Reference 20 - 0.03% Coverage

3.12.8.1 A culture of tolerance should be developed in this country. Ghanaians should learn that it is acceptable for people, even friends, to disagree. Dissent on issues should be encouraged and there should be space for alternative voices to be heard. 3.12.9 Re-presenting Ghana's History  
3.12.9.1 The correct facts of Ghana's history must be taught in schools. To this end, school textbooks should be re-written, to ensure that all the patriots of Ghana's Independence get their rightful place in the nation's history. Historical accounts that glorify only those who attained political power at particular points in time do a disservice to dissenters, and those who sought to fight dictatorship and other evils in governance. 3.12.9.2 NCCE should design appropriate civic education materials for use in schools to inculcate patriotism and voluntarism among pupils and students. The National Anthem and the National Pledge must be taught and used in all schools on a daily basis. 3.12.10 Standards Of Decency 3.12.10.1 Ghanaians must strive to develop common standards of morality and decency. These standards would guide the behaviour of citizens in general, as well as holders of public office. 3.12.10.2 Public institutions charged with the protection of Human Rights as well as societal watchdogs such as the press, should not in their turn perpetrate human rights abuses by abusing their power. In a situation of poverty, some persons within these bodies yield to the temptation to abuse their power for personal profit. 3.12.11 Dealing with Ethnocentrism 3.12.11.1 The maintenance of national cohesion is a subject that should engage the attention of all well-meaning Ghanaians. Persistent denials of the existence of Ethnocentrism in the country in general and in public life in particular, will not make the problems disappear. Ethnocentrism must be acknowledged for the great evil that it is, and the dangers it presents to our nationhood, national cohesion and the equitable distribution of national resources must be constantly attacked. The benefits of our national diversity must be celebrated. 3.12.11.2 Specific policies and programmes targeted at addressing issues generated by ethnic animosities, ethnic stereotypes and ethnocentrism as a basis for discrimination must be vigorously confronted. Anti-discrimination legislation must be adopted to give people a remedy whenever they can prove discrimination on any of the grounds set down in Article 17 of the Constitution of 1992. Some countries have achieved a measure of success in combating such problems, not by pious injunctions and exhortations, but by legislation and the conversion of such conduct into wrongful conduct, entitling a wronged person to damages. Ghana must adopt such methods, for nothing short of frontal assault would be effective in tackling ethnocentrism.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

5.0.2 The Commission believes that a study of the activities of these movements during the mandate period would enable the nation appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change or continuity in these movements; understand why the movements underwent a transformation or ceased to exist altogether, and above all assess their impact on the development or otherwise of a culture of respect for human rights.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

They constituted the left at the department which had other lecturers of rightist political persuasion, notably Professor Folson. Complementing the dominant leftist camp of lecturers were Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr and Tsatsu Tsikata, all of the Law faculty. What these lecturers had in common was their academic brilliance and Marxism. They indeed inspired my generation to adopt a radical Marxist view of history and political developments. They were popular with the students and were always on the lecture circuit mostly at the University's auditorium where they engaged other lecturers of the right in debate. Young, fiery and articulate, they obviously won the battle for the minds of students, at least in the radical leadership of the National Union of Ghana Students.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

8.0.1 This chapter deals with the role that chiefs have played in the political history of Ghana between the period 6th March, 1957, and 6th January, 1993. The assessment of the role of chiefs is done with specific reference to their efforts in the protection or otherwise, of human rights. One fact that became obvious from the work of the Commission was that, the chiefs themselves were often victims of human rights abuses, and that the chieftaincy institution suffered human rights abuses more than any other institutions, during the mandate period.

## *Imperialism and Colonialism*

References or discussions of imperialism or colonialism

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 12 references coded [0.10% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.4.1 There were mutual suspicions between Ashanti and the Colony. With her history of imperialism Ashanti was disliked by her coastal neighbours who feared domination should they be put together as one political entity. On its part, Ashanti feared domination by the Colony. In the early 1940s there were efforts at rapprochement. These mutual suspicions did not die, but were fuelled by developments a decade later, as demonstrated by the formation of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) in 1954.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

ethnic animosities and resentments occasioned by a history of antagonism produced by inter-ethnic wars and imperialism;

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

The events which led to Ghana becoming a State that achieved Independence on 6th March, 1957, have had a great impact on the course of the nation's history. Problems that had emerged before Independence continued to dog the footsteps of the new nation; problems that had been shelved or side-stepped did not go away; and problems that emerged subsequent to the attainment of Independence, came in to compound the already difficult situation. These legacies of the pre-Independence period have remained of significance in charting the course of the new nation, and on the human rights record of the various governments since Independence.

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.4.1 There were mutual suspicions between Ashanti and the Colony. With her history of imperialism, Ashanti was disliked by her coastal neighbours, who feared domination should they be put together as one political entity. On its part, Ashanti feared domination by the Colony. In the early 1940s there were efforts at rapprochement. The Joint Provincial Council of the Colony made representations to Ashanti on the issue of working together against the colonial government. In reply the Asantehene stated:

### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

4.1.2.5.3 However, there is evidence that certain practices of this group constitute human rights violations. These practices are part of the culture of the people, and therefore have been with Ghanaian society from pre-colonial times to the present. In other words, they are not limited to any particular period in the history of the country.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

1.13.1 The history of the Police Service, shows that primarily, the Ghana Police Service was expected to be modelled on the British system, which encouraged, the principles of good policing, public co-operation and abhorred excessive use of physical force, and providing service in the interest of community welfare and existence. It is for this reason that the subordinate ranks were trained only in the use of truncheons, rifles and riot control equipment. Rifles were used mainly for special escorts, and for guarding sensitive installations, but even when on guard duty, the guard commander held the ammunition. Only the senior officers were trained in the use of side arms. In fact, Service Instruction No 97 spelt out in detail the circumstances under which a policeman could use firearms, as well as the procedure to be followed should such a situation arise.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.1 The history of media repression, co-optation and resistance began with the colonial authorities. This precedent was crystallized during the regime of the CPP and became an established pattern by successive regimes throughout the country's history. The first press laws to be introduced in the country were by the British colonial government. The Book and Newspaper Registration Ordinance was passed in 1887, requiring newspaper editors to send returns of their circulation as well as the title of their newspapers, the location of their offices, printers, and publishers to the Colonial Secretary. Printers were expected to print their names and addresses on the first and last pages of the newspaper. In 1893 the Newspaper Registration Ordinance established a register of newspaper proprietors in order to help the authorities identify offending publishers.<sup>5</sup> The British also passed the Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance in 1934, to curb the "unruly" behaviour and attitude of the Ghanaian nationalist press toward the colonial government. The Criminal Libel law and other draconian press laws from the colonial period, remained on the books and were used against errant journalists from time to time.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

provable history of links to western imperialists" was to be allowed to control the council.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

8.1.5 The history of Ghana is replete with cases, in which several courageous chiefs stood up to colonial governors and challenged their authority. In 1866, for instance, King Aggrey of Cape Coast refused to recognize the authority of the Governor of Cape Coast Castle beyond the bounds prescribed by the Bond of 1844. King Aggrey considered himself to be the lawful enthroned King of Cape Coast, for which reason the Governor had no right to set limits to his powers as king, and to set free, persons he himself had tried and imprisoned. The dispute between the King and the Governor led to the dethronement and exile of the King to Sierra Leone<sup>9</sup>.

#### Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

6.9.1.15 The students in Accra were also sent out to undertake a clean-up exercise that lasted six hours according to a newspaper report . At the end of the programme, the students converged at the Nicholson Stadium at Burma Camp where they were addressed by the NUGS President, Philip Gardiner, and the Chairman of the PNDC. Gardiner was reported to have affirmed students support for the PNDC and warned that NUGS would force the removal of any imperialist agent who might be appointed to work with the PNDC. Gardiner made it clear that PNDC should not stand in their way if they wanted to change the country for the betterment of the ordinary people. The NUGS President then reminded students of their responsibility to the underprivileged and declared, “if we fail to use our education for the betterment of the people then we are traitors”. To the PNDC, he gave the caution that it should be wary of imperialists because they would do everything humanly possible to obstruct the success of the revolution. To this end, the NUGS President advised the PNDC to stay away from the old way of doing things. As a first step, it was to avoid appointing to high office any persons who could be shown to have subscribed to the past ideals of ruling the country and that no “person with a provable history of links to western imperialists” was to be allowed to control the council.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Not only myself, but the heads of churches in Ghana, are shocked by the godlessness of this movement and by some of its phrases and songs for the children to repeat or to sing. We made our views known to the Minister of Education last April, saying that we found it impossible to give our support and co-operation in the development of the movement as at present constituted. It is an affront to our age-long traditions that, in Ghana of all countries a national institution for the training and development of boys and girls should entirely ignore the existence and claims of Almighty God. Moreover, it seems that the movement confuses the work and example of a great man with divine acts which are unique in history. The incipient atheism is quite foreign to the traditional concepts of African Personality. Surely it is our duty to ask that some consideration be given to convictions of loyal citizens of Ghana who, by virtue of their Christian Faith, desire that nothing shall hinder their children from growing up to be loyal and faithful Christian men and women. Is there a finer basis for citizenship than this?

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

8.1.5 The history of Ghana is replete with cases, in which several courageous chiefs stood up to colonial governors and challenged their authority. In 1866, for instance, King Aggrey of Cape Coast refused to recognize the authority of the Governor of Cape Coast Castle beyond the bounds prescribed by the Bond of 1844. King Aggrey considered himself to be the lawful enthroned King of Cape Coast, for which reason the Governor had no right to set limits to his powers as king, and to set free, persons he himself had tried and imprisoned. The dispute between the King and the Governor led to the dethronement and exile of the King to Sierra Leone .

## *Independence*

References or discussions of independence or independent (e.g., nation, press, etc.)

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 18 references coded [0.16% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

1.1.5 The establishment of the National Reconciliation Commission (the “Commission”) came in the wake of Ghana’s historic elections of December 2000, which witnessed, for the first time in the country’s post-Independence history, a change of constitutionally elected government effected not by violent means but by popular vote. That event was a clear testimony to the strong desire of Ghanaians to live under conditions of democratic accountability and to forge a society firmly grounded in respect for human rights and the rule of law. The consolidation of democracy and the promotion of constitutional rule and

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.1 The events leading to the Gold Coast becoming the Independent State of Ghana on 6th March, 1957 have had a great impact on the course of the country’s history and on its human rights record. Political and ideological tensions, as well as economic and social problems, that had either been ignored or poorly addressed in the Gold Coast continued to impinge on, and define, the character of the independent state of Ghana.

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

of press freedom, new publications were established, such as The Echo, the Legon Observer and the Western Tribune. For the first time in the history of the country, the government set up the Ghana Press Council, as an independent body to protect press freedom, and to also protect the public from media harassment.

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

8.10.1 It is observed that through legislation, governments interfered with the independence of Chiefs. In spite of this negative history, it is still necessary for Chiefs as the custodians of our cultural heritage, to regain and sustain their political influence as neutral actors in the political domain. Chiefs must be empowered to play their role effectively through education, especially on the Chieftaincy Act, the rights and responsibilities of Chiefs, land administration as well as well basic management skills.

### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

#### 8.12.9 Re-presenting Ghana’s History

8.12.9.1 The correct facts of Ghana’s history must be taught in schools. To this end, school textbooks should be re-written, to ensure that all the patriots of Ghana’s Independence get their rightful place in the nation’s history. Historical accounts that glorify only those who attained



political power at particular points in time do a disservice to dissenters, and those who sought to fight dictatorship and other evils in governance.

#### Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

1.1.2 The establishment of the National Reconciliation Commission (hereinafter referred to as “the Commission”) came in the wake of Ghana's historic elections of December, 2000, which witnessed, for the first time in the country's post-Independence history, a change of constitutionally-elected government effected, not by violent means, but by popular vote. That event was a clear testimony to the strong desire of Ghanaians to live under conditions of democratic accountability, and to forge a society firmly grounded in the respect for human rights and the rule of law. The consolidation of democracy and the sustenance and promotion of constitutional rule and a culture of respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms as enshrined in Chapter five of the 1992 Constitution, demand that Ghana should deal with its history of egregious human rights violations that risk compromising the forward march of democracy and peace in the country. Building a future for a Ghana that is united, secure, peaceful and humane also demands providing redress, including healing, for those who were hurt in the past by serious human rights violations and abuses in the nature of killings, abductions, disappearances, torture, detentions, seizure of property and ill-treatment. The Commission was seen by Parliament as a vehicle to facilitate the attainment of these goals.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

served as the location for the sittings of Parliament in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Republics of our post independent history. Above all other structures, it is associated with our hopes and aspirations of building our new state on the principles of Freedom and Justice, the perennial goals to which the founders of our state dedicated its existence and inscribed on our Coat of Arms as the words of the nation's motto. ...Alas, for too many years of our nation's history, especially during the prolonged eras of unconstitutional government, the attainment of these goals proved illusory, giving way rather to the establishment of a tragic culture of extensive violations, by state actors, of the human rights of the citizenry of this county, leaving in its wake considerable rancour, anguish and ill-feeling within several segments of society. It is, therefore, altogether most fitting and proper when we are, through the instrumentality of this Commission, seeking to come to terms with its unhappy past and forge a new era of reconciliation and unity in our nation, that the National Reconciliation Commission should be housed in this building to undertake its momentous task

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

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#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.5.1 Among the legacies that Ghana inherited at the time of its birth as an independent country were: ethnic animosities and resentments occasioned by a history of antagonism produced by inter-ethnic wars and imperialism; uneven economic development between the North and South and between the colonial holdings and Trust Territory; fears of cultural domination; the emergence of a landless urban poor as a result of urbanization; the integration into the political entity of persons who wished to belong elsewhere or who wished for a different form of government; and political leaders who were in antagonistic relationship to each other.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

many of the problems Ghana confronted in her post-Independence history, lay in events in the immediate pre-Independence period.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

political agitation for independence that students in some secondary schools in Cape Coast were dismissed in 1949, leading to the founding of Ghana National College in Cape Coast to enable them complete their education. However, it was much later in the political history of Ghana, that students, as an organised body, concerned itself with national political issues.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

4.2.2.5.8 The NLC Government lifted the ban against foreign journalists from operating in the country, outlawed the censoring order placed on outgoing press messages, and allowed the republication of banned papers such as Ashanti Pioneer. In this atmosphere of press freedom, new publications were established, such as the Echo, the Legon Observer and the Western Tribune. For the first time in the history of the country, the government set up the Ghana Press Council, as an independent body to protect press freedom, and to also protect the public from media harassment.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Little did I know then that this short, cryptic message was a hint of one of the most bloodcurdling and traumatic political events ever to happen in the short history of this peace-loving nation since her birth in 1957.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

2.0.2 This Chapter also documents the contribution that the introduction of a new system of adjudication, as well as new investigative bodies made to the enjoyment or otherwise of human rights by the citizenry. Since these bodies operated outside the generally accepted norms of judicial and quasi-judicial inquiry, the issue of whether these well-established norms serve a purpose, is brought into focus. This Chapter also recounts some violations and abuses that

members of the two groups of the Legal Profession suffered, either individually or collectively, in the course of pursuing their profession. It also sheds some light on Bench-Bar relations and what impact this has made on the nation's postIndependence history.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.3 The sources of information for this report were: newspapers of the mandate period, memoranda from media practitioners, focus group discussions with journalists, published literature and other secondary sources. These have been helpful in illuminating the various ways in which media were complicit in, or resisted human rights abuses and repression throughout much of Ghana's post independence history.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.7 The discussion of the media under the post-independence government of Dr. Nkrumah and the CPP is significant, particularly for a proper understanding and appreciation of the pattern of coercion, co-optation and resistance to government that has characterized the entire history of the media during the mandate period. As noted by a former employee of GBC, there were "stressful conditions imposed on the people who worked at the GBC from the First Republic to the end of the PNDC regime."<sup>4</sup> According to him, harassment, intimidation and interference in the work of professional broadcasters have been common violations of human rights by both military and civilian governments in Ghana.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

3.7.2.7 Both the Christian Messenger and The Standard also hailed the AFRC's revolution and its policies as well. The 24th June, 1979 editorial in The Standard completely backed the executions of "Mr" Acheampong and Maj-Gen Utuka at the Teshie firing range. The paper was of the view that the executions had brought the sordid history of the notorious second military regime to a close. The paper termed the executions a "disciplinary action", taken by the AFRC in public to serve as a deterrent, adding that the AFRC's determination to tackle the economic problem of the country is seen through its action of executing the two officers. The Standard ended by saying that the fate of leaders since Independence, should be a warning to future aspiring political leaders: Nkrumah and Busia had both died in exile, the assets of Ankrah and Afrifa had been frozen, and Mr. Acheampong had been shot by firing squad.

