



Centre for
Human Rights and
Restorative Justice

REFERENCES TO COLONIALISM, COLONIAL, AND IMPERIALISM

Ghana Truth Commission

Abstract

A list of references to colonialism, colonial, and imperialism in the Ghana Truth Commission.

Chelsea Barranger

Links to Data Visualization

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

Comparison Charts

- [References to Colonialism, Colonial, and Imperialism chart](#)
- [References to Colonialism, Colonial, and Imperialism excel list](#)

Word Trees

- [Colonial](#)
- [Colonialism](#)
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References to Colonialism, Colonial, and Imperialism

This section contains all references to colonialism, colonial, and imperialism from the Ghana report.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Ghana.NRC_Report-FULL> - § 113 references coded [0.91% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

of the State of Ghana

3.1.1.1 Ghana is an artificial political entity comprising four distinct components woven together around the time of Independence. It comprises the following: (1) the Gold Coast Colony consisting of the coastal states, Akyem Abuakwa and Akwamu, which were under British colonial rule as a result of the Bond of 1844; (2) the Kingdom of Ashanti, which was annexed by the British at the end of the Yaa Asantewaa War in 1901; (3) the Northern Territories, which comprised kingdoms that came under British influence by reason of treaties of friendship executed between the British Government and the traditional rulers via the Northern Territories Ordinance of 1901; and (4) the Trans-Volta Togoland – a British Trust Territory originally a part of the German colony that was lost to the Allies after the First World War and that was split up between Britain and France and administered under a mandate of the League of Nations. Thus, Ghana, at the time of its birth, was not a monolithic entity, and the various components had their own tensions and disagreements.

3.1.1.2 Moreover

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

of Trans-Volta Togoland (TVT)

3.1.2.1 In 1952, the British Government put the south-eastern part of the Colony, that had always been administered as part of the Eastern Province, together with the southern part of Trans-Volta Togoland (TVT) as one entity for administrative purposes. This arrangement was adopted in spite of the fact that the TVT, being a Trust territory, had a different legal status from the Colony. Eventually, the TVT became part of the Gold Coast upon its attainment of independence by reason of a combination of events. Political

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agitation in the Gold

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to grant the territory independence.

3.1.2.2 In 1954, the British Government informed the United Nations that it would not be in a position to administer the Trust Territory after the Gold Coast gained Independence. This information to the United Nations increased the pace of agitation by Ewe nationalists who had been campaigning since 1946 for the two Trust Territories of Britain and France to merge as one independent country in order to re-unite the Ewe peoples who had been split up by the Mandate of the League of Nations. They feared that the split would become permanent should separate arrangements be made for the two Trust Territories. The Togoland Congress (TC), under the leadership of S.G. Antor, had emerged to champion the cause of separation from the Gold Coast because they believed that if the British Trust Territory integrated with

the Gold Coast upon independence, the French would also annex the French-speaking part, leading to a permanent split of the ethnic group. The issue was made somewhat more complicated by the fact that, whilst some of the agitators wanted the Anlo-Ewe of the south-east of the Colony to be integrated with the Trust Territories in order that all Ewes would be in one political entity, others, fearing domination of that political entity by the Anlo, wanted them to be kept out.

3.1.2.3 A

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

1.3 The Northern Territories

3.1.3.1 British colonial policy discriminated between the North and the South in terms of economic development and the provision of social amenities. As a result of this policy, the least economically-developed area was the protectorate of the Northern Territories because the Government did not wish to spend any money on infrastructure or any aspect of development unless they were certain of reaping adequate returns.

3.1.3.2 Consequently

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

independence.

3.1.4 Ashanti

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.

3.1.4.2 The

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

the following: 1.

2. 3.

uneven economic and social development between the North and South and between the colonial holdings and the Trust Territory; fears of cultural domination;

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ethnic animosities and resentments

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

fears of cultural domination;

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

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the integration into

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC)

3.2.1.1 At the end of the Second World War the war veterans who had gone to fight in other lands for freedom on behalf of the colonial power returned home with ideas about the quality of life that they ought to have. However, they were not trained in civil life with appropriate income-earning skills to achieve that standard, nor were they given any financial package to ease their transition into civil life. Their return, coupled with the rapid urbanisation and expansion of social amenities and infrastructure in the urban areas, produced a class of politically-conscious young men and women who began to appreciate the anti-colonial posture of the intelligentsia.

3.2.1.2 It

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energy and strategy to match.

3.2.2.2 It adopted the slogan “Self-Government Now” (“S.G. Now”) and this resonated with the youth. In January 1950, the CPP organized an action of civil disobedience, termed “Positive Action”, consisting of boycotts, strikes and sit-downs, in order to compel the colonial government to grant immediate self-government. Although planned as a non-violent action, it eventually turned violent and the leadership of the CPP was arrested and imprisoned.

3.2.2.3 Whilst

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Police Force and Prisons Department

3.3.1 One of the legacies of the British colonial Government was the Security Services comprising the Army, the Police Force and the Prisons Department. The Police Force was the first to be formed as the Gold Coast Constabulary, then the Prisons Department. The Army was formed after World War II.

3.3.2 The Police Force was made up of British officers with the Gold Coasters and other Africans as senior non-commissioned officers. The mass of the junior ranks were recruited originally from Northern Nigeria and from parts of the Northern Territories. They were part of the colonial machinery, often used to suppress civil disorder, and were usually associated with the use of brute force in the maintenance of civil order. They

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were never seen as

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had risen through the ranks.

3.3.5 In consequence of the fact that the officer corps was almost exclusively British, they enjoyed the privileged lifestyle of British colonial officers. Thus developed a culture of privilege that was eventually enjoyed by the Ghanaian officers. The other ranks, on their part, were filled by local people with minimum education and few entitlements of privilege; their culture was undoubtedly “African”. In consequence of this, there was great social distance between the officers and other ranks, and this was to become a source of strife decades later.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

in 1966.

The Police Service

4.1.2.1.2 Before Independence, the police were part of the colonial machinery used to suppress civil disorders, especially during the agitation for Independence. This negative perception of the police persisted after Independence, as the police continued to use violent means to suppress political agitation by members of the opposition parties against the CPP government. After the passage of the PDA by the CPP government in 1958, the police were known to inflict considerable physical and psychological harm on the citizenry by the rough and brutal manner in which they effected the arrest of prospective detainees. People were picked up from their homes in the middle of the night, given no explanation for their arrest, huddled into crowded vehicles and taken to crowded police cells or prison. They were often not allowed to take any personal belongings.

4.1.2.1.3

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

and violating their human rights.

4.1.2.1.4 Two units of the Police Service, the Special Branch and the Reserve Unit, were formed by the colonial administration after the 1948 riots to effectively counter moves to destabilise it. The Special Branch was formed with the primary purpose of intelligence gathering, but it was also used to hound the pro-independence activists, while the Reserve Unit came down heavily on street-protestors and other demonstrators.

4.1.2.1.5

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4.1.2.4 Chiefs

4.1.2.4.1 Before Ghana's attainment of Independence in 1957, the British Colonial Administration had recognised the fact that in those parts of the country where the chieftaincy system existed, the chiefs had a well-organised machinery of governance, and they therefore adopted a system of indirect rule, whereby the chiefs became the authorities through whom the Colonial Administration governed the people. They even created chiefs and paramountcies where none existed, especially in parts of Northern Ghana, for this purpose.

4.1.2.4.2

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was evicted from his palace.

4.1.2.4.4 The government mounted an assault on the structures through which the chiefs were exercising power under colonial rule, and appointed representatives of the government as Regional and District Commissioners through whom the CPP government governed the people. This action effectively reduced

the power of the chiefs over district authorities, and it also led to the reduction of government funding to traditional authorities. In view of these developments, the majority of chiefs began to soften their stand, when it came to dealing with the CPP government, for fear of de-recognition.