#### Reference 18 - 0.03% Coverage

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## *Institutions*

References or discussions of institutions and their actors (e.g., police, military etc.)

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 49 references coded [0.49% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

anarchy and disorder in the PNDC era would have been worse than Idi Amin era. Indiscriminate killings and atrocities unprecedented in our history would have characterized the era. For the majority of soldiers closer to the PNDC, their understanding of revolution was to terrorise, intimidate and maim the civilian population and disregard authority.”

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

8.3.26.1 The Police Standing Orders must be reviewed in the light of the history of Human Rights violations and abuses in Ghana and the need to nurture democratic culture.

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

3.4.3 This ‘Aliens Compliance Order’, as this order came to be known, gave all aliens a period of fourteen days within which to regularize their stay in Ghana or leave. While the government was within its rights to check illegal immigration, the nature and history of cross-border migration within the West African sub-region, as well as Ghana’s own policy on African unity meant that the potential number of affected persons was large. It was estimated that there were about 250,000 Togolese nationals, about 5,000 Biafran (Eastern Nigerian) refugees under the protection of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), hundreds of thousands of Nigerians, Malians, and nationals of Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Niger and Dahomey (Benin). Ambassadors of these neighbouring countries pleaded for more time to enable them process the necessary documentation, but these entreaties did not change the government’s stand.

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

4.2.2.5.8 The NLC Government lifted the ban against foreign journalists from operating in the country, outlawed the censoring order placed on outgoing press messages, and allowed the republication of banned papers such as Ashanti Pioneer. In this atmosphere of press freedom, new publications were established, such as the Echo, the Legon Observer and the Western Tribune. For the first time in the history of the country, the government set up the Ghana Press Council, as an independent body to protect press freedom, and to also protect the public from media harassment.

### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

were looted by the soldiers who prevented the women from entering the market to retrieve their goods. It was a wanton, senseless attack on the citizens which deprived many of their livelihood. Overnight they had become poor and wretched. As Joss Aryee told the Commission in his

evidence, some died, others went mad and many more became paupers. It was, indeed a traumatic experience unparalleled in the history of this nation.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

1.1.1.3.5 The last expatriate staff left the Air Force in 1970. 1.1.1.4 History of Training Institutions, Training and Recruitment

The history of training institutions in the Ghana Armed Forces began with the West Africa Command Training School (WACTS). The WACTS was established in 1940 and by 1943, had three schools under it, namely, the West Africa Command Jungle Battle School in Nigeria, the West Africa Command Clerks Training School in the Gold Coast and the West Africa Command School of Education in Sierra Leone.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

1.10.5.1 The GAF, in association with the police, staged their first direct appearance on the political scene, by removing the elected civilian government on 24th February, 1966. There have been four other successful interruptions in the nation's history and these have been discussed in greater detail later in this report. Some of these incursions into politics by the Security Services, under the cloak of liberating the country from bad and corrupt governments, have stemmed from personal desires, other than the noble declarations by them at the time of seizure of power. The breakdown of Command and Discipline in the Services, occasioned by structural

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

PNDC Regime had become suspect.

1.10.5.6.2 It is a fact that at some point in the history of the GAF, there was no regional balance within the institution. This has created some command and control problems as ethnic loyalties tended to interfere with work situations. Ethnocentrism has gained roots in the forces to the extent that at a point in time, one or two ethnic groups dominated the GAF, and this was unhealthy for the development of a sense of nationalism.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

1.10.6.2 The Police Service requires that each officer swear an oath of allegiance to the State, and to obey only lawful orders of the legally-constituted authority. The officer also swears to discharge the duties of his office according to law and this presupposes that the law and the State are supreme considerations in every Policeman's action. This should have been sufficient safeguard against abuse of power and a check on excessive government/political interference. However, the history of the Police Service and evidence before the Commission bear ample testimony of the inability of the Police Service to maintain its institutional integrity.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

1.11.2 The clearest indicator of the partnership between the Police and the Military in the history of Ghana was the coup d'état of the 24th February, 1966. Both the Police and the Military had

suffered neglect and humiliation at the hands of the Nkrumah Administration. Both institutions had experienced dismissals in their top brass, with Madjitey, the former Head of the Police, in detention under the PDA. The existence of the President's Own Guard Regiment (POGR) put both institutions at a disadvantage and impelled the Police chiefs to team up with the Armed Forces, to overthrow the regime.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

1.13.1 The history of the Police Service, shows that primarily, the Ghana Police Service was expected to be modelled on the British system, which encouraged, the principles of good policing, public co-operation and abhorred excessive use of physical force, and providing service in the interest of community welfare and existence. It is for this reason that the subordinate ranks were trained only in the use of truncheons, rifles and riot control equipment. Rifles were used mainly for special escorts, and for guarding sensitive installations, but even when on guard duty, the guard commander held the ammunition. Only the senior officers were trained in the use of side arms. In fact, Service Instruction No 97 spelt out in detail the circumstances under which a policeman could use firearms, as well as the procedure to be followed should such a situation arise.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

members of the NLC. Thus for the first time, in the history of the country, the security services became directly involved in the governance of Ghana. 21

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

1.21.1 The NRC and SMC 1 Regimes were the most favourable to the Police Service. However, the regimes' good treatment of the service was meant to prop it up as a countervailing force to any destabilisation elements. Indeed, but for the ineffective mobilisation of the Police Armoured Car Squadron, the history of events of 4th June, 1979 would have been different.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

1.25.1.4 In the usual manner of seizures of power, the 1979 Third Republic Constitution was suspended, the members of the government were dismissed; Parliament was dissolved; and all political parties were banned. Members of Parliament of the PNP, the party leadership and other functionaries were ordered to report to the nearest Police station. For the first time, Members of Parliament of the minority parties were also ordered to report themselves, and they were all subsequently detained. The President and his Ministers were also arrested and detained for being criminals and running a government that was "the most disgraceful government in the history of the country". Some of these persons were thereby forced to go into exile in the neighbouring countries.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

2.0.2 This Chapter also documents the contribution that the introduction of a new system of adjudication, as well as new investigative bodies made to the enjoyment or otherwise of human rights by the citizenry. Since these bodies operated outside the generally accepted norms of judicial and quasi-judicial inquiry, the issue of whether these well established norms serve a purpose, is brought into focus. This Chapter also recounts some violations and abuses that members of the two groups of the Legal Profession suffered, either individually or collectively, in the course of pursuing their profession. It also sheds some light on Bench-Bar relations and what impact this has made on the nation's post Independence history.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

gave presentations at which they expressed views that were critical of the PNDC. Mr Justice F.K. Apaloo, delivering the Keynote Address, expressed the view that the assumption of judicial powers by the PNDC was "dangerous and unprecedented" in the annals of Ghana's legal history. During a subsequent symposium, Mr. Justice Taylor criticised the human rights record of the AFRC and the victimisation of so-called kalabule people for the woes of the time. These views of the two Judges, were reported from the angle of comments made by Tsatsu Tsikata in his own presentation at the same symposium, which were critical of the judiciary in general, and the judges in question in particular. Under the headline "Self-contradictions of Judiciary Exposed", the newspaper presented their judicial history in an unflattering light, thereby presenting the Judges' criticisms as hypocritical and anti-PNDC.<sup>85</sup>

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

41.1 The Bench in its decisions played a significant role in the development of a culture of human rights violations in the history of this country. Individual members of the Judiciary had their rights abused, and the Judiciary was unable to protect itself from Executive interference with its work. This was seen in the instances in which when some judges were dismissed for no tangible reason and without adherence to due process, other judges accepted new appointments with no hesitation, to replace the dismissed judges, In the case of the interpretation of human rights-related legislation such as the Preventive Detention Act, judges have consistently adopted a narrow positivist approach that supported the position of the Executive and deprived the citizenry of their human rights. This failure to hold the balance between the individual and the State, and undue deference to the Executive for reasons of self-preservation, resulted in widespread and unchecked violations of human rights of the citizenry, and produced some of the most terrible instances of the impact of an unrestrained use of Executive power, on the lives of ordinary people.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.3 The sources of information for this report were: newspapers of the mandate period, memoranda from media practitioners, focus group discussions with journalists, published literature and other secondary sources. These have been helpful in illuminating the various ways in which media were complicit in, or resisted human rights abuses and repression throughout much of Ghana's post independence history.



#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.5 The history of radio and television as state-owned monopolies provides a critical background to understanding the peculiar role every government of Ghana exacted from GBC employees. Indeed, until the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Decree, 1968 (NLCD 226), was passed to turn the Ghana Broadcasting Service into a public corporation in 1968, the Civil Service Act governed the GBC. Accordingly, the men and women who worked at the GBC as journalists perceived themselves as civil servants, serving the government of the day. It was not until 1996, three years after the restoration of democratic governance under the Fourth Republic, that the airwaves were liberalized, allowing for private participation in radio and television broadcast in Ghana. This state of affairs meant that it was largely, but not exclusively, government-controlled GBC and their press counterparts which were complicit and/or resistant to the illegitimate actions of unconstitutional governments.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.7 The discussion of the media under the post-independence government of Dr. Nkrumah and the CPP is significant, particularly for a proper understanding and appreciation of the pattern of coercion, co-optation and resistance to government that has characterized the entire history of the media during the mandate period. As noted by a former employee of GBC, there were “stressful conditions imposed on the people who worked at the GBC from the First Republic to the end of the PNDC regime.”<sup>4</sup> According to him, harassment, intimidation and interference in the work of professional broadcasters have been common violations of human rights by both military and civilian governments in Ghana.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.1 The history of media repression, co-optation and resistance began with the colonial authorities. This precedent was crystallized during the regime of the CPP and became an established pattern by successive regimes throughout the country’s history. The first press laws to be introduced in the country were by the British colonial government. The Book and Newspaper Registration Ordinance was passed in 1887, requiring newspaper editors to send returns of their circulation as well as the title of their newspapers, the location of their offices, printers, and publishers to the Colonial Secretary. Printers were expected to print their names and addresses on the first and last pages of the newspaper. In 1893 the Newspaper Registration Ordinance established a register of newspaper proprietors in order to help the authorities identify offending publishers.<sup>5</sup> The British also passed the Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance in 1934, to curb the “unruly” behaviour and attitude of the Ghanaian nationalist press toward the colonial government. The Criminal Libel law and other draconian press laws from the colonial period, remained on the books and were used against errant journalists from time to time.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

The Ghanaian Press which for a greater part of our history has been state-owned and government-controlled lived up to its image as sycophantic and oblivious to anything negative

for the government. The period of UNIGOV confirmed for me the role of the state-owned media in managing the news in favour of governments. 112

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

3.7.2.7 Both the Christian Messenger and The Standard also hailed the AFRC's revolution and its policies as well. The 24th June, 1979 editorial in The Standard completely backed the executions of "Mr" Acheampong and Maj-Gen Utuka at the Teshie firing range. The paper was of the view that the executions had brought the sordid history of the notorious second military regime to a close. The paper termed the executions a "disciplinary action", taken by the AFRC in public to serve as a deterrent, adding that the AFRC's determination to tackle the economic problem of the country is seen through its action of executing the two officers. The Standard ended by saying that the fate of leaders since Independence, should be a warning to future aspiring political leaders: Nkrumah and Busia had both died in exile, the assets of Ankrah and Afrifa had been frozen, and Mr. Acheampong had been shot by firing squad.

#### Reference 24 - 0.02% Coverage

3.10.7 During the regime of the NRC and SMC I, when opposition from civil society groups was open, the state-owned media could have played a more professional role by being less sycophantic, or even neutral. However, not much courageous journalism was shown. Thus, whenever Ghanaian journalists have been denounced, the accusation has been mainly that of sycophancy, if not outright cowardice. A typical example was when the Front for the Prevention of Dictatorship (FDP) and the People's Movement for Freedom and Justice (PMFJ) came into being in 1976 and 1978 respectively to fight military dictatorship, the press did not give them space to air their views. Other examples were: in 1977, the GBA and the Ghana Medical Association, both operating under the umbrella of the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies (ARPB), spearheaded a daring confrontation with the military government by ordering their members to go on strike, they were vilified by the media. Asante again observes that military periods were unique times for Ghanaian journalism to have gone into history as either hero or villain, but it chose the latter by "prostituting itself to any government that came to power." 201 The press chose to lose its dignity and self-respect in the eyes of civil society, rather than incur the displeasure of the government of the day.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

3.10.9 Even under military rule, state-owned media like the Daily Graphic were occasionally able to criticise some of the regimes' policies that they considered objectionable, such as the 'Abbot Agreement' under the NLC regime, and Elizabeth Ohene and Ajoa Yeboah Afari's condemnation of the executions in 1979. Through satires, such as "Abonsam Fireman" in The Standard; "Thoughts of a Native Daughter" by Ajoa Yeboah-Afari, "Carl Mutt" by Henry Ofori and "Woes of a Kwatriot" by Kwesi Yankah in The Mirror were some of the columns that voiced dissent by satire, during those critical periods of the nation's history. In the PNDC period, some dissent could also be found during discussions on television programmes such as "Talking Point" or during radio discussion programmes. Most noteworthy of all is the role the private

press, in particular The Pioneer, the Free Press, The Standard and the Christian Messenger played

#### Reference 26 - 0.02% Coverage

3.10.10 The legacy of Ghana's illiberal, sometimes brutal socio-political history, has been a media with stunted growth; a media in which journalists, particularly of the state-owned media, have developed a culture of self-censorship and where the media in general, still show a tendency to be sycophantic to governments as well as various centres of power. Coercion, co-optation and corruption of the media by various governments, resulted in the fragmentation of the press along political lines, with many journalists pursuing their private agenda not necessarily for the public good, but for the attainment of factional and parochial goals. This legacy is hard to overcome even in a democratic era. Journalists are still likely to undermine each other and are not as sensitised to human rights abuses and violations as they ought to be. Relations remain polarised between journalists of the state-owned media, and those in the privately owned sector. The former views the latter with suspicion as "largely untrained" and lacking appropriate professional skills, and the latter views the former as lacking courage to be critical of government. Hard to change is the habit of settling old and personal scores, and even at the present time, it is not uncommon to hear of people being "fixed" in the media.

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

3.10.13 Considering that the media are expected to be facilitators of the process of truth and reconciliation, it is important that journalists, collectively and individually examine some of the past actions of the media, in order to better understand the role the media have wittingly or unwittingly played in the country's noble and ignoble history. There is a need to recognise and acknowledge their role in promoting a culture of human rights abuse, as well as their role in helping to nurture a culture of respect for human rights and dignity. This is what would enable the media to spearhead the process of their own institutional re-invention, improve their capacity to champion the cause of human rights, and thereby prevent future governments from using them to legitimize their actions.

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

5.9.3.6 In April, 1983, the PNDC amended its 1981 Proclamation with PNDC Law 42. The ARPB responded to its provisions by pointing out that it "contains essential elements and highlights the point of arbitrariness and dictatorship which have never seen a parallel in the 26-year history of Ghana".<sup>33</sup> The statement further questioned why Ghanaians had not been consulted about the law and queried: "Were Ghanaians not promised that this was the time for them to be involved in the decision-making process."

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

The Convention People's Party is a powerful force, more powerful indeed, than anything that has yet appeared in the history of Ghana. It is the uniting force that guides and pilots the nation and is the nerve centre of the positive operation in the struggle for Africa irredentism. Its supremacy

cannot be challenged. The Convention People's Party is Ghana, and Ghana is the Convention People's Party.<sup>48</sup>

#### Reference 30 - 0.02% Coverage

5.13.1.2.2 This "Aliens Compliance Order", as this Order came to be known, gave all aliens a period of fourteen days within which to regularize their stay in Ghana, or leave. The Leader of the Opposition, Dr. GK Agama, indicated that the opposition was in agreement with the government in enforcing the order that aliens without resident permits should leave the country.<sup>74</sup> The problem with the Order was not the policy, but the manner of its implementation. While the government was within its legal rights to check illegal immigration, the nature and history of cross-border migration within the West African sub-region, as well as Ghana's own policy on African unity, should have been taken into account. These factors of sub-regional migration, meant that the potential number of affected persons was large. It was estimated that there were about 250,000 Togolese nationals, about 5,000 Biafran (Eastern Nigerian) refugees under the protection of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), hundreds of thousands of Nigerians, Malians, and nationals of Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Niger and Dahomey (Benin). Ambassadors of these neighbouring countries pleaded for more time to enable them process the necessary documentation, but these entreaties did not change the government's stand.

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

6.9.1.1 The last day of 1981 saw a struggle between the forces supporting the democratically-elected government of President Limann and those of Flt Lt Jerry John Rawlings, former Chairman of the AFRC. The struggle was short-lived, and the government was overthrown. On 2nd January, 1982, Flt Lt Rawlings broadcast to the nation, and called upon "workers, farmers, fishermen, artisans, students and soldiers to make it their collective responsibility to take their destinies into their own hands."<sup>113</sup> He accused the PNP Administration of failing to continue the "house-cleaning" that it had promised to do and that it was the "most disgraceful government in the history of this country". He also complained that the PNP Government had gone ahead to "mutilate all the positive and concrete achievements of the people in order to pave the way for their own corruption", and made democracy mere paper guarantees. Flt Lt Rawlings then announced the suspension of the 1979 Constitution, the dissolution of Parliament and the formation of the new government, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

and claims of Almighty God. Moreover, it seems that the movement confuses the work and example of a great man with divine acts which are unique in history. The incipient atheism is quite foreign to the traditional concepts of African Personality. Surely it is our duty to ask that some consideration be given to convictions of loyal citizens of Ghana who, by virtue of their Christian Faith, desire that nothing shall hinder their children from growing up to be loyal and faithful Christian men and women. Is there a finer basis for citizenship than this? <sup>26</sup>

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

## JANUARY, 1993 8.0 Introduction

8.0.1 This chapter deals with the role that chiefs have played in the political history of Ghana between the period 6th March, 1957, and 6th January, 1993. The assessment of the role of chiefs is done with specific reference to their efforts in the protection or otherwise, of human rights. One fact that became obvious from the work of the Commission was that, the chiefs themselves were often victims of human rights abuses, and that the chieftaincy institution suffered human rights abuses more than any other institutions, during the mandate period.

### Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

## 9.1 ABOUT THE THREE MAIN RELIGIONS IN GHANA 9.1.1 THE TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS GROUP 9.1.1 History

9.1.1.1 Traditional Religion is the oldest religion in Ghana. It is not organized in the manner of Christian or Islamic religions. The nature and history of the Traditional Religious group is quite different from other religious groups. It has no organised hierarchy or association to spearhead its activities at the national level and so its influence on national politics has been minimal. In 1985, the late Osofo Okomfo Damuah, a Roman Catholic Priest, left the Catholic Faith to establish the Afrikania Mission<sup>2</sup> of Ghana. This Mission, for the first time, provided a mouthpiece for the various traditional religious groups that had come together to form the Mission.

### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

9.3.2.8 The people of Ghana were subjected to propaganda that suggested that President Nkrumah's emergence was more extraordinary than the emergence of Buddha, Jesus Christ and the Prophet Mohammed. In an editorial of the Evening News<sup>64</sup> was the inscription, "All day, all night we are reinforced in our belief that the whole phenomena [sic] of Dr. Nkrumah's emergence is second to none in the long history of the world messiah from Buddha, Mohammed and Christ." To enhance that image, there were continued appellations in the media and on various platforms. For example, Dr. Nkrumah was alleged to have gone to the wilderness for spiritual

### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

The sordid history surrounding the notorious second military regime, which put itself in power in 1972, has come to a close. The disciplinary action has been taken by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council in public to serve as deterrent to anybody who goes about clinging on to power to amass illegal wealth and put Ghanaians into the economic predicament in which we find ourselves today.<sup>90</sup>

### Reference 37 - 0.04% Coverage

3.3.23.7.1 A policy of resettlement should be designed for serving personnel. Arrangements should be made to enable those who are unsuitable for active service to be discharged and resettled. Counselling should be instituted as an integral part of life in the Police Service, to

reduce the number of burnt out personnel whose activities bring dishonour to the Service. 3.3.24 Professionalism And Police Ethics 3.3.24.1 Identification of role of the Police Service as a public service, in accordance with democratic values, must transcend all organizational levels and demonstrate a professional ethic based on accountability, impartiality, Police dignity and recognition of the value of their work. 3.3.24.2 Abuse of power continues to be a problem. The training of officers should emphasise the importance of respecting the bounds of their authority and using the power conferred on them by the State responsibly. 3.3.24.3 The raising of unauthorised barriers for the purpose of extorting money from drivers and passengers as well as the use of Police vehicles to facilitate the commission of crime are problems that must be tackled by the Police administration in earnest. Officers-in-charge of areas where unauthorised barriers are found must receive official censure for inadequate supervision of subordinate staff. 3.3.25 Corruption 3.3.25.1 Corruption in the Police Service is a major obstacle that must be overcome in working towards an efficient and responsive Police Service. The inefficacy of laws are traceable to poor enforcement occasioned by corruption. Strenuous efforts must be made to tackle this problem. Police authorities must devise mechanisms for monitoring the lifestyles and conduct of Police personnel to ensure that the transaction costs of corruption would be raised to levels that would discourage corrupt practices. 3.3.25.2 A new Code of Conduct must be formulated to check corruption. The Police administration must establish an office of Internal Policing. This office, whose existence should be widely publicised, should be tasked to receive complaints of corruption and extortion from the general public, and act on them. 3.3.25.2 It is further recommended that regular spot-checks must be instituted by the Police Administration at the various barriers to check extortion and corruption. 3.3.25.3 Service personnel must be motivated with improved conditions of service, including provision of adequate equipment and emoluments, to improve their self-respect and institutional loyalty. 3.3.26 Standing Orders 3.3.26.1 The Police Standing Orders must be reviewed in the light of the history of Human Rights violations and abuses in Ghana and the need to nurture democratic culture. 3.3.26.2 Modern techniques on crowd control and conduct of Police Investigations should be studied and incorporated into the reviewed Standing Orders. 3.3.26.3 Live ammunition should not be used to control crowds, and the Standing Orders must prohibit this. 3.3.27 Community Partnership 3.3.27.1 New community and problem-solving approaches to policing, based on closer contact and co-operation with society, through institutions, community organizations or the citizens themselves, must be encouraged and sustained.

#### Reference 38 - 0.04% Coverage

3.8.14 In the past the involvement of academics in treasonable activities on campuses were camouflaged as the exercise of academic freedom. Governments adopted the practice of planting informants on the campuses and in the lecture rooms, to engage in surveillance on lecturers and students. To avoid the recurrence of such practices, there is the need for academics to appreciate the value of academic freedom and to strive to preserve it. They should initiate discussion on issues pertaining to the legitimate exercise of academic freedom and so develop standards that enhance the enjoyment of academic freedom for all. 3.8.15 The development of an independent press has narrowed the space that student leaders had when they were regarded as the alternative voices in the political space. Public space for alternative voices should be preserved so as to reduce the impact of student leaders who concede, years after the fact, that they did not really know what they were playing at when they took a stand against the government. 3.9 YOUTH

3.9.1 Politically-inclined Youth groups are capable of being exploited as a support-base for subversion of the State. The State must show more interest in its youth. Efforts must be made to tackle the problems of out of school youth, so that they would not be available for easy manipulation and exploitation, as unemployed and under-employed youth form a ready source of support for agitators who promise utopia. 3.9.2 NCCE should design appropriate civic education materials for use by youth organisations registered with the National Youth Council. The programmes should help the youth to develop into responsible and patriotic citizens. However, care must be taken in the design, not to lift partisan objectives above national interests. 3.9.3 All youth organisations that handle out-of-school-youth must provide opportunity for such youth to receive civic education. The National Anthem and the National Pledge must be taught to the out-of-school youth 3.9.4 The National Youth Council should be appropriately resourced provided with appropriate direction to enable it serve the purposes for which it was established. 3.10 RECOMMENDATIONS/REFORMS – THE INSTITUTION OF CHIEFTAINCY 3.10.1 It is observed that through legislation, governments interfered with the independence of Chiefs. In spite of this negative history, it is still necessary for Chiefs as the custodians of our cultural heritage, to regain and sustain their political influence as neutral actors in the political domain. Chiefs must be empowered to play their role effectively through education, especially on the Chieftaincy Act, the rights and responsibilities of Chiefs, land administration as well as well basic management skills. 3.10.2 Chiefs, who are regarded as opinion leaders, should be more vocal on issues of human rights violations in the country. 3.10.3 Chiefs should refrain from inordinate lobbying of politicians, particularly those in government, for projects to be sited in their communities. Such lobbying renders the institution vulnerable to manipulation by the politicians, particularly those in Government. 3.10.4 The Regional Houses of Chiefs should strengthen their capacity to handle chieftaincy litigation more effectively. It is desirable for the National House of Chiefs to be proactive in handling matters likely to get Chiefs locked in prolonged and expensive stool and land litigation.

#### Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

5.9.3.6 In April, 1983, the PNDC amended its 1981 Proclamation with PNDC Law 42. The ARPB responded to its provisions by pointing out that it “contains essential elements and highlights the point of arbitrariness and dictatorship which have never seen a parallel in the 26-year history of Ghana”. The statement further questioned why Ghanaians had not been consulted about the law and queried: “Were Ghanaians not promised that this was the time for them to be involved in the decision-making process. Is this the substitute for the Parliament which the people of Ghana elected their representatives to?” These activities did not please the government and it was not long before reprisals followed.

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

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#### Reference 41 - 0.02% Coverage

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#### Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

6.0.2 The chapter has also captured the flow of tides that characterized studentgovernment relationships in some detail, to enable the public to follow the history of these movements within the mandate period; understand the activities of these movements under military and civilian regimes; appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change and continuity in

#### Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

They constituted the left at the department which had other lecturers of rightist political persuasion, notably Professor Folson. Complementing the dominant leftist camp of lecturers were Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr and Tsatsu Tsikata, all of the Law faculty. What these lecturers had in common was their academic brilliance and Marxism. They indeed inspired my generation to adopt a radical Marxist view of history and political developments. They were popular with the students and were always on the lecture circuit mostly at the University’s auditorium where they engaged other lecturers of the right in debate. Young, fiery and articulate, they obviously won the battle for the minds of students, at least in the radical leadership of the National Union of Ghana Students.

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

make it their collective responsibility to take their destinies into their own hands.” He accused the PNP Administration of failing to continue the “house-cleaning” that it had promised to do and that it was the “most disgraceful government in the history of this country”. He also complained that the PNP Government had gone ahead to “mutilate all the positive and concrete achievements of the people in order to pave the way for their own corruption”, and made democracy mere paper guarantees. Flt Lt Rawlings then announced the suspension of the 1979



Constitution, the dissolution of Parliament and the formation of the new government, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

Reference 45 - 0.02% Coverage

6.9.1.15 The students in Accra were also sent out to undertake a clean-up exercise that lasted six hours according to a newspaper report . At the end of the programme, the students converged at the Nicholson Stadium at Burma Camp where they were addressed by the NUGS President, Philip Gardiner, and the Chairman of the PNDC. Gardiner was reported to have affirmed students support for the PNDC and warned that NUGS would force the removal of any imperialist agent who might be appointed to work with the PNDC. Gardiner made it clear that PNDC should not stand in their way if they wanted to change the country for the betterment of the ordinary people. The NUGS President then reminded students of their responsibility to the underprivileged and declared, “if we fail to use our education for the betterment of the people then we are traitors”. To the PNDC, he gave the caution that it should be wary of imperialists because they would do everything humanly possible to obstruct the success of the revolution. To this end, the NUGS President advised the PNDC to stay away from the old way of doing things. As a first step, it was to avoid appointing to high office any persons who could be shown to have subscribed to the past ideals of ruling the country and that no “person with a provable history of links to western imperialists” was to be allowed to control the council.

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

Not only myself, but the heads of churches in Ghana, are shocked by the godlessness of this movement and by some of its phrases and songs for the children to repeat or to sing. We made our views known to the Minister of Education last April, saying that we found it impossible to give our support and co-operation in the development of the movement as at present constituted. It is an affront to our age-long traditions that, in Ghana of all countries a national institution for the training and development of boys and girls should entirely ignore the existence and claims of Almighty God. Moreover, it seems that the movement confuses the work and example of a great man with divine acts which are unique in history. The incipient atheism is quite foreign to the traditional concepts of African Personality. Surely it is our duty to ask that some consideration be given to convictions of loyal citizens of Ghana who, by virtue of their Christian Faith, desire that nothing shall hinder their children from growing up to be loyal and faithful Christian men and women. Is there a finer basis for citizenship than this?

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establish the Afrikania Mission of Ghana. This Mission, for the first time, provided a mouthpiece for the various traditional religious groups that had come together to form the Mission.

#### Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

9.3.2.8 The people of Ghana were subjected to propaganda that suggested that President Nkrumah's emergence was more extraordinary than the emergence of Buddha, Jesus Christ and the Prophet Mohammed. In an editorial of the Evening News was the inscription, "All day, all night we are reinforced in our belief that the whole phenomena [sic] of Dr. Nkrumah's emergence is second to none in the long history of the world messiah from Buddha, Mohammed and Christ." To enhance that image, there were continued appellations in the media and on various platforms. For example, Dr. Nkrumah was alleged to have gone to the wilderness for spiritual exercise just as Jesus Christ did. Again, according to the Evening News, just as John the Baptist heralded the Mission of Christ on earth, Dr. Nkrumah's emergence was also said to have been foretold by Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey. The Evening News in a report captioned: "The Seven Days in the Wilderness", and "Nkrumah in the Hour of Transfiguration", graphically compared Dr. Nkrumah and Christ. Dr. Nkrumah was also considered martyr par excellence by J R P Marutle in the following poem:

#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

The sordid history surrounding the notorious second military regime, which put itself in power in 1972, has come to a close. The disciplinary action has been taken by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council in public to serve as deterrent to anybody who goes about clinging on to power to amass illegal wealth and put Ghanaians into the economic predicament in which we find ourselves today.