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4.1.2.4

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government during the mandate period.

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.

4.1.2.5.4

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

This issue must be addressed.

4.9.3 The first such perception or apparent tribal/ethnocentric differentiation is found in the historical events that led to the absorption of part of the former German Togoland into the British mandated territory of Trans-Volta Togoland and later into Ghana by 1957. The people of the said German protectorate, to date, feel their ethnic differences as well as colonial past have often played to their disadvantage in the “tribal” politics of postIndependence Ghana.

4.9.4 This sensitivity

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

participate in caning his brothers.

5.5.7.4 William Dusu of Kpando intervened and argued with soldiers who were selling his girl friend’s kenkey at a reduced price. Two days later the soldiers, led by Simon Adza of the Department of Social Welfare, arrested Dusu, beat him up and subjected him to cruel and inhuman treatment. He was made to crawl on his knees up the steps of an old German colonial building at Todzi. While doing so, he would be kicked and made to fall down the steps. He would then be ordered to climb up again on his knees. He did

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this several times and

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

stated among other things, that:

...the Old Parliament House, where some 16 years ago, after decades of nationalist struggle and agitation, the first leader of our new state, Kwame Nkrumah, received from the representative of the British Monarch the constitutive deeds severing our connection with the Imperial Parliament in Westminster and establishing our own sovereign Nation and Parliament.

It served as the location

Reference 20 - 0.02% Coverage

Of The State Of Ghana

3.1.1.1 The nation Ghana is an artificially-created entity, deriving its existence from British colonialism. The artificial entity was made up of four distinct component parts. In the south was the Colony: made up of the coastal states which had come under the British colonial government since the Bond of 1844, as well as kingdoms to the interior such as Akyem Abuakwa and Akwamu. It was not a monolithic entity, as the various states therein had their own disagreements and tensions. In the middle was the kingdom of Ashanti: territory which had been annexed by the British after its conquest at the end of the Yaa Asantewaa War in 1901. To the north were the Northern Territories: kingdoms which had come under British influence by reason of treaties of friendship executed between the British Government and the traditional rulers. These had been put together for administrative purposes as the "Northern Territories" under the Northern Territories Ordinance of 1901. The fourth part was Trans-Volta Togoland: the British Trust Territory which was originally part of the German colony that was lost to the Allies after the First World War, and that was split up between Britain and France and administered under a mandate of the League of Nations. When the League of Nations was transformed into the United Nations Organisation, responsibility for the Mandated Territories was transferred to the Trusteeship Council in 1946. Consequently, the Mandated Territories became known as the Trust Territories.

3.1.1.2 These

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large measure, upon the

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British Government's appreciation of the economic worth of the particular area. The Legislative Council which made law for the Colony was given power over the other areas by the Northern Territories Order-in-Council in 1934. This Order-in-Council made the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories a member of the Gold Coast Executive Council, and also gave the Legislative Council power to legislate for the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories as if they were a single territory. Despite this expanded scope of authority, it had no representatives from Ashanti nor the Northern Territories until 1946. The problem of uneven development and uneven access to power within the new political entity was one of the most serious legacies of the pre-Independence period.

3.1.2 The Issue

Reference 22 - 0.03% Coverage

of Trans-Volta Togoland (TVT)

3.1.2.1 In 1952 the British Government decided to put the south-eastern part of the Colony, that had always been administered as part of the Eastern Province, together with the southern part of Trans-Volta Togoland (TVT) as one entity for administrative purposes. This arrangement was adopted in spite of the fact that the TVT, being a Trust territory, had a different legal status from the Colony. Eventually, the TVT became a part of the Gold Coast upon its attainment of Independence, by reason of a combination of

events. Political agitation in the Gold Coast had reached such a tempo that the British foresaw that it would soon have to grant the territory independence. In 1954, the British Government informed the United Nations that it would not be in a position to administer the Trust Territory after the Gold Coast gained Independence. This information to the United Nations increased the pace of agitation by Ewe nationalists who had been campaigning since 1946 for the two Trust Territories of Britain and France to merge as one independent country in order to re-unite the Ewe peoples who had been split up by the Mandate of the League of Nations. They feared that the split would become permanent, should separate arrangements be made for the two Trust Territories. The Togoland Congress (TC), under the leadership of S.G. Antor, had emerged to champion the cause of separation from the Gold Coast because they believed that if the British Trust Territory integrated with the Gold Coast upon independence, the French would also annex the French-speaking part, leading to a permanent split of the ethnic group. For this reason, they wanted the British Trust Territory to remain separate until a decision could be taken about the French portion. The issue was made somewhat more complicated by the fact that, whilst some of the agitators wanted the Anlo-Ewe of the south-east of the Colony to be integrated with the Trust Territories in order that all Ewes would be in one political entity, others, fearing domination of that political entity by the Anlo, wanted them to be kept out.

3.1.2.2 A

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

1.3 The Northern Territories

3.1.3.1 British policy discriminated between the North and the South in terms of economic development and the provision of social amenities. As a result of colonial policy, the least economically-developed area was the protectorate of the Northern Territories because the Government did not wish to spend any money on infrastructure or any aspect of development unless they were certain of reaping adequate returns. Governor Hodgson stated:

The country as far as

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□□□□□□□ □ 3.1.4 Ashanti

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:

this is not the first time that we have realized or been made to realize the need for cooperation between Ashanti and the colony ... If we were to trace out what has been the chief obstruction to our coming together we would find out that it is selfishness. Selfishness, which is the outcome of a narrow and conservative way of thinking, has kept us poles apart from one another to our own disadvantage, and it is the same evil that will, if we are not careful, undermine the move that we are now contemplating. There has been a lurking in the breasts of some of you in the colony, the fear that if you fall in with Ashanti, we shall seek to dominate you... I would like to dispel any such uncalled for fears for the days of our imperialistic aspirations are past and forgotten. What we aim at now is not that sort of federation which in the past we tried to force on you with the aid of the sword, but one in which all of us, of our own accord, shall freely enter... If in the past we waged war against one another, let us today seek rapprochement.⁴

These mutual suspicions did not

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

the governance of the country.

3.1.4.3 The NLM's Ashanti base and the obvious support it enjoyed from the Asantehene as well as the fact that its chairman was the senior linguist of the Asantehene – Baffour Osei Akoto - brought to the fore the mutual fear of domination that had existed since Ashanti became a part of the Gold Coast Colony. The NLM's proposal of a federal form of government was a reaction to the highly centralized form of government that they feared would lead to dictatorship from Accra.

3.1.4.4 The

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parties.

3.1.5 Conclusion

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.

3.1.6 The Formation

Reference 27 - 0.02% Coverage

United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC)

3.1.6.1.1 At the end of the Second World War, the war veterans who had gone to fight in other lands for freedom on behalf of the colonial power, returned home with ideas about the quality of life that they ought to have. However, they were not trained in civil life with appropriate income-earning skills to achieve that standard, nor were they given any financial package to ease their transition into civil life. Their return, coupled with the rapid urbanisation and expansion of social amenities and infrastructure in the urban areas, produced a class of politically-conscious young men and women who began to appreciate the anti-colonial posture of the intelligentsia. It was in the midst of all this social ferment that the first mass party, The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), was formed at Saltpond in August, 1947, under the chairmanship and financial sponsorship of George Grant, better known as Paa Grant, a wealthy Nzima businessman. With its slogan of "Self-Government within the shortest possible time", the UGCC quickly attracted a large following, particularly among the educated persons, chiefs and farmers. The speed with which the party gained numbers made its proper organisation somewhat difficult for the leaders, who were mostly professionals, and therefore only part-time politicians. A member of the UGCC Executive, Ernest Ako Adjei, proposed the employment of an energetic young man he had met in England, Kwame Nkrumah, as General Secretary to do the work of political mobilisation full time. Paa Grant paid the

□100 passage for the return of Nkrumah⁵ to the Gold Coast.