#### *Courts*

References or discussions of courts, lawyers, and judges

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 3 references coded [0.03% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

2.0.2 This Chapter also documents the contribution that the introduction of a new system of adjudication, as well as new investigative bodies made to the enjoyment or otherwise of human rights by the citizenry. Since these bodies operated outside the generally accepted norms of judicial and quasi-judicial inquiry, the issue of whether these well established norms serve a purpose, is brought into focus. This Chapter also recounts some violations and abuses that members of the two groups of the Legal Profession suffered, either individually or collectively, in the course of pursuing their profession. It also sheds some light on Bench-Bar relations and what impact this has made on the nation's postIndependence history.

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

gave presentations at which they expressed views that were critical of the PNDC. Mr Justice F.K. Apaloo, delivering the Keynote Address, expressed the view that the assumption of judicial powers by the PNDC was “dangerous and unprecedented” in the annals of Ghana’s legal history. During a subsequent symposium, Mr. Justice Taylor criticised the human rights record of the AFRC and the victimisation of so-called kalabule people for the woes of the time. These views of the two Judges, were reported from the angle of comments made by Tsatsu Tsikata in his own presentation at the same symposium, which were critical of the judiciary in general, and the judges in question in particular. Under the headline “Self-contradictions of Judiciary Exposed”, the newspaper presented their judicial history in an unflattering light, thereby presenting the Judges’ criticisms as hypocritical and anti-PNDC.<sup>85</sup>

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

41.1 The Bench in its decisions played a significant role in the development of a culture of human rights violations in the history of this country. Individual members of the Judiciary had their rights abused, and the Judiciary was unable to protect itself from Executive interference with its work. This was seen in the instances in which when some judges were dismissed for no tangible reason and without adherence to due process, other judges accepted new appointments with no hesitation, to replace the dismissed judges, In the case of the interpretation of human rights-related legislation such as the Preventive Detention Act, judges have consistently adopted a narrow positivist approach that supported the position of the Executive and deprived the citizenry of their human rights. This failure to hold the balance between the individual and the State, and undue deference to the Executive for reasons of self-preservation, resulted in widespread and unchecked violations of human rights of the citizenry, and produced some of the most terrible instances of the impact of an unrestrained use of Executive power, on the lives of ordinary people.

#### *Government*

References or discussions of governments, leaders, presidents, etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 23 references coded [0.21% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

anarchy and disorder in the PNDC era would have been worse than Idi Amin era. Indiscriminate killings and atrocities unprecedented in our history would have characterized the era. For the majority of soldiers closer to the PNDC, their understanding of revolution was to terrorise, intimidate and maim the civilian population and disregard authority.”

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

3.4.3 This ‘Aliens Compliance Order’, as this order came to be known, gave all aliens a period of fourteen days within which to regularize their stay in Ghana or leave. While the government was within its rights to check illegal immigration, the nature and history of cross-border migration within the West African sub-region, as well as Ghana’s own policy on African unity meant that

the potential number of affected persons was large. It was estimated that there were about 250,000 Togolese nationals, about 5,000 Biafran (Eastern Nigerian) refugees under the protection of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), hundreds of thousands of Nigerians, Malians, and nationals of Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Niger and Dahomey (Benin). Ambassadors of these neighbouring countries pleaded for more time to enable them process the necessary documentation, but these entreaties did not change the government's stand.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

4.2.2.5.8 The NLC Government lifted the ban against foreign journalists from operating in the country, outlawed the censoring order placed on outgoing press messages, and allowed the re-publication of banned papers such as Ashanti Pioneer. In this atmosphere of press freedom, new publications were established, such as the Echo, the Legon Observer and the Western Tribune. For the first time in the history of the country, the government set up the Ghana Press Council, as an independent body to protect press freedom, and to also protect the public from media harassment.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

PNDC Regime had become suspect.

1.10.5.6.2 It is a fact that at some point in the history of the GAF, there was no regional balance within the institution. This has created some command and control problems as ethnic loyalties tended to interfere with work situations. Ethnocentrism has gained roots in the forces to the extent that at a point in time, one or two ethnic groups dominated the GAF, and this was unhealthy for the development of a sense of nationalism.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

members of the NLC. Thus for the first time, in the history of the country, the security services became directly involved in the governance of Ghana. 21

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

1.21.1 The NRC and SMC 1 Regimes were the most favourable to the Police Service. However, the regimes' good treatment of the service was meant to prop it up as a countervailing force to any destabilisation elements. Indeed, but for the ineffective mobilisation of the Police Armoured Car Squadron, the history of events of 4th June, 1979 would have been different.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

1.25.1.4 In the usual manner of seizures of power, the 1979 Third Republic Constitution was suspended, the members of the government were dismissed; Parliament was dissolved; and all political parties were banned. Members of Parliament of the PNP, the party leadership and other functionaries were ordered to report to the nearest Police station. For the first time, Members of Parliament of the minority parties were also ordered to report themselves, and they were all subsequently detained. The President and his Ministers were also arrested and detained for being

criminals and running a government that was “the most disgraceful government in the history of the country”. Some of these persons were thereby forced to go into exile in the neighbouring countries

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.7 The discussion of the media under the post-independence government of Dr. Nkrumah and the CPP is significant, particularly for a proper understanding and appreciation of the pattern of coercion, co-optation and resistance to government that has characterized the entire history of the media during the mandate period. As noted by a former employee of GBC, there were “stressful conditions imposed on the people who worked at the GBC from the First Republic to the end of the PNDC regime.”<sup>4</sup> According to him, harassment, intimidation and interference in the work of professional broadcasters have been common violations of human rights by both military and civilian governments in Ghana.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

3.7.2.7 Both the Christian Messenger and The Standard also hailed the AFRC’s revolution and its policies as well. The 24th June, 1979 editorial in The Standard completely backed the executions of “Mr” Acheampong and Maj-Gen Utuka at the Teshie firing range. The paper was of the view that the executions had brought the sordid history of the notorious second military regime to a close. The paper termed the executions a “disciplinary action”, taken by the AFRC in public to serve as a deterrent, adding that the AFRC’s determination to tackle the economic problem of the country is seen through its action of executing the two officers. The Standard ended by saying that the fate of leaders since Independence, should be a warning to future aspiring political leaders: Nkrumah and Busia had both died in exile, the assets of Ankrah and Afrifa had been frozen, and Mr. Acheampong had been shot by firing squad.

#### Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

3.10.7 During the regime of the NRC and SMC I, when opposition from civil society groups was open, the state-owned media could have played a more professional role by being less sycophantic, or even neutral. However, not much courageous journalism was shown. Thus, whenever Ghanaian journalists have been denounced, the accusation has been mainly that of sycophancy, if not outright cowardice. A typical example was when the Front for the Prevention of Dictatorship (FDP) and the People’s Movement for Freedom and Justice (PMFJ) came into being in 1976 and 1978 respectively to fight military dictatorship, the press did not give them space to air their views. Other examples were: in 1977, the GBA and the Ghana Medical Association, both operating under the umbrella of the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies (ARPB), spearheaded a daring confrontation with the military government by ordering their members to go on strike, they were vilified by the media. Asante again observes that military periods were unique times for Ghanaian journalism to have gone into history as either hero or villain, but it chose the latter by “prostituting itself to any government that came to power.”<sup>201</sup> The press chose to lose its dignity and self-respect in the eyes of civil society, rather than incur the displeasure of the government of the day.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

3.10.9 Even under military rule, state-owned media like the Daily Graphic were occasionally able to criticise some of the regimes' policies that they considered objectionable, such as the 'Abbot Agreement' under the NLC regime, and Elizabeth Ohene and Ajoa Yeboah Afari's condemnation of the executions in 1979. Through satires, such as "Abonsam Fireman" in The Standard; "Thoughts of a Native Daughter" by Ajoa Yeboah-Afari, "Carl Mutt" by Henry Ofori and "Woes of a Kwatriot" by Kwesi Yankah in The Mirror were some of the columns that voiced dissent by satire, during those critical periods of the nation's history. In the PNDC period, some dissent could also be found during discussions on television programmes such as "Talking Point" or during radio discussion programmes. Most noteworthy of all is the role the private press, in particular The Pioneer, the Free Press, The Standard and the Christian Messenger played

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

5.9.3.6 In April, 1983, the PNDC amended its 1981 Proclamation with PNDC Law 42. The ARPB responded to its provisions by pointing out that it "contains essential elements and highlights the point of arbitrariness and dictatorship which have never seen a parallel in the 26-year history of Ghana".<sup>33</sup> The statement further questioned why Ghanaians had not been consulted about the law and queried: "Were Ghanaians not promised that this was the time for them to be involved in the decision-making process.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

The Convention People's Party is a powerful force, more powerful indeed, than anything that has yet appeared in the history of Ghana. It is the uniting force that guides and pilots the nation and is the nerve centre of the positive operation in the struggle for Africa irredentism. Its supremacy cannot be challenged. The Convention People's Party is Ghana, and Ghana is the Convention People's Party.<sup>48</sup>

#### Reference 14 - 0.02% Coverage

5.13.1.2.2 This "Aliens Compliance Order", as this Order came to be known, gave all aliens a period of fourteen days within which to regularize their stay in Ghana, or leave. The Leader of the Opposition, Dr. GK Agama, indicated that the opposition was in agreement with the government in enforcing the order that aliens without resident permits should leave the country.<sup>74</sup> The problem with the Order was not the policy, but the manner of its implementation. While the government was within its legal rights to check illegal immigration, the nature and history of cross-border migration within the West African sub-region, as well as Ghana's own policy on African unity, should have been taken into account. These factors of sub-regional migration, meant that the potential number of affected persons was large. It was estimated that there were about 250,000 Togolese nationals, about 5,000 Biafran (Eastern Nigerian) refugees under the protection of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), hundreds of thousands of Nigerians, Malians, and nationals of Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Niger and Dahomey (Benin). Ambassadors of these neighbouring countries pleaded for more time to enable

them process the necessary documentation, but these entreaties did not change the government's stand.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

6.9.1.1 The last day of 1981 saw a struggle between the forces supporting the democratically-elected government of President Limann and those of Flt Lt Jerry John Rawlings, former Chairman of the AFRC. The struggle was short-lived, and the government was overthrown. On 2nd January, 1982, Flt Lt Rawlings broadcast to the nation, and called upon “workers, farmers, fishermen, artisans, students and soldiers to make it their collective responsibility to take their destinies into their own hands.”<sup>113</sup> He accused the PNP Administration of failing to continue the “house-cleaning” that it had promised to do and that it was the “most disgraceful government in the history of this country”. He also complained that the PNP Government had gone ahead to “mutilate all the positive and concrete achievements of the people in order to pave the way for their own corruption”, and made democracy mere paper guarantees. Flt Lt Rawlings then announced the suspension of the 1979 Constitution, the dissolution of Parliament and the formation of the new government, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

8.0.1 This chapter deals with the role that chiefs have played in the political history of Ghana between the period 6th March, 1957, and 6th January, 1993. The assessment of the role of chiefs is done with specific reference to their efforts in the protection or otherwise, of human rights. One fact that became obvious from the work of the Commission was that, the chiefs themselves were often victims of human rights abuses, and that the chieftaincy institution suffered human rights abuses more than any other institutions, during the mandate period.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

9.3.2.8 The people of Ghana were subjected to propaganda that suggested that President Nkrumah's emergence was more extraordinary than the emergence of Buddha, Jesus Christ and the Prophet Mohammed. In an editorial of the Evening News<sup>64</sup> was the inscription, “All day, all night we are reinforced in our belief that the whole phenomena [sic] of Dr. Nkrumah's emergence is second to none in the long history of the world messiah from Buddha, Mohammed and Christ.” To enhance that image, there were continued appellations in the media and on various platforms. For example, Dr. Nkrumah was alleged to have gone to the wilderness for spiritual

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

5.9.3.6 In April, 1983, the PNDC amended its 1981 Proclamation with PNDC Law 42. The ARPB responded to its provisions by pointing out that it “contains essential elements and highlights the point of arbitrariness and dictatorship which have never seen a parallel in the 26-year history of Ghana”. The statement further questioned why Ghanaians had not been consulted about the law and queried: “Were Ghanaians not promised that this was the time for them to be involved in the decision-making process. Is this the substitute for the Parliament which the

people of Ghana elected their representatives to?” These activities did not please the government and it was not long before reprisals followed.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

The Convention People’s Party is a powerful force, more powerful indeed, than anything that has yet appeared in the history of Ghana. It is the uniting force that guides and pilots the nation and is the nerve centre of the positive operation in the struggle for Africa irredentism. Its supremacy cannot be challenged. The Convention People’s Party is Ghana, and Ghana is the Convention People’s Party.

#### Reference 20 - 0.02% Coverage

5.13.1.2.2 This “Aliens Compliance Order”, as this Order came to be known, gave all aliens a period of fourteen days within which to regularize their stay in Ghana, or leave. The Leader of the Opposition, Dr. GK Agama, indicated that the opposition was in agreement with the government in enforcing the order that aliens without resident permits should leave the country. The problem with the Order was not the policy, but the manner of its implementation. While the government was within its legal rights to check illegal immigration, the nature and history of cross-border migration within the West African sub-region, as well as Ghana’s own policy on African unity, should have been taken into account. These factors of sub-regional migration, meant that the potential number of affected persons was large. It was estimated that there were about 250,000 Togolese nationals, about 5,000 Biafran (Eastern Nigerian) refugees under the protection of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), hundreds of thousands of Nigerians, Malians, and nationals of Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Niger and Dahomey (Benin). Ambassadors of these neighbouring countries pleaded for more time to enable them process the necessary documentation, but these entreaties did not change the government’s stand.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

make it their collective responsibility to take their destinies into their own hands.” He accused the PNP Administration of failing to continue the “house-cleaning” that it had promised to do and that it was the “most disgraceful government in the history of this country”. He also complained that the PNP Government had gone ahead to “mutilate all the positive and concrete achievements of the people in order to pave the way for their own corruption”, and made democracy mere paper guarantees. Flt Lt Rawlings then announced the suspension of the 1979 Constitution, the dissolution of Parliament and the formation of the new government, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

#### Reference 22 - 0.02% Coverage

6.9.1.15 The students in Accra were also sent out to undertake a clean-up exercise that lasted six hours according to a newspaper report . At the end of the programme, the students converged at the Nicholson Stadium at Burma Camp where they were addressed by the NUGS President, Philip Gardiner, and the Chairman of the PNDC. Gardiner was reported to have affirmed students support for the PNDC and warned that NUGS would force the removal of any



imperialist agent who might be appointed to work with the PNDC. Gardiner made it clear that PNDC should not stand in their way if they wanted to change the country for the betterment of the ordinary people. The NUGS President then reminded students of their responsibility to the underprivileged and declared, “if we fail to use our education for the betterment of the people then we are traitors”. To the PNDC, he gave the caution that it should be wary of imperialists because they would do everything humanly possible to obstruct the success of the revolution. To this end, the NUGS President advised the PNDC to stay away from the old way of doing things. As a first step, it was to avoid appointing to high office any persons who could be shown to have subscribed to the past ideals of ruling the country and that no “person with a provable history of links to western imperialists” was to be allowed to control the council.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

9.3.2.8 The people of Ghana were subjected to propaganda that suggested that President Nkrumah’s emergence was more extraordinary than the emergence of Buddha, Jesus Christ and the Prophet Mohammed. In an editorial of the Evening News was the inscription, “All day, all night we are reinforced in our belief that the whole phenomena [sic] of Dr. Nkrumah’s emergence is second to none in the long history of the world messiah from Buddha, Mohammed and Christ.” To enhance that image, there were continued appellations in the media and on various platforms. For example, Dr. Nkrumah was alleged to have gone to the wilderness for spiritual exercise just as Jesus Christ did. Again, according to the Evening News, just as John the Baptist heralded the Mission of Christ on earth, Dr. Nkrumah’s emergence was also said to have been foretold by Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey. The Evening News in a report captioned: “The Seven Days in the Wilderness”, and “Nkrumah in the Hour of Transfiguration”, graphically compared Dr. Nkrumah and Christ. Dr. Nkrumah was also considered martyr par excellence by J R P Marutle in the following poem:

#### *Media*

References or discussions of media, journalists, television etc.