5 F.M. Bourret, GHANA

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

energy and strategy to match.

3.1.6.2.2 It adopted a slogan of “Self-Government Now” (“S.G. Now”) and this resonated with the youth. In January, 1950, the CPP organized an action of civil disobedience termed ‘Positive Action’ in order to compel the colonial government to grant immediate self-government. Although planned as a non-violent action, it eventually turned violent and the leadership of the CPP was arrested and imprisoned.

3.1.6.2.3

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

Police Force And Prisons Department

3.1.8.1.1 One of the legacies of the British Colonial Government was the Security Services comprising the Army, the Police Force and the Prisons Department. The Police Force was the first to be formed as the Gold Coast Constabulary, followed the Prisons Department. The Army, as it is now known, was formed after World War II.

3.1.8.1.2 The Police Force was made up of British officers with the Gold Coasters and other Africans as Senior Non-Commissioned Officers. The mass of the junior ranks were recruited originally from Northern Nigeria and from parts of the Northern Territories. They were part of the colonial machinery, often used to suppress civil disorder, and were usually associated with the use of brute force in the maintenance of civil order. They were never seen as an institution for the protection of the public. At Independence, the Ghanaian Senior Officers were few, and they had all risen through the ranks.

3.1.8.1.3

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

had risen through the ranks.

3.1.8.1.5 In consequence of the fact that the officer corps was almost exclusively British, they enjoyed the privileged lifestyle of British colonial officers. Thus developed a culture of privilege that was eventually enjoyed by the Ghanaian officers. The other ranks, on their part, were filled by local people with minimum education and few entitlements of privilege; their culture was undoubtedly “African”. In consequence of this, there was great social distance between the officers and other ranks, and this was to become a source of strife decades later.

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traders were thus impoverished overnight.

3.6.1.5 The AFRC initiated a policy of demolition of places where goods had been found hoarded. Consequently many stores, and even dwelling houses were demolished, ostensibly to discourage hoarding. Makola Market was thus an obvious target for demolition and it became one of the events that scarred the psyche of residents of Accra. The looting and subsequent demolition of Makola (No.1) Market – one of the largest markets in Africa - shocked many people. It had been built by the colonial government and had long represented the wealthy trader. It was also well-known for trade malpractices, a factor which made it a target during those heady days when goods were being retrieved from their hiding places for sale to the public.

3.6.1.6 This

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of Middle Eastern origin,
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mainly Lebanese and Syrians, some of whom had lived and worked in the country since colonial days. Some were even third generation Ghanaian-born Lebanese and Syrians, and many were naturalized Ghanaians. They were harassed and chased away; their vehicles, businesses and personal properties

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

in 1966.
The Police Service

4.1.2.1.3 Before Independence, the police were part of the colonial machinery used to suppress civil disorders, especially during the agitation for independence. The majority of the junior ranks were recruited initially from Northern Nigeria, and they owed allegiance to the British Colonial Officers. They often used brute force to suppress civil

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disorder, and were

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

to violate their human rights.

4.1.2.1.6 Two units of the Police Service, the Special Branch and the Reserve Unit, were formed by the colonial administration after the 1948 riots, to effectively counter moves to destabilise it. The Special Branch was formed with the primary purpose of intelligence gathering, but it was also used to hound the independence activists, while the Reserve Unit came down heavily on street-protestors and other demonstrators.

4.1.2.1.7

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1.2.4.0 Chiefs

4.1.2.4.1 Before Ghana's attainment of Independence in 1957, the British Colonial Administration had recognised the fact that in those parts of the country where the chieftaincy system existed, the chiefs had a well-organised machinery of governance, and they therefore adopted a system of indirect rule, whereby the chiefs became the authorities through whom the Colonial Administration governed the people. They even created chiefs and paramountcies where none existed, especially in parts of Northern Ghana, for this purpose.

4.1.2.4.2

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

was evicted from his palace.

4.1.2.4.4 The government mounted an assault on the structures through which the chiefs were exercising power under colonial rule, and appointed representatives of the government as Regional and District Commissioners through whom the CPP government governed the people. This action effectively reduced the power of the chiefs over district

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authorities, and it

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government during the mandate period.

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.

4.1.2.5.4

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

This issue must be addressed.

4.9.3 The first such perception or apparent tribal/ethnocentric differentiation is found in the historical events that led to the absorption of part of the former German Togoland into the British mandated territory of Trans-Volta Togoland and later into Ghana by 1957. The people of the said German protectorate, to date, feel their ethnic differences as well as colonial past have often played to their disadvantage in the “tribal” politics of postIndependence Ghana.

4.9.4 This sensitivity

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

participate in caning his brothers.

6.6.22 William Dusu of Kpando intervened and argued with soldiers who were selling his girlfriend’s kenkey at a reduced price. Two days later the soldiers led by Simon Adza of the Department of Social Welfare arrested Dusu, beat him up and subjected him to cruel and inhuman treatment. He was made to crawl on his knees up the steps of an old German colonial building at Todzi. While doing so, he would be kicked and made to fall down the steps. He would then be ordered to climb up again on his knees. He did this several times and sustained injuries to his forehead, shin bone and knees. After this gruesome treatment he was brought to the taxi-rank where he was made to do press-ups and to roll on the ground. Finally they made him lie down on the ground and look at the scorching sun.

6.6.23 Andrews Kwame

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

1.0.1 A requirement for every modern state is security, both internal and external, to enable it to maintain public order and protect it from external aggression. This is even more important for the new states that emerged from colonialism in the second half of the twentieth century. As with all such states, Ghana also inherited or established its own security services to serve its interests and to promote a sense of nationhood.

1.0.2 In the

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

of 350 men of the

“Lagos (Glover’s) Hausas” after the Sagrenti War (1873-74). However, as far back as 1821, the then Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Charles McCarthy had raised the Royal African Colonial Corps of Light Infantry (RACCLI) but this force was nearly annihilated in the Battle of Nsamankaw, during the Anglo-Asante War in 1824. The next attempt at raising a force was the formation of the Gold Coast Corps in 1852 but this force was disbanded in 1863 for its mutinous character. The Gold Coast Rifles, established in 1873 and officered by indigenes for the Sagrenti War was also disbanded in 1874 for no apparent reason. It however seems that the British preferred the “fighting qualities of the Hausa race” and hence gave birth to the GCC.

1.1.1.1.2

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

Mossi, Grunshie, Mamprusi and Frafra.

1.1.1.1.3 From 1st January, 1901, the GCC was redesignated as the Gold Coast Regiment (GCR) and amalgamated with others from the other West Coast Colonies to form the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF) under the Command of Lord Frederick Lugard. The RWAFF was charged with maintaining internal security against warring tribes and defending colonial frontiers.

1.1.1.1.4

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

and other African Armed Forces.

1.1.1.4.9 British colonial policy attached a great deal of importance to training; hence the large number of training schools that were established, in the Gold Coast. Provision was also made for officers and other ranks to be trained abroad.

POST- INDEPENDENCE 1.2 ISSUES

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

G 1.2.1 Recruitment

1.2.1.1 Recruitment was done centrally during the mandate period. In the colonial era, when this began, there was a consistent policy of informing communities of opportunities for recruitment of other ranks into the Armed Forces. However, over time, this policy was not always adhered to, with the result that only persons connected with military personnel heard of such opportunities. This in turn bred nepotism in recruitment as the phenomenon of “barracks boy” developed. The central recruitment at one location also presented difficulties for persons who either could not receive the information on the recruitment by reason of geographical disadvantage, or make the journey by reason of poverty. These developments

created ethnic imbalance as some groups were over-represented and others under-represented. This distortion in the ethnic make-up of the lower ranks of the Armed Forces presented challenges of national inclusion and national stability.

1.2.1.2 The

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

1.4.1 Brief History

1.4.1.1 The Police Service of the Gold Coast was born in 1831 when Captain George MacLean, Governor of the Gold Coast, formed a body of 129 men to patrol the trade routes that linked Ashanti and the coastal states and also to protect the colonial merchants and officials in and around Castle.

1.4.1.2 In

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

responsibilities on the trade-routes.

1.4.1.3 The police became a part of the colonial machinery used to suppress civil disorder, often resorting to the use of brute force. This earned them the local name

“buga-buga” (literally, “beat, beat

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

and regulation of the police.

1.4.1.5 It is worthy of mention that the Commissioned Officers of the Police Force then were British, and the junior ranks were indigenes of the Gold Coast and other colonies in West Africa. The majority of the junior ranks were recruited from various parts of the Northern Territories, and from Northern Nigeria.

1.4.1.6 One of the most significant events involving the colonial Police was the confrontation with the demobilised servicemen. on 28th February 1948. Three exservicemen were shot and killed when the police under the command of Superintendent Imray opened fire on a peaceful march of ex-servicemen to present their petition to the Governor at the Christianborg Crossroads. In the aftermath of the shooting, the Gold Coast witnessed a spate of riots.

1.4.1.7 As

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

formed after the 1948 disturbances.

1.4.1.8 In 1951, a Colonel A E Young of the British Police was commissioned by the Colonial Administration to research into the Police Force and make recommendations for reorganising the Force and preparing it for Independence. His recommendations were duly submitted, but never fully implemented.

1.4.1.9 In

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

to the Police Force thus:

There are colonial police forces which exist to enforce authority of a foreign power on a colonial people. In such forces this will be demonstrated by the fact that the Police will be peremptory and even brutal in their dealings with the inhabitants of the colony while they will be ingratiating and subservient to those in authority. In a free and independent country, the conduct of the Police must be the exact reverse of this. They must demonstrate to the people at large that the country is free and independent by behaving towards the ordinary man in the street with exactly the same politeness as they would behave towards those in superior positions. 7

The first Ghanaian head of

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

1.4.4 Training 11

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1.4.4.1 As earlier stated, prior to 1959, superior police officers were trained in the United Kingdom, but subordinate police officers were locally-trained. Subsequently, the Ghanaian officers who took over from the British officers, did little to review and update the structure of the training schools and programmes left by the British. They made no conscious effort to implement the recommendations of Col Young, nor did they fashion out any programme to suit the tenets of policing in a democracy. Consequently, the training content did not take into account the culture of the newly independent Ghana. Indeed, the Police Standing Orders were developed during the colonial administration and the last known edition,(ie the 5th edition) was published in 1979.

1.4.4.2 The

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

Branch and the Reserve Unit.

1.5.2 The Special Branch was formed with the primary purpose of intelligence gathering and to effectively counter any moves to destabilise the colonial administration. The Reserve Unit was used to quell street protests and other demonstrations. However, in the early years of post-Independence Ghana, the Special Branch became a tool for fishing out persons who were perceived to be threats to the personal security of President Nkrumah. The Special Branch, together with the Presidential Detail Department (PDD) and the President's Own Guard Regiment (POGR), became the agencies responsible for the protection of the President.

1.5.3 The Special

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

as regards human rights education.

1.13.3 Despite the good model on which the service was based, it was originally not formed for the protection of citizens, but rather for the protection of the colonial administration and its economic and political interests. The heavy-handed reaction of the police to civil disorder, such as the 1948 riots, demonstrated the nature of the hostile relationship between the public and the police. Thus, rather than being trusted, the police was feared by the citizenry.

1.13.4 Under the

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

of the service also intensified.

1.21.3 The effect of these initiatives was that the whole service was further drawn into partisan politics and members felt obliged to protect the unpopular regime. The hand of the service was strengthened further by a criminal Procedure Code Amendment which gave the Attorney General authority to order the police to detain suspects for 28 days without bail.⁵⁴ As in colonial days, the service became an instrument of repression of the government.

1.22 The 15th May

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

hypocritical and anti-PNDC.⁸⁵

18.1.2 The views of Tsatsu Tsikata were re-echoed as the basis for another vitriolic editorial from the Ghanaian Times the next day titled “Judicial Politics”. The editorial criticised the Keynote Address of the Chief Justice, for lacking appropriate criticisms of the judiciary and the “colonial” legal system, whilst failing to appreciate the need for a new judicial system which would be better understood by the ordinary citizen. Mr Justice Taylor’s presentation elicited condemnation of judges as the ones who abused the rights of citizens by sitting as Judge-Advocates on Military Tribunals from which there was no right of appeal; who sat on Commissions of Enquiry that made adverse findings confiscating properties; and who adopted such a narrow view of law that they gave interpretations that were contrary to the aspirations of the people. Reference was made to

85 Ghanaian Times, 7.845

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

detainees to secure legal counsel.

27.4 During Dr. Danquah’s spirited campaign against the PDA, other members of the Ghana Bar Association were ominously silent on these matters, although they put up a ferocious resistance to Nkrumah’s attempt to divest lawyers of their wigs and gowns as relics of a colonial anachronism. Indeed, some members of the Legal Profession considered his persistent civil rights campaigns as quixotic and divorced from reality. Some thought that he was more of a philosopher than a lawyer.¹³³

131 Omari, supra, p.57

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

CONVENTION PEOPLE’S PARTY (CPP) GOVERNMENT

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.⁵ 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.

3.1.2 The CPP

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC)

5.10.2.1 At the end of the Second World War, the war veterans who had gone to fight in other lands for freedom, on behalf of the colonial power returned home with ideas about the quality of life that they ought to have. However, they were not trained in civil life with appropriate income-earning and marketable skills to achieve that standard, nor were they given any financial package to ease their transition into civil life. Their return, coupled with the rapid urbanisation and expansion of social amenities and infrastructure in the urban areas, produced a class of politically-conscious young men and women who began to appreciate the anti-colonial posture of the intelligentsia. It was in the midst of all this social ferment that the first mass party, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), was formed at Saltpond in August, 1947, under the chairmanship and financial sponsorship of George Grant, better known as Paa Grant, a wealthy Nzima businessman.

5.10.2.2 With

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

energy and strategy to match.

5.10.3.2 It adopted a slogan of “Self-Government Now” (“S.G. Now”) and this resonated with the youth. In January, 1950, the CPP organized an action of civil disobedience termed ‘Positive Action’, in order to compel the colonial government to grant immediate self-government. Although planned as a non-violent action, it eventually turned violent and the leadership of the CPP was arrested and imprisoned.

5.10.3.3 Whilst

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

the governance of the country.

5.10.4.2 The NLM’s Ashanti base and the obvious support it enjoyed from the Asantehene as well as the fact that its chairman was the senior linguist of the Asantehene, Baffour Osei Akoto, brought to the fore the fear of domination that had existed between Ashanti and the Colony since Ashanti became a part of the Gold Coast. The NLM’s proposal of a federal form of government was a reaction to the highly centralized form of government that they feared would lead to dictatorship from Accra.

5.10.4.3 The

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

6 Togoland Congress Party (TC)

5.10.6.1 This party was formed under the leadership of SG Antor, Kojo Ayeke and Emmanuel Dumoga, to champion the cause of separation of the British Trust Territory of Togoland, from the Gold Coast. The basis of this desire for separation lay in the arrangements that were made for German Colonies under the Treaty of Versailles, following the defeat of Germany in the First World War. The German colony of Togoland was split into two and administered under the Mandate of the League of Nations, the immediate predecessor body to the United Nations Organisation, by Britain and France.

5.10.6.2 The

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

seminars on various national issues.