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#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

gave presentations at which they expressed views that were critical of the PNDC. Mr Justice F.K. Apaloo, delivering the Keynote Address, expressed the view that the assumption of judicial powers by the PNDC was “dangerous and unprecedented” in the annals of Ghana’s legal history. During a subsequent symposium, Mr. Justice Taylor criticised the human rights record of the AFRC and the victimisation of so-called kalabule people for the woes of the time. These views of the two Judges, were reported from the angle of comments made by Tsatsu Tsikata in his own presentation at the same symposium, which were critical of the judiciary in general, and the judges in question in particular. Under the headline “Self-contradictions of Judiciary Exposed”, the newspaper presented their judicial history in an unflattering light, thereby presenting the Judges’ criticisms as hypocritical and anti-PNDC.<sup>85</sup>

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.3 The sources of information for this report were: newspapers of the mandate period, memoranda from media practitioners, focus group discussions with journalists, published literature and other secondary sources. These have been helpful in illuminating the various ways in which media were complicit in, or resisted human rights abuses and repression throughout much of Ghana's post independence history.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.5 The history of radio and television as state-owned monopolies provides a critical background to understanding the peculiar role every government of Ghana exacted from GBC employees. Indeed, until the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Decree, 1968 (NLCD 226), was passed to turn the Ghana Broadcasting Service into a public corporation in 1968, the Civil Service Act governed the GBC. Accordingly, the men and women who worked at the GBC as journalists perceived themselves as civil servants, serving the government of the day. It was not until 1996, three years after the restoration of democratic governance under the Fourth Republic, that the airwaves were liberalized, allowing for private participation in radio and television broadcast in Ghana. This state of affairs meant that it was largely, but not exclusively, government-controlled GBC and their press counterparts which were complicit and/or resistant to the illegitimate actions of unconstitutional governments.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.7 The discussion of the media under the post-independence government of Dr. Nkrumah and the CPP is significant, particularly for a proper understanding and appreciation of the pattern of coercion, co-optation and resistance to government that has characterized the entire history of the media during the mandate period. As noted by a former employee of GBC, there were "stressful conditions imposed on the people who worked at the GBC from the First Republic to the end of the PNDC regime."<sup>4</sup> According to him, harassment, intimidation and interference in the work of professional broadcasters have been common violations of human rights by both military and civilian governments in Ghana.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.1 The history of media repression, co-optation and resistance began with the colonial authorities. This precedent was crystallized during the regime of the CPP and became an established pattern by successive regimes throughout the country's history. The first press laws to be introduced in the country were by the British colonial government. The Book and Newspaper Registration Ordinance was passed in 1887, requiring newspaper editors to send returns of their circulation as well as the title of their newspapers, the location of their offices, printers, and publishers to the Colonial Secretary. Printers were expected to print their names and addresses on the first and last pages of the newspaper. In 1893 the Newspaper Registration Ordinance established a register of newspaper proprietors in order to help the authorities identify offending publishers.<sup>5</sup> The British also passed the Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance in 1934, to curb the "unruly" behaviour and attitude of the Ghanaian nationalist press toward the

colonial government. The Criminal Libel law and other draconian press laws from the colonial period, remained on the books and were used against errant journalists from time to time.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

The Ghanaian Press which for a greater part of our history has been state-owned and government-controlled lived up to its image as sycophantic and oblivious to anything negative for the government. The period of UNIGOV confirmed for me the role of the state-owned media in managing the news in favour of governments. 112

#### Reference 7 - 0.02% Coverage

3.10.7 During the regime of the NRC and SMC I, when opposition from civil society groups was open, the state-owned media could have played a more professional role by being less sycophantic, or even neutral. However, not much courageous journalism was shown. Thus, whenever Ghanaian journalists have been denounced, the accusation has been mainly that of sycophancy, if not outright cowardice. A typical example was when the Front for the Prevention of Dictatorship (FDP) and the People's Movement for Freedom and Justice (PMFJ) came into being in 1976 and 1978 respectively to fight military dictatorship, the press did not give them space to air their views. Other examples were: in 1977, the GBA and the Ghana Medical Association, both operating under the umbrella of the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies (ARPB), spearheaded a daring confrontation with the military government by ordering their members to go on strike, they were vilified by the media. Asante again observes that military periods were unique times for Ghanaian journalism to have gone into history as either hero or villain, but it chose the latter by "prostituting itself to any government that came to power." 201 The press chose to lose its dignity and self-respect in the eyes of civil society, rather than incur the displeasure of the government of the day.

#### Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

3.10.10 The legacy of Ghana's illiberal, sometimes brutal socio-political history, has been a media with stunted growth; a media in which journalists, particularly of the state-owned media, have developed a culture of self-censorship and where the media in general, still show a tendency to be sycophantic to governments as well as various centres of power. Coercion, co-optation and corruption of the media by various governments, resulted in the fragmentation of the press along political lines, with many journalists pursuing their private agenda not necessarily for the public good, but for the attainment of factional and parochial goals. This legacy is hard to overcome even in a democratic era. Journalists are still likely to undermine each other and are not as sensitised to human rights abuses and violations as they ought to be. Relations remain polarised between journalists of the state-owned media, and those in the privately owned sector. The former views the latter with suspicion as "largely untrained" and lacking appropriate professional skills, and the latter views the former as lacking courage to be critical of government. Hard to change is the habit of settling old and personal scores, and even at the present time, it is not uncommon to hear of people being "fixed" in the media.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

3.10.13 Considering that the media are expected to be facilitators of the process of truth and reconciliation, it is important that journalists, collectively and individually examine some of the past actions of the media, in order to better understand the role the media have wittingly or unwittingly played in the country's noble and ignoble history. There is a need to recognise and acknowledge their role in promoting a culture of human rights abuse, as well as their role in helping to nurture a culture of respect for human rights and dignity. This is what would enable the media to spearhead the process of their own institutional re-invention, improve their capacity to champion the cause of human rights, and thereby prevent future governments from using them to legitimize their actions

#### Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

6.9.1.15 The students in Accra were also sent out to undertake a clean-up exercise that lasted six hours according to a newspaper report . At the end of the programme, the students converged at the Nicholson Stadium at Burma Camp where they were addressed by the NUGS President, Philip Gardiner, and the Chairman of the PNDC. Gardiner was reported to have affirmed students support for the PNDC and warned that NUGS would force the removal of any imperialist agent who might be appointed to work with the PNDC. Gardiner made it clear that PNDC should not stand in their way if they wanted to change the country for the betterment of the ordinary people. The NUGS President then reminded students of their responsibility to the underprivileged and declared, "if we fail to use our education for the betterment of the people then we are traitors". To the PNDC, he gave the caution that it should be wary of imperialists because they would do everything humanly possible to obstruct the success of the revolution. To this end, the NUGS President advised the PNDC to stay away from the old way of doing things. As a first step, it was to avoid appointing to high office any persons who could be shown to have subscribed to the past ideals of ruling the country and that no "person with a provable history of links to western imperialists" was to be allowed to control the council.

#### *Military*

References or discussions of militaries, militia, soldiers etc.

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#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

were looted by the soldiers who prevented the women from entering the market to retrieve their goods. It was a wanton, senseless attack on the citizens which deprived many of their livelihood. Overnight they had become poor and wretched. As Joss Aryee told the Commission in his evidence, some died, others went mad and many more became paupers. It was, indeed a traumatic experience unparalleled in the history of this nation.

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

#### 1.1.1.3.5 The last expatriate staff left the Air Force in 1970. 1.1.1.4 History of Training Institutions, Training and Recruitment

The history of training institutions in the Ghana Armed Forces began with the West Africa Command Training School (WACTS). The WACTS was established in 1940 and by 1943, had three schools under it, namely, the West Africa Command Jungle Battle School in Nigeria, the West Africa Command Clerks Training School in the Gold Coast and the West Africa Command School of Education in Sierra Leone.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

1.11.2 The clearest indicator of the partnership between the Police and the Military in the history of Ghana was the coup d'état of the 24th February, 1966. Both the Police and the Military had suffered neglect and humiliation at the hands of the Nkrumah Administration. Both institutions had experienced dismissals in their top brass, with Madjitey, the former Head of the Police, in detention under the PDA. The existence of the President's Own Guard Regiment (POGR) put both institutions at a disadvantage and impelled the Police chiefs to team up with the Armed Forces, to overthrow the regime.

#### Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

3.10.7 During the regime of the NRC and SMC I, when opposition from civil society groups was open, the state-owned media could have played a more professional role by being less sycophantic, or even neutral. However, not much courageous journalism was shown. Thus, whenever Ghanaian journalists have been denounced, the accusation has been mainly that of sycophancy, if not outright cowardice. A typical example was when the Front for the Prevention of Dictatorship (FDP) and the People's Movement for Freedom and Justice (PMFJ) came into being in 1976 and 1978 respectively to fight military dictatorship, the press did not give them space to air their views. Other examples were: in 1977, the GBA and the Ghana Medical Association, both operating under the umbrella of the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies (ARPB), spearheaded a daring confrontation with the military government by ordering their members to go on strike, they were vilified by the media. Asante again observes that military periods were unique times for Ghanaian journalism to have gone into history as either hero or villain, but it chose the latter by "prostituting itself to any government that came to power." 201 The press chose to lose its dignity and self-respect in the eyes of civil society, rather than incur the displeasure of the government of the day.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

3.10.9 Even under military rule, state-owned media like the Daily Graphic were occasionally able to criticise some of the regimes' policies that they considered objectionable, such as the 'Abbot Agreement' under the NLC regime, and Elizabeth Ohene and Ajoa Yeboah Afari's condemnation of the executions in 1979. Through satires, such as "Abonsam Fireman" in The Standard; "Thoughts of a Native Daughter" by Ajoa Yeboah-Afari, "Carl Mutt" by Henry Ofori and "Woes of a Kwatriot" by Kwesi Yankah in The Mirror were some of the columns that voiced dissent by satire, during those critical periods of the nation's history. In the PNDC period, some dissent could also be found during discussions on television programmes such as "Talking

Point” or during radio discussion programmes. Most noteworthy of all is the role the private press, in particular The Pioneer, the Free Press, The Standard and the Christian Messenger played

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

The sordid history surrounding the notorious second military regime, which put itself in power in 1972, has come to a close. The disciplinary action has been taken by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council in public to serve as deterrent to anybody who goes about clinging on to power to amass illegal wealth and put Ghanaians into the economic predicament in which we find ourselves today.<sup>90</sup>

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

6.0.2 The chapter has also captured the flow of tides that characterized studentgovernment relationships in some detail, to enable the public to follow the history of these movements within the mandate period; understand the activities of these movements under military and civilian regimes; appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change and continuity in

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

The sordid history surrounding the notorious second military regime, which put itself in power in 1972, has come to a close. The disciplinary action has been taken by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council in public to serve as deterrent to anybody who goes about clinging on to power to amass illegal wealth and put Ghanaians into the economic predicament in which we find ourselves today.

#### *Police*

References of discussions of policing, the police and police officers

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 7 references coded [0.08% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

8.3.26.1 The Police Standing Orders must be reviewed in the light of the history of Human Rights violations and abuses in Ghana and the need to nurture democratic culture.

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

1.10.5.1 The GAF, in association with the police, staged their first direct appearance on the political scene, by removing the elected civilian government on 24th February, 1966. There have been four other successful interruptions in the nation’s history and these have been discussed in greater detail later in this report. Some of these incursions into politics by the Security Services, under the cloak of liberating the country from bad and corrupt governments, have stemmed from

personal desires, other than the noble declarations by them at the time of seizure of power. The breakdown of Command and Discipline in the Services, occasioned by structural

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

1.10.6.2 The Police Service requires that each officer swear an oath of allegiance to the State, and to obey only lawful orders of the legally-constituted authority. The officer also swears to discharge the duties of his office according to law and this presupposes that the law and the State are supreme considerations in every Policeman's action. This should have been sufficient safeguard against abuse of power and a check on excessive government/political interference. However, the history of the Police Service and evidence before the Commission bear ample testimony of the inability of the Police Service to maintain its institutional integrity.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

1.11.2 The clearest indicator of the partnership between the Police and the Military in the history of Ghana was the coup d'état of the 24th February, 1966. Both the Police and the Military had suffered neglect and humiliation at the hands of the Nkrumah Administration. Both institutions had experienced dismissals in their top brass, with Madjitey, the former Head of the Police, in detention under the PDA. The existence of the President's Own Guard Regiment (POGR) put both institutions at a disadvantage and impelled the Police chiefs to team up with the Armed Forces, to overthrow the regime.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

1.13.1 The history of the Police Service, shows that primarily, the Ghana Police Service was expected to be modelled on the British system, which encouraged, the principles of good policing, public co-operation and abhorred excessive use of physical force, and providing service in the interest of community welfare and existence. It is for this reason that the subordinate ranks were trained only in the use of truncheons, rifles and riot control equipment. Rifles were used mainly for special escorts, and for guarding sensitive installations, but even when on guard duty, the guard commander held the ammunition. Only the senior officers were trained in the use of side arms. In fact, Service Instruction No 97 spelt out in detail the circumstances under which a policeman could use firearms, as well as the procedure to be followed should such a situation arise.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

1.21.1 The NRC and SMC 1 Regimes were the most favourable to the Police Service. However, the regimes' good treatment of the service was meant to prop it up as a countervailing force to any destabilisation elements. Indeed, but for the ineffective mobilisation of the Police Armoured Car Squadron, the history of events of 4th June, 1979 would have been different.

#### Reference 7 - 0.04% Coverage

3.3.23.7.1 A policy of resettlement should be designed for serving personnel. Arrangements should be made to enable those who are unsuitable for active service to be discharged and resettled. Counselling should be instituted as an integral part of life in the Police Service, to reduce the number of burnt out personnel whose activities bring dishonour to the Service. 3.3.24 Professionalism And Police Ethics 3.3.24.1 Identification of role of the Police Service as a public service, in accordance with democratic values, must transcend all organizational levels and demonstrate a professional ethic based on accountability, impartiality, Police dignity and recognition of the value of their work. 3.3.24.2 Abuse of power continues to be a problem. The training of officers should emphasise the importance of respecting the bounds of their authority and using the power conferred on them by the State responsibly. 3.3.24.3 The raising of unauthorised barriers for the purpose of extorting money from drivers and passengers as well as the use of Police vehicles to facilitate the commission of crime are problems that must be tackled by the Police administration in earnest. Officers-in-charge of areas where unauthorised barriers are found must receive official censure for inadequate supervision of subordinate staff. 3.3.25 Corruption 3.3.25.1 Corruption in the Police Service is a major obstacle that must be overcome in working towards an efficient and responsive Police Service. The inefficacy of laws are traceable to poor enforcement occasioned by corruption. Strenuous efforts must be made to tackle this problem. Police authorities must devise mechanisms for monitoring the lifestyles and conduct of Police personnel to ensure that the transaction costs of corruption would be raised to levels that would discourage corrupt practices. 3.3.25.2 A new Code of Conduct must be formulated to check corruption. The Police administration must establish an office of Internal Policing. This office, whose existence should be widely publicised, should be tasked to receive complaints of corruption and extortion from the general public, and act on them. 3.3.25.2 It is further recommended that regular spot-checks must be instituted by the Police Administration at the various barriers to check extortion and corruption. 3.3.25.3 Service personnel must be motivated with improved conditions of service, including provision of adequate equipment and emoluments, to improve their self-respect and institutional loyalty. 3.3.26 Standing Orders 3.3.26.1 The Police Standing Orders must be reviewed in the light of the history of Human Rights violations and abuses in Ghana and the need to nurture democratic culture. 3.3.26.2 Modern techniques on crowd control and conduct of Police Investigations should be studied and incorporated into the reviewed Standing Orders. 3.3.26.3 Live ammunition should not be used to control crowds, and the Standing Orders must prohibit this. 3.3.27 Community Partnership 3.3.27.1 New community and problem-solving approaches to policing, based on closer contact and co-operation with society, through institutions, community organizations or the citizens themselves, must be encouraged and sustained.