5.15.2.6 The NDM opposed certain aspects of the exercise of people’s power, and it remonstrated with those PDCs which were harassing traders to desist from doing so, as well as with the Greater Accra Regional Secretary, for adopting certain measures against vendors in Accra, arguing that those actions did not advance the revolution in any way since its main aim was to fight imperialism.⁹¹

5.15.2.7 The

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

British interference on the execution

published in the Daily Graphic dated June 27. The British should know that Ghana is no more their colony and is at liberty to do whatever she thinks is right for her provided it does not affect any other community. This execution is our own internal affair not theirs.

The first question we should

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

stop to their “dubious ways.”

6.7.3.9 Following students protests at “western interference” in Ghana’s internal affairs, the All Africa Students Union (AASU) based in Accra and manned by Ghanaians, issued a statement signed by K. Gyan Apenteng, supporting the stand of NUGS on the “housecleaning”. The statement condemned western interference in the internal affairs of Ghana and blamed the activities of “past military regimes and their political alliances who did everything to impoverish the masses of the people install a dictatorship and entrench neocolonialism and destroy the base for popular change.” AASU also stated that in appreciation of the political situation prevailing in Ghana, it had decided to hail “the positive democratic gains” in the interest of the people of Ghana. It went further to give the assurance that “in as far as the present situation in Ghana reflects the aspirations and genuine hopes of the people, the positive nature of the measures adopted by the AFRC cannot be denied”. AASU also explained that “the situation presented the revolutionary forces the enormous potentiality and diverse perspectives” and consequently, it assured the student, youth and people of Ghana of its support against imperialism and neocolonialism.⁷¹

6.7.4 MOBILISING STUDENTS

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

paradox of the highest order.

From his radical beginnings to his years as a lecturer, Kwesi B as he was called by his friends was a bitter critic of the International Monetary Fund and other international organisations like the World Bank. For me and many others, his anti-imperialist neo-colonial stance on global developments was what made him an intellectual mentor. He was consistently emphatic in blaming these institutions for all the ‘woes of

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the third world’. It

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

of standing up for themselves.

6.7.8.4 The seminar was also addressed by N N K Aggrey Orleans of the Institute of Adult Education, at the University of Ghana, who charged the students to use the opportunity presented by the revolution as an instrument of change, and to act as watchdogs. Cameron Duodu, a journalist, on his part, urged the students to transmit the views of the rural people to the government during their public education effort.⁹⁸ Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr of the Faculty of Law, University of Ghana also addressed the students on “The structure of the Ghanaian society and change”. He educated the students on the existing classes within the Ghanaian society as a result of colonialism, and urged them to arouse the consciousness of the citizens as to the presence of imperialist agents within the economy. He also encouraged them to appreciate the force of student power, in the achievement of the aims of the revolution. Other speakers were students of the University of Ghana, Kwasi Adu-Amankwah and Tony Akoto-Ampaw.

6.7.8.5 That

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

January, 1982, p.1. 348

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programme of the ‘National Government’ proposed by the professional bodies association and the Bar Association two bodies who have shown continually that they are on the side of the enemy. The student body asked the PNDC to resist the intense pressures of the agents of imperialism to dictate policy even through the Council. NUGS thereby warned PNDC to clearly make an alliance either with the people as it promised or with the enemy. There is no middle way. This national government will simply lead to a lack of direction and inertia which will allow ousted forces to consolidate their power and stage a complete come back. It said the composition of the cabinet was like a group within which the one or two popularly acceptable people would be paralysed and made incapable of fruitful contribution. In the interim, NUGS warned that it would advise itself on possible courses of action should satisfactory resolution to its demand not be immediately forthcoming. It called on workers, farmers, and students to come out and denounce the move in very clear terms.¹²⁹

6.9.1.18 In

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

GHANA YOUNG PIONEER MOVEMENT (GYP)

7.2.2.1 After Independence in 1957, a need was felt to attack attitudes born of the socialization produced by a state of mind derived from colonial subjugation. The need to improve the education of young people and to mobilize them for national development was also keenly felt. The CPP Youth League was largely made up of children of CPP members and was restricted to a few urban areas. One truth that was not lost on the leadership of the CPP, was that anyone who wished to influence the future with new ideas, had to get to young children and introduce those ideas to them. The need to inculcate patriotism of the new country called “Ghana” into its newly-liberated citizens meant that the youth had to be targetted if the changed relationship between the citizen and the State as well as the new responsibilities inherent in the changed relationship were to be properly appreciated. Subsequent governments found the youth a ready vehicle to reach impressionable minds and harness their energies in favour of the government’s policies.

7.2.2.2 The

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

Miss Regina Asamany¹⁸
suggested in

Parliament that “it is wise to abolish such youth movements as the Boy Scouts and other similar organizations”,¹⁹ the Minister’s response was that the suggestion was “too true”, and that a Bill was going to be put before Parliament to ensure that Boy Scouts and Girl Guides movements were abolished. A little later on, the President directed that the GYP, having been “constituted as the sole youth authority in Ghana”, had the responsibility to ensure “that all organizations of youth are conducted in accordance with our national directives and not in relation to any foreign directives.”²⁰ This was obviously a reference to the Boy Scouts and Girl Guide movements which had their roots in British colonialism.

7.2.2.6 With

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

institutions, during the mandate period.

8.0.2 Land ownership in Ghana since colonial days has been in the hands of families, clans, and traditional rulers or chiefs. The latter’s position on land ownership supersedes the rest in most Ghanaian societies. The chiefs were seen as holding economic power, controlling, as they claimed to do, access to land and the people who worked on the lands, as well as what could be grown on it, dug out of it, and the labour to do all these works¹. By and large, not until the establishment of the 1992 constitution, all lands in the Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions of Ghana were vested in the Government of Ghana. On the other hand, from Brong-Ahafo Region down to the coastal regions of Ghana, lands are in the hands of families, clans and traditional rulers.

8.0.3 Those in

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

some chiefs had protested.⁶

8.1.3 In 1904, the Chiefs’ Ordinance was passed, and this provided a situation whereby chiefs could apply to the Governor for the confirmation of their election and installation.⁷ The confirmation by the governor determined the lawfulness of the applicant’s status as chief in his traditional area and the colony. As Kumado observed,
“by 1910 the central government

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

on central government prop”.⁸

8.1.4 As the process of colonisation crystallised, the chiefs gradually lost their judicial and military roles, since the defence of the territory became the prerogative of the colonial government. In addition, more and more disputes were adjudicated upon in courts set up by the colonial government as the authority of the chiefs’ courts was pared down by legislation. By the time the colonial government introduced Indirect Rule as a formal administrative policy in the Gold Coast in the early part of the twentieth century, the subjugation of the chiefs to British authority had become complete and the political and judicial roles of the chiefs had become circumscribed.

2 3 CEK Kumado, “Chieftaincy

Reference 72 - 0.03% Coverage

Kumado, op.cit, supra.
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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 Leone⁹.

8.1.6 Some chiefs attained prominence within the colonial administration of Sir Hugh Clifford and Sir Gordon Guggisberg as Governors. Chiefs, such as Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, Nene Sir Azu Mate Kole, Togbi Sri and Nana Sir Tsibu Darko even served as members of the Legislative and Executive Council in the Gold Coast¹⁰. The Guggisberg Constitution of 1925 introduced the Provincial Council of Chiefs. Through this council, the chiefs of Gold Coast had the opportunity to participate in government at the highest possible level as it was the first organised group to be consulted by government on major issues¹¹.

8.1 .7 The struggle against the colonial government as to whether it had the authority to interfere in the chieftaincy institution continued well into the twentieth century and those chiefs who maintained their opposition to the colonial government were marginalized.

8.1.8 The picture was somehow different in the northern part of Ghana. In the Northern Territories, even though kingdoms existed, their political authority had been weakened on account of the activities of the slave raiders, before the impact of colonialism and formal politics in Ghana was felt. Treaties concluded with the British government were signed during the closing years of the 19th century bringing those areas under the protection of the British Government.

8.1.9 By 1911, Northern Ghana had been subdued by the British with the use of the Gold Coast Police Force. Having consolidated their control of the area, the British decided to involve chiefs in their administration just as they did with the chiefs in Southern Ghana. At that time, Northern Ghana had two categories of political groups – the acephalous and the centralized groups. The acephalous political groups lacked a centralized authority and machinery of governance, whilst the centralized political groups had chiefs. On account of possessing more identifiable political authorities, the authorities of the centralised groups were easier to locate and appoint as agents of the colonial government, than were those of the acephalous groups where the exercise of political authority was more diffuse in nature of political authority.

⁹ See Kofi Baku, “Chieftaincy

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

Wura of the Krachi.¹²

8.1.11 The British Government empowered the chiefs to exercise their authority within the new political organisation. They also had to create chiefs in the acephalous areas that had no chiefs. State power was put at the disposal of the new paramountcies and new chiefs used State power to suppress all resistance from new subjects. Consequently, the foundation on which the chief’s power rested in the northern part of Ghana was in the hands of the “white man.” With the outbreak of the First World War, and the withdrawal of colonial officials for service outside their stations, the weaknesses in the new system began to show, as the chiefs became vulnerable in the absence of colonial support.

8.1.12 As a result of these developments, a fundamental contradiction in local administrative policy in Northern Ghana became evident. The chiefs had become agents of colonial rule, many, with little or no claim to traditional authority, or to the status of chiefs, and were thus completely dependent on the colonial administration. This situation made them vulnerable to manipulation by the colonial government.

8.1.13 When partisan

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

by chiefs and their council.

8.2.1.2 The British then passed the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (NJO) in 1883, which entrenched them in Southern Ghana and reduced the traditional rulers and their people from the status of protégés to that of subjects of the British¹³. The Ordinance also set up democratic local councils, which took over certain lands in the Colony (the south) and in the Ashanti Region onto their care. As a result, the chiefs lost control of what were traditionally stool lands, and even if the general ownership of those lands remained vested in the stools and hence, the communities which owed allegiance to those stools¹⁴.

8.2.1.3 In

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0 Post-Independence Governments

8.3.1 Like the colonial governments before them, post-colonial governments of Ghana also recognised the importance of chiefs in the mobilization of their subjects. The post-colonial governments, however, sought through legislation to control the chieftaincy institution and the personalities that occupied those offices. Post-Independence governments made development projects dependent on loyalty to government. Chiefs were in effect, forced to do the will of government in order to attract development projects to their traditional area, otherwise, the chiefs risked facing the displeasure of their subjects for the absence of such projects.

8.4.

6TH MARCH, 1957

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

1 Nkrumah And The Chiefs

8.4.1.1 One scholar has said: “Dr. Kwame Nkrumah rode partly on the back of discontent against chiefs to gain political victory in 1951 and subsequently through all pre-independence elections until independence was attained in 1957”. This discontent of Dr. Nkrumah and his followers was directed against chiefs, because they were perceived as “agents of the colonial government.”¹⁸ Nana Ofori Atta II observed that in victory, and after independence, Dr. Nkrumah and his supporters waged war against chiefs, and in some instances, he openly taunted chiefs saying that those of them who refused to conform and would not do business with the CPP Government “would run away and leave their sandals behind.”¹⁹

17 A A Boahen , Ghana

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

was evicted from his palace²⁴.

8.4.1.4 Soon after independence, the government mounted an assault on some of the structures through which the chiefs were exercising power under colonial rule. Dr. Nkrumah was reported to have said: “The

Chiefs' Regional Officers had had their day." He further claimed, that the chiefs "often found themselves in the difficult

20 The Chieftaincy Act (Act

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

of conflict within that Region.

8.4.11. 12 It could be said that Dr. Nkrumah and the CPP dealt a heavier blow to chiefs and chieftaincy by the introduction of Regional Political Representatives, Reduction of funds, the recognition clause, and the introduction of Preventive Detention Act, than any acts of the colonial government. The only way for the chiefs to survive was for them to openly support the government in power or to keep silent, even in the face of human rights abuses and violations.

8.5

24TH FEBRUARY, 1966

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

human rights violations and abuse.

8.12.6 The chiefs, families and individual land owners have constantly protected their land since colonial days and continue till date. However, where it matters most legislation by successive governments have rendered such protection ineffective, and some of these land acquisitions cases have also been battled in the corridors of the judiciary. More over, seeking legal action against families, individuals, chiefs or the state has not always been successful, since none of them seeking the relief may have proper title to the lands in question.

8.12.7 Within the

Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

2.2 Government-Muslim Relations

9.2.2.1 Successive governments since the colonial era have tried to influence the leadership and organizational structure of the Muslim community. They did so either in the name of uniting the Muslims or soliciting their loyalty in the implementation of their programmes.

9.2.2.2 Since

Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

a voice in national affairs.

9.2.10.3 Generally, the Muslim communities feared that colonial rule would impose Christianity on them. This led the Muslim communities in Ghana to isolate themselves from active participation as a group to react to issues, which bordered on human rights abuses against either them or other people in society.

9.2.10.4 It

Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches.56

9.3.1.2 The Christian Church has had a great impact on the Ghanaian society and has shaped a number of our modern national institutions. This is as a result of the nature of the missionary activity, such as formal education, that brought Christianity to Ghana. Although in principle, the colonial government practised the modern theory of separation between church and state, its modus operandi inadvertently propagated and infused Christian ideals and values into national institutions. Ghana was therefore regarded as a Christian nation, not by virtue of numbers, but by institutional affinity and residual Christian ideals and values in our society. The close relationship between the Christian church and colonialism, whether by default or design, gave the Christian Church a great social recognition in the socio-political life of this country.

9.3.1.3 In

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

of a certain chronological age, but of social standing as well. Consequently, those referred to as “nkwa nkwa” or “youth” were the “commoners” or non-royals, or simply put, the disenfranchised of those days. These were the people from amongst whose ranks workers and also CPP activists tended to be drafted. Thus when the CPP declared at the time of its birth in 1949, that one of its aims was to establish co-operation with the unions to fight for better terms, it was stating not just a mobilization strategy but also defining the social class it was committed to working with to end colonialism. Thus it was positioned as a natural ally of the unions. Subsequently, the political activities dubbed “Positive Action” demonstrated the commitment of the CPP to defend the interests of the workers, and forged a stronger bond between the party and the unions. The CPP maintained its alliance with the unions throughout the struggle for Independence.

4.0.2 THE AFRICAN

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

THE AFRICAN CIVIL SERVANTS' ASSOCIATION.

40.2.1 The Civil Servants' Association originated from the African Civil Servants' Association which was known as such because during that time the junior Civil Servants were wholly African and the senior Civil Servants were almost exclusively European. At that time, the senior positions in the service, known as “European posts”, were collectively regarded as “Management” and therefore holders of those positions could not get involved in the affairs of the association. The association was recognised by the Colonial Government as a result of the establishment of the Civil Service Negotiating Machinery under General Orders 136 and 137 and the Whitley Council. Unfortunately the approval of all final decisions reached at such negotiations with regard to conditions of service were always at the mercy and within the prerogative of the Colonial Government.

4.0.3 THE COCOA

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

COCOA FARMERS CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

4.0.3.1 The problems associated with the sale of cocoa by indigenous farmers was a major issue in the British Colonies in the 1930s. Dissatisfaction regarding the price of cocoa led to the refusal of cocoa farmers to sell their produce to the buying companies in the 1930s. Many farmers' co-operative societies were born out of the dissatisfaction. This was clearly unsatisfactory as the fragmentation led to a weakening of the farmers' front.

4.0.3.2 The

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

and execution of public works.

4.1.1.11 Unionists who did not approve of the new role were simply told to change their thinking and that at that stage of the country's development, they were to "discard their colonial mentality and methods and remember that they [were] not struggling against capitalists". Therefore they were to "cease to be impeccable advocates for out-moded conditions", and become advocates of worker-productivity. The President also pointed out to them that they were not to "limit their activities to the education of workers only as regards their rights but also their duties and responsibilities". They were to:

inculcate in our working people

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

and Tasks of Trade Unions."

4.1.1.13 In order to fulfil President Nkrumah's Pan-Africanist agenda, he encouraged the formation of the All-Africa Farmers Union as well as the All-African Trade Unions Federation (AATUF) of which John Tettegah became the Secretary-General. The TUC was exhorted to spend its energies fighting imperialist domination, and the continental unions were urged to make a political union of Africa possible as they were "the surest and only way of rooting out of our continent the remnants of colonialism and exploitation"

4.1.1.14 The

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

the strike in July, 1969.

4.3.2.2 Although by now, it had become apparent that both associations were fighting for a common goal. They could not overcome the divisions created by the colonial categorizations in order to work

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC)

5.10.2.1 At the end of the Second World War, the war veterans who had gone to fight in other lands for freedom, on behalf of the colonial power returned home with ideas about the quality of life that they ought to have. However, they were not trained in civil life with appropriate income-earning and marketable skills to achieve that standard, nor were

RE-INDEPENDENCE

they given any

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

standard, nor were

RE-INDEPENDENCE

they given any financial package to ease their transition into civil life. Their return, coupled with the rapid urbanisation and expansion of social amenities and infrastructure in the urban areas, produced a class of

politically-conscious young men and women who began to appreciate the anti-colonial posture of the intelligentsia. It was in the midst of all this social ferment that the first mass party, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), was formed at Saltpond in August, 1947, under the chairmanship and financial sponsorship of George Grant, better known as Paa Grant, a wealthy Nzima businessman.

5.10.2.2 With

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

energy and strategy to match.

5.10.3.2 It adopted a slogan of “Self-Government Now” (“S.G. Now”) and this resonated with the youth. In January, 1950, the CPP organized an action of civil disobedience termed ‘Positive Action’, in order to compel the colonial government to grant immediate self-government. Although planned as a non-violent action, it eventually turned violent and the leadership of the CPP was arrested and imprisoned.

5.10.3.3 Whilst

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

the governance of the country.

5.10.4.2 The NLM’s Ashanti base and the obvious support it enjoyed from the Asantehene as well as the fact that its chairman was the senior linguist of the Asantehene, Baffour Osei Akoto, brought to the fore the fear of domination that had existed between Ashanti and the Colony since Ashanti became a part of the Gold Coast. The NLM’s proposal of a federal form of government was a reaction to the highly centralized form of government that they feared would lead to dictatorship from Accra.

5.10.4.3 The

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

the British Trust Territory of

Togoland, from the Gold Coast. The basis of this desire for separation lay in the arrangements that were made for German Colonies under the Treaty of Versailles, following the defeat of Germany in the First World War. The German colony of Togoland was split into two and administered under the Mandate of the League of Nations, the immediate predecessor body to the United Nations Organisation, by Britain and France.

5.10.6.2 The

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

seminars on various national issues.

5.15.2.6 The NDM opposed certain aspects of the exercise of people’s power, and it remonstrated with those PDCs which were harassing traders to desist from doing so, as well as with the Greater Accra Regional Secretary, for adopting certain measures against vendors in Accra, arguing that those actions did not advance the revolution in any way since its main aim was to fight imperialism.

5.15.2.7 The

Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

to the execution as follows:

We would like to comment on British interference on the execution published in the Daily Graphic dated June 27. The British should know that Ghana is no more their colony and is at liberty to do whatever she thinks is right for her provided it does not affect any other community. This execution is our own internal affair not theirs.

The first question we should

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

perspectives” and consequently, it assured

the student, youth and people of Ghana of its support against imperialism and neocolonialism.

6.7.4 MOBILISING STUDENTS

Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

of standing up for themselves.

6.7.8.4 The seminar was also addressed by N N K Aggrey Orleans of the Institute of Adult Education, at the University of Ghana, who charged the students to use the opportunity presented by the revolution as an instrument of change, and to act as watchdogs. Cameron Duodu, a journalist, on his part, urged the students to transmit the views of the rural people to the government during their public education effort. Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr of the Faculty of Law, University of Ghana also addressed the students on “The structure of the Ghanaian society and change”. He educated the students on the existing classes within the Ghanaian society as a result of colonialism, and urged them to arouse the consciousness of the citizens as to the presence of imperialist agents within the economy. He also encouraged them to appreciate the force of student power, in the achievement of the aims of the revolution. Other speakers were students of the University of Ghana, Kwasi Adu-Amankwah and Tony Akoto-Ampaw.

6.7.8.5 That

Reference 98 - 0.02% Coverage

politicians and their foreign masters.

The 31 December uprising appeared now as just another palace coup d’etat replacing PNP government which at least was popularly elected with its opposite party the (APP) All Peoples Party. NUGS observed that the character of PNDC government was a wholesale adoption of a programme of the ‘National Government’ proposed by the professional bodies association and the Bar Association two bodies who have shown continually that they are on the side of the enemy. The student body asked the PNDC to resist the intense pressures of the agents of imperialism to dictate policy even through the Council. NUGS thereby warned PNDC to clearly make an alliance either with the people as it promised or with the enemy. There is no middle way. This national government will simply lead to a lack of direction and inertia which will allow ousted forces to consolidate their power and stage a complete come back. It said the composition of the cabinet was like a group within which the one or two popularly acceptable people would be paralysed and made incapable of fruitful contribution. In the interim, NUGS warned that it would advise itself on possible courses of action should satisfactory resolution to its demand not be immediately forthcoming. It called on workers, farmers, and students to come out and denounce the move in very clear terms.

6.9.1.18 In

Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

GHANA YOUNG PIONEER MOVEMENT (GYP)

7.2.2.1 After Independence in 1957, a need was felt to attack attitudes born of the socialization produced by a state of mind derived from colonial subjugation. The need to improve the education of young people and to mobilize them for national development was also keenly felt. The CPP Youth League was largely made up of children of CPP members and was restricted to a few urban areas. One truth that was not lost on the leadership of the CPP, was that anyone who wished to influence the future with new ideas, had to get to young children and introduce those ideas to them. The need to inculcate patriotism of the new country called “Ghana” into its newly-liberated citizens meant that the youth had to be targeted if the changed relationship between the citizen and the State as well as the new responsibilities inherent in the changed relationship were to be properly appreciated. Subsequent governments found the youth a ready vehicle to reach impressionable minds and harness their energies in favour of the government’s policies.

7.2.2.2 The

Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

directed that the GYP, having been “constituted as the sole youth authority in Ghana”, had the responsibility to ensure “that all organizations of youth are conducted in accordance with our national directives and not in relation to any foreign directives.” This was obviously a reference to the Boy Scouts and Girl Guide movements which had their roots in British colonialism.

7.2.2.6 With

Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

institutions, during the mandate period.

8.0.2 Land ownership in Ghana since colonial days has been in the hands of families, clans, and traditional rulers or chiefs. The latter’s position on land ownership supersedes the rest in most Ghanaian societies. The chiefs were seen as holding economic power, controlling, as they claimed to do, access to land and the people who worked on the lands, as well as what could be grown on it, dug out of it, and the labour to do all these works . By and large, not until the establishment of the 1992 constitution, all lands in the Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions of Ghana were vested in the Government of Ghana. On the other hand, from Brong-Ahafo Region down to the coastal regions of Ghana, lands are in the hands of families, clans and traditional rulers.

8.0.3 Those in

Reference 102 - 0.04% Coverage

after some chiefs had protested.

8.1.3 In 1904, the Chiefs’ Ordinance was passed, and this provided a situation whereby chiefs could apply to the Governor for the confirmation of their election and installation. The confirmation by the governor determined the lawfulness of the applicant’s status as chief in his traditional area and the colony. As Kumado observed, “by 1910 the central government had, through legislation, weakened the authority of the chiefs, by making their position dependent both in law and on central government prop”.

8.1.4 As the process of colonisation crystallised, the chiefs gradually lost their judicial and military roles, since the defence of the territory became the prerogative of the colonial government. In addition, more and more disputes were adjudicated upon in courts set up by the colonial government as the authority of

the chiefs' courts was pared down by legislation. By the time the colonial government introduced Indirect Rule as a formal administrative policy in the Gold Coast in the early part of the twentieth century, the subjugation of the chiefs to British authority had become complete and the political and judicial roles of the chiefs had become circumscribed.

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 .

8.1.6 Some chiefs attained prominence within the colonial administration of Sir Hugh Clifford and Sir Gordon Guggisberg as Governors. Chiefs, such as Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, Nene Sir Azu Mate Kole, Togbi Sri and Nana Sir Tsibu Darko even served as members of the Legislative and Executive Council in the Gold Coast . The Guggisberg Constitution of 1925 introduced the Provincial Council of Chiefs. Through this council, the chiefs of Gold Coast had the opportunity to participate in government at the highest possible level as it was the first organised group to be consulted by government on major issues .

8.1 .7 The struggle against the colonial government as to whether it had the authority to interfere in the chieftaincy institution continued well into the twentieth century and those chiefs who maintained their opposition to the colonial government were marginalized.

8.1.8 The picture was somehow different in the northern part of Ghana. In the Northern Territories, even though kingdoms existed, their political authority had been weakened on account of the activities of the slave raiders, before the impact of colonialism and formal politics in Ghana was felt. Treaties concluded with the British government were signed during the closing years of

Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

protection of the British Government.

8.1.9 By 1911, Northern Ghana had been subdued by the British with the use of the Gold Coast Police Force. Having consolidated their control of the area, the British decided to involve chiefs in their administration just as they did with the chiefs in Southern Ghana. At that time, Northern Ghana had two categories of political groups – the acephalous and the centralized groups. The acephalous political groups lacked a centralized authority and machinery of governance, whilst the centralized political groups had chiefs. On account of possessing more identifiable political authorities, the authorities of the centralised groups were easier to locate and appoint as agents of the colonial government, than were those of the acephalous groups where the exercise of political authority was more diffuse in nature of political authority.

8.1.10 The weakness

Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

Krachi Wura of the Krachi.

8.1.11 The British Government empowered the chiefs to exercise their authority within the new political organisation. They also had to create chiefs in the acephalous areas that had no chiefs. State power was put at the disposal of the new paramountcies and new chiefs used State power to suppress all resistance from new subjects. Consequently, the foundation on which the chief's power rested in the northern part of Ghana was in the hands of the "white man." With the outbreak of the First World War, and the

withdrawal of colonial officials for service outside their stations, the weaknesses in the new system began to show, as the chiefs became vulnerable in the absence of colonial support.

8.1.12 As a result of these developments, a fundamental contradiction in local administrative policy in Northern Ghana became evident. The chiefs had become agents of colonial rule, many, with little or no claim to traditional authority, or to the status of chiefs, and were thus completely dependent on the colonial administration. This situation made them vulnerable to manipulation by the colonial government.

8.1.13 When partisan

Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

by chiefs and their council.

8.2.1.2 The British then passed the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (NJO) in 1883, which entrenched them in Southern Ghana and reduced the traditional rulers and their people from the status of protégés to that of subjects of the British . The Ordinance also set up democratic local councils, which took over certain lands in the Colony (the south) and in the Ashanti Region onto their care. As a result, the chiefs lost control of what were traditionally stool lands, and even if the general ownership of those lands remained vested in the stools and hence, the communities which owed allegiance to those stools .

8.2.1.3 In

Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

3.0 Post-Independence Governments

8.3.1 Like the colonial governments before them, post-colonial governments of Ghana also recognised the importance of chiefs in the mobilization of their subjects. The postcolonial governments, however, sought through legislation to control the chieftaincy institution and the personalities that occupied those offices. Post-Independence governments made development projects dependent on loyalty to government. Chiefs were in effect, forced to do the will of government in order to attract development projects to their traditional area, otherwise, the chiefs risked facing the displeasure of their subjects for the absence of such projects.

8.4.

6TH MARCH, 1957

Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

1957". This discontent of Dr.

Nkrumah and his followers was directed against chiefs, because they were perceived as “agents of the colonial government.” Nana Ofori Atta II observed that in victory, and after independence, Dr. Nkrumah and his supporters waged war against chiefs, and in some instances, he openly taunted chiefs saying that those of them who refused to conform and would not do business with the CPP Government “would run away and leave their sandals behind.”

8.4.1.2 The

Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

was evicted from his palace .

8.4.1.4 Soon after independence, the government mounted an assault on some of the structures through which the chiefs were exercising power under colonial rule. Dr. Nkrumah was reported to have said: “The

Chiefs' Regional Officers had had their day." He further claimed, that the chiefs "often found themselves in the difficult position as Civil Servants endeavouring to carry out duties which are really appropriate to a member of government.... it is therefore necessary to abolish the posts of Chiefs Regional Officers." In a memorandum dated 2nd April, 1957, to the Cabinet, Dr. Nkrumah decided to have in each region, political representatives of the government and as Chief Executive Officers of the government. This immediately deprived the chiefs of revenue that was going to them for the administration of those offices.

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

of conflict within that Region.

8.4.11. 12 It could be said that Dr. Nkrumah and the CPP dealt a heavier blow to chiefs and chieftaincy by the introduction of Regional Political Representatives, Reduction of funds, the recognition clause, and the introduction of Preventive Detention Act, than any acts of the colonial government. The only way for the chiefs to survive was for them to openly support the government in power or to keep silent, even in the face of human rights abuses and violations.

8.5

24TH FEBRUARY, 1966

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

human rights violations and abuse.

8.12.6 The chiefs, families and individual land owners have constantly protected their land since colonial days and continue till date. However, where it matters most legislation by successive governments have rendered such protection ineffective, and some of these land acquisitions cases have also been battled in the corridors of the judiciary. More over, seeking legal action against families, individuals, chiefs or the state has not always been successful, since none of them seeking the relief may have proper title to the lands in question.

8.12.7 Within the

Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

2.2 Government-Muslim Relations

9.2.2.1 Successive governments since the colonial era have tried to influence the leadership and organizational structure of the Muslim community. They did so either in the name of uniting the Muslims or soliciting their loyalty in the implementation of their programmes.

9.2.2.2 Since

Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

a voice in national affairs.

9.2.10.3 Generally, the Muslim communities feared that colonial rule would impose Christianity on them. This led the Muslim communities in Ghana to isolate themselves from active participation as a group to react to issues, which bordered on human rights abuses against either them or other people in society.

9.2.10.4 It

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

several Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches.

9.3.1.2 The Christian Church has had a great impact on the Ghanaian society and has shaped a number of our modern national institutions. This is as a result of the nature of the missionary activity, such as formal education, that brought Christianity to Ghana. Although in principle, the colonial government practised the modern theory of separation between church and state, its modus operandi inadvertently propagated and infused Christian ideals and values into national institutions. Ghana was therefore regarded as a Christian nation, not by virtue of numbers, but by institutional affinity and residual Christian ideals and values in our society. The close relationship between the Christian church and colonialism, whether by default or design, gave the Christian Church a great social recognition in the socio-political life of this country.

9.3.1.3 In