### *Religious*

References or discussions of religion, church, or religious leaders

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 6 references coded [0.06% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

and claims of Almighty God. Moreover, it seems that the movement confuses the work and example of a great man with divine acts which are unique in history. The incipient atheism is



quite foreign to the traditional concepts of African Personality. Surely it is our duty to ask that some consideration be given to convictions of loyal citizens of Ghana who, by virtue of their Christian Faith, desire that nothing shall hinder their children from growing up to be loyal and faithful Christian men and women. Is there a finer basis for citizenship than this? 26

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

### 9.1 ABOUT THE THREE MAIN RELIGIONS IN GHANA 9.1.1 THE TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS GROUP 9.1.1 History

9.1.1.1 Traditional Religion is the oldest religion in Ghana. It is not organized in the manner of Christian or Islamic religions. The nature and history of the Traditional Religious group is quite different from other religious groups. It has no organised hierarchy or association to spearhead its activities at the national level and so its influence on national politics has been minimal. In 1985, the late Osofo Okomfo Damuah, a Roman Catholic Priest, left the Catholic Faith to establish the Afrikania Mission<sup>2</sup> of Ghana. This Mission, for the first time, provided a mouthpiece for the various traditional religious groups that had come together to form the Mission.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

9.3.2.8 The people of Ghana were subjected to propaganda that suggested that President Nkrumah's emergence was more extraordinary than the emergence of Buddha, Jesus Christ and the Prophet Mohammed. In an editorial of the Evening News<sup>64</sup> was the inscription, "All day, all night we are reinforced in our belief that the whole phenomena [sic] of Dr. Nkrumah's emergence is second to none in the long history of the world messiah from Buddha, Mohammed and Christ." To enhance that image, there were continued appellations in the media and on various platforms. For example, Dr. Nkrumah was alleged to have gone to the wilderness for spiritual

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Not only myself, but the heads of churches in Ghana, are shocked by the godlessness of this movement and by some of its phrases and songs for the children to repeat or to sing. We made our views known to the Minister of Education last April, saying that we found it impossible to give our support and co-operation in the development of the movement as at present constituted. It is an affront to our age-long traditions that, in Ghana of all countries a national institution for the training and development of boys and girls should entirely ignore the existence and claims of Almighty God. Moreover, it seems that the movement confuses the work and example of a great man with divine acts which are unique in history. The incipient atheism is quite foreign to the traditional concepts of African Personality. Surely it is our duty to ask that some consideration be given to convictions of loyal citizens of Ghana who, by virtue of their Christian Faith, desire that nothing shall hinder their children from growing up to be loyal and faithful Christian men and women. Is there a finer basis for citizenship than this?

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

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### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

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## *Legacy*

References or discussions of the legacy, impact or effects of past violence or events

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 7 references coded [0.05% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

I felt instantly that my honour and dignity had been irreparably dented. No sooner had this ugly incident happened than my son Patrick left for Britain where he has been domiciled till to-day. He came to Ghana in July this year i.e. 2002 and sitting down at the living room with him, he told me and I quote “Daddy do you know that I cannot look straight into your eyes”. I asked him to forget and leave the past to history.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

1.6.1.2 As a result of the history of political detentions, the service has acquired an unsavoury image and reputation in matters of human rights.<sup>9</sup>

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

41.1 The Bench in its decisions played a significant role in the development of a culture of human rights violations in the history of this country. Individual members of the Judiciary had their rights abused, and the Judiciary was unable to protect itself from Executive interference with its work. This was seen in the instances in which when some judges were dismissed for no tangible reason and without adherence to due process, other judges accepted new appointments with no hesitation, to replace the dismissed judges, In the case of the interpretation of human rights-related legislation such as the Preventive Detention Act, judges have consistently adopted a narrow positivist approach that supported the position of the Executive and deprived the citizenry of their human rights. This failure to hold the balance between the individual and the State, and undue deference to the Executive for reasons of self-preservation, resulted in widespread and unchecked violations of human rights of the citizenry, and produced some of the most terrible instances of the impact of an unrestrained use of Executive power, on the lives of ordinary people.

### Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

3.10.10 The legacy of Ghana’s illiberal, sometimes brutal socio-political history, has been a media with stunted growth; a media in which journalists, particularly of the stateowned media, have developed a culture of self-censorship and where the media in general, still show a tendency to be sycophantic to governments as well as various centres of power. Coercion, co-optation and corruption of the media by various governments, resulted in the fragmentation of the press along political lines, with many journalists pursuing their private agenda not necessarily for the public good, but for the attainment of factional and parochial goals. This legacy is hard to overcome even in a democratic era. Journalists are still likely to undermine each other and are not as sensitised to human rights abuses and violations as they ought to be. Relations remain

polarised between journalists of the state-owned media, and those in the privately owned sector. The former views the latter with suspicion as “largely untrained” and lacking appropriate professional skills, and the latter views the former as lacking courage to be critical of government. Hard to change is the habit of settling old and personal scores, and even at the present time, it is not uncommon to hear of people being “fixed” in the media.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

The sordid history surrounding the notorious second military regime, which put itself in power in 1972, has come to a close. The disciplinary action has been taken by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council in public to serve as deterrent to anybody who goes about clinging on to power to amass illegal wealth and put Ghanaians into the economic predicament in which we find ourselves today.<sup>90</sup>

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

make it their collective responsibility to take their destinies into their own hands.” He accused the PNP Administration of failing to continue the “house-cleaning” that it had promised to do and that it was the “most disgraceful government in the history of this country”. He also complained that the PNP Government had gone ahead to “mutilate all the positive and concrete achievements of the people in order to pave the way for their own corruption”, and made democracy mere paper guarantees. Flt Lt Rawlings then announced the suspension of the 1979 Constitution, the dissolution of Parliament and the formation of the new government, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

The sordid history surrounding the notorious second military regime, which put itself in power in 1972, has come to a close. The disciplinary action has been taken by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council in public to serve as deterrent to anybody who goes about clinging on to power to amass illegal wealth and put Ghanaians into the economic predicament in which we find ourselves today.

## *Nation*

References or discussions of nation, nations, or nationalism

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 18 references coded [0.20% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

8.12.9.1 The correct facts of Ghana's history must be taught in schools. To this end, school textbooks should be re-written, to ensure that all the patriots of Ghana's Independence get their rightful place in the nation's history. Historical accounts that glorify only those who attained political power at particular points in time do a disservice to dissenters, and those who sought to fight dictatorship and other evils in governance.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

served as the location for the sittings of Parliament in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Republics of our post independent history. Above all other structures, it is associated with our hopes and aspirations of building our new state on the principles of Freedom and Justice, the perennial goals to which the founders of our state dedicated its existence and inscribed on our Coat of Arms as the words of the nation's motto. ...Alas, for too many years of our nation's history, especially during the prolonged eras of unconstitutional government, the attainment of these goals proved illusory, giving way rather to the establishment of a tragic culture of extensive violations, by state actors, of the human rights of the citizenry of this county, leaving in its wake considerable rancour, anguish and ill-feeling within several segments of society. It is, therefore, altogether most fitting and proper when we are, through the instrumentality of this Commission, seeking to come to terms with its unhappy past and forge a new era of reconciliation and unity in our nation, that the National Reconciliation Commission should be housed in this building to undertake its momentous task

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

The events which led to Ghana becoming a State that achieved Independence on 6th March, 1957, have had a great impact on the course of the nation's history. Problems that had emerged before Independence continued to dog the footsteps of the new nation; problems that had been shelved or side-stepped did not go away; and problems that emerged subsequent to the attainment of Independence, came in to compound the already difficult situation. These legacies of the pre-Independence period have remained of significance in charting the course of the new nation, and on the human rights record of the various governments since Independence.

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

political agitation for independence that students in some secondary schools in Cape Coast were dismissed in 1949, leading to the founding of Ghana National College in Cape Coast to enable them complete their education. However, it was much later in the political history of Ghana, that students, as an organised body, concerned itself with national political issues.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Little did I know then that this short, cryptic message was a hint of one of the most bloodcurdling and traumatic political events ever to happen in the short history of this peace-loving nation since her birth in 1957.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

1.10.5.1 The GAF, in association with the police, staged their first direct appearance on the political scene, by removing the elected civilian government on 24th February, 1966. There have been four other successful interruptions in the nation's history and these have been discussed in greater detail later in this report. Some of these incursions into politics by the Security Services, under the cloak of liberating the country from bad and corrupt governments, have stemmed from personal desires, other than the noble declarations by them at the time of seizure of power. The breakdown of Command and Discipline in the Services, occasioned by structural

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

1.10.5.6.2 It is a fact that at some point in the history of the GAF, there was no regional balance within the institution. This has created some command and control problems as ethnic loyalties tended to interfere with work situations. Ethnocentrism has gained roots in the forces to the extent that at a point in time, one or two ethnic groups dominated the GAF, and this was unhealthy for the development of a sense of nationalism.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

2.0.2 This Chapter also documents the contribution that the introduction of a new system of adjudication, as well as new investigative bodies made to the enjoyment or otherwise of human rights by the citizenry. Since these bodies operated outside the generally accepted norms of judicial and quasi-judicial inquiry, the issue of whether these well-established norms serve a purpose, is brought into focus. This Chapter also recounts some violations and abuses that members of the two groups of the Legal Profession suffered, either individually or collectively, in the course of pursuing their profession. It also sheds some light on Bench-Bar relations and what impact this has made on the nation's post-Independence history.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus the church leaders carried on until they pushed the nation into the crisis of June 19. Frightened by their realization of what would have happened to themselves if June 19 had succeeded – stupefied by looking back at the dangerous, self-effacing tiger riding game they had been playing – the church leadership are now cleverly trying to give the impression that they were not responsible for instigating the crisis. But history will judge them as fast as they are able to realize that they have misunderstood and misjudged the moral and divine solidity of the foundations of the revolution, the people's power it has gathered, and the strength of the historic forces that push the process forward.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

5.0.2 The Commission believes that a study of the activities of these movements during the mandate period would enable the nation appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change or continuity in these movements; understand why the movements underwent a transformation or ceased to exist altogether, and above all assess their impact on the development or otherwise of a culture of respect for human rights.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

The Convention People's Party is a powerful force, more powerful indeed, than anything that has yet appeared in the history of Ghana. It is the uniting force that guides and pilots the nation and is the nerve centre of the positive operation in the struggle for Africa irredentism. Its supremacy cannot be challenged. The Convention People's Party is Ghana, and Ghana is the Convention People's Party.<sup>48</sup>

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

6.7.4.1 The student movement at the UCC decided to take a two-week break from their studies and go out to the rural areas to spread the message of the revolution and explain its tenets to the rural people. This decision by students of UCC was communicated to the public in a statement issued in Accra on 6th July, and signed by the President of the SRC, John S Achuliwor.<sup>72</sup> According to the SRC President, the "students' decision to undertake such an important national assignment was to ensure that the gains being made by the people towards creating a just society are in no way reversed." Although the students recognized that such a move would affect their own studies they were willing to make that sacrifice as they were of the firm belief "that no efforts should be spared in thwarting the efforts of those who seek to turn back the moving hands of history." The statement also informed the public that during the period of the assignment, the students would assist the authorities in locating piled up foodstuffs in food growing areas and would be so organized that where possible, they would assist in even the harvesting of

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

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#### Reference 14 - 0.04% Coverage

3.8.14 In the past the involvement of academics in treasonable activities on campuses were camouflaged as the exercise of academic freedom. Governments adopted the practice of planting informants on the campuses and in the lecture rooms, to engage in surveillance on lecturers and students. To avoid the recurrence of such practices, there is the need for academics to appreciate the value of academic freedom and to strive to preserve it. They should initiate discussion on issues pertaining to the legitimate exercise of academic freedom and so develop standards that enhance the enjoyment of academic freedom for all. 3.8.15 The development of an independent press has narrowed the space that student leaders had when they were regarded as the alternative voices in the political space. Public space for alternative voices should be preserved so as to reduce the impact of student leaders who concede, years after the fact, that they did not really know what they were playing at when they took a stand against the government. 3.9 YOUTH

3.9.1 Politically-inclined Youth groups are capable of being exploited as a support-base for subversion of the State. The State must show more interest in its youth. Efforts must be made to tackle the problems of out of school youth, so that they would not be available for easy manipulation and exploitation, as unemployed and under-employed youth form a ready source of support for agitators who promise utopia. 3.9.2 NCCE should design appropriate civic education materials for use by youth organisations registered with the National Youth Council. The programmes should help the youth to develop into responsible and patriotic citizens. However, care must be taken in the design, not to lift partisan objectives above national interests. 3.9.3 All youth organisations that handle out-of-school-youth must provide opportunity for such youth to receive civic education. The National Anthem and the National Pledge must be taught to the out-of-school youth 3.9.4 The National Youth Council should be appropriately resourced provided with appropriate direction to enable it serve the purposes for which it was established. 3.10 RECOMMENDATIONS/REFORMS – THE INSTITUTION OF CHIEFTAINCY 3.10.1 It is observed that through legislation, governments interfered with the independence of Chiefs. In spite of this negative history, it is still necessary for Chiefs as the custodians of our cultural heritage, to regain and sustain their political influence as neutral actors in the political domain. Chiefs must be empowered to play their role effectively through education, especially on the Chieftaincy Act, the rights and responsibilities of Chiefs, land administration as well as well basic management skills. 3.10.2 Chiefs, who are regarded as opinion leaders, should be more vocal on issues of human rights violations in the country. 3.10.3 Chiefs should refrain from inordinate lobbying of politicians, particularly those in government, for projects to be sited in their communities. Such lobbying renders the institution vulnerable to manipulation by the politicians, particularly those in Government. 3.10.4 The Regional Houses of Chiefs should strengthen their capacity to handle chieftaincy litigation more effectively. It is desirable for the National House of Chiefs to be proactive in handling matters likely to get Chiefs locked in prolonged and expensive stool and land litigation.

#### Reference 15 - 0.03% Coverage

3.12.8.1 A culture of tolerance should be developed in this country. Ghanaians should learn that it is acceptable for people, even friends, to disagree. Dissent on issues should be encouraged and there should be space for alternative voices to be heard. 3.12.9 Re-presenting Ghana's History 3.12.9.1 The correct facts of Ghana's history must be taught in schools. To this end, school textbooks should be re-written, to ensure that all the patriots of Ghana's Independence get their



rightful place in the nation's history. Historical accounts that glorify only those who attained political power at particular points in time do a disservice to dissenters, and those who sought to fight dictatorship and other evils in governance. 3.12.9.2 NCCE should design appropriate civic education materials for use in schools to inculcate patriotism and voluntarism among pupils and students. The National Anthem and the National Pledge must be taught and used in all schools on a daily basis. 3.12.10 Standards Of Decency 3.12.10.1 Ghanaians must strive to develop common standards of morality and decency. These standards would guide the behaviour of citizens in general, as well as holders of public office. 3.12.10.2 Public institutions charged with the protection of Human Rights as well as societal watchdogs such as the press, should not in their turn perpetrate human rights abuses by abusing their power. In a situation of poverty, some persons within these bodies yield to the temptation to abuse their power for personal profit. 3.12.11 Dealing with Ethnocentrism 3.12.11.1 The maintenance of national cohesion is a subject that should engage the attention of all well-meaning Ghanaians. Persistent denials of the existence of Ethnocentrism in the country in general and in public life in particular, will not make the problems disappear. Ethnocentrism must be acknowledged for the great evil that it is, and the dangers it presents to our nationhood, national cohesion and the equitable distribution of national resources must be constantly attacked. The benefits of our national diversity must be celebrated. 3.12.11.2 Specific policies and programmes targeted at addressing issues generated by ethnic animosities, ethnic stereotypes and ethnocentrism as a basis for discrimination must be vigorously confronted. Anti-discrimination legislation must be adopted to give people a remedy whenever they can prove discrimination on any of the grounds set down in Article 17 of the Constitution of 1992. Some countries have achieved a measure of success in combating such problems, not by pious injunctions and exhortations, but by legislation and the conversion of such conduct into wrongful conduct, entitling a wronged person to damages. Ghana must adopt such methods, for nothing short of frontal assault would be effective in tackling ethnocentrism.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

5.0.2 The Commission believes that a study of the activities of these movements during the mandate period would enable the nation appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change or continuity in these movements; understand why the movements underwent a transformation or ceased to exist altogether, and above all assess their impact on the development or otherwise of a culture of respect for human rights.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

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#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

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our views known to the Minister of Education last April, saying that we found it impossible to give our support and co-operation in the development of the movement as at present constituted. It is an affront to our age-long traditions that, in Ghana of all countries a national institution for the training and development of boys and girls should entirely ignore the existence and claims of Almighty God. Moreover, it seems that the movement confuses the work and example of a great man with divine acts which are unique in history. The incipient atheism is quite foreign to the traditional concepts of African Personality. Surely it is our duty to ask that some consideration be given to convictions of loyal citizens of Ghana who, by virtue of their Christian Faith, desire that nothing shall hinder their children from growing up to be loyal and faithful Christian men and women. Is there a finer basis for citizenship than this?

## *Politics and Ideology*

References or discussions of politics and ideology

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 16 references coded [0.12% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.1 The events leading to the Gold Coast becoming the Independent State of Ghana on 6th March, 1957 have had a great impact on the course of the country's history and on its human rights record. Political and ideological tensions, as well as economic and social problems, that had either been ignored or poorly addressed in the Gold Coast continued to impinge on, and define, the character of the independent state of Ghana.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.4.1 There were mutual suspicions between Ashanti and the Colony. With her history of imperialism Ashanti was disliked by her coastal neighbours who feared domination should they be put together as one political entity. On its part, Ashanti feared domination by the Colony. In the early 1940s there were efforts at rapprochement. These mutual suspicions did not die, but were fuelled by developments a decade later, as demonstrated by the formation of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) in 1954.

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

political agitation for Independence that students in some secondary schools in Cape Coast and their politically-active teachers, were dismissed in 1949, leading to the founding of Ghana National College in Cape Coast to enable them complete their education. However, it was much later in the political history of Ghana that students, as an organised body, concerned itself with national political issues.

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

3.1.5.1 Among the legacies that Ghana inherited at the time of its birth as an independent country were: ethnic animosities and resentments occasioned by a history of antagonism produced by inter-ethnic wars and imperialism; uneven economic development between the North and South and between the colonial holdings and Trust Territory; fears of cultural domination; the emergence of a landless urban poor as a result of urbanization; the integration into the political entity of persons who wished to belong elsewhere or who wished for a different form of government; and political leaders who were in antagonistic relationship to each other.

### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

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them complete their education. However, it was much later in the political history of Ghana, that students, as an organised body, concerned itself with national political issues.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

1.10.5.1 The GAF, in association with the police, staged their first direct appearance on the political scene, by removing the elected civilian government on 24th February, 1966. There have been four other successful interruptions in the nation's history and these have been discussed in greater detail later in this report. Some of these incursions into politics by the Security Services, under the cloak of liberating the country from bad and corrupt governments, have stemmed from personal desires, other than the noble declarations by them at the time of seizure of power. The breakdown of Command and Discipline in the Services, occasioned by structural

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

gave presentations at which they expressed views that were critical of the PNDC. Mr Justice F.K. Apaloo, delivering the Keynote Address, expressed the view that the assumption of judicial powers by the PNDC was "dangerous and unprecedented" in the annals of Ghana's legal history. During a subsequent symposium, Mr. Justice Taylor criticised the human rights record of the AFRC and the victimisation of so-called kalabule people for the woes of the time. These views of the two Judges, were reported from the angle of comments made by Tsatsu Tsikata in his own presentation at the same symposium, which were critical of the judiciary in general, and the judges in question in particular. Under the headline "Self-contradictions of Judiciary Exposed", the newspaper presented their judicial history in an unflattering light, thereby presenting the Judges' criticisms as hypocritical and anti-PNDC.<sup>85</sup>

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

3.7.2.7 Both the Christian Messenger and The Standard also hailed the AFRC's revolution and its policies as well. The 24th June, 1979 editorial in The Standard completely backed the executions of "Mr" Acheampong and Maj-Gen Utuka at the Teshie firing range. The paper was of the view that the executions had brought the sordid history of the notorious second military regime to a close. The paper termed the executions a "disciplinary action", taken by the AFRC in public to serve as a deterrent, adding that the AFRC's determination to tackle the economic problem of the country is seen through its action of executing the two officers. The Standard ended by saying that the fate of leaders since Independence, should be a warning to future aspiring political leaders: Nkrumah and Busia had both died in exile, the assets of Ankrah and Afrifa had been frozen, and Mr. Acheampong had been shot by firing squad.

#### Reference 9 - 0.02% Coverage

3.10.10 The legacy of Ghana's illiberal, sometimes brutal socio-political history, has been a media with stunted growth; a media in which journalists, particularly of the stateowned media, have developed a culture of self-censorship and where the media in general, still show a tendency to be sycophantic to governments as well as various centres of power. Coercion, co-optation and corruption of the media by various governments, resulted in the fragmentation of

the press along political lines, with many journalists pursuing their private agenda not necessarily for the public good, but for the attainment of factional and parochial goals. This legacy is hard to overcome even in a democratic era. Journalists are still likely to undermine each other and are not as sensitised to human rights abuses and violations as they ought to be. Relations remain polarised between journalists of the state-owned media, and those in the privately owned sector. The former views the latter with suspicion as “largely untrained” and lacking appropriate professional skills, and the latter views the former as lacking courage to be critical of government. Hard to change is the habit of settling old and personal scores, and even at the present time, it is not uncommon to hear of people being “fixed” in the media.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

5.0.2 The Commission believes that a study of the activities of these movements during the mandate period would enable the nation appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change or continuity in these movements; understand why the movements underwent a transformation or ceased to exist altogether, and above all assess their impact on the development or otherwise of a culture of respect for human rights.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

They constituted the left at the department which had other lecturers of rightist political persuasion, notably Professor Folson. Complementing the dominant leftist camp of lecturers were Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr and Tsatsu Tsikata, all of the Law faculty. What these lecturers had in common was their academic brilliance and Marxism. They indeed inspired my generation to adopt a radical Marxist view of history and political developments. They were popular with the students and were always on the lecture circuit mostly at the University’s auditorium where they engaged other lecturers of the right in debate. Young, fiery and articulate, they obviously won the battle for the minds of students, at least in the radical leadership of the National Union of Ghana Students.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

7.0.2 The chapter is organized to reflect the historical chronology of their life as youth movements under particular regimes, and the part they played in sustaining the regime. The hope is that the public would better appreciate the whys and wherefores of these movements, as well as the importance of their contribution to the socio-political history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change and continuity in these movements; and understand why the movements underwent a transformation or ceased to exist altogether, during the mandate period.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

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#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

6.0.2 The chapter has also captured the flow of tides that characterized studentgovernment relationships in some detail, to enable the public to follow the history of these movements within the mandate period; understand the activities of these movements under military and civilian regimes; appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change and continuity in

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

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#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

8.0.1 This chapter deals with the role that chiefs have played in the political history of Ghana between the period 6th March, 1957, and 6th January, 1993. The assessment of the role of chiefs is done with specific reference to their efforts in the protection or otherwise, of human rights. One fact that became obvious from the work of the Commission was that, the chiefs themselves were often victims of human rights abuses, and that the chieftaincy institution suffered human rights abuses more than any other institutions, during the mandate period.

## *Reconciliation*

References or discussions of reconciliation

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 5 references coded [0.14% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

served as the location for the sittings of Parliament in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Republics of our post independent history. Above all other structures, it is associated with our hopes and aspirations of building our new state on the principles of Freedom and Justice, the perennial goals to which the founders of our state dedicated its existence and inscribed on our Coat of Arms as the words of the nation's motto. ...Alas, for too many years of our nation's history, especially during the prolonged eras of unconstitutional government, the attainment of these goals proved illusory, giving way rather to the establishment of a tragic culture of extensive violations, by state actors, of the human rights of the citizenry of this county, leaving in its wake considerable rancour, anguish and ill-feeling within several segments of society. It is, therefore, altogether most fitting and proper when we are, through the instrumentality of this Commission, seeking to come to terms with its unhappy past and forge a new era of reconciliation and unity in our nation, that the National Reconciliation Commission should be housed in this building to undertake its momentous task

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

3.10.13 Considering that the media are expected to be facilitators of the process of truth and reconciliation, it is important that journalists, collectively and individually examine some of the past actions of the media, in order to better understand the role the media have wittingly or unwittingly played in the country's noble and ignoble history. There is a need to recognise and acknowledge their role in promoting a culture of human rights abuse, as well as their role in helping to nurture a culture of respect for human rights and dignity. This is what would enable the media to spearhead the process of their own institutional re-invention, improve their capacity to champion the cause of human rights, and thereby prevent future governments from using them to legitimize their actions.

### Reference 3 - 0.04% Coverage

3.3.23.7.1 A policy of resettlement should be designed for serving personnel. Arrangements should be made to enable those who are unsuitable for active service to be discharged and resettled. Counselling should be instituted as an integral part of life in the Police Service, to reduce the number of burnt out personnel whose activities bring dishonour to the Service. 3.3.24 Professionalism And Police Ethics 3.3.24.1 Identification of role of the Police Service as a public service, in accordance with democratic values, must transcend all organizational levels and demonstrate a professional ethic based on accountability, impartiality, Police dignity and recognition of the value of their work. 3.3.24.2 Abuse of power continues to be a problem. The training of officers should emphasise the importance of respecting the bounds of their authority and using the power conferred on them by the State responsibly. 3.3.24.3 The raising of

unauthorised barriers for the purpose of extorting money from drivers and passengers as well as the use of Police vehicles to facilitate the commission of crime are problems that must be tackled by the Police administration in earnest. Officers-in-charge of areas where unauthorised barriers are found must receive official censure for inadequate supervision of subordinate staff. 3.3.25 Corruption 3.3.25.1 Corruption in the Police Service is a major obstacle that must be overcome in working towards an efficient and responsive Police Service. The inefficacy of laws are traceable to poor enforcement occasioned by corruption. Strenuous efforts must be made to tackle this problem. Police authorities must devise mechanisms for monitoring the lifestyles and conduct of Police personnel to ensure that the transaction costs of corruption would be raised to levels that would discourage corrupt practices. 3.3.25.2 A new Code of Conduct must be formulated to check corruption. The Police administration must establish an office of Internal Policing. This office, whose existence should be widely publicised, should be tasked to receive complaints of corruption and extortion from the general public, and act on them. 3.3.25.2 It is further recommended that regular spot-checks must be instituted by the Police Administration at the various barriers to check extortion and corruption. 3.3.25.3 Service personnel must be motivated with improved conditions of service, including provision of adequate equipment and emoluments, to improve their self-respect and institutional loyalty. 3.3.26 Standing Orders 3.3.26.1 The Police Standing Orders must be reviewed in the light of the history of Human Rights violations and abuses in Ghana and the need to nurture democratic culture. 3.3.26.2 Modern techniques on crowd control and conduct of Police Investigations should be studied and incorporated into the reviewed Standing Orders. 3.3.26.3 Live ammunition should not be used to control crowds, and the Standing Orders must prohibit this. 3.3.27 Community Partnership 3.3.27.1 New community and problem-solving approaches to policing, based on closer contact and co-operation with society, through institutions, community organizations or the citizens themselves, must be encouraged and sustained.

#### Reference 4 - 0.04% Coverage

3.8.14 In the past the involvement of academics in treasonable activities on campuses were camouflaged as the exercise of academic freedom. Governments adopted the practice of planting informants on the campuses and in the lecture rooms, to engage in surveillance on lecturers and students. To avoid the recurrence of such practices, there is the need for academics to appreciate the value of academic freedom and to strive to preserve it. They should initiate discussion on issues pertaining to the legitimate exercise of academic freedom and so develop standards that enhance the enjoyment of academic freedom for all. 3.8.15 The development of an independent press has narrowed the space that student leaders had when they were regarded as the alternative voices in the political space. Public space for alternative voices should be preserved so as to reduce the impact of student leaders who concede, years after the fact, that they did not really know what they were playing at when they took a stand against the government. 3.9 YOUTH 3.9.1 Politically-inclined Youth groups are capable of being exploited as a support-base for subversion of the State. The State must show more interest in its youth. Efforts must be made to tackle the problems of out of school youth, so that they would not be available for easy manipulation and exploitation, as unemployed and under-employed youth form a ready source of support for agitators who promise utopia. 3.9.2 NCCE should design appropriate civic education materials for use by youth organisations registered with the National Youth Council. The programmes should help the youth to develop into responsible and patriotic citizens. However,



care must be taken in the design, not to lift partisan objectives above national interests. 3.9.3 All youth organisations that handle out-of-school-youth must provide opportunity for such youth to receive civic education. The National Anthem and the National Pledge must be taught to the out-of-school youth 3.9.4 The National Youth Council should be appropriately resourced provided with appropriate direction to enable it serve the purposes for which it was established. 3.10 RECOMMENDATIONS/REFORMS – THE INSTITUTION OF CHIEFTAINCY 3.10.1 It is observed that through legislation, governments interfered with the independence of Chiefs. In spite of this negative history, it is still necessary for Chiefs as the custodians of our cultural heritage, to regain and sustain their political influence as neutral actors in the political domain. Chiefs must be empowered to play their role effectively through education, especially on the Chieftaincy Act, the rights and responsibilities of Chiefs, land administration as well as well basic management skills. 3.10.2 Chiefs, who are regarded as opinion leaders, should be more vocal on issues of human rights violations in the country. 3.10.3 Chiefs should refrain from inordinate lobbying of politicians, particularly those in government, for projects to be sited in their communities. Such lobbying renders the institution vulnerable to manipulation by the politicians, particularly those in Government. 3.10.4 The Regional Houses of Chiefs should strengthen their capacity to handle chieftaincy litigation more effectively. It is desirable for the National House of Chiefs to be proactive in handling matters likely to get Chiefs locked in prolonged and expensive stool and land litigation.

#### Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

3.12.8.1 A culture of tolerance should be developed in this country. Ghanaians should learn that it is acceptable for people, even friends, to disagree. Dissent on issues should be encouraged and there should be space for alternative voices to be heard. 3.12.9 Re-presenting Ghana's History 3.12.9.1 The correct facts of Ghana's history must be taught in schools. To this end, school textbooks should be re-written, to ensure that all the patriots of Ghana's Independence get their rightful place in the nation's history. Historical accounts that glorify only those who attained political power at particular points in time do a disservice to dissenters, and those who sought to fight dictatorship and other evils in governance. 3.12.9.2 NCCE should design appropriate civic education materials for use in schools to inculcate patriotism and voluntarism among pupils and students. The National Anthem and the National Pledge must be taught and used in all schools on a daily basis. 3.12.10 Standards Of Decency 3.12.10.1 Ghanaians must strive to develop common standards of morality and decency. These standards would guide the behaviour of citizens in general, as well as holders of public office. 3.12.10.2 Public institutions charged with the protection of Human Rights as well as societal watchdogs such as the press, should not in their turn perpetrate human rights abuses by abusing their power. In a situation of poverty, some persons within these bodies yield to the temptation to abuse their power for personal profit. 3.12.11 Dealing with Ethnocentrism 3.12.11.1 The maintenance of national cohesion is a subject that should engage the attention of all well-meaning Ghanaians. Persistent denials of the existence of Ethnocentrism in the country in general and in public life in particular, will not make the problems disappear. Ethnocentrism must be acknowledged for the great evil that it is, and the dangers it presents to our nationhood, national cohesion and the equitable distribution of national resources must be constantly attacked. The benefits of our national diversity must be celebrated. 3.12.11.2 Specific policies and programmes targeted at addressing issues generated by ethnic animosities, ethnic stereotypes and ethnocentrism as a basis for discrimination must be

vigorously confronted. Anti-discrimination legislation must be adopted to give people a remedy whenever they can prove discrimination on any of the grounds set down in Article 17 of the Constitution of 1992. Some countries have achieved a measure of success in combating such problems, not by pious injunctions and exhortations, but by legislation and the conversion of such conduct into wrongful conduct, entitling a wronged person to damages. Ghana must adopt such methods, for nothing short of frontal assault would be effective in tackling ethnocentrism.

## *Students*

References or discussions of students

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 13 references coded [0.16% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

political agitation for Independence that students in some secondary schools in Cape Coast and their politically-active teachers, were dismissed in 1949, leading to the founding of Ghana National College in Cape Coast to enable them complete their education. However, it was much later in the political history of Ghana that students, as an organised body, concerned itself with national political issues.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

political agitation for independence that students in some secondary schools in Cape Coast were dismissed in 1949, leading to the founding of Ghana National College in Cape Coast to enable them complete their education. However, it was much later in the political history of Ghana, that students, as an organised body, concerned itself with national political issues.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

6.0.2 The chapter has also captured the flow of tides that characterized studentgovernment relationships in some detail, to enable the public to follow the history of these movements within the mandate period; understand the activities of these movements under military and civilian regimes; appreciate their importance in the sociopolitical history of Ghana; be provided with the reasons for change and continuity in these movements; and also understand why some of the movements underwent a transformation, whilst others ceased to exist altogether.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

6.7.4.1 The student movement at the UCC decided to take a two-week break from their studies and go out to the rural areas to spread the message of the revolution and explain its tenets to the rural people. This decision by students of UCC was communicated to the public in a statement issued in Accra on 6th July, and signed by the President of the SRC, John S Achuliwor.<sup>72</sup> According to the SRC President, the “students’ decision to undertake such an important national assignment was to ensure that the gains being made by the people towards creating a just society are in no way reversed.” Although the students recognized that such a move would affect their own studies they were willing to make that sacrifice as they were of the firm belief “that no efforts should be spared in thwarting the efforts of those who seek to turn back the moving hands of history.” The statement also informed the public that during the period of the assignment, the students would assist the authorities in locating piled up foodstuffs in food growing areas and would be so organized that where possible, they would assist in even the harvesting of

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

They constituted the left at the department which had other lecturers of rightist political persuasion, notably Professor Folson. Complementing the dominant leftist camp of lecturers were Dr. Kwesi Botchway, Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr and Tsatsu Tsikata, all of the Law faculty. What these lecturers had in common was their academic brilliance and Marxism. They indeed inspired my generation to adopt a radical Marxist view of history and political developments. They were popular with the students and were always on the lecture circuit mostly at the University's auditorium where they engaged other lecturers of the right in debate. Young, fiery and articulate, they obviously won the battle for the minds of students, at least in the radical leadership of the National Union of Ghana Students.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

6.9.1.1 The last day of 1981 saw a struggle between the forces supporting the democratically-elected government of President Limann and those of Flt Lt Jerry John Rawlings, former Chairman of the AFRC. The struggle was short-lived, and the government was overthrown. On 2nd January, 1982, Flt Lt Rawlings broadcast to the nation, and called upon "workers, farmers, fishermen, artisans, students and soldiers to make it their collective responsibility to take their destinies into their own hands."<sup>113</sup> He accused the PNP Administration of failing to continue the "house-cleaning" that it had promised to do and that it was the "most disgraceful government in the history of this country". He also complained that the PNP Government had gone ahead to "mutilate all the positive and concrete achievements of the people in order to pave the way for their own corruption", and made democracy mere paper guarantees. Flt Lt Rawlings then announced the suspension of the 1979 Constitution, the dissolution of Parliament and the formation of the new government, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

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#### Reference 8 - 0.04% Coverage

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#### Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

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#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

They constituted the left at the department which had other lecturers of rightist political persuasion, notably Professor Folson. Complementing the dominant leftist camp of lecturers were Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr and Tsatsu Tsikata, all of the Law faculty. What these lecturers had in common was their academic brilliance and Marxism. They indeed inspired my generation to adopt a radical Marxist view of history and political developments. They were popular with the students and were always on the lecture circuit mostly at the University’s auditorium where they engaged other lecturers of the right in debate. Young, fiery and articulate, they obviously won the battle for the minds of students, at least in the radical leadership of the National Union of Ghana Students.

#### Reference 12 - 0.02% Coverage

6.9.1.15 The students in Accra were also sent out to undertake a clean-up exercise that lasted six hours according to a newspaper report . At the end of the programme, the students converged at the Nicholson Stadium at Burma Camp where they were addressed by the NUGS President, Philip Gardiner, and the Chairman of the PNDC. Gardiner was reported to have affirmed students support for the PNDC and warned that NUGS would force the removal of any imperialist agent who might be appointed to work with the PNDC. Gardiner made it clear that PNDC should not stand in their way if they wanted to change the country for the betterment of the ordinary people. The NUGS President then reminded students of their responsibility to the underprivileged and declared, “if we fail to use our education for the betterment of the people then we are traitors”. To the PNDC, he gave the caution that it should be wary of imperialists because they would do everything humanly possible to obstruct the success of the revolution. To this end, the NUGS President advised the PNDC to stay away from the old way of doing things. As a first step, it was to avoid appointing to high office any persons who could be shown to have subscribed to the past ideals of ruling the country and that no “person with a provable history of links to western imperialists” was to be allowed to control the council.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

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## *Violence*

References or discussions of violence

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC\_.Report-FULL> - § 13 references coded [0.13% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

a culture of respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, as enshrined in Chapter Five of the Constitution of Ghana, 1992, demand that Ghana should deal with its history of egregious human rights violations that risk compromising the forward march of democracy and peace in the country. Building a future for Ghana that is united, secure, peaceful and humane also demands providing redress, including healing, for those who were hurt in the past by serious human rights violations and abuses in the nature of killings, abductions, disappearances, torture, detentions, seizure of property and illtreatment. The Commission was seen by the Ghana Parliament as a vehicle to facilitate the attainment of these goals.

### Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

1.1.2 The establishment of the National Reconciliation Commission (hereinafter referred to as “the Commission”) came in the wake of Ghana's historic elections of December, 2000, which witnessed, for the first time in the country's post-Independence history, a change of constitutionally-elected government effected, not by violent means, but by popular vote. That event was a clear testimony to the strong desire of Ghanaians to live under conditions of democratic accountability, and to forge a society firmly grounded in the respect for human rights and the rule of law. The consolidation of democracy and the sustenance and promotion of constitutional rule and a culture of respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms as enshrined in Chapter five of the 1992 Constitution, demand that Ghana should deal with its history of egregious human rights violations that risk compromising the forward march of democracy and peace in the country. Building a future for a Ghana that is united, secure, peaceful and humane also demands providing redress, including healing, for those who were hurt in the past by serious human rights violations and abuses in the nature of killings, abductions, disappearances, torture, detentions, seizure of property and ill-treatment. The Commission was seen by Parliament as a vehicle to facilitate the attainment of these goals.

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Little did I know then that this short, cryptic message was a hint of one of the most bloodcurdling and traumatic political events ever to happen in the short history of this peaceloving nation since her birth in 1957.

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

were looted by the soldiers who prevented the women from entering the market to retrieve their goods. It was a wanton, senseless attack on the citizens which deprived many of their livelihood. Overnight they had become poor and wretched. As Joss Aryee told the Commission in his



evidence, some died, others went mad and many more became paupers. It was, indeed a traumatic experience unparalleled in the history of this nation.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

1.6.1.2 As a result of the history of political detentions, the service has acquired an unsavoury image and reputation in matters of human rights.<sup>9</sup>

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

1.11.2 The clearest indicator of the partnership between the Police and the Military in the history of Ghana was the coup d'état of the 24th February, 1966. Both the Police and the Military had suffered neglect and humiliation at the hands of the Nkrumah Administration. Both institutions had experienced dismissals in their top brass, with Madjitey, the former Head of the Police, in detention under the PDA. The existence of the President's Own Guard Regiment (POGR) put both institutions at a disadvantage and impelled the Police chiefs to team up with the Armed Forces, to overthrow the regime.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

2.0.2 This Chapter also documents the contribution that the introduction of a new system of adjudication, as well as new investigative bodies made to the enjoyment or otherwise of human rights by the citizenry. Since these bodies operated outside the generally accepted norms of judicial and quasi-judicial inquiry, the issue of whether these well established norms serve a purpose, is brought into focus. This Chapter also recounts some violations and abuses that members of the two groups of the Legal Profession suffered, either individually or collectively, in the course of pursuing their profession. It also sheds some light on Bench-Bar relations and what impact this has made on the nation's post Independence history.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0.7 The discussion of the media under the post-independence government of Dr. Nkrumah and the CPP is significant, particularly for a proper understanding and appreciation of the pattern of coercion, co-optation and resistance to government that has characterized the entire history of the media during the mandate period. As noted by a former employee of GBC, there were "stressful conditions imposed on the people who worked at the GBC from the First Republic to the end of the PNDC regime."<sup>4</sup> According to him, harassment, intimidation and interference in the work of professional broadcasters have been common violations of human rights by both military and civilian governments in Ghana.

#### Reference 9 - 0.02% Coverage

3.2.7.6 Many instances of harassment of journalists recounted by journalists of the time, also served to undermine claims by the NLC that its policies towards the press were liberal, and that it was committed to press independence and press freedom. According to one account, Journalist Ponsford Peregrino-Peters, a journalist found himself in trouble with the regime after reporting a

story that the United States of America had delivered food and arms to the government. Peregrino-Peters, along with his editor, Oscar Tsetse, was arrested and put into a military guardroom for several weeks. Another example of media intolerance and intimidation, along with heroism and resistance, is well documented in press histories. On 14th December, 1967, the NLC caused the dismissal of four editors, three of whom worked for the state-owned press: John Dumoga (Daily Graphic), Moses Danquah (Ghanaian Times), Henry Thompson (Evening News) and an editor of the Ashanti Pioneer. Their crime was criticising the Abbot Laboratory (a U.S. pharmaceutical company) Agreement with the NLC regime. A new editor for the Daily Graphic, Cameron Duodu, was appointed to replace the dismissed editor, by the NLC. He was also later to be dismissed, ironically, by the civilian Progress Party Government, for criticising Dr. Busia's policy of "dialogue with South Africa".

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

8.1.5 The history of Ghana is replete with cases, in which several courageous chiefs stood up to colonial governors and challenged their authority. In 1866, for instance, King Aggrey of Cape Coast refused to recognize the authority of the Governor of Cape Coast Castle beyond the bounds prescribed by the Bond of 1844. King Aggrey considered himself to be the lawful enthroned King of Cape Coast, for which reason the Governor had no right to set limits to his powers as king, and to set free, persons he himself had tried and imprisoned. The dispute between the King and the Governor led to the dethronement and exile of the King to Sierra Leone<sup>9</sup>.

#### Reference 11 - 0.03% Coverage

3.12.8.1 A culture of tolerance should be developed in this country. Ghanaians should learn that it is acceptable for people, even friends, to disagree. Dissent on issues should be encouraged and there should be space for alternative voices to be heard. 3.12.9 Re-presenting Ghana's History 3.12.9.1 The correct facts of Ghana's history must be taught in schools. To this end, school textbooks should be re-written, to ensure that all the patriots of Ghana's Independence get their rightful place in the nation's history. Historical accounts that glorify only those who attained political power at particular points in time do a disservice to dissenters, and those who sought to fight dictatorship and other evils in governance. 3.12.9.2 NCCE should design appropriate civic education materials for use in schools to inculcate patriotism and voluntarism among pupils and students. The National Anthem and the National Pledge must be taught and used in all schools on a daily basis. 3.12.10 Standards Of Decency 3.12.10.1 Ghanaians must strive to develop common standards of morality and decency. These standards would guide the behaviour of citizens in general, as well as holders of public office. 3.12.10.2 Public institutions charged with the protection of Human Rights as well as societal watchdogs such as the press, should not in their turn perpetrate human rights abuses by abusing their power. In a situation of poverty, some persons within these bodies yield to the temptation to abuse their power for personal profit. 3.12.11 Dealing with Ethnocentrism 3.12.11.1 The maintenance of national cohesion is a subject that should engage the attention of all well-meaning Ghanaians. Persistent denials of the existence of Ethnocentrism in the country in general and in public life in particular, will not make the problems disappear. Ethnocentrism must be acknowledged for the great evil that it is, and the dangers it presents to our nationhood, national cohesion and the equitable distribution of

national resources must be constantly attacked. The benefits of our national diversity must be celebrated. 3.12.11.2 Specific policies and programmes targeted at addressing issues generated by ethnic animosities, ethnic stereotypes and ethnocentrism as a basis for discrimination must be vigorously confronted. Anti-discrimination legislation must be adopted to give people a remedy whenever they can prove discrimination on any of the grounds set down in Article 17 of the Constitution of 1992. Some countries have achieved a measure of success in combating such problems, not by pious injunctions and exhortations, but by legislation and the conversion of such conduct into wrongful conduct, entitling a wronged person to damages. Ghana must adopt such methods, for nothing short of frontal assault would be effective in tackling ethnocentrism.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

8.0.1 This chapter deals with the role that chiefs have played in the political history of Ghana between the period 6th March, 1957, and 6th January, 1993. The assessment of the role of chiefs is done with specific reference to their efforts in the protection or otherwise, of human rights. One fact that became obvious from the work of the Commission was that, the chiefs themselves were often victims of human rights abuses, and that the chieftaincy institution suffered human rights abuses more than any other institutions, during the mandate period.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Never before in our history have so many Ghanaians disappeared in suspicious circumstances as in the period since December 31, 1981. The cases of the three judges and a retired major are typical of the other incidents including two hundred listed on the 28 July 1982 by the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies.