



**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
HISTORY TEACHERS
ASSOCIATION OF GHANA**



History **for Senior High Schools**

Year 2



- Agyapong Akwasi • Halidu Bari Sule
- Nanter Micah Nindola • Prince Essiaw



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Ghana Education
Service (GES)





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FOREWORD

Ghana's new Senior High School Curriculum aims to ensure that all learners achieve their potential by equipping them with 21st Century skills, knowledge, character qualities and shared Ghanaian values. This will prepare learners to live a responsible adult life, progress to further studies and enter the world of work. This is the first time that Ghana has developed a Senior High School Curriculum which focuses on national values, attempting to educate a generation of Ghanaian youth who are proud of our country and can contribute effectively to its development.

The Ministry of Education is proud to have overseen the production of these Learner Materials which can be used in class and for self-study and revision. These materials have been developed through a partnership between the Ghana Education Service, teacher unions (Ghana National Association of Teachers- GNAT, National Association of Graduate Teacher -NAGRAT and the Coalition of Concerned Teachers- CCT) and National Subject Associations. These materials are informative and of high quality because they have been written by teachers for teachers with the expert backing of each subject association.

I believe that, if used appropriately, these materials will go a long way to transforming our Senior High Schools and developing Ghana so that we become a proud, prosperous and values-driven nation where our people are our greatest national asset.

Haruna Iddrisu MP

Minister for Education



SECTION

1

HISTORICAL SOURCES



HISTORICAL INQUIRY AND WRITING

Sources and Methods of Reconstructing History

INTRODUCTION

In this section, we will examine the sources of history. We will focus on the differences between primary and secondary sources and on understanding the significance of using both in historical writing. The section addresses these key questions: What pieces of evidence help us in writing history? How are primary sources different from secondary sources? What is the significance of using primary sources in historical writing? By the end of this section, you will be equipped with essential historical skills such as context and interpretation, understanding historical perspectives, and critically evaluating historical sources for accuracy and bias.

KEY IDEAS

- **Authentic historical source** is the level of originality and reliability of a historical source.
- **Primary Sources** are original materials or evidence from the period being studied.
- **Secondary Sources** refer to the interpretation and analysis of primary sources.

SOURCES OF HISTORY

Historians employ a variety of sources to get a comprehensive understanding of historical events and context. A source of history refers to the materials or evidence used to reconstruct the past. This information can be first-hand (primary) or an interpretation of an event (secondary).

Types of historical sources

1. Primary sources
2. Secondary sources

Primary sources are materials produced by the people or groups directly involved in the event or topic under discussion, either as participants or as witnesses. Some primary sources are written documents such as letters, diaries, speeches, autobiographies, treatises, census data, marriage, birth and death registers, court records, party manifestos, government official publications, police reports, among others.

These sources are critical in writing history because they are first-hand information that is not altered or distorted in any way. This is often referred to as an original source or evidence. They offer authenticity since they are direct accounts from the period under study. They also give unique perspectives since they reveal personal experiences and the observations of eyewitnesses to an event. Finally, primary sources give us an insight into the period's way of life, language and societal values. **Figure 1.1** is an example of a primary source of history.



Figure 1.1: An example of a primary source of history (newspaper)

Secondary sources of history are documents or recordings that relate to or discuss information originally presented elsewhere. Here, the historian offers his or her perspectives and insights based on available sources to him/her. Historians can also critique primary sources by looking at the limitations of the sources. Under secondary sources, historians integrate multiple primary sources to produce historical material. Examples of secondary sources include books, journals, academic articles, magazines, and documentaries, among others. **Figure 1.2** is an example of a secondary source of history.

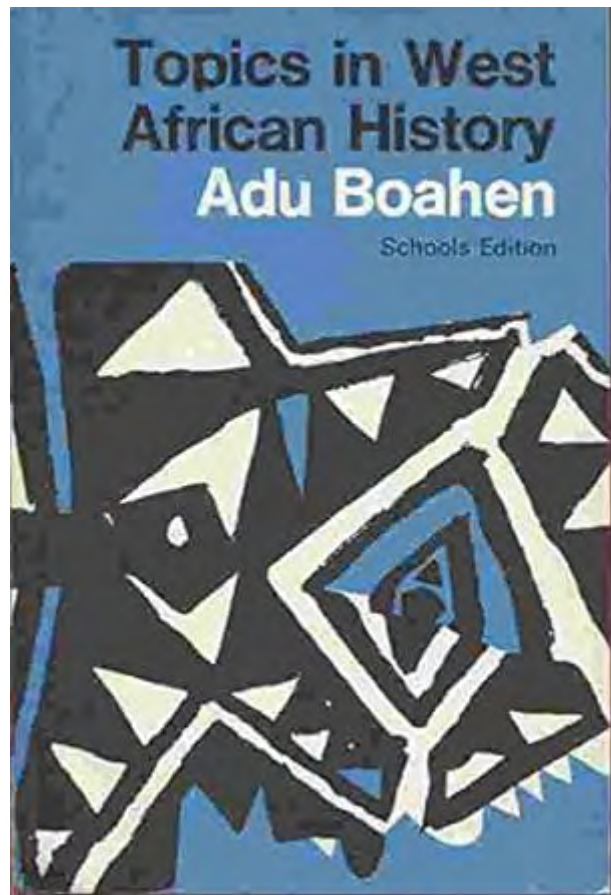


Figure 1.2: An example of a secondary source (Textbook)

The Difference Between Primary and Secondary Sources

Table 1.1 provides the differences between primary and secondary sources of history.

Table 1.1: The differences between primary and secondary sources of history

Primary sources	Secondary sources
These are original materials or evidence from the period being studied.	The interpretations and analyses of primary sources.
They are first-hand materials or accounts of the past.	Materials or evidence that are one step removed from the original event, person or period being studied.

Primary sources	Secondary sources
They are forms of direct evidence.	Include books, articles, documentaries and historical films, textbooks, and biographies, among others.
Provide details of an event.	Provide context for an event.

Identifying Pieces of Historical Evidence

Historical sources can provide a variety of data and information. These pieces of information serve as a guide to the historian to write about the past. When writing the history of an event, place or person, historians look for the following information from historical sources: dates and timelines, names and biographical information, descriptions of events, and images and symbols on artefacts. **Table 1.2** simplifies information obtained from historical evidence and its relevance in historical reconstruction.

Table 1.2: Information from historical evidence and its relevance

Information from Historical evidence	Relevance of Information to the Historian
Dates and timelines	This helps historians to establish when an event happened and the sequence (chronology) of historical processes.
Names and biographical information	It helps the historian to know about individuals involved in historical events, their roles in the events, and their personal details (age, place of birth and sometimes their family background).
Descriptions of events	This gives an account of what happened, how and why, including details on battles, political decisions, social movements, and cultural practices.
Images and symbols	Visual materials like images, icons and symbols help the historian to relive the past, giving context to the period of the event under study.

Figure 1.3 shows some historical data that can be identified from sources like old currencies of the Republic of Ghana.

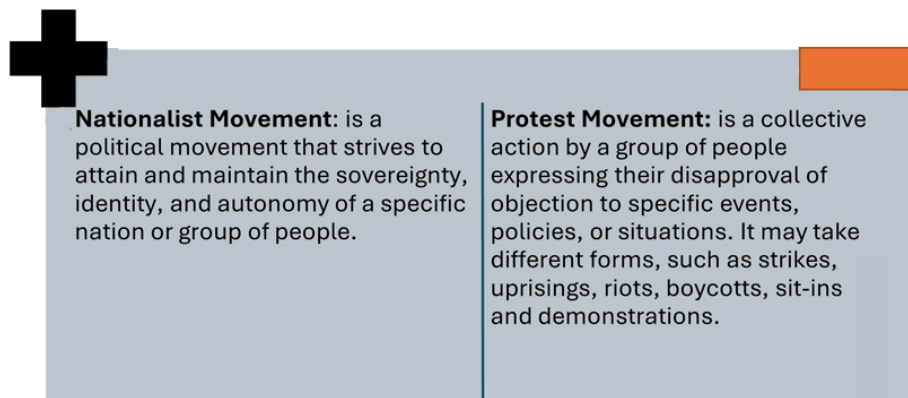


Figure 1.3: Illustration of historical data that can be obtained from an old currency.

Activity 1.1 Source Analysis of Figure 1.3

In your notebooks, answer the following questions based on **Figure 1.3**.

1. What date was this banknote issued?
2. Why do you think they chose to put a woman on this currency note?
3. What did they value/think was important?
4. What can this piece of primary evidence tell us about Ghana in 1986?

Why Both Primary and Secondary Sources are Critical in Studying and Writing History

Both primary and secondary sources are essential in studying and writing history because they offer different perspectives. The availability of multiple sources from both primary and secondary sources offers the historian multiple viewpoints and interpretations.

The use of both primary and secondary sources in the reconstruction of history helps give a clear understanding of events that happened in the past to ensure the accuracy of the presentation of historical narratives.

It equally offers the historian the opportunity to cross-check (corroborate) facts obtained from the past. It enables historians to verify information obtained from the past to determine its authenticity or otherwise.

Finally, evaluating both primary and secondary data promotes critical analysis. One is better equipped to make a better historical analysis, interpretation and conclusions if both primary and secondary sources are used. **Table 1.3** gives a summary of why it is critical to use both primary and secondary sources when writing history.

Table 1.3: The importance of using both primary and secondary sources

Primary sources	Secondary sources
Help the individual to get close to the event or period under study.	Provide researchers with the analysis and interpretation of primary sources.
Offer first-hand accounts and original data to researchers.	Offer researchers a broader understanding of historical context and significance.
Enable the historian to understand the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of persons involved in an event of the past.	Offer the historian the opportunity to see patterns and connections that may not be obvious in primary sources.
Enable the individual to develop a more intimate understanding of historical events.	Create room for historians to engage with the perspectives and debates of other historians and scholars.

Activity 1.2 Historical Source Identification

1. a. Classify the sources in **Figure 1.4** into primary and secondary sources.



- What kind of source is in the picture above?
- Answer:



- What kind of source is in the picture above?
- Answer:



- What kind of source is in the picture above?
- Answer:

Figure 1.4: Classification of sources of history

- b. Create a historical exhibit to show the differences between Primary and Secondary sources using posters.
2. In a small group, discuss the strengths and weaknesses of using different types of sources as a researcher. Use the template below to record your ideas.

	Strengths	Weaknesses/ Limitations
Primary Sources		
Secondary Sources		

3. With the use of the internet and your school library, collect pieces of historical evidence. This could include:
- a. old pictures of former student leaders
 - b. school albums
 - c. birth or death records of former school administrators,
 - d. art forms
 - e. oral accounts
 - f. written text
 - g. artefacts among others

Create a school archival centre with historical evidence from your school community. Use the organiser below to plan your archival centre.

	Explanations
What will be the focus of the archival centre?	
What types of sources will we need to include and why?	

AUTHENTICATING PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

When analysing historical sources, it is important to use the ‘5Ws 1H’ principle (What, Who, When, Where, Why, and How) to determine the originality and validity of the source. By asking “What” the source is, “Who” created it, “When” and “Where” it originated, “Why” it was created, and “How” it was produced, historians can gain valuable insights into the context and authenticity of the source. This approach allows for a thorough examination of the source, helping to assess its reliability and relevance to the historical narrative. Historians also employ the following skills to authenticate primary and secondary sources. Thus, close reading skills, contextualising skills and sourcing skills. Below we discuss how these skills are useful to the historian during research.

Skills needed in authenticating primary and secondary sources

1. Close reading skills

- a. Pay careful attention to language and terminologies. Here, look out for key claims, evidence, and purpose of each source.
- b. Do this by reading the source multiple times, look for contradictions, ambiguities and silence. Analyse the tone and style of the author.

2. Contextualising skills

- a. Place sources in the proper historical, cultural, and social context.
- b. Do this by evaluating either primary or secondary sources context and biases. Also look for Chronology of events and compare it with similar events or phenomena.

3. Sourcing skills

- a. Leading to the right source, identify the author, date, place of origin, and reason for creation of source.
- b. In doing this, analyse the position, circumstances, and potential biases of the author.
- c. Thus, the author’s expertise and credibility, the source connection to the event, objectivity among others.

Activity 1.3 Authenticating historical sources

1. In pairs, and using the template below to record your findings, analyse the originality and credibility of primary sources using the '5Ws and 1H' principle. You could find these online, in a textbook or in a library.

	Source 1	Source 2	Source 3
What type of source is it?			
Who made it?			
Where was it made?			
Why was it made?			
How was it made?			
How credible is this source			

2. In groups, identify a recent historical event (such as an election or a conflict). Discuss the following:
 - a. What would be considered primary evidence of this event?
 - b. What would be considered secondary evidence of this event?
 - c. What would be most useful for historians in the future who are learning about this event?
3. Review discussion: What kind of historical data can be obtained from the following National Identity Documents?

Document	Historical Data	How useful will this source be?
Passport		
Birth Certificate		
Health Record Book		
NHIS Card		

4. In small groups, think of some questions to use to interrogate the following primary sources. Conclude as a group about which of the sources are the most useful to historians. Once you have interrogated the sources below, use this template to record your findings.

Name of source	Type of source	Strengths for students	Limitations for students

Fambissi' (Fumbisi) in the modern-day Upper East Region of Ghana.

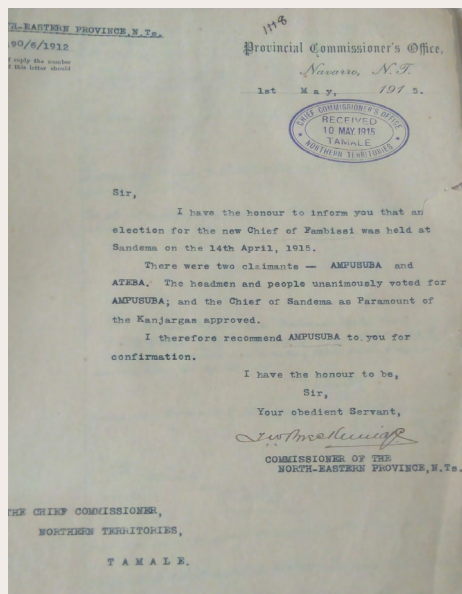


Figure 1.5: A letter from Provincial Commissioner to a Chief Commissioner

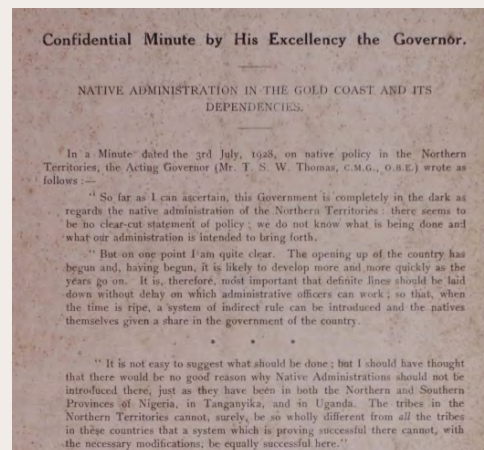


Figure 1.6: Confidential minutes of Governor Thomas.



Figure 1.7: A newspaper

AUTHENTICITY AND RELIABILITY OF ONLINE HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, VISUALS, AUDIO AND MULTIMEDIA SOURCES

The most important task of a historian during research is to ensure the authenticity, reliability and relevance of his/her sources to his/her theme. When searching online archival sites, it is crucial to critically evaluate the authenticity, context, and relevance of the sources to ensure they are suitable for historical research. To check the authenticity and reliability of online historical documents, visuals, audio, and multimedia sources, you can use the '5Ws and 1H' principle. This principle involves asking six key questions: 'Who, What, When, Where, Why, and How' the source was produced.

Criterion for Establishing Authenticity of Sources

1. What type of source is it?

Identify the type of source and its purpose. Determine if it is a primary or secondary source.

2. Who created the source?

Consider the author's qualifications, expertise, and potential biases.

3. When was the source created?

Understanding the historical context of the source is crucial for assessing its reliability.

4. Where was the source created?

Geographic location can provide important insights into the source's reliability.

5. Why was the source created?

Understanding the motives behind the creation of the source is essential for evaluating its authenticity.

6. How was the information gathered or produced?

Assess the methods used to create the source and consider any potential inaccuracies or biases.

It is also important to follow these steps when trying to establish the authenticity of online sources

1. Evaluate the website from which the source is taken.
2. Check the URL to see if it is from a reputable domain (for example: .gov, .edu, .org). Also, an authentic website address should contain 'https', not 'http', as a secure website.
3. Also, look out for author credentials such as expertise, qualifications, or institutional affiliation.
4. Check the publication or update date.
5. Ensure that the content of the source aligns with your research topic. The content of the source should be able to cover your desired period or geographic region.
6. Finally, check for grammar and spelling errors as well as typographical errors. These are signs that show whether the source is authentic and reliable or not.

Activity 1.4 Authenticating online sources

1. a. In a group, create a chart showing a list of online archival documents, including audio, videos, pictures, documents, artefacts, among others. Add their corresponding website addresses. Use the chart below as a template.

Name of online archive	Web address	Strengths for students	Limitations for students

- b. Add some of the resources below to your chart. Analyse how they are authentic and reliable for writing history.

• https://www.bmarchives.org/	
• https://www.instagram.com/james_barnor_archives/?hl=en	

• https://artsandculture.google.com/story/	
• https://www.loc.gov	
• https://www.cambridge.org	
• https://www.jstor.org	
• https://books.google.com	
• https://archive.org	
• https://ghanamuseums.org	
• https://gmmb.gov.gh	
• https://praad.gov.gh	
• https://www.accraarchive.com/	

2. Discuss in pairs and provide feedback to the class: What are the strengths of using online sources? What are the weaknesses? What opportunities are provided to us using online research?
3. What actions would you take in each of the following scenarios? Explain your answer in an extended paragraph.

Scenario 1: You find a website with information about a historical event. The website has a lot of colourful images and animations, but the text itself is full of typo grammatical errors. Would you trust this website as a reliable source of information? Why or why not?

Scenario 2: You are researching a historical figure. You find two websites with information about this person. One website is from a university library, while the other is a blog written by someone with no academic credentials.

THE DANGERS ASSOCIATED WITH USING ‘FAKE’ HISTORICAL SOURCES IN STUDYING AND WRITING HISTORY

Fake historical sources are deliberately fabricated or altered materials that claim to depict historical events or information but are not genuine. These sources are created to suit the author’s biases or selfish intentions. These sources can include counterfeit documents, forgeries, hoaxes, or manipulated photographs.

Fake historical sources usually have the following characteristics:

1. **Lack of corroboration:** This is a situation where information is not supported by multiple independent sources (single-source information or claims that cannot be backed with evidence).
2. **Unverifiable information:** This refers to information that cannot be confirmed or disproven (For instance, unspecified dates or locations).
3. **Inconsistencies:** It refers to discrepancies within sources. For example, contradictory accounts or timeline discrepancies.
4. **Suspicious provenance:** This is when the origin or ownership of a historical source is questionable. For instance, an unusual or unexplained discovery of evidence.

Fake sources are intentionally created to deceive and mislead researchers, historians, and the public. Authentic sources, on the other hand, are original, unaltered materials that provide genuine evidence of past events or conditions.

To detect fake historical sources, historians need to fact-check their sources for verification and confirmation. There is also a need to compare the source with other sources for corroboration. Contextual analysis is equally important in fake source detection. With this, the historian will be able to examine whether the source falls within the context of a historical event or not.

Potential Consequences of Using ‘Fake’ Sources in Historical Research or Writing

It is vital to scrutinise and verify historical sources to ensure their authenticity and reliability, as fake sources can distort our understanding of history and lead to misinformation.

Subsequently, fake sources will lead to inaccurate interpretation of facts, misrepresentation of facts, distorted chronology and inaccurate causal relationships. An inaccurate source will consequently lead to a wrong interpretation and conclusion. Fake sources also lead to manipulated narratives, which alter the context of events. This further leads to biased perspectives and the fabrication of historical events to suit the author.

Fake sources can further lead to loss of credibility in historical accounts. People may lose trust in historical accounts due to the lack of credibility of historical sources. It can equally undermine the academic integrity of historians or researchers who use fake or manipulated sources, thereby damaging their reputations in the academic community.

Activity 1.5 Dangers of using fake sources

1. Work in small groups (ideally no more than four people).
 - a. Use the internet to search for and analyse a short historical text containing factual errors or misleading information.
 - b. Rewrite the text as an accurate news report. What have you changed? How has its use benefited a historian?
2. Research different types of “fake” historical sources (propaganda, hoaxes) and create a short presentation explaining how to identify them.
3. Debate on the motion: “The benefits of using historical sources outweigh the dangers of encountering fake ones.”

EXTENDED READING

- Barton, K. C. (2005). Primary sources in history: Breaking through the myths. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 86(10), 745-753.
- Spear T., (2006). Methods and Sources of African History. *Journal of African history*, 47, pp.305-319.
- Popp, J. S., & Hoard, J. (2018). Supporting elementary students' sourcing of historical texts. *The Reading Teacher*, 72(3), 301-311.
- <https://www.HistoryExtra.com>.



REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Historians need to employ both primary and secondary sources to write history because both primary and secondary sources are:

Primary sources are important because	Secondary sources are important because

2. Kofi is a historian who wants to write the history of the kingdom of 'Ngmegme'. State the 5Ws and 1H historical questions that Kofi needs to guide himself with in order to authenticate his sources.
3. You have been given the assignment to write a history of your school.
 - a. List five online archival sites where you will get primary and secondary sources of information to write the history of your school.
 - b. Identify three ways to authenticate these online sources.

You have come across the following primary source online as a researcher; use it to answer question 4.

Date: 22-12-1809

"Kwame Nkrumah was born on 21s September 1909. Althuogh raised in a small fishing village known as Nkroful, He was edocate in the Unated States. He become president of Ghana by 1947."

4. To what extent is the source above authentic or not?

SECTION

2

EUROPEAN ENCOUNTER AND COLONIALISM IN GHANA



AGE OF ENCOUNTER AND EXCHANGES UP TO THE 20TH CENTURY

Global Connections

INTRODUCTION

This section discusses the contact and interactions that existed between Europeans and the people of the Gold Coast in the years before European colonisation. It focuses on the initial encounter between Portuguese sailors and the local leaders of the Gold Coast. The motivation behind European exploration, as well as European activities on the coast of Ghana, is discussed in this section. Emphasis is placed on the change in patterns of trade with the arrival of Europeans in Ghana. The section specifically addresses the following critical questions:

- What were the trade items exchanged between Europeans and the people of the Gold Coast? How did the gold and ivory trade begin with Europeans?
- Why did the transition occur from the gold and ivory trade to trade in humans? How was the slave trade carried out in the Gold Coast?
- What were the effects of the slave trade on the Gold Coast?

This section further examines the processes leading to the establishment of colonial rule in the Gold Coast and highlights some of the socio-political and economic effects of European presence in Ghana.

KEY IDEAS

- **Anglo-Asante Wars:** These were wars fought between the British and Asante, mostly during the 19th century.
- **Colonial influence:** This refers to the various impacts and changes imposed on a region or society as a result of colonisation by a foreign power.
- **European Exploration of the Gold Coast:** The period of exploration and trade by European powers, primarily during the 15th to 19th centuries. This exploration involved the establishment of trade routes, coastal forts, and trading posts, leading to economic exploitation and the eventual colonisation of the region. The exploration significantly impacted the local societies, economies, and led to the transatlantic slave trade.

- **Sagrenti War:** Named after Sir Garnet Wolseley who was then the British governor of the Gold Coast at the time of the war in 1874, it is the name Sir Garnet that has developed into *Sagrenti* over time.
- **The transatlantic slave trade:** A forced migration system from the 16th to the 19th centuries, where millions of Africans were captured, transported across the Atlantic Ocean, and sold into slavery in the Americas. This brutal trade system significantly contributed to the economic development of European colonies while inflicting immense suffering and disruption on African societies.

THE ARRIVAL OF EUROPEANS TO THE GOLD COAST

The arrival of Europeans to the Gold Coast, now known as Ghana, began in the late 15th century. Portuguese explorers were the first Europeans to establish contact with the region in 1471. They sought to bypass the Arab North African traders who controlled the trans-Saharan trade routes. The Portuguese first settled in Shama and later Elmina in Gold Coast.



Figure 2.1: An image of a Portuguese ship (Santa Maria) illustrating the arrival of the Portuguese

During the time of Nana Kwamena Kweigya Ansa of Elmina, the Portuguese secured land and built Fort Sao Jorge da Mine (Elmina Castle) in 1482. The castle was used to accommodate inmates, protect the Portuguese from opposing European and local powers, and was also used as a warehouse for their goods.

This achievement helped to cement the Portuguese as the only European power in gold and ivory trade in this particular region until the 17th Century.



Figure 2.2: The Elmina Castle built in 1482 by the Portuguese

The Portuguese were followed by other European powers such as the Dutch, British, and Danes, who established trading posts and forts along the coast to facilitate the lucrative trade in gold, ivory, and later, slaves. The Dutch arrived in the Gold Coast in 1554 after the natives of Asebu sent an Embassy to Holland to invite them to settle in their part of the coast. This was apparently due to the monopoly of the Portuguese in the gold and ivory trade. The Dutch built Fort Nassau near Mouri in 1612 following the Treaty of Asebu. The Dutch became the main competitor of the Portuguese. On 29th August 1637, the Dutch took control of the Elmina Castle and subsequently captured Axim in 1642 (Fort St Anthony), the headquarters of the Portuguese commercial activities in the Gold Coast. These events broke the Portuguese monopoly in the Gold Coast.



Figure 2.3: Fort Nassau near Mouri built in 1612 by the Dutch

The Dutch were not allowed to have a monopoly over the gold and ivory trade like the Portuguese. They were opposed by other European nationals, notably the English in around 1598, Danes around 1642, Swedes around 1647, the Germans around 1682 and the French in 1699.

Chronological order of the arrival of Europeans to the Gold Coast

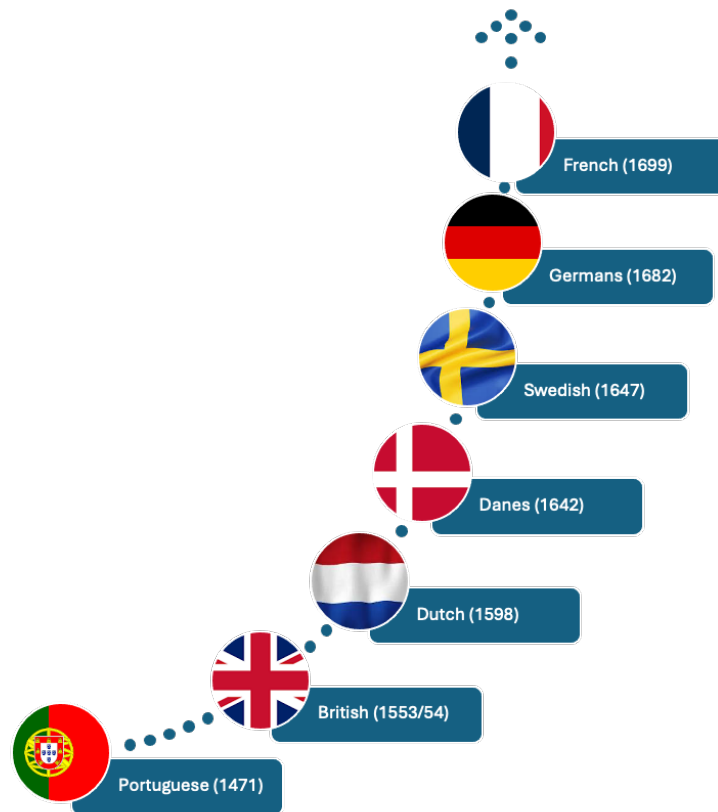


Figure 2.4: The chronological order of the arrival of the Europeans into the Gold Coast

Places where Europeans Settled/Castles and Forts Built by Europeans

Some places in the Gold Coast (Ghana) where Europeans settled and operated are: Elmina Castle built by the Portuguese in 1482; Fort St. Anthony near Axim built by the Portuguese in 1515 and later captured by the Dutch in 1642; Osu Castle built by the Danes in 1661; Cape Coast Castle which started as a lodge built by the Portuguese in 1555. It exchanged hands with various Europeans until 1664, when the British captured it. Usher Fort/James Fort and Fort Patience in Apam were built by the Dutch in 1697. Pictures of these structures are shown Figure 2.5.



Elmina Castle



Fort St. Anthony near Axim



Osu (Christiansborg) Castle



Cape Coast Castle



Usher fort/James fort



Fort Patience in Apam built by the Dutch in 1697

Figure 2.5: European Settlements (castles and forts) in the Gold Coast

Activity 2.1 The coming of Europeans

1. In a pair, create a chronological timeline of the arrival of Europeans along the coast of Ghana. If you have the resources available, try to

annotate this with evidence from primary sources that gives extra detail to the different events.

2. Working in a small group, create Atlantic scenery using cardboard, clay, or any suitable material. Your model should show ships with European flags coming to Ghana.
3. Discuss with your group what you think the European people would have seen in Ghana. How would it differ from their own lives and experiences?
4. Using maps that you have sourced from the internet, identify European countries whose citizens sailed along the coast of Ghana. Illustrate this with some of the technologies used by the Europeans to make this journey and annotate with the direction of travel.
5. Watch the following documentary and make notes in your notebook on what it shows you about the arrival of Europeans in Ghana. https://youtu.be/nrDY8Xy_ypo



MOTIVES OF EARLY EUROPEAN EXPLORERS TO GHANA AND THEIR INITIAL ENCOUNTER

Reasons for the Roaming of Europeans to Ghana

The arrival of Europeans on the coast of the Gold Coast was motivated by various factors, which are grouped into political, economic, religious and scientific.

The reasons for the coming of the Europeans to Gold Coast

1. Political Reasons
 - a. They wanted to expand their empires.
 - b. They wanted to own colonies outside of Europe.
 - c. For prestige for the nationals.
2. Economic Reasons
 - a. The Europeans desired to trade with the Gold Coast.
 - b. They wanted an alternative sea route to India.
 - c. They wanted to find the source of the Guinea Gold.

3. Religious Reasons

- a. The Europeans wanted to end Muslim domination.
- b. They wanted to bond with earlier Christians in Africa.
- c. They also wanted to spread the Christian Gospel.

4. Scientific Reasons

They wanted to satisfy their curiosity about lands beyond Europe.

Economic Reasons

The overriding reason for the early European exploration was for trade (economic motives). The Portuguese were interested in locating the sea route to India by bypassing the Muslim empires in North Africa. Their quest for an alternative sea route to India and the Far East, where Europeans obtained spices and other exotic goods, made them explore the coast of West Africa in the 15th century.



Figure 2.6: A map showing the Portuguese trade route to India through the Atlantic Ocean

Again, the Europeans' desire to trade their items such as mirrors, gin, cotton cloth, knives, guns and gun powder among others fuelled their exploration. Fifteenth Century Europe produced a lot of industrial products that needed new markets. This was necessary because of the protectionist policies of industrial Europe which was stagnating trade there.

Closely linked to the above was the need to establish direct trade contact with the gold resources of West Africa. The Portuguese occupation of Ceuta (a city

in Modern-day Morocco) enabled them to obtain some information about the gold fields in the upper reaches of the Niger and Senegal Rivers. Prince Henry of Portugal and his colleagues hoped to divert the gold trade from the caravan of Western Sudan and the Muslim middlemen of North Africa to the sea route.

Religious Reasons

The Europeans wanted to end the Muslim domination of North Africa. Prince Henry the Navigator sought to link up with the legendary priest-king, Prester John, whose Christian kingdom was believed to be located somewhere in the highlands between the Nile and the Red Sea. Prince Henry believed an alliance with Prester John would be helpful in ending Islamic influence in North Africa and paving the way for Christianity to thrive in the whole of Africa, including the Gold Coast. Prester John was never actually located, and modern historians now believe that he was a mythological figure; however, the Portuguese believed him to be real.

The Europeans also wanted to spread Christianity. The Europeans, led by the Portuguese, wanted to expand the Christian kingdom beyond Europe. This was spearheaded by the Christian Prince of Portugal, Prince Henry. With his aid, the Portuguese seamen drew a map of the coast of Africa where they hoped to convert the indigenous people to Christianity.

The Europeans used several methods to spread Christianity but one of the most prominent methods was a physical one: building religious spaces. They started by building churches at their residence (castles). Each ship had a priest who administered to the crew their spiritual needs.



Figure 2.7: The Catholic Church built in Elmina Castle's main courtyard by the Portuguese

Political Reasons

There were also political motivations to expand into Africa. The Europeans wanted to own colonies outside of Europe. Colonies served as a guaranteed source of material and human resources for European powers. Portugal was in a time of financial crisis in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which was impacting her political stability. Thus, Prince Henry the Navigator and later King John II (Lord of Guinea) of Portugal took advantage of the available seamen (mariners) to undertake the exploration for economic gains to save themselves politically. Other Europeans also wanted to colonise the Gold Coast. The Danes, for instance, regarded the stretch of the coast from their Christiansburg Castle at Osu to Keta and an indeterminate number of miles inland as their 'territory'. To the west of Osu were the Dutch and British Accra. Elmina was regarded as a Dutch town from 1637, when they defeated the Portuguese in a battle, whereas the people of Cape Coast were regarded as British subjects.

It was also a matter of prestige to the nations of Europe to have control of territories overseas. The more colonies you had in Europe during the age of exploration, the more powerful the country was seen to be; therefore, there was a big drive to colonise as much of Africa as possible.

Scientific Reasons

There were also scientific reasons for the coming of the Europeans to the Gold Coast, such as satisfying their curiosity about lands beyond Europe. The Europeans were very adventurous and wanted to know more about the world. With new navigational equipment and better ship design, they were able to sail to the Gold Coast in 1471 and therefore continue their explorations of the globe.

Activity 2.2 European settlement in the Gold Coast

1. **a.** In a small group, create a chart to show the list of forts and castles built by Europeans in the Gold Coast.
- b.** Indicate when they were built, where they were built, why they were built and how they were built.
- c.** Compare the purpose they served in the past with the purpose they serve today.

Use the template below as a guide

	1:	2:	3:	4:	5:
When was it built?					
Where was it built?					
Why was it built?					
How was it built?					
How does its purpose differ today from when it was built?					

2. In a pair, use historical questions (5Ws 1H) to analyse the motives of early European explorers to Ghana and categorise the motives into Political, Economic, Religious and Scientific.

Country	What did they do?	Where did they land?	Who were the key figures?	When were they active?	Why did they come to Ghana?	How did they get to Ghana?
Denmark						
Portugal						
Britain						

3. In your pair, annotate the map of Ghana with where each European country first landed and established a base or settlement. Discuss and then annotate whether they achieved their motives at this location.



Figure 2.8: Map of Ghana

4. Use the information above and the internet to complete the following tasks. You may do this individually or in pairs.
- Create a blog/poster on the early European Sailors to Ghana for a museum exhibit. Choose one of these European groups to research: *Portuguese, British, Swedes, Danes, Dutch, French, Brandenburgers*.
 - Include the following:
 - primary source data
 - a description of the European country with dates, location, and rulers at the time
 - information on the major reasons for their sailing
 - a discussion on how they landed in Ghana
 - a list of sources/ references
5. In small groups, role-play an interaction between European settlers and the native Ghanaian peoples. Try to use primary sources, if you can, to make this as authentic and accurate as possible.
- Think carefully about what different characters you will choose.

- b. Think also about how each of these different characters will react to the situations that you are enacting.
6. Debate the following motion: ‘European explorers did not achieve their initial aims fully.’

TRADE ITEMS EXCHANGED BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND THE PEOPLE OF GOLD COAST

The main motive of the European exploration of Gold Coast was to trade. They desired gold and ivory from Gold Coast but needed to bring their goods for exchange to get what they wanted. During the encounter between Europeans and the people of the Gold Coast, there was an exchange of various trade items.

The Europeans traded goods such as textiles, metal goods, firearms, alcohol, and mirrors in exchange for gold, ivory, palm oil fruits, cotton, rubber and enslaved individuals. The European items of trade were finished industrial products, while the items of trade from Gold (gold, ivory, cotton, and palm fruit) were raw materials that were meant to be processed into finished products in Europe. The enslaved individuals were initially sent to work as domestic workers, and some were trained to help the Europeans in their trading and missionary work. However, the situation of the enslaved people changed after the discovery of the New World (The Americas) around 1492. The enslaved Africans were now bought and sent to the New World as slave labour.



Item 1. Gunpowder Item



Item 2. Knives



Item 3. Alcohol



Item 4. Mirror

Figure 2.9: Trade items from Europe



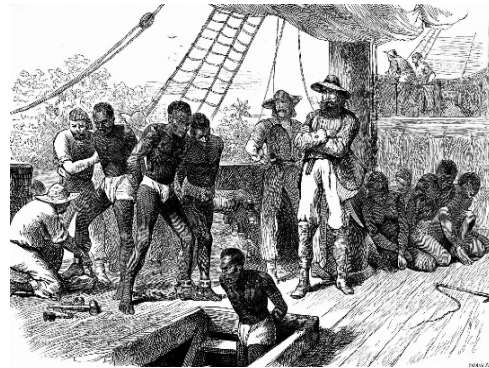
Item 1. Gold in a metal plate



Item 2. Ivory



Cotton



Slaves

Figure 2.10: Items of trade from Europe and the Gold Coast.

Activity 2.3 European trade with the Gold Coast

1. With the help of textbooks or the internet, list five items of trade that the Europeans brought and five items they obtained from the Gold Coast.
2. With the use of the internet, create a picture gallery of items that were brought by Europeans. Plan your gallery below.

Picture Description	What part of the story it helps to tell

3. Design a museum exhibit showcasing the trade items exchanged between Europeans and the people of the Gold Coast. Include explanatory labels and historical context. Use the space below to plan your exhibit.

Exhibit Label	Why have I chosen it?	Historical context
1:		
2:		
3:		
4:		
5:		

DEMAND FOR GOLD AND IVORY FROM THE GOLD COAST AND THE EVENTUAL SHIFT TO TRADE IN HUMANS

There was high demand for gold and ivory in Europe due to their industrial and commercial value. From the early European contact up to the late 16th century, European merchants demanded more gold and ivory (legitimate trade) than slaves (illegitimate trade). The Portuguese, who participated in the long-distance trade with other West African states, brought slaves from the Benin state and exchanged them for gold in their early trading activities with the people of the Gold Coast.

What might have caused this change in items of trade?

Let us explore the reasons for the change in demand for legitimate trade items (trade in commodities) to illegitimate trade.

Reasons for the High Demand For Gold and Ivory From The Gold Coast

The high demand for gold and ivory from the Gold Coast was driven by several factors. Gold was highly sought after for its value and as a means of currency, making it a lucrative commodity for trade. Gold was used as a medium of exchange in the Indian trade. It was also used to mint coins, rings, necklaces and bracelets, among others. The Gold Coast was known for its abundant gold reserves, which attracted European traders seeking to exploit this valuable resource.

Ivory, on the other hand, was in high demand for its use in luxury goods and craftsmanship, particularly in Europe. It was used to make knife handles, sword handles, and piano keys. It was also used in the wedding ceremonies of the rich in society. The high demand for both gold and ivory from the Gold Coast led to significant European interest and investment in the Gold Coast.

Reasons for the shift from gold and ivory to trade in humans

1. Demand for cheap labour
2. The Grant of Assiento
3. The scarcity of gold
4. The Industrial Revolution
5. Introduction of firearms
6. Invention of steamship

The Europeans were attracted by the gold and ivory resources of the Gold Coast. However, their appetite for these goods gradually changed, especially from the middle of the 17th century. The figure above summarises the reasons for this shift in trade. These are further expanded below.

There was high demand for cheap labour in the New World. The first factor was the increasing demand of European plantation and mine owners in the New World for cheap labour. Within 40 years of Columbus' exploration of the Caribbean, Spain secured possession of a large tropical empire there and on the American mainland, including Cuba, Hispaniola, Mexico, Panama and Peru. They therefore needed cheap labour to work on the plantations and mines.

The Grant of Assiento. This was a contract between a company or private person and the Spanish government to import slaves into the Spanish colonies in America. In 1713, the *assiento* gave the South Sea Company of Britain the right to supply Spain's American colonies with 4,800 slaves each year.

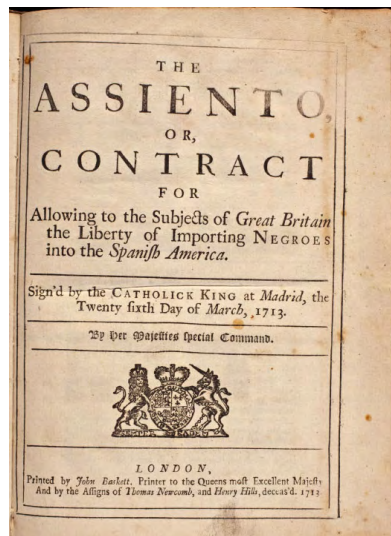


Figure 2.11: An image of the *Assiento* contract between Britain and Spain in 1713

There was a growing scarcity of gold in the Gold Coast leading a diversion of interest to slaves which were now part of a much more profitable trade.

The introduction of firearms on a large scale into Gold Coast caused general insecurity in the country leading to low extraction of gold. The firearms intensified inter-ethnic conflicts and generated more slaves since the war captives were sold into slavery.

The industrial revolution in Europe called for more raw materials to feed those industries. Slave labour, found by enslaving individuals from Ghana amongst other African countries, was used to produce raw materials from the plantations in the New World.

The invention of steamship in the 1800s increased the number of ports on the coast of Africa. It also increased the number of participants in the Slave Trade to 25 to 150. With this number, more slaves could now be carried to the new world.



Figure 2.12: Image of a pioneer steamship.

Activity 2.4 Changing patterns of trade

1. In a group of four, create a diagram or flowchart illustrating the main trade items from the Gold Coast, including gold, ivory, and humans.
2. Create a graphic organiser comparing the trade in gold, ivory, and humans. Use the template below as a guide.

	When did the trade start?	What was it used for by the Europeans?	How important was it by the late 1800s?
Gold			
Ivory			
Humans			
How similar was the trade in gold and ivory to the trade in humans? Why were there differences?			

3. In a group of four, discuss the shift from gold and ivory to trade in humans and then feed this back to the rest of your class. Turn the information from the discussion into a diagram or flowchart illustrating this shift in your notebook.
4. In a group of four, research the role of a specific European power (e.g., Portugal, Netherlands) in the trade on the Gold Coast. Think about the following questions:
 - a. Why did the European country start to trade on the Gold Coast?
 - b. What technology did they use to get there?
 - c. What did the Europeans bring to the Gold Coast?
 - d. How did the trade between your European power and the Gold Coast change over time? Include specific details such as treaties if you can.

THE TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

Slavery is the ownership and control of human beings by another, to the point of total obedience. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was a period in history marked by the forced transportation of African people to the Americas to work as slaves.

In the context of the Gold Coast (Ghana), the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was a devastating and dark chapter of our history. The region played a significant role in the slave trade, serving as a major source and transit centre of slaves for European traders. African captives, including men, women, and children, were captured and then held in slave dungeons along the coastline. These dungeons were established by European powers, such as the Portuguese, British, Dutch, and others, who were involved in the slave trade.

The captives were then transported in appalling conditions across the Atlantic to the Americas, where they were sold into slavery.

How Slaves were Captured

According to oral and documentary records, there were about six major methods deployed to acquire slaves for the trans-Atlantic slave traders. These methods are presented in the chart below:

Methods for Acquiring Slaves

1. Kidnapping
2. Raiding
3. War Captives
4. Sale of Criminals
5. Pawning
6. Market Supply

Organisation of the Slave Trade (The Triangular Trade)

The slave trade in the Atlantic was part of a system known as the Triangular Trade. The transatlantic slave trade generally followed a triangular route:

1. Traders set out from European ports towards West Africa, including the Gold Coast. There, they brought goods in exchange for people and loaded them onto ships (barter trade).

2. The voyage across the Atlantic, known as the Middle Passage, generally took 6 to 8 weeks. Once in the Americas, the enslaved people who had survived the journey were offloaded for sale and put to work as plantation and mining labourers.
3. The ships then returned to Europe with goods such as sugar, coffee, tobacco, rice and later cotton, which had been produced by enslaved labour. The triangle, involving three continents, was complete. European capital, African labour and American land and resources combined to supply the European market. **Figure 2.13** below is an illustration of the triangular trade.

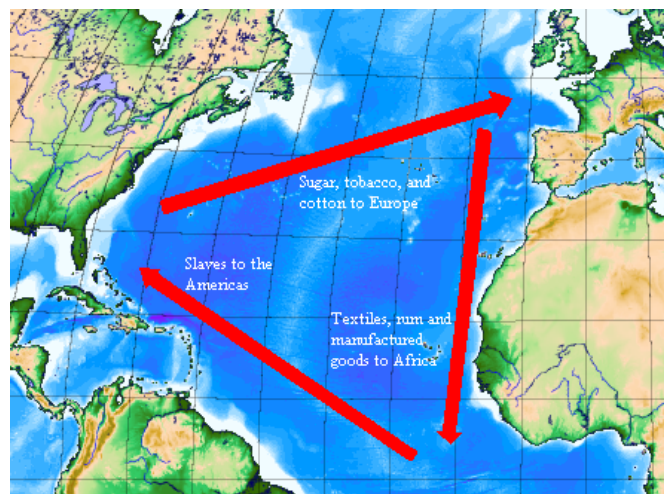


Figure 2.13: An illustration of the Triangular Trade.

Slave Markets and Forts/Castles in the Gold Coast

The images in **Figure 2.14** below are some of the areas in the Gold Coast where slaves were sold and kept.



Pikworo Slave Camp (Paga)



Salaga Slave Market



Assin Manso Slave River



Cape Coast Castle



Elmina Castle



Osu (Christiansborg) Castle

Figure 2.14: Some of the slave markets and forts/castles in the Gold Coast

Activity 2.5 Organisation of the slave trade

1. Work with some of your classmates to create a poster, showing how the slave trade was carried out in Gold Coast including the capture of slaves, movement to the slave castles, and across the Middle Passage.
2. As a whole class, design a timeline of major events and dates related to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in the Gold Coast. Then discuss what were the most important dates? Why?
3. Write a diary entry in your notebook from the point of view of someone involved in the slave trade. Think carefully about which character and perspective you are choosing. To stretch and challenge yourself, consider using primary source material to add authenticity to your ideas.

EFFECTS OF THE TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE ON THE GOLD COAST

Some Effects of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade on the Gold Coast include:

1. Population Depletion
2. Inter-Ethnic Warfare
3. Decline in Agriculture
4. General Panic and Fear
5. Decline of Indigenous Industries

How the Slave Trade Affected Vulnerable Groups in the Gold Coast

The trans-Atlantic slave trade had a long-lasting impact on the communities in Gold Coast, especially the vulnerable. The trans-Atlantic slave trade had a profound impact on vulnerable groups, causing massive upheaval and suffering across the continent. Indigenous African communities were greatly affected, as they faced displacement, exploitation, and the trauma of being forcibly uprooted from their homes. Additionally, women and children were particularly vulnerable within the slave trade. They endured unimaginable hardships and abuse.

The **Table 2.1** shows some effects of the slave trade on women and children

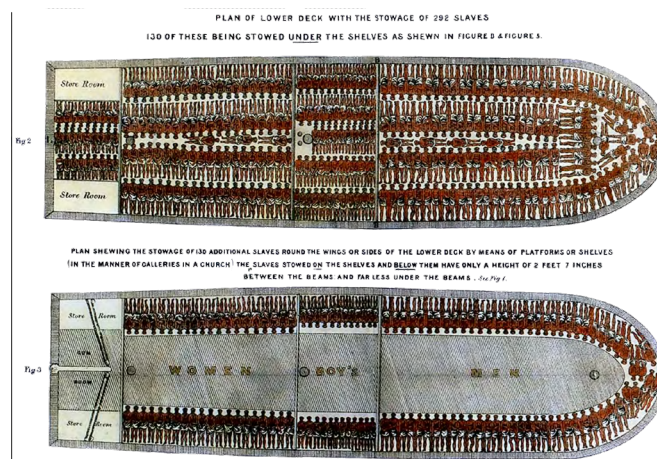


Figure 2.15: British slave ship log showing records of the enslaved including children.

Table 2.1: Effect of slave trade on women and children

Women	Children
Women were disproportionately captured and enslaved, making up a significant portion of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade.	Children were also captured and enslaved, often separated from their parents and families
Women were often separated from their families and communities, leading to emotional trauma and psychological distress.	Children were forced to work in harsh conditions, including in mines and on plantation.
Women faced harsh conditions during the Middle passage including physical and sexual abuse.	Children were also vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse.
Women were forced into domestic and agricultural labour and were often subjected to physical and sexual exploitation.	Children were denied access to education and cultural heritage, leading to cultural suppression and erasure.
They played a significant role in resisting slavery and leading rebellions, such as Nanny of the Maroons.	They were forced to adopt European customs and beliefs, leading to cultural assimilation and loss of identity.

Activity 2.6 Effects of the trade on vulnerable groups

1. In groups, discuss the effects of the trans-Atlantic slave trade on the Gold Coast. What do you think was the most important effect, and why?
2. Work in groups to role-play the effects of the slave trade on vulnerable groups. For example, this could be done as a dramatic reading of a diary entry that you have written or as an interview with a character. You can be creative!
3. With the use of the internet, create a poster that shows how the slave trade affected the Gold Coast economically, culturally, socially and politically.

MAJOR TREATIES SIGNED BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE PEOPLE OF GOLD COAST

The British growth of interest in politically dominating the Gold Coast from the beginning of the 19th century sparked a series of conflicts with the indigenous people, particularly the Asante. This was because of the stiff resistance against British domination posed by the Asante kingdom. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, Asante was already a powerful kingdom controlling most parts of Ghana today. Most of the wars fought between Asante and the British (Anglo-Asante Wars) are discussed later in this section. As a result of the Asante's resistance, the British resorted to signing treaties with the traditional rulers of the Gold Coast. First, with the coastal states that were threatened by Asante's growing power and later with Asante. This gradual process of treaties with traditional rulers eventually handed over the entire modern-day Ghana to British colonial rule. The following are the major treaties signed between the British and traditional rulers in the Gold Coast.

1. The Tripartite Treaty of 1831
2. The Bond of 1844
3. The Treaty of Fomena 1874
4. The British Treaty of Protection of 1890

Activity 2.7 Colonial treaties

1. a. With the use of the internet, search for the main terms and conditions of the Tripartite Treaty of 1831.
b. In groups of not more than five, discuss the terms and conditions of the treaty.
2. In your groups, discuss the historical source on the Bond of 1844 as shown in **Figure 2.16** below. Your discussions should centre on the reasons for the signing and how it facilitated the annexation of the Gold Coast into a British colony.

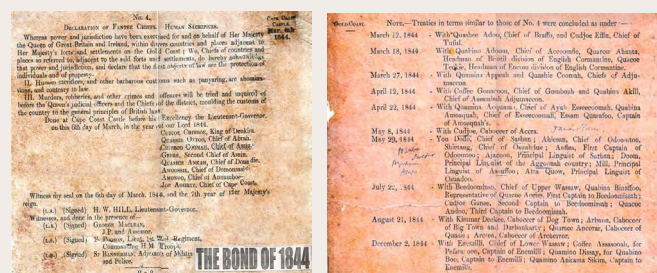


Figure 2.16: The Bond of 1844

- a. In groups, analyse the provisions of the Treaty of Fomena and its impact on strengthening British political influence on the Gold Coast.
- b. Each group will create a poster or presentation for the class illustrating the treaty details and impact. Be guided by the following major provisions of the treaty:
 - i. *The Asante was to pay an indemnity (war fine) of 50,000 ounces (1,417,500 grams) of gold to the British.*
 - ii. *All the vassal states of Asante south of the River Pra were to be granted their independence. (These states included Denkyira, Assin, Akim and Adansi)*
 - iii. *Asante was to renounce her claim to Elmina and its allied people.*
 - iv. *Asante was also to accept the cancellation of the agreement whereby payments were to be made by the British in respect of the lands on which the forts on the coast were built.*
 - v. *Asante was to withdraw her troops from the occupied areas, particularly the South-West.*
 - vi. *All the trade routes must be opened and kept safe for traders.*
 - vii. *The Asantehene was to ensure that human sacrifice was abolished.*

ANGLO-ASANTE WARS AND THEIR EFFECTS

The Anglo-Asante wars were fought between the British and the Asante from 1823 to 1900. They engaged in four major successive battles in 1824, 1826, 1874 and 1900, which finally brought the Asante under British control. The causes of these conflicts were because of Asante's desire to control trade routes to the coast, its ambition for territorial expansion, and remaining powerful in the region. The Asante felt that they had been denied access and control of the coastal trade because of the British interference in the local politics of the Gold Coast.

Also, the Asante desire to expand towards the south made the British felt threatened and insecure. The British, therefore, engaged the Asante in wars so that they could be driven away from the coast. Moreover, the British wanted to maintain security along the coast. So that they could be convinced that their forts, which were built along the coast, were not under any threat whatsoever.



Figure 2.17 below shows images of the Anglo-Asante wars.



Figure 2.17: Battlefields of Anglo-Asante wars.



Figure 2.18: Nana Yaa Asantewaa (left) and Nana Prempeh I (right)

The Anglo-Asante wars had consequences for both Britain and the Asante. The major effects included;

- 1.** The weakening of the Asante Empire. The Asante military prowess, to a larger extent, was weakened due to the crushing defeat at the hands of the British between 1826 and 1874. These defeats also led to the disintegration of the empire. For instance, the southern states, Wassa, Denkyira, and Akyem, among others, regained their independence.
- 2.** The expansion of British colonial control. The defeat of the Asante in the Sagrenti war of 1874 led to the creation of the colony of the Gold Coast, comprising only the southern states, and finally annexing Asante in 1902 after the Yaa Asantewaa war of 1900.
- 3.** The creation of an atmosphere of insecurity and uncertainty. The British, in particular, became uncertain. Thus, they were not decisive as to remain

in Ghana or leave entirely because they had fears that the Asante, whom they considered ‘warlike’ people, could strike or start war again at the least opportunity.

Challenge Activity: With the use of the internet, look for more general effects of the Anglo-Asante wars had on both the British and the Asante.

The following were the major wars fought between the British and Asante

1. Battle of Nsamankow, 1824
2. Battle of Akatamanso, 1826
3. Sagrenti War, 1874
4. Golden Stool War (Yaa Asantewaa War), 1900

Activity 2.8 Anglo-Asante Wars

1. In pairs, create a chronological chart of the various Anglo-Asante wars, including the minor wars that accompanied the major ones. Use the template below as a guide:

Name of War	Key Information	Outcomes	Minor Wars Occurring Simultaneously

2. Using the internet, design a chart of the cause-and-effect of the Anglo-Asante wars. Use the template below as a guide.

Name of War	Cause	Effect for Britain	Effect for Ghanaians/ Gold Coast

3. In small groups, using a range of historical sources, assess the various Anglo-Asante Wars and their effects on the Asante Kingdom. Share your findings with the entire class. Use the following sources as a guide and complete the table:

	What does the source suggest?	Is it a primary or secondary source?	What are the limitations of this source?	What conclusions can I make about the Anglo-Asante wars based on this source?
Source 1				
Source 2				
Source 3				



Figure 2.19: An excerpt from the first Anglo-Asante War

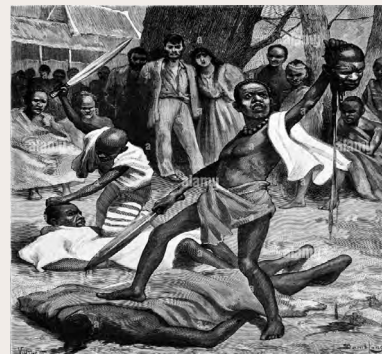


Figure 2.20: Pictorial expression of an Asante war



Figure 2.21: Pictorial expression on Asante's people with colonial officials

ANNEXATION OF THE GOLD COAST INTO BRITISH CONTROL

In this aspect, we will learn about how the various parts of ‘Ghana’ came under British control. It focuses on the four major regions such as the coastal states, Asante, the Northern Territories and the British-mandated Togoland. In previous lessons, we learned about the major treaties signed between the British and traditional rulers. Those treaties were the foundation of British colonial rule over modern-day Ghana.

By the mid-19th century, the British had already held trading posts along the coast of modern-day Ghana. They, however, did not have political control of these areas until the defeat of Asante in the Sagrenti war of 1874. The defeat resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Fomena, which successfully annexed the coastal states into a crown colony of the British. This marked the beginning of British administration in the Gold Coast. While the coastal states became a crown colony, the power of Asante began to decline, which was finally crushed in 1900 during the Yaa Asantewaa war and was annexed the following year.

The only blockage of the British to the Northern Territories was the Asante, which was also removed after the Asante became part of the British administration in 1901. This gave the British the opportunity to sign treaties with the northern chiefs to annex the Northern Territories in 1902. The whole of the Northern Territories was procured for the British Government through the administrative genius of George Ekem Ferguson, a native of Anomabo, in the present-day Central Region of Ghana. He received the call from Governor Griffith in 1892 to undertake the mission of acquiring territories of the Gonja, Dagbon, Mamprugu, Wala and the numerous indigenous ethnic groups of the north for the British. According to the British government, the treaties with the northern ethnic groups were for protection and not for them to be fully absorbed into the colonial government of the Gold Coast.

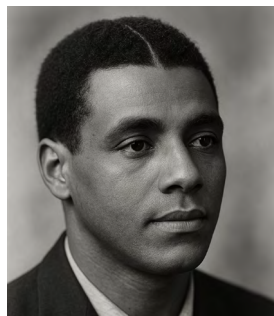


Figure 2.22: George Ekem Ferguson

Finally, the modern-day Volta, Oti and the eastern belt of the Northern and the Upper East regions were under German control until their defeat in the First World War in 1918, which resulted in the loss of their overseas territories in Africa. This particular German territory became what was to be known as British Mandated Togoland in 1919 by an order of the League of Nations. Therefore, by 1919, the entire present-day Ghana had become a British colonial territory. This resulted in administrative changes in our traditional political system. The map as seen in **Figure 2.23** is the colonial map of the Gold Coast showing major administrative provinces and districts.



Figure 2.23: Colonial map of Ghana

The stages at which each of the four regions was annexed into the British colonial system

1. The Crown Colony – 1874
2. Asante – 1901
3. Northern Territories – 1902
4. British Mandated Togoland - 1919



Figure 2.24: Map of Modern-day Ghana

Activity 2.9 Annexation of indigenous states into British rule

1. With the help of the map of Ghana below, identify the locations of the major indigenous states involved in the proclamation of the Northern Territories into the British colonial administration.



Figure 2.25: Colonial map of Ghana

2. Using placards, create historical timelines of events leading up to the annexation of the southern states of Gold Coast as a crown colony in 1874.
3. In pairs or small groups, discuss the reasons why the British pronounced the southern territories of the Gold Coast a 'Crown Colony' in 1874. What do you think was the most important reason?
4. Role-play the activities of George Ekem Ferguson in the acquisition of the Northern Territories as a British colonial possession. Try to find his locations on maps of Ghana to help trace his life.

EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN (BRITISH) PRESENCE ON INDIGENOUS SANITATION AND HEALTH CARE SYSTEM IN GHANA

The coming of Europeans, particularly the British, who established a hold on the Gold Coast and colonised the territory, significantly influenced our sanitation practices and health care systems. Although the British established health centres and introduced Western medicine to curb tropical diseases like malaria, they also disrupted our rich traditional medical practices. Our forefathers developed a complex medical practice that relied on herbs. They treated *malaria*, *chicken pox*, *gonorrhea*, *guinea worm infection*, *headache*, *dysentery*, among others. The indigenous methods for the treatment of these ailments and diseases over time were replaced with European medicine. This resulted in the decline of indigenous medical knowledge and practices in Ghana.

Both the colonial government and European Christian missions helped in improving sanitation and health care in Ghana. The colonial government, for example, built the Korle-Bu hospital in Accra and the Komfo Anokye hospital in Kumasi. The Christian Missions established hospitals that provided health care for both Europeans and indigenous Ghanaians. These hospitals included the Presbyterian hospital at Agogo in the Ashanti region; the Methodist hospital at Wenchi in the Bono East region; St. Joseph's hospital at Koforidua in the Eastern region; and the Seventh-day Adventist hospital at Asaman in the Ashanti region. It is important to emphasise that the British role in our health care systems had both positive and negative impacts, which are summarised in below.

The effects of European presence on Sanitation and Health Care in the Gold Coast Building

1. Building of Sanitation Infrastructure
2. Disruption of Sanitation Practices and Indigenous Medical Practices
3. Establishment of Hospitals and Clinics
4. Drilling of Boreholes for Good Drinking Water
5. Introduction of Western Medicine
6. Public Health Campaigns to Control the Spread of Diseases



Figure 2.26: Korle-Bu Hospital in Accra, built in 1927 by Governor Guggisberg

Activity 2.10 Health Facilities Built by Europeans

1. In pairs, with the help of the internet, list health facilities built by Europeans and indicate the dates they were constructed.
2. In groups, design a questionnaire for data collection and analysis to ascertain if the users of those facilities know the role the Europeans played in establishing them. Review the questionnaires of another group – have you all thought of the same kinds of questions? How could you improve your questionnaire?
3. Your teacher will divide the class into two groups. Debate on the motion ‘The European presence on the Gold Coast is the reason for us having good sanitation and health care in Ghana’.
4. Watch the following documentary and make notes on the changes made by the British. Pay attention from 8:50-9:40 minutes in particular, as this focuses on the development of the health sector. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Iq7hVD-9aMI> Documentary task.



EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN PRESENCE ON EDUCATION IN GHANA

The greatest social impact of European presence in Ghana lies in the field of education. Both European Christian missionaries and the colonial government respectively championed the introduction and spread of formal, Western-style education in Ghana. As early as 1529, the Portuguese set up a school ('Castle School') in Elmina, but it made hardly any impact. Starting with the 'castle schools', European missionaries opened several schools in the coastal and inland towns of the Gold Coast. The Basel and Wesleyan missions, for example, were the pioneers of primary education in Ghana. The table below shows some areas where the Basel Mission set up schools.

Table 2.2A: Some of the schools set up by the Basel Mission at the Eastern Provinces of the Gold Coast

Name of Mission	Town of School	Type of School	Date
Basel Mission (Presbyterian Church of Ghana)	Osu	Primary	1843
	Akropong Akuapem	Primary	1843
	Akropong Akuapem	Teacher Training College	1848
	Gyadam near Osino	Primary	1853
	Larteh	Primary	1857
	Abokobi	Primary	1859
	Krobo Odumase	Primary	1859
	Kyebi	Primary	1861
	Anum	Primary	1865
	Ada	Primary	1867
	Begoro	Primary	1875
	Abetifi	Primary	1877

Table 2.2B: Secondary schools established in the Central Province of the Gold Coast

School	Year of Establishment	Affiliation
Wesley Girls High School	1836	Wesleyan Mission
Mfantsipim	1876	Methodist
Adisadel College	1910	Anglican
St. Augustines College	1930	Catholic
Aggrey Memorial Zion School	1938	A.M.E Zion
Holy Child School	1946	Catholic
Ghana National College	1948	Colonial Government

Challenge Activity

With the use of the internet, search for schools established by the colonial government and Christian missions in other parts of the country during the colonial period.

How European presence shaped education in Ghana

1. Introduction of Western Education
2. Disruption of traditional educational systems and cultural elements
3. Grant of missionary and colonial Government scholarships to attend secondary schools and higher education in Europe
4. Passage of educational policies and ordinances (1882, 1906, and among others)
5. Establishment of schools and educational infrastructure

The mission schools, particularly the Basel mission, also encouraged vocational and technical education in their schools. Vocational skills such as shoe making, leather working, weaving, carpentry, masonry, fixing of beads and others were incorporated into their educational system. **Figure 2.27** shows pupils learning a vocational skill.



Figure 2.27: School children learning a vocational skill

Activity 2.11 Development of formal education in Ghana

1. **a.** Prepare a chronological chart of major colonial government ordinances on the development of education in Ghana. Remember to capture the dates the various ordinances were passed.
- b.** Using the chronological chart, work in pairs to make a presentation to present to your classmates that explains how each ordinance influenced educational growth in Ghana.
2. With the help of the internet, make a list of missionary and government schools across the Gold Coast during the colonial era, paying attention to the urban-rural distribution dynamics. Plot these onto the map below and try to see if you can spot any patterns in terms of the locations of the schools.



Figure 2.28: Map of Ghana

EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN PRESENCE ON HOUSING AND ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS

Before the advent of Europeans in Ghana, traditional housing was built with mud and wood and roofed with thatch and was mostly windowless. In the northern part of Ghana, houses were built in rounded rooms with two forms of roofing styles. Some were roofed with thatch, while others had concreted the top as roofing. The concreted roofing was done for two main reasons: first, for security purposes and also as a form of fire resistance. This kind of roofing served as a base where men of households lay in the night to watch over the community for potential invaders. The second reason was a place of relaxation in the night during the hot seasons. The tops of the roofs were plastered in a way that meant they could serve as a comfortable and safe place to sleep. The pictures in **Figure 2.29** are examples of traditional housing styles and architecture in the northern part of Ghana.



Image 1

Image 2

Figure 2.29: Concreted roof (left) and thatch-roofed housing in northern Ghana

The housing and architectural designs in the forest and coastal zones of Ghana were different in shape and design. Due to an abundance of wood in these areas, indigenous Ghanaians used strong wood as pillars in their mud buildings, which were roofed with bamboo. This technique of building is known as *wattle and daub*, in which walls are built by first weaving horizontal strips of wood (*wattle*) over vertical stakes and then covering this wooden skeleton with earthen plaster (*daub*). The pictures in **Figure 2.30** are typical examples of these architectural designs.



Figure 2.30: Akan traditional housing and architecture

However, the Europeans' presence in the Gold Coast greatly influenced our housing style and architectural designs in diverse ways. Starting from the forts and castles to their housing units, particularly the Christian missionaries, were all Western style. For instance, Rev. Andreas Riis of the Basel mission in Akropong-Akuapem was nicknamed *Osiadan* (house builder in Twi) because of his innovative ideas on highly advanced methods of putting up buildings in rectangular forms with windows to improve ventilation as opposed to the traditional windowless houses. It must be noted that the Western-style buildings were roofed with iron sheets and furnished with doors and windows instead of mud and wood, as was usually done by indigenous people. Instead, Europeans used bricks and stones in their building and designs of their housing units, castles and trading posts. This style of architecture was later adopted by the indigenous people, and with time, it spread all over the territory of the present-day Ghana. The pictures in **Figure 2.31** are the Elmina Castle, built by the Portuguese in 1482, and Fort Williams, built by the British in 1753. They typify the style of European architecture in Ghana.

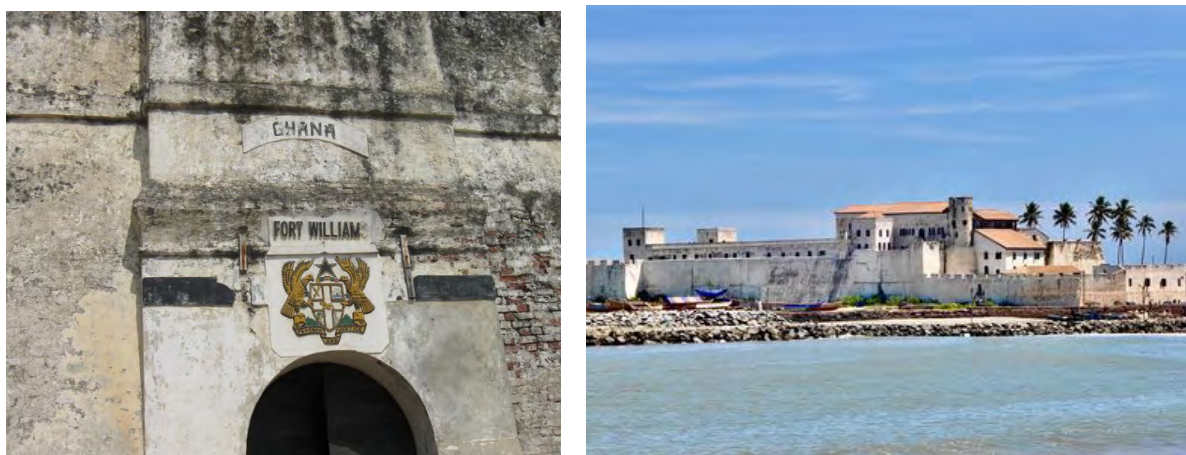


Figure 2.31: Fort Williams at Anomabo (left) and the Elmina Castle (right)

Effects of European presence on the Gold Coast on housing and architectural designs in Ghana

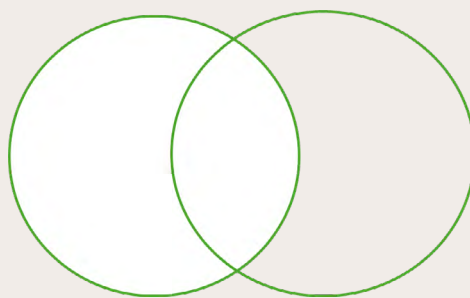
1. Introduction of new building materials
2. Implementation of European urban building principles
3. Introduction of several forts and trading posts
4. Introduction of new architectural techniques and building technologies
5. Gradual erosion and extinction of indigenous buildings and structures
6. Change in building styles

Activity 2.12 Housing and architecture under British rule

1. With the use of the internet, search for indigenous architectural designs from pre-colonial times and compare them to European ones. Use the template below to help structure your notes.

Type of structure	Primary Building Materials	Key Features

2. Create a Venn diagram of similarities and differences in pre-colonial and post-colonial architectural designs in Ghana.



3. In groups of three to five, create a database on colonial structures, including housing units built across all the regions in Ghana. You could plot this on a map or make a spreadsheet, or a table.
4. Use this information to make a pictorial timeline of the changes in architectural styles. Annotate this with the influences and reasons why these changes occurred.

EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN PRESENCE ON THE TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION SECTORS

It must be pointed out that economic and social developments during the colonial period were very slow due to a lack of transport and communication networks. Before the introduction of the railway and motor vehicle transportation systems in Ghana, journeys were made entirely on foot and goods were transported to different places through head portage. However, by the beginning of the 1900s, the British colonial administration had turned its attention to the development of transportation and communication networks.

The British colonial government laid the foundation for road and railway construction as well as the establishment of postal and radio networks, and telegraph and telephone services in the country. In 1895, the **Public Works Department** and the **Compulsory Labour Ordinance** were respectively established and passed to accelerate the construction of roads and an adequate and steady supply of labourers for the government road development programme.

These transport and communication networks were provided to support colonial government work by linking administrative towns and economic resources such as mining and cash crops areas to the coast for shipment to the metropolitan country, Great Britain. Although the rationale for the provision of these services was to exploit the natural resources of the colony to the benefit of the colonial master, they nonetheless improved the lives of indigenous Ghanaians. The roads eased mobility challenges and the railway system helped in the expansion of mining, timber processing and cocoa plantation. The pictures below are examples of the development of transportation and communication systems under colonial rule.



Image 1



Image 2

Figure 2.32: Development of the railway system in Ghana



Figure 2.33: Telephone (left) and Telegraph (right)



Figure 2.34: Dr Kwame Nkrumah on a telephone exchange

Activity 2.13 Roads/railways development in Ghana

1. With the help of the internet, locate key roads and railways constructed by the colonial government on the map of Ghana.



Figure 2.35: Map of Ghana

2. In two groups, research and present to the class the reasons for the colonial government:
 - a. Construction of roads and railways;
 - b. Establishing communication networks such as postal and radio networks, and telegraph and telephone services.
3. Discuss in small groups: Did the road and rail network help the Europeans or the Ghanaian people more? What about in the short term? In the long term?

ORIGINAL INTENTIONS BEHIND THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS MADE BY THE EUROPEANS

The social developments of the colonial government we learned in this section, were driven by a combination of economic, political and ideological motives. The nature, distribution and location of the various social developments tell us that the colonial administration was guided by its ideology of providing social conditions that would facilitate economic exploitation and political control of indigenous Ghanaians. That is, to have access to mineral resource areas, roads and railways were constructed; to link administrative districts and provinces to the seat of government in Accra, roads were constructed, and finally to put the colonised in a hope that British presence was beneficial, social amenities such as schools, hospitals, roads and among others were provided. The points below summarise the motive behind British social development in Ghana.

The motive behind European social development in Ghana

1. Economic intentions for social development
2. Ideological intentions for social development
3. Political intentions for social developments

Change and Continuity in the Social Lives of Ghanaians as a Result of European Presence

Ghanaians' social lives were affected due to their encounter with Europeans. Most aspects of their lives went through some changes, while important traditional social

structures remained unchanged or have adapted while retaining their traditional essence. These social changes and continuities are illustrated in the table below

Change	Continuity
<i>The introduction of formal education by Europeans led to changes in social mobility and access to knowledge.</i>	<i>Continuity of traditional family structures and community values.</i>
<i>An increased influence of Christianity and Western values on traditional Ghanaian customs and beliefs. For example, a change in our names.</i>	<i>Continuity of traditional clothing. Despite the significant Europeans' influence on Ghanaian dress, we still maintained our traditional clothing such as kente cloth, smock, adinkra cloth and among others.</i>
<i>Establishment of new social hierarchies based on collaboration with Europeans or adoption of European customs. For example, changes in our chieftaincy institutions due to the introduction of the indirect rule system.</i>	<i>Ghanaians maintained their traditional festivals and celebrations. Many festivals like Homowo among the Ga, Damba among the Mole-Dagbani, Hogbetsotso among the Ewe, Akwasidae among the Asante and many others survived European influence.</i>
<i>Shift from traditional modes of production and trade to a more Westernised economic system under European influence.</i>	<i>Continuity of Ghanaian music and dance despite European influence.</i>

Activity 2.14 Change and Continuity of Social Lives of Ghanaians after Europeans' Encounter

1. a. Using both primary and secondary historical sources (illustrated below), work in groups to examine change and continuity in the social lives of Ghanaians as a result of European presence in Ghana. Present your work using the template below:

	What does the source suggest?	Is it a primary or secondary source?	What are the limitations of this source?	What conclusions can I make about change and continuity in people's lives?
Source 1				
Source 2				
Source 3				
Source 4				



Figure 2.36: Dress Style



Figure 2.37: Communication device

V.—EDUCATION.

The schools under the management of missionary bodies which are subject to inspection by officers of the Education Department and receive grants-in-aid from public funds numbered, at the close of the year, 157. There are fourteen schools under direct Government control. In addition to the assisted schools there are 259 primary schools supported by the various religious bodies. Education is not compulsory.

The following is a comparative table showing the number of schools inspected during the last two years.

Denomination.	1915.	1916.	Increase or Decrease.
African Methodist E. Z. Mission	4	4	—
Basel Mission	68	68	—
Bremen Mission	15	15	—
Church of England (S.P.G.)	4	4	—
Government Schools	14	14	—
Roman Catholic Mission	30	32	plus 2
Wesleyan Mission	34	39	plus 5
Secondary, S.P.G. Grammar School, Cape Coast	1	1	—
Total	170	177	plus 7

Figure 2.38: Excerpt of a colonial document on education

One of the more permanent leftovers of Europeans coming to Africa over 500 years ago is the fact that they left us with their names and over the years, we have come to believe it is our own. There is no place in Africa where European colonization was more felt than in West Africa and close to a century since they left, their foot and fingerprints are all over our societies and identities. In the aspect of names, Ghanaians have close to 50 surnames that have European origins. But of course, not all of them are popular, and those that even are, are popular among the peoples of the coast. As follows are some very popular Ghanaian surnames that are actually leftovers from European domination in the Gold Coast.

Nelson – British Popular everywhere in Ghana, except probably the north.
 Thompson (Thomson, a variation) – British Popular among the Ga and Fante.
 Lutterodt – Dutch Popular among the Ga.
 Vanderpuije (Vanderpuyse, a variation) – Dutch Popular among the Ga.
 Swanikker (Svanikker, a variation) – Swedish Popular among the Ga.
 McCarthy – British Popular among the Ga.
 Wellington – British Popular among the Ga.
 Robertson – British Popular among the Ga and Fante.
 Quist (Qvist, a variation) – British and Swedish Popular among the Ga and Fante.
 Hesse – German Popular among the Ga.

Source: <https://yen.com.gh/129256-hammond-vanderpuije-20-popular-ghanaian-surnames->

Figure 2.39: An excerpt on European influence on naming

- b. Once completed, fill out the chart below to summarise your arguments and conclusions using the template below.

How did social lives change as a result of social developments?	How did social lives remain the same despite social developments?
How much did lives change as a result of European influence?	

- c. Debate the motion that ‘social developments carried out by Europeans were intended to help the people of Ghana’.

STRUCTURE OF BRITISH POLITICAL SYSTEM IN GHANA

The structure of the British colonial government was hierarchically organised based on the effective administration of the Gold Coast with a minimal cost. At the top of the hierarchy was the British Monarch (King/Queen), while the traditional rulers of the Gold Coast were at the bottom. Each unit in the structure played a critical role in the administration of the territory. Thus, the British incorporated the chieftaincy institution, which shares similarities with the monarchical system of the metropolitan country, into the colonial political system. The structure of the colonial political system and the relationship of the various organs include;

1. The Monarch/Crown (King or Queen)
2. The Secretary of State for the Colonies
3. The Governor
4. The Executive Council
5. The Legislative Council
6. The Provincial Commissioner
7. The District Commissioner
8. The Traditional Rulers

The roles and impacts of the various units within the colonial political structure are shown in **Table 2.3** below.

Table 2.3: Political Structure of the British Colonial System

Political Unit	Composition and Functions
The Monarch (King/ Queen)	He/she was regarded as the head of state of all British colonial territories. The monarch was the symbol of the British government.
The Secretary of State for the Colonies 1. The office of the Secretary of State for the colonies was based in London. 2. He/she was a cabinet minister in Britain who exercised control over all the British colonies across the globe, which included the Gold Coast. 3. He/she was responsible for the appointment, transfer and dismissal of colonial governors in the British colonies. 4. He/she was responsible for British colonial policies implemented in the colonies. 5. He/she approved the annual budget of the colonies before it could be implemented. 6. He/she could set a commission of enquiry to investigate certain developments in the colonies, such as riots. The powers and functions of the Secretary of State for the colonies were limited in a number of ways. a. He/she could be called by the British House of Commons to answer questions on developments in the colonies. b. The British Monarch and the Prime Minister also served as a check to him/her because he/she was appointed by the Monarch on the recommendations of the Prime Minister.	
The Governor	Each British colony had its own governor who occupied the top spot of the central administration in the colony. He/she was appointed by the Secretary of State for the colonies on the approval of the Monarch and the Prime Minister. The Governor performed several functions, which included but were not limited:

Political Unit	Composition and Functions
	1. He/she was responsible for the daily administration of the colony. 2. He/she was the chairperson for both the executive and legislative councils and presided over all meetings. 3. He/she had the power of prerogative of mercy by pardoning offenders. 4. He/she was responsible for drawing the annual budget of the colony. 5. He/she could veto the decision of the Legislative Council. 6. He/she was responsible for the appointment and dismissal of civil servants. The powers of the governor, however, had limitations. The British Crown could disallow any ordinance passed by the Legislative Council, of which he was the chairman.
The Executive Council	The Executive Council was an advisory body to the governor, assisting in the formulation and implementation of colonial policies. The governor was the chairman of the council, who was not bound by its decisions. Until 1943, the council was exclusively made up of Europeans. It was in 1943 that the governor appointed two Ghanaians into the council. They were Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa, and Sir Arko Korsah, who later became the first Chief Justice of Ghana after independence.

Political Unit	Composition and Functions
The Legislative Council	The council assisted the governor in making laws for the colony. The membership of the council was made up of the governor and both official and unofficial members. Thus, the official members were top government officials nominated by the governor, while unofficial members included Europeans representing certain interests, such as commerce, and other indigenous Ghanaians appointed by the governor. It was not until 1925 that an elective principle was introduced to elect members to the council.
The Provincial Commissioner	Provinces are constituted today as what can be said, regions. In the colony proper (coastal zone of Ghana), we had three provinces such as Western, Central and Eastern provinces. These provinces were headed by provincial commissioners. They were responsible for supervising all government activities within their province. They also supervised the work of district commissioners.
The District Commissioner	Each province was further divided into districts. For example, the North-eastern province of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast was divided into four districts. These included Gambaga, Bawku, Zuarungu and Navrongo districts. The districts were headed by district commissioners who were responsible for the administration of the districts. The commissioner supervised the work of the chiefs and reported the same to the provincial commissioner.

Political Unit	Composition and Functions
The Traditional Rulers	Every district was further divided into traditional areas or native authority councils. The council is composed of the paramount chiefs and their divisional chiefs. They were in charge of enforcing colonial policies such as the collection of taxes and the recruitment of young men for enlistment into the army or labour force for the colonial mines and railway lines in the Gold Coast.

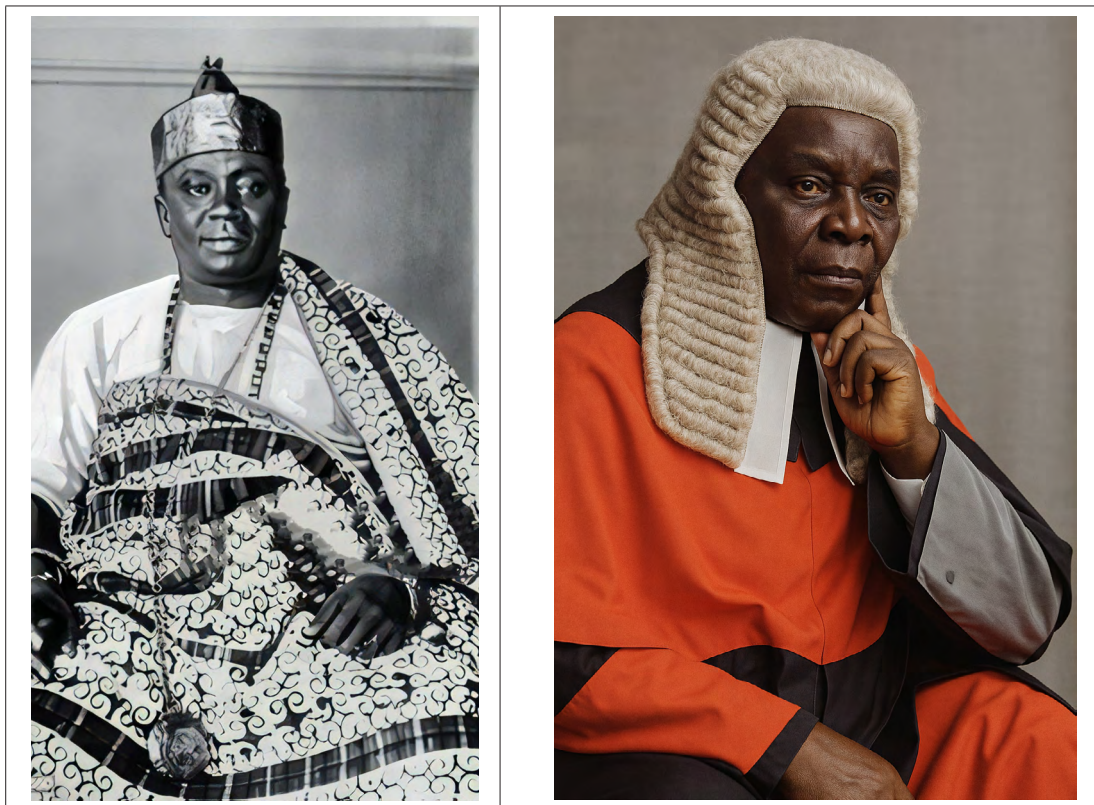


Figure 2.40: The two Ghanaians who were appointed to the Executive Council in 1943. Nana Ofori Atta I (left) and Arku Korsah (right)

Activity 2.15 Political structure of the British administration

1.
 - a. In groups, research from different sources and discuss the structure of the British colonial system.
 - b. Once the research is complete, create posters and display them around the learning space to create a gallery.
 - c. Visit other groups' posters and assess their historical accuracy and source choice.
2. In pairs, analyse the consequences of the British imposition of foreign political institutions on Ghanaian traditional political structures. Present your thoughts as a mind map and ensure that the connections between events are illustrated/ annotated and explained.

THE ROLE OF CHIEFS IN THE COLONIAL POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND THE NATIVE JURISDICTION ORDINANCE OF 1883

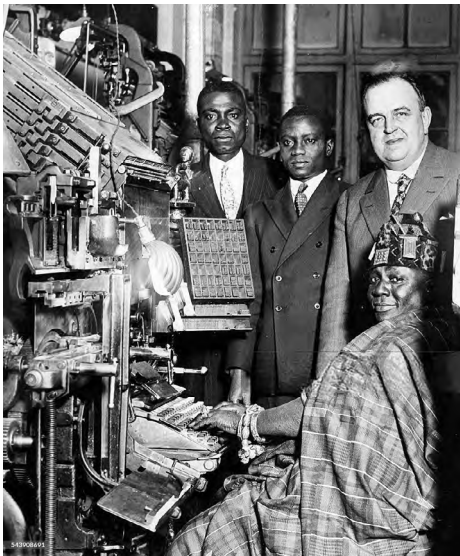


Figure 2.41: Nana Ofori Atta I on a visit to England, he is visiting a London Newspaper office and operating a linotype machine



Figure 2.42: Nana Kwasi Akuffo I, Akuapemhene, received His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, to the Gold Coast in 1925.



Figure 2.43: British colonial officers in Kumasi, 1937



Figure 2.44: Governor Arden-Clarke greets chiefs of the Northern Territories, 1953

Prior to the imposition of British colonial rule on the Gold Coast from 1874 to 1902, the chiefs were autonomous and independent. However, during the colonial period, they were reduced to servants of the colonial government. The institution became an agent and collaborator of colonial rule. This was as a result of the introduction of the *Indirect Rule* system, which was designed to make chiefs representative of their people at the colonial districts/native authority councils.

The British adopted this system to minimise expenditure on administering the territories, and it also solved the problem of an acute shortage of personnel. The system was very effective because of the use of the natural leaders of the people who naturally commanded higher respect from their subjects.

The chiefs played several roles, ranging from administrative to judicial functions as spelt out by the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (NJO) of 1883, which served as the foundation of the Indirect Rule system in Ghana. The NJO also empowered the governor to meddle in the chieftaincy institution. He could dismiss a chief whom he thought his service was unsatisfactory to the colonial state. The NJO was replaced with the Native Administrative Ordinance of 1927, which clarified and regulated the powers and areas of jurisdiction of chiefs and traditional councils. The following are some of the major roles played by chiefs under British rule in Ghana.

- 1. A link between the central government and their people:** They served as representatives of their people to the central government as well as mouthpieces of the government at the local level.
- 2. Native administration:** The chiefs were in charge of the administration of their jurisdiction. This function was not new to them because they had always administered their territories long before the advent of Europeans.

3. **Enactment of laws:** The chiefs were responsible for making byelaws suitable to the environment, customs and norms. These laws, in some cases, needed the approval of the district commissioner before they could become operational.
4. **Maintenance of law and order:** The chiefs, with the help of the colonial local police, maintained law and order within their traditional area. They enforced both colonial and byelaws of their jurisdiction.
5. **Supervision of development projects:** Chiefs were acting as colonial government appointees. They were responsible for the supervision of colonial developmental projects in their areas. They supervised and reported to district commissioners.
6. **Establishment of native courts:** In each native authority area, there was a court attached. The chiefs adjudicated matters of dispute in native courts. They handled both civil and criminal cases in their area of jurisdiction. In civil matters such as chieftaincy or land disputes, the district commissioner was always present to observe and advise the council. **Figure 2.45** illustrates the Akan traditional court sitting under British rule.



Figure 2.45: Akan traditional court sitting during the colonial period

7. **Control over native treasures:** The chiefs were in charge of revenue mobilisation for the colonial government. They made bylaws on local taxes and collected the colonial government tax on its behalf.

Provisions of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883

1. The ordinance defined and controlled the political relationship between the colonial government and the 'protected' kings.
2. The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (NJO) empowered the kings to make byelaws with the approval of the governor. The byelaws were aimed at promoting peace, good order, and the welfare of the people.
3. The NJO conferred civil and criminal jurisdiction in specific matters on the kings.
4. The NJO also prescribed penalties for offenders. Under the NJO, the courts of the protected kings became 'Courts of First Instance.' This implied that no case heard by a native tribunal, i.e. the chief's court, could be heard again by a district commissioner's court unless the Secretary of Native Affairs granted leave to appeal.
5. Besides, the Governor reserved the right to depose a king for grave abuse of his power

Activity 2.16 Roles of chiefs under British rule

1. In groups, with the use of the internet, create a presentation about the specific roles played by chiefs under the British colonial system. Present this to your class.
2. In groups, carefully read the summary of the NJO of 1883 above and discuss its impact and significance on the political developments of the Gold Coast as well as its historical context
3. Feedback your ideas to the class.

COLONIAL CONSTITUTIONS

The colonial government, from time to time, enacted and adopted constitutions to guide the administration of the Gold Coast. They were enacted through a series of ordinances and orders. The most important of these constitutions were the Clifford constitution of 1916, the Guggisberg constitution of 1925, the Allan Burns constitution of 1946, and the Arden-Clark constitution of 1951. These constitutions were named after their respective governors of the Gold Coast at the time of their formation. The constitutions helped in consolidating British control

and provided a framework for colonial governance in the Gold Coast. The pictures below are the various governors whose constitutions are discussed in this section.



Governor Sir Hugh Clifford



Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg



Governor Allan Burns



Governor Sir Arden Clarke

Figure 2.46: The respective governors of the four constitutions

Table 2.4: Features of each of the four constitutions

Clifford Constitution (1916)	Guggisberg Constitution (1925)	Allan Burns Constitution (1946)	Arden Clark Constitution (1951)
1. The Clifford constitution of 1916 was the first major constitution introduced in the Gold Coast by Governor Hugh Clifford. 2. It established Legislative and Executive Councils to respectively enact laws and formulate and implement policies. 3. The Legislative Council comprise 21 members. 4. All members to the Legislative Council were appointed by the governor.	1. The constitution was introduced by Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg to address the shortfalls of the Clifford constitution. 2. It increased the membership of the legislative council to 29 (15 officials and 14 unofficial)	1. Allan Burns constitution was promulgated in March 1946 barely less than a year after the Second World War. It came up as a result of fierce protests, agitation and other forms of pressure from the educated elites who advocated for greater participation in the colonial government. 2. For the first time the constitution made provision for African majority in the legislative council. There were to be 12 Europeans and 18 elected Africans.	1. The Arden Clark constitution was introduced in 1951 after the Burns constitution failed to tackle the problems of the Gold Coast. 2. The Legislative Council (now Legislative Assembly) was to have a chairman, and 84 members distributed as follows: three ex-officio members (Europeans); six representing mining and commercial interests; 37 chosen by the chiefs; 38 to be elected directly by the municipalities of Accra, Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi and Kumasi.



Clifford Constitution (1916)	Guggisberg Constitution (1925)	Allan Burns Constitution (1946)	Arden Clark Constitution (1951)
5. Out of the 21 members of the Legislative Council, 12 (all Europeans) were official members including the governor, while nine were unofficial members. 6. Three of the unofficial members were Europeans representing commerce, mining and the banking sector. 7. The remaining six were Ghanaians, three of them representing the educated elites, while the remaining three who were paramount chiefs representing the Twi, Ewe and Fante speaking people.	3. Five of the unofficial members were Europeans representing banking, mining, shipping and commercial interests. 4. The constitution introduced elective principle for the first time. 5. Of the nine Ghanaians, three were to be elected on property franchise to represent towns of Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi. The remaining six were to be paramount chiefs elected by the provincial councils of chiefs: three from the Eastern Province, two from	3. It also provided for the legislative union between the colony and Asante, which then included the modern-day Bono, Ahafo and Bono-East regions. 4. The Legislative Council composed of the Governor as chairman, six official members and 24 unofficial members. 5. Out of the 24 unofficial members, nine were elected by the Joint Provincial Councils, four by the Asanteman Council, five directly elected by universal adult suffrage from the six members nominated	3. There was to be an Executive Council (Cabinet): consisting of three ex-officio members (Europeans), and eight Ghanaian ministers drawn from the Legislative Assembly. 4. The cabinet was to be responsible to the Governor as well as to the Assembly. 5. One of the eight Ghanaian members was to be leader of Government Business (Prime Minister) and be approved by the Assembly.



Clifford Constitution (1916)	Guggisberg Constitution (1925)	Allan Burns Constitution (1946)	Arden Clark Constitution (1951)
Thus, Nana Ofori Atta of Akyem Abuakwa represented Twi speaking people, Nana Amoako Kwesi Twei of Anomabo for Fante and Togbui Sri for Ewe. 8. The executive council was made up of six senior members of the colonial administration. They were the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, the Commander of the Troops and the Director of Medical Services. 9. All members of the executive council were Europeans.	Central and one from Western 6. The Executive Council continued to be made up only Europeans. 7. It was composed of the Governor and five officials of most important departments.	by the Governor of whom three were Europeans representing special interests and three were Gold Coasters. 6. The Executive Council comprised 11 members: 8 Europeans and three Ghanaians. 7. The three Ghanaians appointed to the Executive Council were C.W. Takyi-Menson (Sekondi-Takoradi Municipal Council), Dr. I.B. Asafo Adjei (Asante), and Nana Tsibu Darko (Western Province).	

Activity 2.17 Comparative analysis of the constitutions

1. Create a timeline of the various constitutions. Annotate it with the wider context of Ghanaian/ Gold Coast history. You may need to use the internet to help you with this if you have the means to do so. Annotate the timeline with the motivations behind the various constitutions.
2. Analyse the following sources about the various constitutions. Present your work using the template below.

	What does the source suggest?	Is it a primary or secondary source?	What are the limitations of this source?	What conclusions can I make about the motivations behind the constitution?
Source 1				
Source 2				
Source 3				
Source 4				

Source 1: Excerpt about the Clifford constitution of 1916 from a book.

“Most of the far-reaching political and economic changes envisaged by Sir Hugh Clifford, the Gold Coast Governor between 1912 and 1916, did not materialise because of the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. However, by 1916, there were some changes in the composition of the Legislative Council. The number of unofficial members in the Legislative Council was increased from four to nine. Of the nine members, three were Europeans, three paramount chiefs, while the remaining were educated Africans. All nine unofficial members were nominated by the Governor, and African members were six in all.”

Benjamin K. Ampadu, *Notes on History of Ghana for Senior High Schools*, vol 2 (Buster’s edition, 2014), p. 203.

Source 2: Excerpt about the Guggisberg constitution of 1925 from a book

“In 1925, Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, the Governor of the Gold Coast, gave Ghana a new constitution. The constitution, provided for an Executive Council and a Legislative Council. The Governor chaired both the

Executive Council and the Legislative Council. All the Executive Council were European.”

Benjamin K. Ampadu, *Notes on History of Ghana for Senior High Schools* vol 2 (Buster’s edition, 2014), p. 203.

Source 3: Excerpt about the Allan Burns constitution of 1946 from a book

“...The Burns Constitution was promulgated in March 1946 immediately after the Second War. Its promulgation came on the back of fierce protest, agitation, and other forms of pressure which were aimed towards greater participation of Africans in all aspect of governance process in the colonial government.”

Prince A. Kuffour, *Concise Notes on African and Ghanaian History* (K4 Series Investment Ventures, 2021), p. 521.

Source 4: Excerpt about the Arden Clarke constitution of 1951 from online material

“...one of the advantages of the Arden Clarke constitution was that it enlarged the membership of the legislature. Previously, there were 31 members in the Legislative Council but with the new constitution, this was increased to 84. ... it introduced an African majority in the Executive Assembly. There were eight Africans/Ghanaians. Much more than the three Europeans.”

3. In groups, do a comparative analysis of the various colonial constitutions and document the changes and continuities between them.
4. Discuss in small groups: How did the constitutions impact the political development of the Gold Coast?
5. Debate as a class: Which was the most important of the various constitutions that we have learned about?

EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN PRESENCE ON THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

The European presence in the Gold Coast (Ghana) had a profound impact on the agricultural sector. It brought significant changes to traditional farming practices. With the introduction of cash crops by the Europeans, there was a notable shift from subsistence farming to the cultivation of crops for commercial purposes.

European influences brought in new agricultural techniques and technologies. Colonial policies also played a pivotal role in shaping agricultural development and land use in the Gold Coast. These changes had far-reaching effects on the agricultural sector and the overall economy of Ghana.

Developments in the Agricultural Sector

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the pre-colonial Ghanaians were engaged in agriculture. The agricultural heritage of Ghana features the production of a variety of native crops, which includes, rice, cowpea, yam, millet, plantain and groundnut.

Figure 2.47 is an example of cowpea produced by pre-colonial Ghanaians.



Figure 2.47: Native cowpea

However, the arrival of the Europeans marked the introduction of new crops like maize, tomatoes, potatoes, mangoes, lemons, sugar cane, oranges, bananas, coconuts, pineapples, and cassava. Initially, these crops were grown in gardens around European fortifications to supplement their food supply but were later introduced to the Ghanaian farmer.

The Europeans not only encouraged the cultivation of food crops, but they also promoted the production of cash crops. Cash crops such as palm oil and palm kernel, kola nut, timber, cocoa, rubber and coffee were produced. They encouraged Ghanaians to cultivate them for consumption and export.

The following are some of the cash crops that were introduced to Ghanaian farmers by the Europeans.

Kola nuts production: Kola nut is a crop which grows wild in the forest. In the late nineteenth century, a few packages of kola were exported to Britain. By 1900, kola was exported to Nigeria. **Figure 2.48** is the item, kola nut



Kola fruit



Kola nut

Figure 2.48: Kola nut

Rubber production: like kola nuts, rubber grows wild in the forest. It was in the 1890s that F. C. Grant and other merchants started exporting rubber. By 1891, annual rubber exports had reached 1.3 million kg. In fact, at this time, Ghana became the world's leading producer. **Figure 2.49** is an example of a rubber plantation.



Rubber trees



Rubber tapping

Figure 2.49: Rubber trees

Timber processing: The exportation of timber began in 1887 when 7 cubic metres were sent abroad. By 1913, some 84,951 cubic metres were exported. Industrial sawmills were established in towns in the forest areas to process raw timber for export to Europe, America, and the Far East. Among such centres were Samnaboi in the Western Region, Oda and Nkawkaw in the Eastern Region, and Kumasi in Asante. Below is an example of a timber.



Timber trees



Timber logs

Figure 2.50: Timber resources

Production of cocoa: Available historical records indicate that the Dutch missionaries planted the crop as far back as 1815 along the coastal areas of the then Gold Coast. In 1857, the Basel missionaries also planted cocoa at Aburi. However, the initial efforts of the missionaries did not yield large quantities. In 1879, Tetteh Quarshie and his brother, who were natives of Labadi who had been working as goldsmiths on the Island of Fernando Po, brought some cocoa pods and cultivated them successfully on their farm at Akuapem Mampong. Below is an example of the cocoa plant.



Image 1 (pods on cocoa tree)



Image 2 (cocoa beans)

Figure 2.51: Cocoa

Coffee production: The earliest evidence of structured coffee production in Ghana dates to the mid-18th century. It was mainly cultivated in the Asante, Bono, Eastern, Central, Western, and Volta regions of Ghana. Ghana is not internationally known for coffee production. This is because the production volume is very low. Below is an example of a coffee plant.



Image 1



Image 2

Figure 2.52: Coffee plant and seeds

The Changes Introduced by the Colonial Government in the Production of Cocoa

To enhance quality and increase cocoa production, the colonial government attempted to introduce some reforms. The following are some notable interventions:

The Central Cocoa Research Station: The colonial government established a research station at Tafo in the Eastern region to, among other things, research into cocoa and other crop diseases. **Figure 2.53** is a picture taken from the Cocoa Research Institute at Tafo



Figure 2.53: Cocoa research institute, Tafo

The establishment of the Cocoa Marketing Board. This body was mandated to regulate and secure the most favourable arrangement for the purchase, grading, certification, sale and export of cocoa. However, the marketing board's monopoly of cocoa exports since 1939 imposed low real producer prices for cash-crop farmers during the colonial and post-colonial period, which did not mean they saw the benefits of increased cocoa trade.

The production and distribution of cocoa seedlings. The colonial government opened a special cocoa nursery in the botanical gardens at Aburi, where seedlings of cocoa were distributed to different parts of the country. This led to the land extension of cocoa farms. For example, from the Akwapim ridge, cocoa farmers migrated northwards into relatively under-cultivated forest zones to cultivate cocoa. **Figure 2.54** is an example of cocoa seedlings



Figure 2.54: Cocoa seedlings

The establishment of experimental farms. The colonial government set up model farms at various places in the country to encourage the local farmers to improve their knowledge of agriculture. For example, at Aburi experimental farms, farmers were trained to plant crops in lines and on how to produce and apply manure.

The establishment of the West African Produce Board. Established in 1940, the board was to purchase cocoa under guaranteed prices from all West African countries. By guaranteed pricing, farmers were assured of protection against exploitation by cocoa buying companies.

Activity 2.18 European influence on agriculture

1. With the use of books and the internet, create a simple timeline showing three major cash crops, the time of their introduction and the European countries that introduced the crops to the Gold Coast.
2. Using a map of Ghana, trace the areas known for the cultivation of different cash crops in the colonial era (for example, Krobo, Akwapim, and Akyem for palm oil).
3. In small groups, discuss the role of Europeans in the cultivation of various cash crops in the Gold Coast.
4. Share the outcome of your discussions with the class.

EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN ACTIVITIES ON THE MINING SECTOR

Gold is a commodity which is highly priced. People have been mining for gold in Ghana for centuries. Long before the Europeans set foot in the area in the 1470s, Ghanaians looked for gold with pickaxes, shovels, and pans. They washed or “panned” for gold along riverbanks or dug holes on the surface to find deposits of gold dust and nuggets. The table below shows how traditional mining was carried out in Ghana.



Underground mining



Surface mining

Figure 2.55: Traditional mining practices

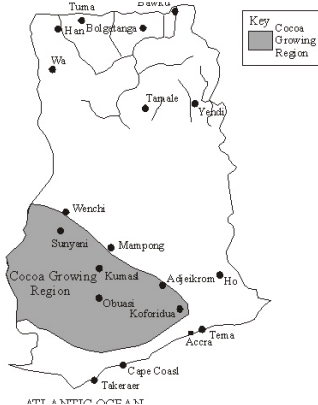
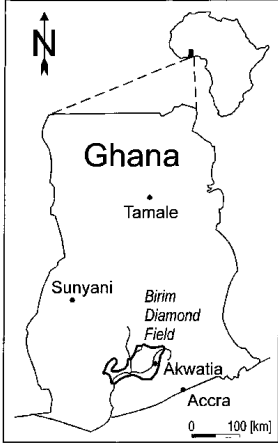
How did European activities impact the mining sector in Ghana? Realising the economic potential of the mining sector, the Europeans introduced modern mining equipment and machinery, which facilitated effective mining of minerals. Modern machines such as graders, earthmovers, and excavators which led to mechanised and deep-shaft mining. Some of the minerals that were mined in the Gold Coast listed below.

Some of the Minerals that were Mined in Gold Coast

1. Gold
2. Diamond
3. Bauxite
4. Manganese

The table below shows the minerals and a description of where they were extracted in the Gold Coast.

Table 2.5: Minerals and where they are mined in Ghana

Mineral resources and locations where they were mined during the colonial era	Mineral
Gold: The best-known localities of alluvial gold concentrations are along the Offin, Pra, Ankobra, Mansi, Awere, Anum, Bonte, Birim and Tano river flood plains. 	
Diamond: Diamonds were first discovered along the Birim River, in an area 19 miles northwest of Akwatia, in 1919 	
Manganese; this is largely mined in Ghana at Prestea, in the Western Region.	

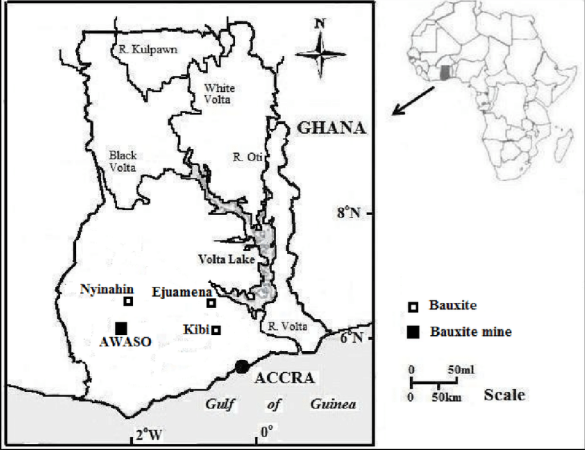
Mineral resources and locations where they were mined during the colonial era	Mineral
Bauxite: In Ghana, the main bauxite deposits are found in Awaso, Kibi, Mt. Ejuamena and Nyinahin. 	



Figure 2.56: Examples of underground mining carried out with modern equipment

Activity 2.19 Mineral extracted in Ghana

1. In pairs, design a map of Ghana highlighting the major mining areas that existed in the colonial era. Include gold (Wassa, Tarkwa, Obuasi, Konongo), manganese (Nsuta), diamonds (Akwatia, Takorase), and bauxite (Awaso, Mpraeso, Kyebi, Nyinahin). Use different icons or colours for each mineral.
2. In pairs, create a comprehensive infographic showcasing the development of Ghana's mining sector from 1860 to 1953. Think carefully about how best to present your information to make it as clear as possible.

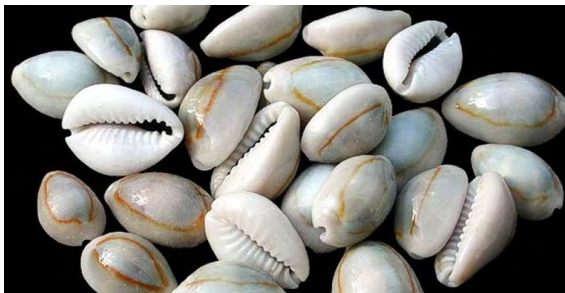
3. In a small group, using the internet and books, complete the timeline below showing the introduction of scientific mining methods for different minerals in Ghana.

Gold	Diamond	Manganese

4. With the formation of two groups in the class, argue for or against the motion that 'European mining activities during the colonial period laid the foundation for sustainable economic development in Ghana'.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FINANCIAL SECTOR

Before the introduction of foreign currency coins in Ghana in the late 19th century, goods and services were exchanged through a barter system (where goods were exchanged for goods). Cowries and gold dust were also used. Though in some areas, the cowries and gold dust and later, the British silver coin were accepted, this trend of affairs did not promote effective trade in the country, as there was no universally accepted means of exchange.



Cowries



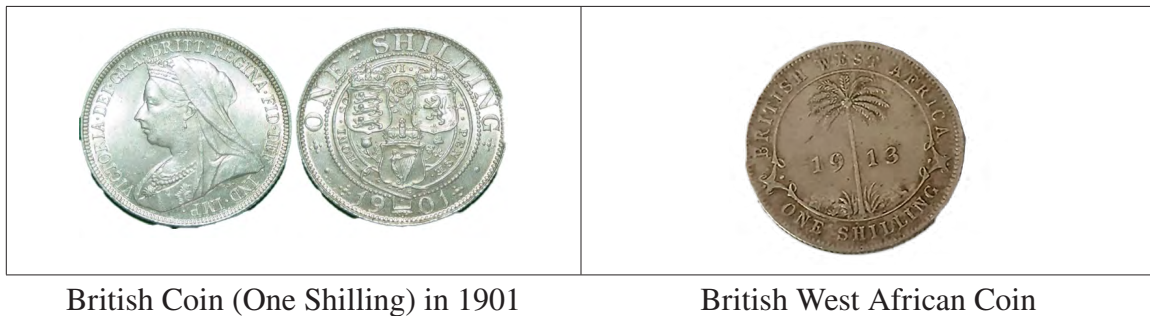
Gold nuggets

Figure 2.57: Major items used as medium of exchange in Gold Coast before the introduction of the British West African coins.

Development of Currency

In order to bring coherence into the financial life of the people, the British Colonial Government demonetised the gold dust and encouraged the sole use of British silver coins which had been introduced in 1901 to replace the variety of currencies that were in circulation prior to that date.

The West African Currency Board was set up in 1912 to control currency issuance, and in 1913, it issued its first British West African coins. **Figure 2.58** below is an example of the British West African coins.



British Coin (One Shilling) in 1901

British West African Coin

Figure 2.58: An image of currencies introduced by Britain into the Gold Coast

Below is the order of the development of European currency in Gold Coast.

1. Barter Trading System
2. Introduction of overseas currencies in Gold Coast in the late 19th century
3. Introduction of British coin (penny and shilling) in 1901
4. Establishment of the Gold Exchange Standard Board for British West Africa in 1912
5. Issuance of British West African coins in 1913
6. Introduction of Ghana's own currencies, the cedi and pesewa, in 1957

Development in the Banking Sector

To facilitate economic activities, the colonial government set up a couple of banks. Examples are mentioned below.

- Introduction of banking in Ghana in the late 19th century
- Establishment of the Bank of British West Africa (now the Standard Bank) in Accra in 1897 and in Kumasi in 1908
- Opening of the Colonial Bank (now Absa Bank) in 1917
- Banking activities dominated by British companies until 1957 after Ghana became independent

Activity 2.20 Development in the finance sector

1. In pairs, discuss the reasons behind the creation of the various financial institutions in Gold Coast.

2. Create a simple timeline showing the introduction of financial institutions in Gold Coast.
 - a. In small groups and with the help of books and the internet, discuss how Europeans influenced trading activities in Ghana.
 - b. Write the result of your discussions in the chart below and share it with the class.

Influence of Europeans in Trading Activities in Ghana

4. Use the information that you have learned to create an interactive timeline. In groups, assign an event to each person and gather them into the correct chronological order. When each person is called, they describe their event as well as the reasons it happened and the impact that it had.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF GOVERNOR GUGGISBERG (1919 – 1927) IN THE ECONOMIC SECTOR

Sir Gordon Guggisberg was a Canadian-born British who was appointed Governor of the Gold Coast after the First World War from 1919 – 1927. Governor Guggisberg is one of the few governors whose economic policies made a significant impact on the people of Gold Coast.

Economic Policies under the Reign of Governor Guggisberg

Governor Gordon Guggisberg is described as the most outstanding governor Ghana ever had in the days of British colonialism. When he took over the administration of the Gold Coast, he realised that the country was lacking basic economic and social development. He therefore set himself a task of providing urgent socio-economic measures to remedy the situation in the Gold Coast. His

contributions to the economic development of the Gold Coast can be seen in his policy interventions as explained below.

Guggisberg Economic Development Policies

1. A Ten-Year Development Plan
2. Development of Transport
3. Provision of Communication Facilities
4. Introduction of the Forest Bill
5. Diversification of Agriculture
6. The Building of the Takoradi Harbour

A Ten-Year Development Plan: Soon after taking over the administration of the Gold Coast, Guggisberg announced a ten-year development plan to reorganise and put the country's economy on sound footing. The plan was to involve a total expenditure of £25 million. The plan was to, among others, construct the Takoradi Harbour, extend railways and expand the transport and communication sector.

The Building of the Takoradi Harbour: To boast exports and imports, Guggisberg constructed a deep-water harbour in Takoradi. This harbour was to serve as a gateway for Ghana's export and import of goods and services to promote economic growth and development in the country. He began the construction of the harbour in 1921 and officially opened it in April 1928. **Figure 2.59** is the image of the Takoradi Harbour.



Figure 2.59: The Takoradi Harbour

Diversification of Agriculture: Governor Guggisberg endorsed the diversification of agriculture due to a sharp drop in cocoa prices during the second year of his tenure of office. By the end of his tenure, Ghana became a leading producer of cocoa in the world. The diversification drives also saw the revival of the palm oil industry and the growth of sisal. The result was the establishment of experimental farms for oil palm and sisal near Takoradi. The pictures in **Figure 2.60** are pictures of the sisal and palm oil.



Palm fruit/trees



Sisal plant

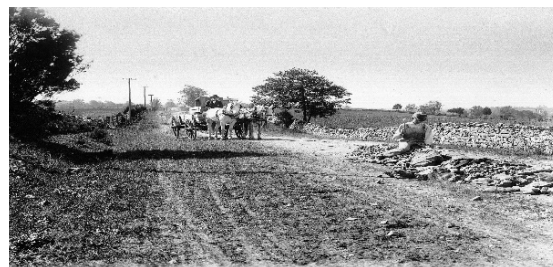
Figure 2.60: Picture of diversified crops

Introduction of the Forest Bill: To protect the country's forest from overexploitation, Governor Guggisberg introduced the Forest Bill, which later became a law in 1927 despite the strong opposition it faced from the people. The law aimed to provide for the establishment of a Forestry Department to take charge of forest reserves in the country. This helped the government to reserve about 6,000 square miles of forest lands.

Development of Transport: Guggisberg constructed a lot of roads in the country, particularly in the Northern Territories. He is credited with introducing the coal-tarring of roads. A total of 3,338 miles of new roads were constructed during his tenure. This made travelling more convenient. **Figure 2.61** is an example of the railways and roads constructed by Governor Guggisberg.



Railways



Road

Figure 2.61: Transport development under Governor Guggisberg

Provision of Communication Facilities: The Ten-Year Development Plan also made provision for communication facilities. He introduced postal services, telephone and telegraph to improve communication in the country.

Activity 2.21 Guggisberg's economic contribution

1. In groups, create a simple timeline of Governor Guggisberg's major economic contributions from 1919 to 1927. Include at least four key events with their respective years.
 - a. Using a table, compare and contrast two of Guggisberg's economic initiatives.

Name of Economic Initiative	Strength	Weakness
1.		
2.		
Analysis of their Long-Term Impacts on the Economy		

- b. Discuss in groups how each of the initiatives contributed to the development of the Gold Coast and analyse their potential long-term impacts on the country's economy in class. You could do this in the form of a role play, with each of you taking a different perspective to explain how the initiatives impacted different groups of people.
2. With the use of the internet, find more information on the Ten-Year Development Plan and evaluate its effectiveness in addressing the economic needs of the Gold Coast. Write your answer in an extended paragraph.

CHALLENGES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE GOLD COAST

Though there were some significant economic improvements in the Gold Coast during the colonial regime, some structural defects undermined these economic developments. The economy was characterised by the exploitation of both human and natural resources, over-dependence on cash crop production, selective

provision of developmental projects, high taxation and European domination of major sectors of the economy. These economic problems made the good policies championed by Governor Guggisberg insignificant in the lives of the Gold Coast people.

Resource Exploitation: The Europeans exploited and exported a variety of resources from the Gold Coast. Natural resources, including gold, metal ores, diamonds, ivory, pepper, timber, grain and cocoa, were exploited to the benefit of the colonial master, Britain. Also, the colonial administration exploited human resources by way of forced labour and low wages of Ghanaians. Under the Indirect Rule system, chiefs were obliged to supply a labour force to work at the mines, on railway and road constructions and other labour-intensive places. This in most cases were against the will of the people. This further reduced productivity at the local economies of the respective traditional areas. The figures below are ivory as a natural resource for exploitation and a picture of indigenous Ghanaians on road construction.



Ivory



Force labour on a road construction site

Figure 2.62: Examples of resources exploited by Europeans

Cash Crop Production: The over-reliance on cash crops such as cocoa, rubber, timber, and coffee, among others shifted the attention of the people from subsistence farming. This led to an insufficient food supply. Also, cash crop production required large hectares of land, resulting to deforestation.

Foreign domination of the economy: The Europeans, Syrians, Indians and Lebanese monopolised the import and export trade. They imported goods at far cheaper prices and sold them to Ghanaians at exorbitant prices. Also, these

foreigners had access to credit from financial institutions in the country, while local entrepreneurs did not.

High Taxation: The Colonial government heavily relied on taxation to run the affairs of the colony. Taxation was the major means of revenue to pay salaries of colonial public and civil officers. This diverted revenue that could have been used to provide social amenities for the people to payment of salaries. Also, the high taxes especially on import and export business made it difficult for local entrepreneurs to compete favourably with the foreigners in the trade.

Selective/Underdevelopment: The colonial administration chose to develop areas that had economic potential to be exploited for the benefit of the metropolitan country. For instance, the Northern Territories received little development due to their lack of mineral resources. It was only used as a labour pool to the mines, roads and railway lines in the south.

These major economic problems of Ghana under British rule.

1. Resource Exploitation
2. Force Labour
3. Cash Crop Production
4. Foreign domination of the economy
5. High Taxation
6. Selective/Underdevelopment

Activity 2.22 Economic challenges under colonial rule

1. In pairs and with the aid of books and the internet, outline of the challenges of colonial policies on the Gold Coast. Use the prompt questions to help you:
 - a. How were the people of the Gold Coast affected by the colonial economic policies?
 - b. Which aspect of their lives were affected?
2. In groups, prepare and present to the class on major economic problems during the colonial era in the Gold Coast.
3. With the class divided into two, debate on the topic: “European trade policies: more harmful or beneficial to the Gold Coast?”

GHANAIAN ENTREPRENEURS THAT EMERGED AS A RESULT OF EUROPEAN PRESENCE AND ACTIVITIES IN THE GOLD COAST

European activities on the Gold Coast influenced the natives to also engage in trading activities that empowered them economically and politically. Although Europeans aimed at monopolising the trading activities around the coast, they could not do away with enterprising young men and women who desired to acquire wealth within the European activities in the Gold Coast. The European traders needed men and women to play an intermediary role in their dealings with the people of the Gold Coast, since language was a major barrier to direct interactions. This equipped the local traders with broader knowledge in international business.

The popular trading centres and ports like Komenda, Winneba, Axim, Anomabo and Sekondi birthed some prominent Ghanaian entrepreneurs such as John Kabes, Paa Grant, R. J. Ghartey and others who strategically engaged with European powers while building their own economic and political influence. This dynamic environment allowed indigenous Ghanaian entrepreneurs to establish themselves as major players in the economic landscape of the time.

Some Ghanaian Entrepreneurs that Emerged as a Result of European Activities in the Gold Coast

1. R.J. Ghartey
2. William Nahr Ocansey
3. John Kabes
4. Kate Dawson (Swanzy)
5. Jacob Wilson Sey
6. John Cudjoe Caboceer
7. Thomas Hughes
8. Paa Grant

Challenge Activity

With the use of an internet search to find pictorial impressions (pictures) of the various Ghanaian entrepreneurs captured in the chart above.

Activity 2.23 Ghanaian entrepreneurs during the colonial period

1. Create a mind map showing some entrepreneurs that emerged during the colonial period in the Gold Coast.
2. With the help of the internet, identify any entrepreneur that emerged during the colonial period and highlight his or her achievement(s).
3. In small groups, and with the use of the internet and available books, research and produce a poster on how the changes introduced by Europeans affected the economic lives of Ghanaians.

EXTENDED READING

• Addo-Fening, R. (2013). Ghana under colonial rule: An outline of the early period and the interwar years. <i>Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana</i>, 15, pp. 39-70. Retrieve from http://www.jstor.org/stable/43855011	
• Follow the link to watch a documentary on British colonisation of Ghana and its socio-economic impacts. https://youtu.be/Pb6RWFeTcsY?si=AKVSD0SpwEMUS6xR	
• https://gutenberg.org/files/. For information on the first Voyage of Vasco Da Gama 1497-1499.	
• https://www.britannica.com/video/history-slave-trade-Africa-region/-94331	
• https://youtu.be/airEw5tG9eo?si=Ko6UA6c2z3exuYaD.	
• You can follow the link to watch a video lesson on the Sagrenti war and the signing of the treaty of Fomena in 1874. https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=9vSw2f8WVcs	

- You can follow the link to watch the Yaa Asantewaa war, which finally broke the Asante Empire and brought it under British colonial rule. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3BAEeTCYLsE>



- Boahen, A. A. (1975). *Ghana: Evolution and change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. London: Longman.
- Kuffour, P. A. (2021). *Concise notes on African and Ghanaian history for senior high schools*. Accra: K4 Series Investment Ventures.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. List five European nations whose nationals sailed to the coast of Ghana.
2. What were the main reasons for the high demand for gold and ivory from the Gold Coast in the 15th- 17th centuries?
3. What accounted for the shift from trading gold and ivory to trading humans on the Gold Coast?
4. How did the major treaties signed between the Europeans and the indigenous people of the Gold Coast contribute to the gradual British control over the Gold Coast?
5. Identify and explain two key factors that motivated British expansion into the northern part of Ghana.
6. Explain any five roles played by traditional rulers in the British colonial political system in Ghana.
7. Explain how the introduction of cash crops by Europeans affected local food production in Ghana.
8. What were the main economic problems faced by the Gold Coast during the colonial period?



SECTION

3

NATIONALISM AND THE JOURNEY TO INDEPENDENCE



AGE OF ENCOUNTER AND EXCHANGES UP TO THE 20TH CENTURY

Response to Colonial Rule

INTRODUCTION

In this section, we will delve into Ghanaians' response to colonial rule, emphasising the nature of resistance against colonial domination in the Gold Coast. The section primarily focuses on the activities of Ghanaian nationalists and their movements. It highlights the efforts of nationalists in resisting colonial rule and ultimately attaining independence.

The section covers the nature and activities of nationalist movements, including their efforts in resisting colonial domination in the Gold Coast. By the end of the section, you would have engaged relevant historical sources to gain a comprehensive understanding of the activities of Ghanaian nationalists and political movements they formed to champion the course of their freedom and develop arguments why their actions were justified at the time. Also, you would be equipped with Ghanaian national values such as patriotism, loyalty, national consciousness, tolerance and teamwork.

KEY IDEAS

- **Modern nationalism**, on the other hand, refers to the quest for the absolute removal of colonial rule and the granting of independence, which was seen after the Second World War.
- **Nationalism** is a political ideology that emphasises the interests, culture, and traditions of a particular nation, often in opposition to the interests of other nations or supranational groups.
- **Proto nationalism** refers to the activities geared toward inclusiveness in the administration of the colonies before the commencement of the Second World War.
- **The Trusteeship Territory of British Togoland** was a German-controlled territory until the end of the First World War, which became an UN-mandated territory under British protection. It remained under the administration of the United Kingdom until it joined Ghana in 1956 through a plebiscite organised by the UN.

EFFORTS OF INDIVIDUAL TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN RESISTING COLONIAL INVASION AND DOMINATION

The colonial period saw some traditional leaders demonstrating with absolute or supreme loyalty to their motherlands. Their efforts in fighting foreign dominance were carried out with love and passion. Such leaders were ready to lay down their lives for the supreme interest of their lands. People who demonstrated such loyalty and love for their motherland are referred to as nationalists. Some of these forms of resistance were well coordinated, while others were not. Thus, some of these leaders either formed a movement (nationalists' movement) to project their cause or only did that by showing their love through non-compliance with foreign laws.

The forms of resistance, either coordinated or uncoordinated, were characterised by boycotts, strikes, marches, and diplomacy. **Table 3.1** explains the concepts of coordinated and uncoordinated forms of resistance exhibited by our traditional leaders towards opposition to European domination of the Gold Coast.

Table 3.1: Forms of resistance adopted by traditional leaders

Coordinated Forms of Resistance	Uncoordinated Forms of Resistance
Coordinated forms of resistance included organised movements, mostly led by local leaders and educated elites against European encroachment and colonial policies. An example of coordinated movements is the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS), which is discussed in the next lesson.	Uncoordinated forms of resistance involved everyday acts of defiance by ordinary people and local leaders, such as non-compliance with colonial laws, economic boycotts, and the preservation of indigenous customs and traditions. These uncoordinated efforts were widespread and contributed significantly to the overall resistance against colonial rule.

Key Traditional Leaders Who Resisted Colonial Invasion and Dominance

To protect their land and cultural heritage, some Ghanaian traditional leaders resisted European invasion and control. These traditional leaders showed bravery and loyalty to their motherlands. The colonial governors consider some of their

reactions as disobedient to their commands and directives. This led to some of them being arrested, exiled, and deposed.

Traditional Leaders Resistance against Colonial Rule

1. Awulae Kaku Ackah (Aka) of Nzema
2. Nana Badu Bonsu II of Ahanta
3. King Tackie Tawiah I of Ga
4. King Aggrey of Cape Coast
5. Otumfuo Prempeh I of Asante
6. Nana Yaa Asantewaa of Edweso
7. Nana Adwoa Ardua of Wassa Fiase

Otumfuo Prempeh I of Asante

Nana Prempeh I, who lived from 1870 to 1931, was the thirteenth king of the Asante Kingdom. He was credited for his active campaign for Asante sovereignty. The British offered to take Asante under their protection, but he refused each request. Eventually, a British expedition was launched based on Prempeh's failure to pay an indemnity and cease major cultural practices such as human sacrifices within his kingdom. He was not only deposed but also arrested and exiled from Asanteman together with his mother (then Asantehemaa) in 1896 when he was only 28. Nana Prempeh I was brought back to the Gold Coast on 11th November 1924 after Asante had already been under British control for over two decades. **Figure 3.1** is a picture of Prempeh I.



Figure 3.1: Otumfuo Nana Prempeh I

King Tackie Tawiah I

Tackie Tawiah (originally known as Nii Quarshie Tawiah) was the 20th King of Ga Mashie. Throughout his reign, he demonstrated an extraordinary sense of statesmanship and fairness by seeking the welfare of his people. With a kind, gentle and undaunted spirit, he led his people through many difficulties. He could neither be influenced with money nor with political pressure. It was his sense of fairness that made him to refuse assisting the British alongside King Asafu Agyei of Juabeng, then a political prisoner in Accra to invade Asante and claim the golden stool. For this and many other charges, King Tackie Tawiah I was exiled to Elmina Castle for three years, 1880-1883. **Figure 3.2** is a picture of King Tackie Tawiah I.



Figure 3.2: King Tackie Tawiah of Ga

Awulae Kaku Ackah (Aka) of Nzema

Awulae Kaku Aka was the great *Nzema* king who sought to unify Nzemaland. His regime troubled the George MacLean leadership, and later, with Commander Hill, who assumed the leadership of the Gold Coast in 1843. He was briefed by George MacLean to be extra careful about the king of Nzema. In 1844, cunningly, Commander Hill informed all nine coastal kingdoms to sign the Bond of 1844. However, only eight chiefs who came from Assin, Denkyira, Abora, Anumabu and Cape Coast signed the Bond. Kaku Aka alone stood firm by his principle not to allow foreign imperialism to dictate to him. He refused to sign the Bond.

Amazingly, the Europeans used their own people to betray him. For example, Ebanyele, who was the spy planted by the British, intentionally violated the traditional order. He was requested to appear before the king as custom demanded

to answer or face the accorded justice. Since Ebanyele knew he was guilty, he ran to the British in Cape Coast and reported lies about his king being cruel and undemocratic.

The British arrested and exiled Kaku Aka to Cape Coast based on this report. The kingdom was disintegrated and shared among Kaku Aka's local enemies. Nzema could not stand again as one kingdom. The figure below is a picture of Awulae Kaku Ackah.

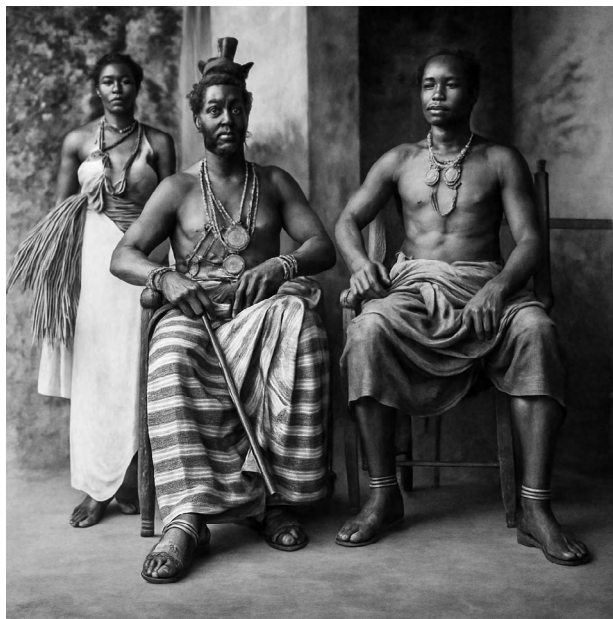


Figure 3.3: Awulae Kaku Ackah (Aka) of Nzema

Activity 3.1 Resistance of traditional rulers to British rule

1. **a.** With the help of books and the internet, differentiate between coordinated and uncoordinated forms of resistance against colonialism in Ghana. Show your findings to your class.
- b.** Discuss with your elbow partner: which form of resistance was more effective? Then state why.

Coordinated form of resistance	Uncoordinated form of resistance

2. **a.** In pairs, create a 'History Makers Chart' of any traditional ruler who resisted colonial invasion in his or her kingdom.

- b. Your chart should explain the nature of the 'History Maker's' resistance.
3. In small groups, compose a three-stanza poem that praises any traditional ruler who resisted European invasion of his or her kingdom.

THE POLL TAX ORDINANCE OF 1852

In 1850, the southern Ghana Territory (Gold Coast) was separated from Sierra Leone. It now had its own governmental structures, including, for example, the Executive and Legislative Councils to manage its affairs. The British granted £4,000 to support the Gold Coast. This grant was insufficient to support the region, leading to financial difficulties. In response, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Grey, proposed that the natives be committed to contribute financially. Subsequently, on April 19, 1852, Governor Major Stephen J. Hill convened a meeting with the Southern Ghana chiefs, and it was decided that a tax of one British Shilling per head must be paid annually by every man, woman, and child living within the area under British jurisdiction. Governor Major Hill signed the Ordinance on behalf of the British crown. **Figure 3.4** is the map of the Gold Coast colony (highlighted pink at the bottom of the map) at the time of the passage of the ordinance.

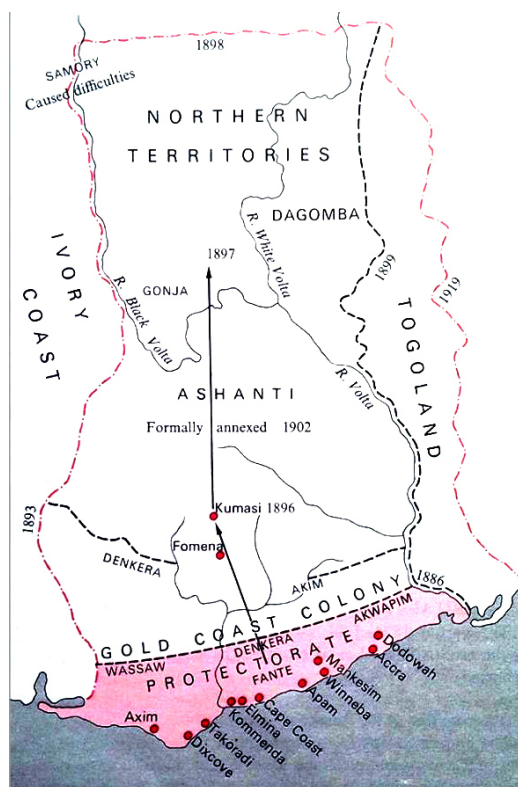


Figure 3.4: The Gold Coast colony

The Ordinance was supposed to help improve the lives of Ghanaians. However, it did not operate for long because it was fraught with a lot of problems. In the end, the Ordinance was withdrawn in 1861. **Table 3.2** outlines its main objectives and why it failed.

Table 3.2: Objectives of the Poll Tax Ordinance and why it failed

Objectives of the Poll Tax Ordinance	Why the Poll Tax Failed
1. To provide education	1. Rejection from the local people
2. To improve roads	2. Lack of proper monitoring
3. To rehabilitate medical facilities	3. The government's inability to embark on developmental projects
4. To improve the administration of justice	4. Opposition from the chiefs themselves
	5. Mismanagement of funds collected

Activity 3.2 Analysis of the Poll Tax Ordinance

1. In pairs, create a chart that maps the objectives of the Poll Tax Ordinance to factors that led to its failure and present it to the class.

Objectives of the Poll Tax	Why it failed

2. a. In groups, analyse the following sources below to examine the form of resistance Ghanaians put up against the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852.
b. Use the sources to perform a role-play of an example of resistance to the Poll Tax Ordinance.

Source A: Excerpt from Amoah, E. (2019). *History for Senior High Schools*, Second edition. Aki-Ola Publication. pp. 381-82.

“There was widespread resentment against the tax. The resentment resulted in open protest. In January 1854, a protest meeting was held in Accra and the people decided not to pay the tax. Later, a combined force of over 4,000 people from Akyem, Akuapem and Krobo marched to the Christiansborg Castle at Osu. In 1856, Major Ord was appointed to investigate the Poll Tax issue due to the outbreak of violent protest all over the country.”

Source B: Excerpt from an online article at: <https://www.eaumf.org/ejm-blog/2018/4/2/april-1-1852-gold-coast-poll-tax-ordinance-proclaimed>



“...the chiefs of the coastal states felt that the British were not providing enough protection for them against the risk of Ashanti invasion. One of the ways the chiefs reacted to this lack of adequate protection from the British was to call on their subjects not to fulfil their tax obligation to the colonial authorities.”

3. In small groups, write a journal entry on the circumstances leading to the protestation against the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852.

Protestation against the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852

COMMON FEATURES OF NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS IN GHANA BEFORE WORLD WAR II (WWII)

Nationalism can be described as the Africans' quest to free their country from the influence and domination of colonial rule to establish a government of their own. Although nationalism is sometimes characterised by protest, its movements cannot be mistaken for any protest movement. There is a clear difference between a nationalist movement and a protest movement. Their differences are explained below.

Nationalist Movement	Protest Movement
It is a political movement that strives to attain and maintain the sovereignty, identity, and autonomy of a specific nation or group of people.	It is a collective action by a group of people expressing their disapproval of objection to specific events, policies, or situations. It may take different forms, such as strikes, uprisings, riots, boycotts, sit-ins and demonstrations.

Types of Nationalism

1. Proto-Nationalism (1865-1939)
2. Modern/Post World War II/Radical Nationalism (1945 onwards)

Before the Second World War, there were a series of agitations, resistance movements, articulations of sentiments and grievances by indigenes against colonialism in Ghana. The Nationalist movement in Ghana refers to all the protests made by the indigenous people to resist the imposition of colonial interests, particularly the ordinances and bills from the colonial leadership. For instance, the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS) of 1897 was a nationalist organisation that protested the Land Bill that was introduced by the British colonial authority. Below are some common features of the earliest nationalist movements before World War II.

The Proto nationalists' movement activities were geared toward inclusiveness in the administration of the colonies before the commencement of the Second World War. For example, they demanded the representation of Africans in the executive Council in the Gold Coast since there were none. Below are some of the proto-nationalist movements that operated in Ghana.

- a. The Fante Confederation (1868-1873)
- b. Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS)(1897)
- c. National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) (1920)
- d. West African Students Union (WASU) (1925)
- e. Gold Coast Youth Conference (GCYC) (1930)
- f. West African Youth League (WAYL) (1934)

Common Features of Proto-Nationalist movements in Ghana

1. It was non-violent; they adopted non-violent approach to its agitation. It used the structures and channels that were available, at the time, to push for its demands. For example, ARPS sent petitions to the Secretary of State for the Colonies who resided in London to press home for the withdrawal of the Land Bill of 1897.
2. No demand for independence; they did not demand for the independence of the country, rather they were interested in the improvement of their lives under the colonial administration. For example, they demanded for the representation of natives in the colonial government and in the civil service.
3. It was urban based; the membership of the Proto-nationalist movements were limited to the urban areas. They did not extend to the rural areas. For example, in the Gold Coast, the activities of the proto-nationalists were limited to Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi-Takoradi.
4. Youth movements, such as the West African Students' Union, played a significant role in advocating for reforms in British West Africa before the Second World War.
5. Inter-territorial movements, like the National Congress of British West Africa, aimed to unite the four British West African colonies (The Gambia, Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone) in opposing colonial rule.
6. Proto-nationalists opposed discriminatory practices against Africans.
7. Proto-nationalist movements were mainly composed of educated Africans, businessmen/women and few chiefs, making them elitist in nature.

Key Proto-Nationalist Movements in Ghana

The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) was the first inter-territorial movement formed in Accra, Gold Coast (now Ghana) in 1920 by some educated elites from English-speaking West African colonies led by Mr. Joseph Ephraim Hayford (founder and president of NCBWA). Among other things, the congress demanded that;

1. Member states be granted the right to install and depose their rulers;
2. The establishment of a legislative council in the four Anglophone West African colonies;
3. The establishment of at least a University in West Africa and
4. The right to vote and be voted for.

Their activities led to the introduction of the elective principle in British West Africa. **Figure 3.5** below is Joseph Casely Ephraim Hayford (President of NCBWA of Gold Coast).



Figure 3.5: Joseph Casely Ephraim Hayford

The West African Students Union (WASU) was an association of students from various West African countries who were studying in the United Kingdom. It was founded in 1925 by Ladipo Solanke of Nigeria. It provided leadership training to its members and nurtured future leaders who would play significant roles in the independence movements of their respective countries. Many prominent nationalist leaders emerged from the ranks of WASU, shaping the direction of the independence movements in their countries. Below is a sample of WASU activities.

The Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies
With WASU's Compliments.

Vol. II.—No. 1. January, 1933.

W A S U
 (PREACH)
 The Journal of the West African Students' Union
 of Great Britain.

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Copies may be obtained from the Secretary-General, W.A.S.U.,
 W.A.S.U. Hostel, 62, Camden Road, London, N.W.1.
 PRICE ONE SHILLING.

"Guardian" From, Boston, Massachusetts, England.

Figure 3.6: WASU Journal

The Gold Coast Youth Conference (GCYC). Casely Hayford founded the Gold Coast Youth Conference (GCYC). It held its first meeting at Achimota School in 1930. Some of the leading members who attended the conference were Dr. J. B. Danquah, prominent barrister, newspaper editor, J. C. DeGraft-Johnson, W. B. Van Lare, R. S. Blay and K.A. Korsah. In 1931, Danquah established *The Times of West Africa*, originally called *The West Africa Times*, which was the first daily newspaper in Ghana published between 1931 and 1935.

1. The Conference's main aim was to bring about reconciliation between the chiefs and the educated elites in the Gold Coast.
2. It was also to fight for economic and political reforms in the colonial system and for removing all forms of discrimination and intimidation in the public services.
3. However, it did not adopt a radical method, nor did it make demands for self-government.

The pictures in **Figure 3.7** are some of the leading members of the Conference.



Dr. J. B. Danquah



J. C. DeGraft-Johnson



W. B. Van Lare

Figure 3.7: Some leading members of GCYC

The West African Youth League (WYL) was introduced into Gold Coast by a Sierra Leonean, J. T. A. Wallace-Johnson, in 1934. It was more radical and revolutionary than the Youth Conference. Its main aim was to achieve political independence for the people. The movement had many followers through anti-imperialist articles which appeared in the *African Morning Post*, with its editor Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria.

The Youth League collapsed when both Nnamdi Azikiwe and Wallace-Johnson were deported to their respective countries under the *Sedition Act of 1934*. The

purpose of the Act was to control press freedom by preventing criticism of the activities of the government. Although the movement lived briefly, it prepared the minds of the people for radical nationalism that was to be seen after World War II in Ghana.

Activity 3.3 Proto-nationalist movements in Ghana

1. **a.** In small groups, discuss the concept of nationalism and nationalist movements and share the outcome of your discussions with the class.
- b.** Complete the chronological timeline chart below showing the nationalist movements that existed in Ghana before WWII.

Nationalists' movement in Gold Coast	Timeline/period of the movement	Reasons for formation
The Fante Confederation	1868-1873	To establish a strong nation to govern themselves

- c.** In small groups, write a paragraph analysing the motives behind the formation of proto-nationalist groups in Ghana.

Why were the rises of nationalist movements in Ghana before WWII? What prompted their formation? To what extent did they achieve their goal?

- d. Divide the class into two groups and debate on whether nationalism had a greater positive or negative impact on the Gold Coast, particularly in the period before World War II. Support your opinion with evidence.

Impacts of nationalism in the Gold Coast. Which aspects of people's lives were improved due to the nationalists' activities? Which aspects of their lives remained unchanged or deteriorated further?

Positive Impacts	Negative Impacts

THE FANTE CONFEDERATION (1868-1873)

The Fante Confederation was one of the proto-nationalist movements initiated by the people of Gold Coast to fight for their sovereign rights that were being trampled upon by the Europeans. Despite its name, the confederacy was made up of both Fante and non-Fante states. Apart from the Fante, there were other Akan states in the southern part of the country, such as Denkyira, Assin, Wassa, Twifo and Ahanta, who joined the Confederacy. The Confederacy was formed in 1868 at Mankessim in support of the Fante to resist the Anglo-Dutch exchange of forts and castles agreement in 1867. The founding members of the movement included educated elites such as: Thomas Hughes, J.F. Amissah, F.C. Grant, J. Africanus Horton (a Sierra Leonean medical officer), W.E. Davidson and Anfo Otoo. **Figure 3.8** is the map of the territories of the Fante Confederation.

The Confederation had an executive council, a judiciary, an army, a taxation system, and a written constitution. Although short-lived, it was strong enough to discourage the Dutch, who abandoned the coast. The British successfully exploited rivalries among members of the Confederacy, and it was disbanded in 1873.

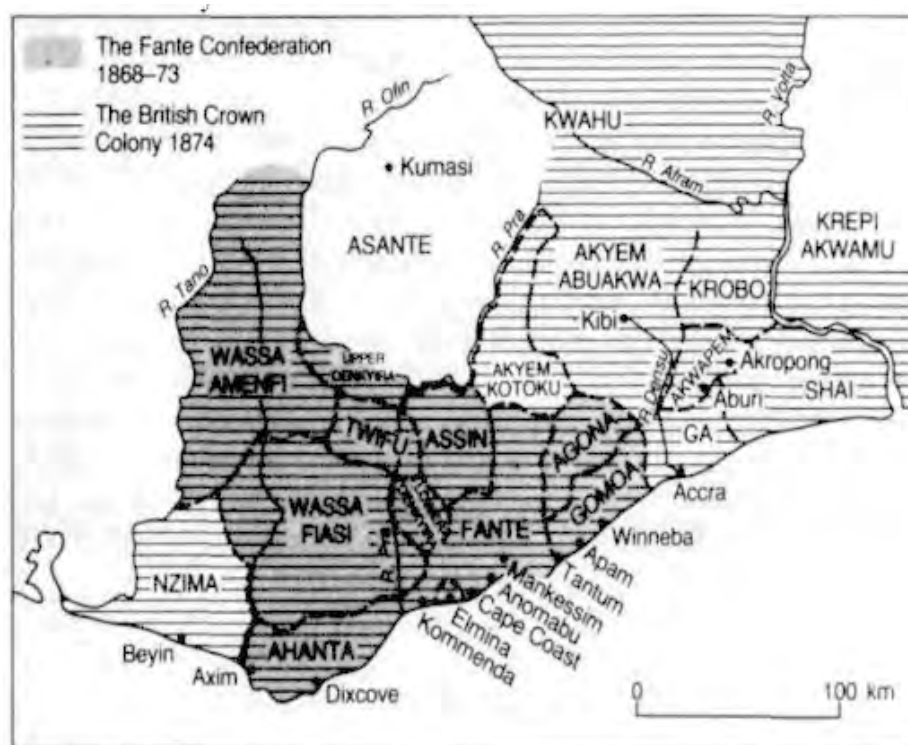


Figure 3.8: Map of the Fante Confederation

Source: Webster, J. B. and Boahen, A. A. (1980). *The revolutionary years: West Africa since 1800*. New edition. London: Longman, p.162.

Reasons for the Formation of the Fante Confederation

The Confederation was formed to achieve the following objectives

1. The Fante Confederacy was formed to protect the coastal states from the Asante threat and maintain their independence under the British shield.
2. It was formed as a result of the continued interference with the rights of the people by British authorities, including the arrest and removal of local leaders and the introduction of the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852.
3. It was established to promote the welfare of the Fante and other Southern states by resisting the imposition of taxes and perceived abuse of their rights by the British government.
4. The Confederacy was formed to oppose the signing of the Sweet River Convention between the British and Dutch, which involved the exchange of forts and castles without consulting the local people.
5. The passing of the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852, which failed to provide social amenities for the people as its aim and also lacked local representation and consultation contributed to the formation of the Confederacy.

Some achievements of the Fante Confederation

1. The Confederation funded social amenities through imposed taxes.
2. It united southern states such as Fante, Assin, Denkyira, Twifo, and Ahanta.
3. It established a national army of about 15,000 troops to support its territories against the Dutch rule.
4. It established a confederate court to replace ancient courts for member-related cases.
5. It established an administrative system with appointed officials who handled administrative matters of the Confederacy.

Factors that Led to the Collapse of the Fante Confederation

The Fante confederacy could not thrive for long due to the following factors:

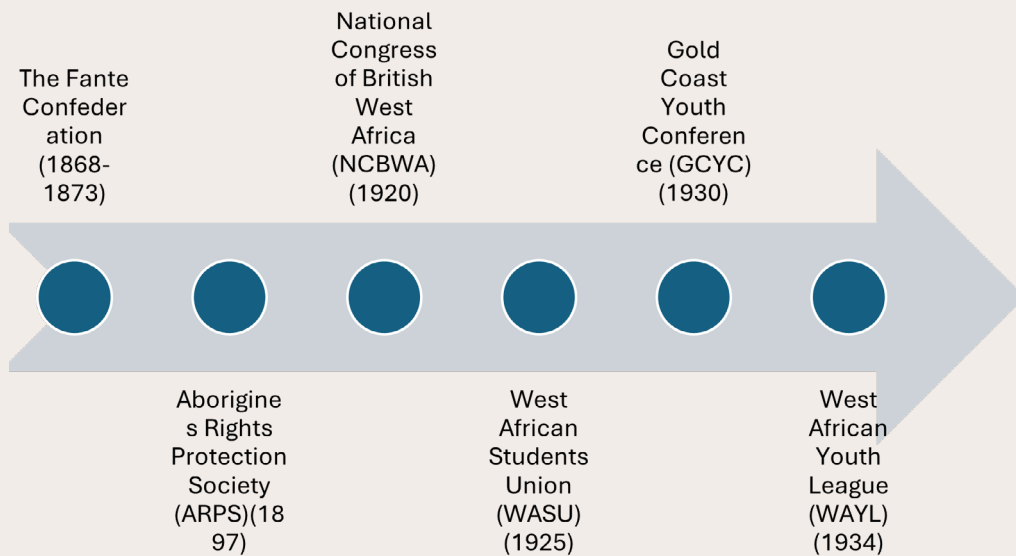
1. Internal strife and rivalry for leadership contributed to its failure.
2. It suffered from inadequate funds, leading to a significant debt.
3. The Confederacy's small army was not sufficient to deal with military threats.
4. Non-Fante states lost interest when they realised the protection they sought could not be provided.
5. The hostility of British officials, including the refusal to sell ammunition and arresting Confederation leaders, led to its collapse.
6. Lack of centralised authority also contributed to the collapse.

Activity 3.4 The Fante Confederation

1. In pairs, use books or the internet to search and discuss the reasons for the creation of the Fante Confederation.

Notes from research

2. In small groups, create a hierarchy of the factors that led to the collapse of the Fante Confederation.



3. In groups, create a poster/chart that compares the reasons for the formation of the Fante Confederation to its achievements. Use the chart below as a guide.

Reasons for Formation	Achievements

THE ABORIGINES' RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY (ARPS)

The Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS) was one of the earliest nationalist movements formed in the Gold Coast on 17th May 1897. The educated of the southern states of the Gold Coast formed the association to oppose the Lands Bill Ordinance passed by Governor Maxwell in 1894. Thus, in 1894, the British colonial government proposed an ordinance that sought to vest all virgin (unoccupied) lands in the Gold Coast in the hands of the British Crown. This proposed bill, in fact, angered the educated elites, and they came out with several protests against it.

To have a formidable voice against the Land Bill, the society was formed with J.W. Sey, J.P. Brown, J.E. Casely Hayford and John Mensah Sarbah as its leading members. J.W. Sey of Cape Coast became the first president of the society, whilst John Peter Allotey Hammond became the first secretary. The images below are key members of the society.



Jacob Wilson Sey



John M. Sarbah



J. E. Casely Hayford

Figure 3.9: Some leading members of the ARPS

Reasons or Aims for the Formation of the ARPS

1. ARPS was formed to ensure that various bills and colonial policies involving taxation, labour and constitutional changes would not burden Africans.
2. ARPS was formed to prevent the passing of several bills, including the Town Councils Ordinance of 1894 and the Forest Bill.
3. ARPS was formed to protect the right and interests of the aborigines of the Gold Coast.
4. It was formed to serve as the ground to educate African on governmental policies.
5. It was established to study legislative measures and monitor general government policies.
6. It was formed to serve as the medium of communication between the local people and the government.

The Achievements of the ARPS

The activities of the ARPS led to a number of reforms in the governance and colonial policies in the Gold Coast. It contributed to softening the stance and withdrawal of some systemic practices of the colonial governance structure, which

were unfavourable to the values of the people of Gold Coast. Below are some of their achievements.

- The ARPS stiff opposition to the Land Bill Ordinance successfully had the British government to withdraw it.
- The ARPS served as a platform for discussing national issues through public meetings, rallies and campaigns.
- It pushed for more favourable legislation, which led to the introduction of the Conceions Ordinance in 1900. This Ordinance required Europeans to seek government clearance before using land for various purposes.
- The Arps gained official recognition from the colonial government and was consulted before introducing new policies.
- The ARPS established the Gold Coast Aborigines publication to raise awareness about the colonial administration's activities.
- The ARPS fostered unity by uniting the educated elites and chiefs to fight for common goals.

Factors that led to the collapse of the ARPS

In spite of its impact in serving as a watchdog to the colonial government, the ARPS could not live for long. It collapsed barely less than three decades of its existence. The following factors accounted for its fall.

- The ARPS was limited to coastal settlers and did not extend beyond Cape Coast in the Central Province.
- The ARPS was elitist, with decisions made by a few individuals at the expense of the grassroots.
- The leadership of the ARPS became conservative and lost the confidence of the people due to their close ties with British officials.
- Friction emerged between the educated elites and the chiefs in the 1930s due to the “Divide and Rule” tactics introduced by the British.
- The emergence of the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) led to the collapse of the ARPS as people viewed NCBWA as more radical and influential, prompting them to abandon the ARPS.

Activity 3.5 The Activities of the ARPS

1.
 - a. Use books and the internet to help you investigate the Lands Bill Ordinance of 1897, proposed by Governor Maxwell.
 - b. Explain to the class why this bill was controversial and how it led to the formation of the ARPS.
2.
 - a. In pairs, choose one of the co-founders of the ARPS (J.W. Sey, J.P. Brown, J.E. Casely Hayford, or John Mensah Sarbah) and create a detailed profile.
 - b. Include their background, their role in the formation of the ARPS, and their contributions to the society's goals.
3.
 - a. In smaller groups, discuss the reasons/objectives, strategies and the achievements of the ARPS.
 - b. Present the outcome of your discussions in a chart/table like the one below.

The reasons/objectives of the ARPS	The strategies of the ARPS	The Achievements of the ARPS

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA (NCBWA)-1920

For a long time, the colonial government have denied African educated elites the opportunity to participate in the governance of their own countries. Even to the extent that African professionals were not given equal opportunities like their European counterparts to practice. Such situations were experienced by medical professionals through the introduction of the 'West African Medical Service' policy, which stated that educated Africans could only participate in the service if they were of 'European parentage'. These dissatisfactions of the early nationalists resulted in the formation of nationalist movements such as the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA).

The NCBWA was a significant resistance group formed by the prominent Ghanaian nationalist, Joseph Casely Hayford. It was established in 1920 in Accra. The NCBWA was the first inter-territorial nationalist movement formed in British West Africa.

Casely Hayford believed that the educated people in the four British West African territories, thus the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and The Gambia, should come together to fight for the rights of their people, who were largely illiterate and ignorant. While it did not seek to overthrow the colonial system, the educated people in these territories would unite and work towards improving conditions under colonial rule. Also, they aimed to provide greater participation in government for the educated elite and to introduce essential reforms in the colonial system.

Founders of the NCBWA

The foundation of the NCBWA was made formal with its first meeting in Accra. In attendance were participants from Gold Coast, the Gambia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria. However, the following were the leading members of the congress in the Gold Coast.

1. J.E Casely Hayford
2. A. Sawyer
3. A.B Quartey Papafio
4. Henry Van Hien
5. Frederick Nanka-Bruce
6. Thomas Hutton Mills
7. Kobina Sekyi



J.E Casely Hayford



A.B Quartey Papafio



Thomas Hutton Mills



Kobina Sekyi

Figure 3.10: Some leading members of the NCBWA

Aims and Demands, Achievements and the Factors that Led the Failure of the NCBWA

The NCBWA served as a formidable inter-territorial nationalist movement, which pushed the British colonial government for greater reforms in the colonies. It however, collapsed by the end of 1930. The charts below present the aims for its formation, the demands it made and the extent they were achieved as well as why it collapsed.

Aims and Demands of the NCBWA

- The NCBWA should elect half of the members of the legislative council in each territory;
- The African members of the legislatures should have control over taxation;
- An inter-territorial legislature for the four territories should be established;
- The Colonial government should cease to interfere in the enstoolment of chiefs, which should be left entirely to the people;
- The judiciary should be separated from the political administration;
- Highly educated West Africans should be given the same opportunities for advancement as their European counterparts; and
- A university should be established for the four colonies

Achievements of the NCBWA

Through their activities, the colonial authorities stopped interfering with the choice, rule and removal of traditional rulers.

- Provincial Councils were established
- The West African Court of Appeal was established
- Higher institutions such as Achimota College were established
- For the first time, the elective principle was introduced in the 1925 Constitution of Ghana etc.
- Enlightened the people of West Africa through meetings and publications

More Africans were brought into the Legislative Council

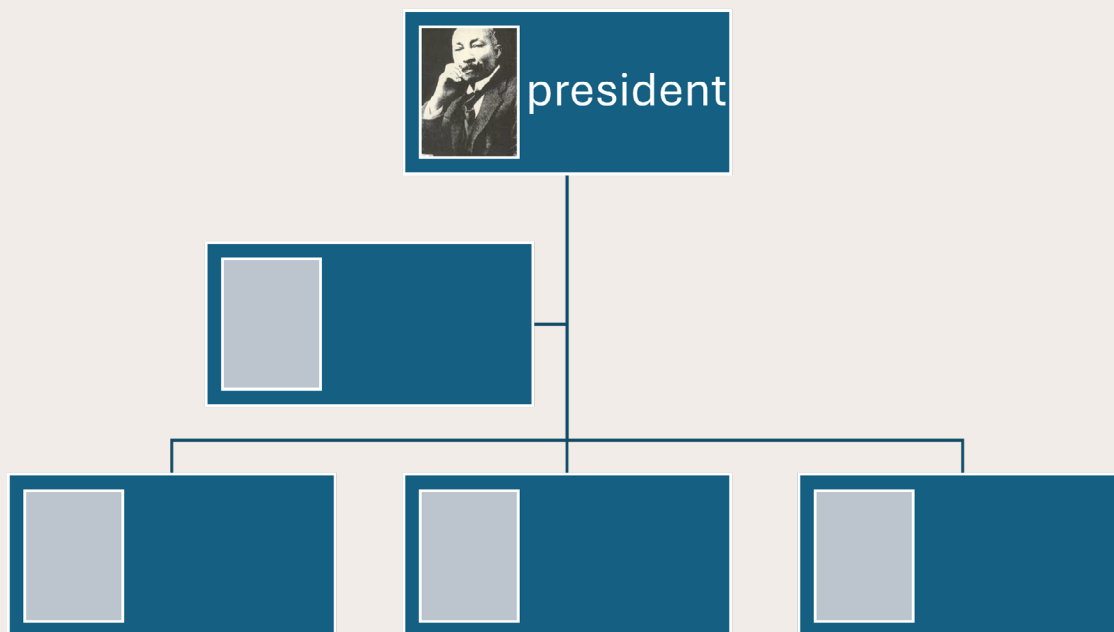
Reasons for the Collapse of the NCBWA

- Death of Casely Hayford. He was the embodiment of the congress. Upon his death, there was no one dedicated to coordinate the activities of the congress.
- Suspicion and rivalry among leaders.

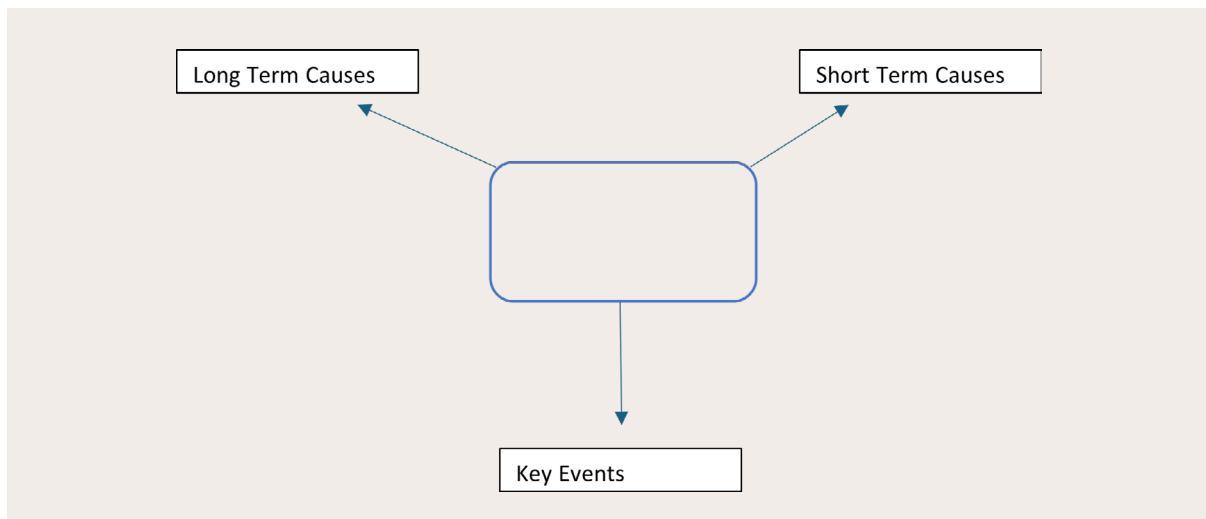
- Opposition by chiefs (Nana Sir Ofori Attah I). some chiefs saw the congress as a threat to their relationship with the colonial masters.
- Elitist Movement. No attempt was made to include the common people into the congress.
- Opposition from colonial governors
- The congress was also conservative.
- Opposition from ARPS, thus, ARPS saw the congress as a rival movement.

Activity 3.6 The NCBWA

1. In pairs, researching from the internet and books, prepare a presentation on aims and demands of the NCBWA.
2. In pairs, create a hierarchical chart of the leadership/founding members of the NCBWA.



3. Organise yourselves into groups of no more than five. In your groups, prepare a speech commemorating the achievements of the NCBWA for a mini-seminar.
4. In the same groups, create a concept map that explains the factors for the collapse of the NCBWA. A template for the concept map has been provided below.



The West African Students Union (WASU)

African immigrants in the diaspora faced considerable racial discrimination, both legal and non-legal. Denial of housing was a common issue faced by many newly arriving West African students. In response to this was the formation of the West African Students Union (WASU). WASU was established in London on 7th August 1925 by Ladipo Solanke, a Nigerian Law student, and Herbert Bankole Bright, a Sierra Leonean doctor. The following are the pictures of the co-founders.



Ladipo Solanke



Herbert Bankole

Figure 3.11: The founders of WASU

Initially, its membership was limited to students from British territories in West Africa. Over time, it became a significant political, social, and cultural organisation for West Africans in Britain.

1. The organisation served as a platform for anti-racist and decolonial thinkers across the diaspora. It actively campaigned against racism in Britain and colonialism while advocating for independence in West Africa.

2. It provided leadership training to its members and nurtured future leaders who would play significant roles in the independence movements of their respective countries.
3. Many prominent nationalist leaders emerged from the ranks of WASU, shaping the direction of the independence movements in their countries. Thus, WASU activities fuelled independent movements in Africa.



Figure 3.12: WASU headquarters in London

Aims and Objectives of WASU

1. To provide and maintain a hostel facility for West African Students in the UK.
2. To stage a forum for the study of African History and culture.
3. To fight racial discrimination against Africans.
4. To raise awareness about the plight of African people.
5. To educate and mobilise Africans on civil rights issues.
6. To mount a challenge against the colonial regime when necessary.

Achievements of WASU

1. WASU sensitisation of the British public and the world as a whole on the plight of the colonised people, won support and sympathy for the nationalists in their fight against colonial rule.
2. It served as a training ground for future national leaders since most of its members who held key positions became leaders of the independence struggle and eventually leaders of their countries.
3. Political awareness creation through publications in the unions' monthly magazine on the evils of colonialism and racial discrimination.
4. Formation of youth organisations all over British West Africa
5. WASU activities fuelled independent movements in Africa.

Why WASU Collapsed

1. WASU collapsed due to ethnic and religious differences among leading members.
2. Suspicion and rivalry among leaders also contributed to its failure.
3. There were no dependable sources of funds for the activities of the union.
4. Many of the students returned home after their studies.
5. In the mid-1930s the trend of nationalism had shifted from inter-territorial to national consciousness in British West Africa.

Activity 3.7 Activities of WASU

1. Organise yourselves into groups of no more than five. Using available books and the internet, research and prepare a presentation on the reasons, demands and achievements of WASU. Present your work in the form of a table like the one below.

Aims/ Objectives	Demands of WASU	Achievements of WASU
For example, to fight racial discrimination against Africans.	For example, the elimination of racial discrimination.	For example, WASU activities fuelled independent movements in Africa.

2. In the same groups, design a hierarchical chart of leadership/founding members of the WASU.
3. In the same groups, design a chart on the demands and achievements of the WASU.
4. In the same groups, create a concept map that explains the factors for the collapse of the WASU.

THE GOLD COAST YOUTH CONFERENCE (GCYC) AND WEST AFRICAN YOUTH LEAGUE (WAYL)

Before the end of the Second World War, a significant portion of the political agitation in Ghana focused on achieving greater participation in the country's political administration and legislature rather than on seeking political independence. Key Ghanaian figures grew increasingly unhappy with the colonial

system and consequently led youth movements in opposition to colonial rule. The most influential of these youth movements were the GCYC and the WAYL.

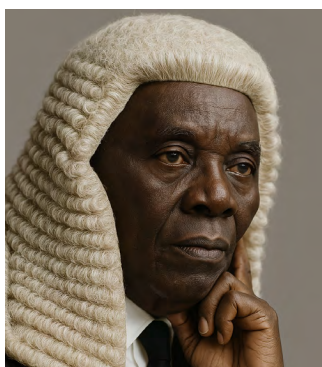
The Gold Coast Youth Conference (GCYC)

The GCYC, was founded by J.E. Casely-Hayford and administered by J. B. Danquah. Other founding members are J.C DE graft Johnson, K. A. Bossman, W.B. Van Lare, Edward Asafu-Adjaye, R.S. Blay, K.A. Korsah, Kobina Sekyi, Dr F.V Nanka Bruce, and Miss Ruby Quartey-Papafio. The GCYC held its first inaugural meeting at Achimota School in 1930.

In addition to seeking to reconcile the Chiefs and educated elites, the GCYC fought largely for political and economic reforms in the colonial system and for removing all forms of discrimination and intimidation in public services. Below are pictures of some of the founding members of GCYC.



Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye



Sir Kobina Arku Korsah



R. S. Blay

Figure 3.13: Members of the GCYC

Note

You follow the link below and listen to the reasons, activities and achievements of the GCYC.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yZVN0OvU9JU>



Achievements of GCYC

1. Chiefs and intelligentsia were brought together, bridging the gap since the 1920s.
2. GCYC activities united the Asante and the colony regions, culminating in the legislative union under the Burns constitution of 1946.

3. Raised national consciousness for economic and constitutional reforms among the emerging class.
4. Protested against only one University for the entire British West Africa led to the establishment of the University of Gold Coast in 1948.

Failures of GCYC

1. The conference struggled to get the colonial government to address its demands for local, central government, and economic reforms.
2. The movement lost the support of young men by 1939 and became more focused on the educated class and the chiefs.

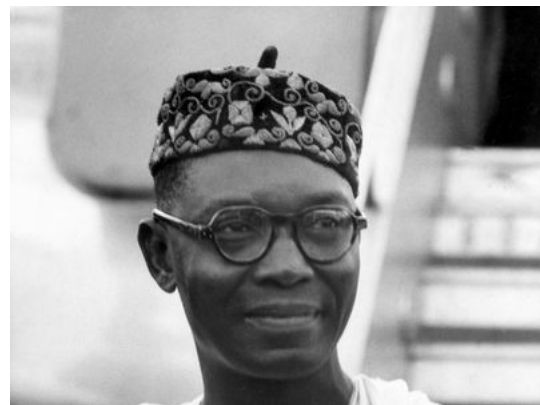
The West African Youth League (WAYL)

The West African Youth League (WAYL) was introduced into the country by a Sierra Leonean, I.T.A. Wallace Johnson, in 1934. The group was a major political force against the colonial government in West Africa, especially in the Gold Coast and Sierra Leon. Wallace Johnson was joined by Nnamdi Azikiwe, a Nigerian nationalist, in the Gold Coast.

The league was more radical and revolutionary than the GCYC. Its operation was driven by the need to achieve full political independence for the people. It used its anti-imperialist articles which appeared in the *African Morning Post* and edited by the Nnamdi Azikiwe, to attract the attention of the masses. However, it collapsed, when both Wallace-Johnson and Azikiwe were deported under the Sedition Act of 1934 by the British colonial government.



Wallace Johnson



Nnamdi Azikiwe

Figure 3.14: Leading members of WAYL

Aims and Objectives of the West African Youth League (WAYL)

The League aimed to achieve the following objectives.

1. Advocating for independence for British West Africa territories.
2. Promoting unity among West African Youth as a unified front against colonialism.
3. Educating the public about economic, social and political issues affecting West Africa.
4. Empowering the Youth to take their rightful place in the colonial system.
5. Combating racial discrimination.
6. Ending colonial rule at all costs.

Achievements of the Youth Movements

1. They provided a springboard for the formation of political parties.
2. They created a nationalist consciousness among the through the use of newspapers for example, the African Morning Post.
3. They activities of movements led to an increased in the frontiers of the agitation against colonial rule.
4. Unification of Asante and the Colony; they had a common meeting with the Asante and the colony to oppose colonial rule.
5. They united the educated elite and the traditional rulers to oppose the unpopular British policies. For example, Waterworks and Sedition Bills.

Problems that Confronted the Youth Movements

1. The activities were confined to the urban centres and limited to the educated elites.
2. The movements were not formed into political parties. They were only forums for the youth to discuss national problems.
3. There was lack of communication facilities. As such, their activities could not be extended to the rural areas.
4. They faced intimidation and victimisation from the colonial administration.

Activity 3.8 The GCYC and WAYL

1.
 - a. Organise yourselves into groups of no more than five. In groups, using a variety of sources such as books and the internet, research and discuss the reasons for the formation of the GCYC and WAYL.
 - b. Then present to the class the key points raised in the discussion.
2. In the same groups, craft a profile essay on any one of the GCYC or WAYL leaders, exploring his or her contributions towards nationalist activities in the Gold Coast. Put down the key points in your notebook. Use the following questions to guide you whilst writing your essay:
 - a. Where did the person grow up? How might this have shaped their political ideas?
 - b. What did their parents do? Did this have any impact on their ideas or values?
 - c. What sort of education did this person experience, and did this impact their political ideas?
 - d. Did this person face any adversity in their lives? How did this shape their ideas and values?
 - e. What are the most important contributions that this person has made and why?
 - f. Why should we remember this person as an important figure in Ghanaian history?
3. In the same groups, prepare a chart on the demands and achievements of the GCYC and WAYL.
4. In the same groups, design a concept map explaining the factors that caused the failure and collapse of the GCYC and WAYL.

FACTORS THAT FACILITATED THE RISE OF NATIONALISM AFTER WWII

The Second World War (WW II) occurred from 1939 to 1945. Post WW II witnessed a global political, economic and social environment in which both the European colonial masters and the colonies in Africa were badly affected. These unbearable conditions changed the nature of nationalism in Ghana from a moderate approach to radical agitations and protests.

Ghanaian soldiers fought alongside their British colonial masters which was to overthrow Nazism in Germany. They were fighting a war to free European countries from German occupation, yet they could barely consider themselves free. Thus, the agitation for independence intensified after World War II. The factors responsible for the intensification of nationalism are grouped into internal and external factors as discussed below.

Internal Factors

1. **Savings of the Cocoa Marketing Board (CWB):** Monies realised from the savings of the Cocoa Marketing Board were kept and not repatriated to Ghana to be used to better the living conditions of the people. This was considered exploitation, which was resented by the Ghanaian people.
2. **High unemployment in the Gold Coast:** Thousands of Ghanaians were recruited by compulsion into the British army during the WW II. Over 50,000 of these soldiers were discharged after the war. These men, when brought back, refused to go back to their villages but stayed at the urban centres in search of non-existent jobs. This increased the unemployment rate in the country, contributing to the mass involvement in nationalist activities in the Gold Coast.
3. **The Association of West African Merchants (AWAM):** Expatriate (foreign) firms and mining companies dominated the economy of the country. These companies formed the Association of West African Merchants (AWAM) which they used to cripple the businesses owned by Ghanaians. The AWAM introduced conditional sales, a practice which compelled consumers to buy goods they did not need in order to acquire the articles they wanted. This practice worsened the plight of the people because there was no local substitute for most of the imported goods.
4. **Discrimination in the public services:** Almost all senior civil service positions and high wages were reserved for Europeans. African lawyers were also not made State Attorneys, even if they were qualified. Even in the allocation of bungalows and other social amenities, Ghanaians were discriminated against.

External Factors

Pan- Africanism: They were also encouraged by the Pan-Africanist ideas, of which the aim was to increase unity, equality, justice and freedom. The pan-African congress held in 1945 in Manchester, UK and attended by Dr Kwame Nkrumah

and others like Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone, influenced Ghanaian nationalists to intensify agitation. The following are pictures of some of the leading members of Pan- Africanism.



Figure 3.15: Some leading members of Pan-Africanism

The effect of the Atlantic Charter of 1941: During WW II, Britain, France and the U.S.A. signed the Atlantic Charter, which recognised the equality of man and the right of every nation to self-government. This charter influenced the nationalist activities after World War II.

Breaking up of European superiority: Ghanaian soldiers who fought alongside the colonial masters to end German's Nazism, dictatorship and racism were with the expectation that their country too be free from colonial domination. Their experience at the war broke the myth that Europeans were superhumans, as they both suffered the same casualties on the battlefield.

The independence of India, Burma and Pakistan: These countries, which were also under British colonial rule, gained their independence immediately after WW II. This inspired Ghanaian nationalists that, with determination and hard work, they would eventually gain their political independence.

Activity 3.9 Intensification of nationalism after WW II

1. In pairs, analyse the following sources 1, 2, 3 and 4 below to identify and explain factors that contributed to the rise of activism and nationalist protests in Ghana after WWII. Present your analysis in a table format like the one below.

Source	What type of source is this? Is it primary or secondary?	How reliable is this source?	What conclusion can you draw from this source? Does it point out key events that led to an increase in nationalism after WW II in Ghana?
Source 1			
Source 2			
Source 3			
Source 4			

Source 1: Removal of Nkrumah from custody in 1948

THE EMERGENCY POWERS ORDER IN COUNCIL, 1939 THE EMERGENCY (GENERAL) REGULATIONS, 1948 (AS AMENDED FROM TIME TO TIME) Gazetted 13th March, 1948 Order No. 29 of 1948. THE REMOVAL (F. N. K. NKURUMAH) ORDER, 1948 (Made under regulation 29 of the above Regulations.) WHEREAS I am satisfied with respect to FRANCIS NWIA KOFIE NKURUMAH, alias F. N. KWAME NKURUMAH, that it is expedient for securing the public safety and the maintenance of public order to make a Removal Order against him under the provisions of regulation 29 of the Emergency (General) Regulations, 1948 (inserted in such Regulations by the Emergency (General) (Amendment) (No. 2) Regulations, 1948 : Now in exercise of the powers conferred upon me by the said regulation 29 of the above Regulations, and in pursuance of such regulation, I DO HEREBY MAKE THIS ORDER, and direct that the said FRANCIS NWIA KOFIE NKURUMAH, alias F. N. KWAME NKURUMAH shall be apprehended and detained and that he shall be removed in custody, as soon as may be, to such place in the Gold Coast as I shall hereafter appoint by directions under my hand. AND I DO HEREBY FURTHER ORDER and require that the said FRANCIS NWIA KOFIE NKURUMAH, alias F. N. KWAME NKURUMAH, from the time of his removal to the place to be so appointed by me, and so long as this Order continues in operation, shall at all times— (a) remain and live in, and not leave or be absent from, the place to be so appointed by me ; (b) comply in all respects with such directions and requirements as I may issue at any time. This Order may be cited as the Removal (F. N. K. NKURUMAH) Order, 1948, and shall come into operation on the 12th day of March, 1948. Accra 12th March, 1948. Removal Orders in identical terms were made on behalf of :— EDWARD AKUFO ADDO EBENEZER AKO ADJEI WILLIAM AFORI ATTA DR. JOSEPH BOAKYE DANQUAH EMMANUEL ODARQUAYE LAMPTEY (alias OBETSEBI-LAMPTEY)	GERALD CREASY, Governor.
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Source 2: Telegram from United Gold Convention leaders (Accra) to Secretary of State (London), Feb. 28, 1948

“...Unless Colonial Government is changed and a new Government of the people and their Chiefs installed at the centre immediately, the conduct of masses now completely out of control with strikes...will continue...Working Committee United Gold Coast Convention declare they are prepared and ready to take over interim Government. We ask in name of oppressed, inarticulate, misruled and misgoverned people and their Chiefs that a Special Commissioner be sent out immediately to hand over Government to interim Government of the Chief and People and to witness the immediate calling of Constituent Assembly.”

Source 3: Text of short telegram addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the 29th of February 1948

“Secretary of State of Colonies, London

After permitting peaceful demonstration of unarmed ex-servicemen Police without provocation fired on them several killed many wounded. Police and political officers unable to protect life and property. Civil authorities unable to control situation appealed to certain civilians who are officers of the United Gold Coast Convention to restore order. Main shops in commercial areas looted. UAC Central Store burned down. People demand Self-government immediately. Recall Governor. Send Commission supervise formation of Constituent Assembly. Urgent.”

Kwame Nkrumah, General Secretary, UGCC

Saltpond, Gold Coast

Source 4: Excerpt from the Watson Commission Report. p. 23-24, cited in Paddy, E. (2021). Nationalism in Ghana after 1945: Causes, actors, and its impact on Ghana’s decolonisation drive [MA thesis, University of Waterloo], p. 52.

“An examination of the constitution will show that the concession of an African elected majority in the Legislature, in the absence of any real political power, provided no outlet for a people eagerly emerging into political consciousness. On the other hand, it provided a powerful stimulant for intelligent discontent. The real and effective political government remained in the hands of the Executive Council. Composed of ex officio and nominated members it was the instrument of power. The Legislature was largely a Chamber of debate... The 1946 Constitution did nothing to decentralise the machinery of government...”

We have found an intense suspicion that the Chiefs are being used by the Government as an instrument for the delay if not suppression of the political aspirations of the people.”

2. In pairs, craft a written presentation evaluating the role internal and external factors played in shaping nationalist movements in Ghana.
3. In groups, debate between the internal and external factors and establish which of them was more effective in facilitating activism and nationalist protests in Ghana after WWII.

FORMATION OF THE UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION (UGCC) IN 1947

Although political organisations had existed in the Gold Coast, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was the first political party with the aim of fighting the injustices while agitating for self-government ‘in the shortest possible time.’ The reason was that the internal and external factors that encouraged protest movements in Ghana after World War II with no redress from the government left the Ghanaian people to become disappointed with the entire colonial system. These factors, characterised by political, economic and social injustices of the colonial system motivated some prominent Ghanaians to form the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), at Saltpond on 4th August 1947. The founding fathers include George Grant, J.B. Danquah, R.S. Blay and R.A. Awoonor Williams. Other leading members included Edward Akuffo Addo, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, William Ofori Atta, J.W. DeGraft Johnson and E. Obetsebi Lamptey. **Figure 3.16** below is the six leading members popularly called the ‘Big Six’.



Kwame Nkrumah (extreme left) followed by Obetsebi lamptey, Ako Adjei, Williams Ofori Atta, J. B. Danquah and Edward Akuffo Addo

Figure 3.16: The Big six; Leaders of the UGCC

The principal financier of the organization was George Alfred ‘Paa’ Grant who was known as the ‘father’ of Gold Coast politics. The founder and operational leader was JB Danquah.



Figure 3.17: Image of Paa Grant

Reasons For The Formation Of The UGCC

1. Unfair colonial economic system
2. Worsening standard of living of Ghanaians after WW II
3. Exploitation of natural resources
4. Domination of the economy by expatriate firms and mining companies
5. Unemployment and employment conditions
6. The dissatisfaction of the educated elites concerning the Allan Burns constitution of 1946
7. Dissatisfaction with educational development

Achievements Of The UGCC

1. Was the first political party to demand self-rule from British colonial government
2. Opposition to the Burns’ constitution
3. Influenced the emergence of the Arden Clarke constitution of 1950 which was seen to be more progressive than previous constitutions
4. Established a news-paper called “The Talking Drum” which provided political education to the people of the Gold Coast.

Factors For The Fall Of The UGCC

1. Leadership was viewed as elitist and out of touch with the ordinary Ghanaian people
2. The party slogan 'Self-Government within the shortest possible time' was not seen to be radical
3. Lack of broad-based support
4. It was conservative in nature
5. Its leadership composed mainly of 'part time politicians'

Activity 3.10 The formation of the UGCC

1. a. With the help of the internet, using the example in the link below, develop a photo gallery of the leaders of the first political party formed in Ghana after WWII. <https://www.eaumf.org/ejm-blog/2017/8/4/august-4-1947-the-united-gold-coast-convention-ugcc-was-formed> 
- b. Afterwards, create posters and display your picture gallery for a gallery walk by your class.
2. In pairs, trace on the map below where the UGCC was formed and then create a timeline, detailing key events that led to the formation of the UGCC.



3. In small groups, formulate historical questions to analyse the formation of the UGCC. Focus on the reasons for the formation, aims/objectives, achievements and failures. Some examples are below:
 - a. *Who were the founders of the UGCC?*
 - b. *When was the UGCC formed?*
 - c. *Where was the UGCC formed?*
 - d. *Why was the UGCC formed?*
 - e. *What were the major achievements of the UGCC?*
 - f. *What accounted for the failure of the UGCC?*

THE 1948 RIOTS IN GHANA

In the midst of political and socio-economic tensions in Ghana at the time, a riot erupted on 28th February 1948 in Accra and other urban areas in the country. This riot was led by the Ga Mantse, Nii Kwabena Bonne III, a chief of Osu. He led the 'National Boycott Movement' following the shooting of ex-service personnel on that faithful day. He subsequently organised a boycott and looting of goods sold by Europeans and Syrians in Accra. This boycott later spread to other urban areas such as Kumasi, Nsawam, Koforidua, Takoradi, and so on.



Scene of the 1948 Riot



Nii Kwabena Bonne III

Figure 3.18: Scene of the 1948 Riot and Nii Kwabena Bonne III

The riot was fuelled by immediate and long term factors.

Immediate Cause

The immediate cause of the riot was:

The shooting of the ex-servicemen: unarmed veterans of World War III, led by their secretary B. E. A. Tamakloe, organised a peaceful demonstration march to Christiansburg Castle, Accra, Gold Coast (Ghana), to hand in a petition to the colonial governor, Sir Gerald Creasy. Among other things, they were to demand their end-of-war benefits and the pay that they had been promised. Before reaching the castle, the Veterans were ordered to disperse by the colonial senior police officer, Major Colin Imray. When they refused, he ordered his men to open fire on them, instantly killing three – Private Odartey Lamptey, Sergeant Adjetei, and Corporal Attipoe. **Figure 3.19** is the portrait of the killed ex-servicemen.



Figure 3.19: the portrait of the ex-servicemen who were killed during the shooting.

The Long-Term Causes of the 1948 Riot

The socio-economic conditions in the Gold Coast after WW II were unbearable to the people, yet the colonial government was not ready to carry out reforms advocated by the nationalists. Such unattended concerns were the foundation of the riot that was to occur on the 28th of February 1948. The long-term causes of the riot are solidified below.

1. The cutting down of cocoa trees with compensation to the farmers
2. Racial discrimination in the civil service
3. High unemployment rate in the country
4. High inflation rate
5. Accommodation problems in the urban centres
6. Trade monopoly by Europeans, Syrians and Lebanese Companies
7. Dissatisfaction with the 1946 Alan Burns Constitution

Impacts of the 1948 Riots

The 1948 riot, which lasted for five days, had several significant outcomes. Below is the socio-political impact of the riot on the progress of the independence struggle.

Positive Impacts

- a. It led to the establishment of the Watson Commission and later the Coussey Committee, which gave the country a new constitution (1950) and the 1951 elections.
- b. It made the leadership of both the UGCC and the National Boycott Movement more popular.
- c. The organisation of the disturbances united the people of the Gold Coast, especially, the chiefs and the educated elites.
- d. There was increased political awareness following the arrest and detention of the leadership (the Big six) of the UGCC.
- e. It facilitated the formation of the CPP.

Negative Impacts

- a. It resulted in the destruction of property
- b. It deepened the crack in the UGCC. Except Nkrumah, the other members of the Big Six were invited by the Coussey Committee.
- c. The riot led to the death of 29 people and injured 237 people across the country.
- d. It created fear and general feeling of insecurity in the country

Activity 3.11 The 1948 Riot

1. Follow the link and watch a short video on the 1948 Riots and document the immediate and remote causes of the Riots in your notebook. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TPXeXnAiLz4>
2. In groups, perform a role-play of the events leading to the cause of the 1948 Riots. Think carefully about which roles you will select and what their opinions/ viewpoints would be in the various situations you are depicting. To challenge yourself, try to find some primary sources to add an authentic voice to your role play.



3. In groups, debate on the theme, 'Was the 1948 Riot a turning point in Ghana's transition from colonialism to independence? Document the key points in your notebook.

THE WATSON COMMISSION

On 28 February 1948, the shooting of protesting ex-service men resulted to looting and rioting in Accra and other major towns in the Gold Coast. The aftermath of the 1948 Riots led to the arrest of the leading members of the UGCC, who became known as the Big Six. The UGCC leadership, in view of this, petitioned the British government to institute an inquiry into the disturbances on the Gold Coast.

The British Government responded by instituting the Watson Commission under the leadership of Aiken Watson. Other members were Andrew Dalglish and Keith A. H. Murray. The commission was tasked to investigate the issues that led to the 1948 riots and make recommendations for preventing such disturbances in the future. The commission submitted its report in June 1948.



Figure 3.20: Aiken Watson

Findings of the Watson Commission

1. The commission pointed to DR. Kwame Nkrumah as the brain behind the disturbances.
2. That there was discrimination against Africans in the civil services. Thus, they were paid low salaries and are denied some amenities.

3. That people who retired from active services, for example the ex-servicemen were not properly settled.
4. That Africans are alienated from the administration of the colony.

Recommendations of the Watson Commission

1. Problems of retired people should be considered.
2. Workers should be made comfortable by providing them with amenities.
3. More schools should be established.
4. Local people should have political power in the country.
5. Problems of retired people should be considered.
5. Civil service headed by an African.

Activity 3.12 Watson Commission

1. Using the following historical sources, explain how the Watson Commission was formed and the recommendations it made. Use the prompts in the table to guide your analysis

Source	What type of source is this? Is it primary or secondary?	How authentic is this source?	What conclusion can you make from this source?
Source 1			
Source 2			

Source 1: Excerpt from Hart, J. (2024). One British archive: Archives of dissent: Complicating anti-colonial histories through the Watson Commission (Gold Coast/Ghana). *Journal of British Studies*, p. 2.

Retrieved from <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-british-studies/article/one-british-archive-archives-of-dissent-complicating-anticolonial-histories-through-the-watson-commission-gold-coastghana/F97DC25F16BEC3DA8CA1CFC48119F9DD>



...Concerned about the long-term consequences of the riots, the Governor appointed a committee on 7 April 1948, under the Commissions of Enquiry Ordinance “to enquire into and report on the recent disturbances in the Gold Coast and their underlying causes; and to make recommendations on any matter arising from their enquiry.” The committee, which was composed of Andrew Dalglish, a well-known British trade unionist; Keith Anders Hope Murray, head of Lincoln College, Oxford; and Andrew Aiken Watson, a lawyer and King’s Counsel, embraced the wide scope of their inquiry and investigated “every aspect of life in the Colony which we may deem relevant for our purpose”—from the activities of the UGCC and the details of the ex-servicemen’s protest to research on swollen shoot disease.

Source 2: Excerpt from Amoah, E. (2019). *History for senior high schools in Ghana*, 2nd edition. Accra: Aki-Ola Series, p. 488-489.

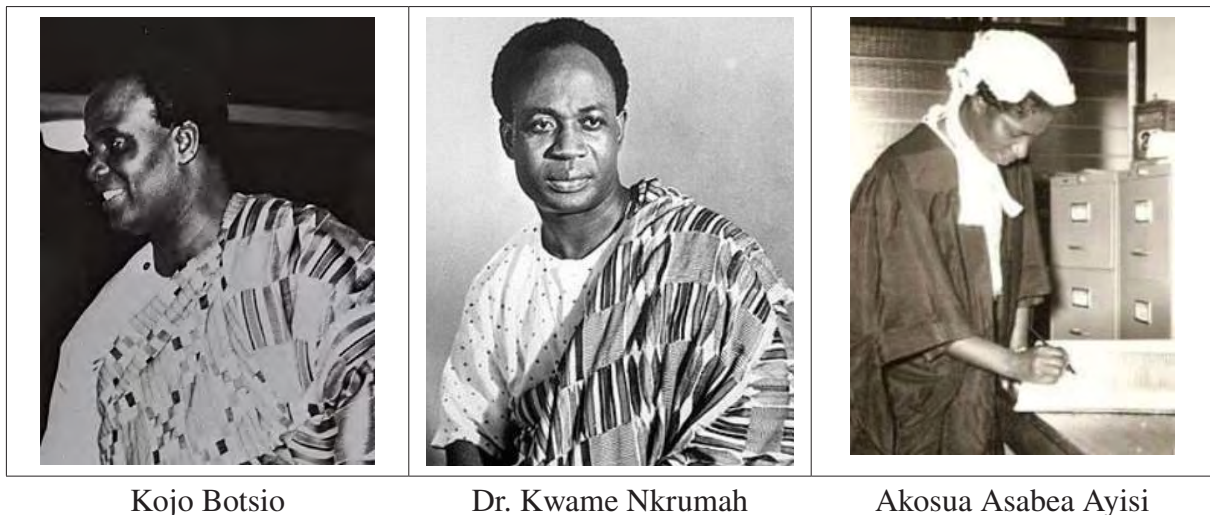
The Watson Commission describing the existing 1946 Constitution as outmoded and made the ‘revolutionary’ recommendation for an all-African constitution for the Gold Coast; ...creation of an enlarged Legislative Assembly with an African majority. ...decentralisation of the local government system ...the grievances of the ex-soldiers must be addressed. ...and Ghanaians should more control over all things that were done in the country.

2. In groups, debate on the motion ‘The Watson Commission has a significant role to play in Ghanaian history.’ After the debate, make notes in your notebook about the various sides of the argument.
3. In groups, write a newspaper article on the membership of the Watson Commission and the causes of the 1948 Riots, according to the Commission’s report. Engage with variety of sources including the ones provided in question one of this activity.

FORMATION OF THE CPP IN 1949

The Convention People’s Party (CPP) was formed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and inaugurated on 12th June 1949 in Accra. The party emerged from the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), which had been leading the fight for independence. However, the UGCC’s conservative approach to colonial rule frustrated the younger members, including Kwame Nkrumah, who advocated for more radical action. The CPP was founded with the motto ‘Self-Government Now’. This became the main vehicle for Nkrumah’s vision of a united and independent Ghana.

The CPP's formation marked a significant turning point in Ghana's struggle for independence, ultimately leading to the country's freedom on 6th March 1957, with Nkrumah as its first president. Membership of the party was opened to all Ghanaians irrespective of their social standing. Key members of the party included Dr Kwame Nkrumah (chairman), Kojo Botsio (secretary), K.A. Gbedemah, Dzenkle Dzewu, Saki Scheck, N.A Welbeck, Krobo Edusei, Pobee Biney, Akua Asabea.



Kojo Botsio

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

Akosua Asabea Ayisi

Figure 3.21: Some leading members of the CPP

Reasons for Nkrumah's Breakaway from the UGCC

- 1. Ideological factors:** Kwame Nkrumah was heavily influenced by communist and revolutionary ideas. To Nkrumah, the outlook of the UGCC was conservative or reactionary, thus not appealing to the masses.
- 2. Differences in methods:** Nkrumah left the UGCC and formed the CPP because there was a disagreement on the timing of independence. Whereas he has a policy of 'Self-Government Now', the other leaders of the UGCC wanted 'Self-Government in the Shortest Possible Time'.
- 3. Suspension from the UGCC:** In August 1948, Nkrumah was suspended as the General Secretary of the UGCC because of his radicalism towards the independence struggle. He was later made the treasurer of the party. He was stopped from organising rallies and making speeches. This allowed him to form the CPP.

4. **Exclusion of Nkrumah from the Coussey Committee:** The Watson Commission, set up to investigate the events leading to the 1946 riot, recommended the appointment of a committee to draft a new constitution for the Gold Coast. All the leaders of the UGCC were made members of the committee except Kwame Nkrumah. This was seen as an act of betrayal.
5. **Nkrumah's ambition and power clash:** Nkrumah became popular with the youth and the masses. He achieved this through the formation of the Committee on Youth Organisation (CYO) and the daily newspaper, *the Accra Evening News*. The leadership of the UGCC became disturbed and suspicious because Nkrumah did all these without consulting them.

Aims and Objectives of the CPP

1. To achieve immediate Self-Government.
2. To bring an end to all forms of oppression and form a democratic government.
3. To secure and maintain political unity of the colony, Asante, Northern Territories and Trans-Volta Togoland.
4. To promote trade unionism and achieve better working conditions for workers.
5. To promote economic, social and political emancipation of the people.

Achievements of the CPP

1. It won independence for Ghana.
2. It aroused political awareness of the people.
3. It established its Newspaper, *The Accra Evening News*.
4. It made significant contribution towards African unity and Pan-Africanism.
5. Its declaration of the 'positive actions' gave strong push to the independence struggle.
6. It opened its branches all over the country.

Activity 3.13 The formation of the CPP

1. In pairs, using the internet and books, analyse why Nkrumah broke away from the UGCC.
2. a. In groups, discuss the reasons for the formation of the CPP and its aims and objectives.

- b. Trace from the map where the CPP was formed in Ghana.



3. In small groups, prepare a poster on the formation of the CPP in 1949. Establish the link between its aims/objectives and achievements before independence.

THE COUSSEY COMMITTEE

After the 1948 riot, the Watson Commission was formed to investigate the disturbances. In response to their recommendation for constitutional reforms, the British government set up a 36-member committee made up of only Gold Coast individuals. The committee was chaired by a prominent Ghanaian, Justice J. H. Coussey. The formation of the committee included five of the 'Big Six', excluding Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Its members were mainly chiefs, highly educated individuals, and wealthy people of the Gold Coast. There was no representation from the youth or working class. The recommendations of the committee set the base for the 1951 constitution.

Nkrumah was excluded from the committee because of his stance for 'independence now', which was seen as a total intolerance towards the colonial government. Subsequently, the CPP declared the Arden Clarke constitution of 1951 as fraudulent and bogus. They went on the offensive, attacking both the colonial government and the UGCC.

Recommendations of the Coussey Committee

1. The Coussey Committee recommended the creation of an expanded legislative council. The legislative council was to have two chambers; An upper chamber house consisting of 38 members and a lower house which was to consist of 75 members.
2. It proposed an African-dominated Executive Council.
3. It also proposed a new system of local government in an attempt to abolish the existing Native Authorities and the indirect rule system and to replace them with the local councils.
4. That, the governor retains his reserved power; however, it could only be used in emergency situations with the approval of the executive council or the secretary of state for colonies.
5. It recommended the establishment of four regional administrations to exercise the powers delegated to them by the central government.

Activity 3.14 The Coussey Committee

1. In small groups, craft a timeline of events from the late 1940s to the early 1950s, emphasising key events that led to the institution of the Coussey Committee.
2. Analyse the following historical sources on the recommendations of the Coussey Committee and their potential impact on the political development of Ghana. Note down key points in your notebook.

Source 1: A short video on the Coussey Committee <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y0Xga4VXcm8>



Henley Coussey and five of the 'Big Six'

Source 2: Excerpt from Amoah, E. (2019). *History for senior high schools in Ghana*, 2nd edition. Accra: Aki-Ola Series. p. 489.

...recommendations were generally accepted by the government, but they fell short of self-government. This, however, formed the basis of the 1950 Constitution, which led to the first general election in 1951. Upon pressure from Kwesi Plange, who was elected in Cape Coast in June 1950, the voting age was lowered to 21. ...the British government did not accept the part of the Coussey Committee proposal stating that there should be a Cabinet, comprising mainly elected Africans, and be collectively responsible to parliament. The British government rejected this on the grounds that the principle of collective responsibility could not work because there was not yet a party system in the Gold Coast legislature.

3. In small groups, do an oral presentation on the effect of the Coussey Committee on the political development of Ghana. Present this to your class. Make notes in your notebook whilst other groups are presenting.

THE 1951 AND 1954 GENERAL ELECTIONS

This area focuses on the major events leading to the general elections of 1951 and 1954. The political parties that respectively contested the elections are outlined, and how the outcomes of these elections significantly influenced our independence struggle is discussed in this focal area. The success of the Convention People's Party (CPP) in these elections demonstrated widespread support for Nkrumah's vision and policies for the country.

The 1951 General Elections

The 1951 general elections were the first general election organised in Ghana based on universal adult suffrage. It was held on 8th February 1951. This election served as a turning point in the political history of the country. It prepared the country for self-rule with the CPP forming the government after the outcome of the election went in its favour. This made Kwame Nkrumah, who was the leader of the CPP, an automatic leader of the newly formed Government of the Gold Coast.

The overwhelming victory of the CPP in the election reinforced the mass support base of the party. The party secured 34 out of the 38 elected seats, providing the colonial administration with no option but to release Dr Nkrumah, who was in

prison, to be appointed as the Leader of Government Business. He later assumed the title of Prime Minister in 1952.

Moreover, the outcome of the election not only strengthened Ghanaians' quest for self-determination but also resulted in significant constitutional reforms. The elections followed the adoption of the 1951 Constitution, which provided for an enlarged Legislative Assembly with a majority of elected members. After the assumption of office of the Prime Minister in 1952, Nkrumah set in motion plans to eliminate certain aspects of the 1951 constitution that prevented the attainment of full self-government.

Political Parties that contested for the 1951 Elections

1. Convention People's Party (CPP)
2. National Democratic Party (NDP)
3. United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC)
4. People Democratic Party (PDP)

The 1954 General Elections

The 1954 general election was conducted under a new constitution (the 1954 Constitution adopted on 29th April 1954), which granted greater self-governance to the Gold Coast (now Ghana). It was held on 15th June 1954. These elections were a further step towards the liberation of the country from British rule. The CPP again emerged victorious, winning 71 out of the 104 seats in the Legislative Assembly. This overwhelming victory reinforced Kwame Nkrumah's leadership and his push for independence, which was eventually achieved on 6th March 1957.

The new constitution that led to the 1954 elections prevented the election of representatives to the Legislative Assembly based on traditional councils. All members were elected directly from equal, single-member constituencies across the country.

Political Parties that Contested the 1954 Elections

- Convention People's Party (CPP)
- Anlo Youth Organisation (AYO)
- Ghana Congress Party (GCP)
- Muslim Association Party (MAP)
- Togoland Congress Party (TCP)
- Northern People's Party (NPP)

Activity 3.15 The 1951 and 1954 General Elections

1. Watch the following short video on the 1951 election campaigns and discuss in small groups the outcome of the 1951 general elections. Note down the key events in your notebook. <https://x.com/GhanaianMuseum/status/1227502625085480960> 
2. With the use of the internet, in groups, search for and discuss the background of the 1954 general elections. Look for factors that called for the conduct of the election just two years after the 1951 elections. You may follow the link for information on the 1954 elections. Focus on pages 35-36. https://godsonug.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/poli-444-unit-2-_formatted_-28-02-2014.pdf 
3. Create a chart to illustrate the political parties with their leaders that participated in the 1951 and 1954 elections. Be guided by the example in the chart below.

1951 Elections	1954 Elections
Convention People's Party (CPP)- Kwame Nkrumah	Northern People's Party (NPP)-S.D. Dombo

- a. In small groups, write a report in an extended paragraph on the significance of the 1951 and 1954 elections in facilitating the independence struggle in Ghana.
- b. Present your findings either in the form of posters or a digital/oral presentation to the class.

THE 1956 GENERAL ELECTIONS AND WHY NKRUMAH WON ALL PRE-INDEPENDENCE GENERAL ELECTIONS

The 1956 General Elections

The 1956 general election was the climax of the political stages in the country's journey toward independence. This election was held on 17th July 1956 and could

have been the last election under British colonial rule. However, the emergence of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) in 1954, shortly after the 1954 general election, pushed the country into another election in 1956 before independence.

The NLM, which was an Asante-based political party, advocated for a federal system of government and massive involvement of traditional leaders in the governance of the soon to become independent Ghana. These ideologies were contrary to that of Nkrumah's who saw the country as a people with a common culture and inspiration and will be more progressive under a unitary system than a federal administration.

In the light of the unending acrimony between the CPP and the NLM and its allies with regard to the most suitable form of government for independent Ghana, the British government then threw a challenge to the people. It conducted the 1956 general elections and promised to grant independence without further delay if a clear majority of the people voted for a unitary government.

As indicated earlier, the Convention People's Party (CPP), led by Kwame Nkrumah won the elections with 71 out of the 104 seats in the Legislative Assembly, satisfying the British government's condition for independence. This overwhelming win reinforced the CPP's mandate and Nkrumah's leadership, paving the way for negotiations with the British government for setting date for declaration of independence. Consequently, the country became independent on 6th March 1957.



Figure 3.22: A voter receives a ballot paper from a polling assistant at Kumbungu Polling Station in the Northern Territories in the 1956 elections.

The following political parties, as shown in **Table 3.3**, contested the election.

Table 3.3: Contestants of the 1956 General Elections

Party	Seats Won
Convention People's Party (CPP)	71
Northern People's Party (NPP)	15
National Liberation Movement (NLM)	12
Togoland Congress (TC)	2
Muslim Association Party (MAP)	1
Federation of Youth Organisation (FYO)	1
Independent Candidates	2
Total Seats	104

Why Nkrumah Won All Pre-Independence General Elections

What factors led to Nkrumah's successive victories in all the pre-independent elections? Nkrumah and his CPP massively won all three general elections organised in 1951, 1954, and 1956, which are attributed to the following factors.

- 1. The CPP was a broad-based party** with its support base covering a broad diversity of the population. Thus, it embraced all categories of people, including the unemployed youth, market women, teachers, farmers, fishermen, ex-servicemen and many others.
- 2. The sectional and regional outlook of the other parties made them numerically weak**, giving the CPP an advantage. For instance, the UGCC and later the GCP, the major rival party to the CPP, were organised as an elite party embracing mainly the middle and upper classes of society. Its membership was composed of lawyers, chiefs, businessmen, among others.
- 3. The effective organisation of the CPP** gave it an advantage over its counterparts. The party organised mass rallies which were addressed by Kwame Nkrumah and some of the leading CPP stalwarts such as K.A. Gbedemah, Kojo Botsio, Krobo Edusei, among others. These leaders used language understood by the ordinary people in the campaigns and were relentless in their campaigns as well.
- 4. The catchy party slogans, symbols and flags of the CPP** were more appealing to the masses than the other parties. Slogans like 'Self-Government

Now' was more radical and captivating than that of its main rival party, the UGCC's 'Self-Government at the Shortest Possible Time' slogan. The rooster in the CPP flag symbolised bravery and the dawn of a new beginning.



Figure 3.23: Flag and symbol of the CPP

The political ideology of the CPP placed it ahead of its contenders. It adopted a socialist ideology, which emphasised the placing of the needs of the people at the centre of government.

The lifestyle of the CPP Leadership was a contributory factor to its victories in the polls. Nkrumah was a young and charismatic leader who mostly associated himself with the common people. He was regarded as the man of the people because of his dynamic and charismatic leadership qualities.

The role of the press, particularly the **Accra Evening News** and the **Cape Coast Daily Mail**, also contributed to the electoral success of Nkrumah and his CPP. Staunch CPP members such as J.G. Markham and Kofi Baako, respectively, edited these pro-CPP newspapers. They published articles that made the people more politically conscious of their right to self-determination.

Nkrumah's arrest and subsequent imprisonment for organising the positive actions on 9th January 1950 won him the sympathy of the masses; it made him a great hero in the estimation of many Ghanaians.

Activity 3.16 Nkrumah's success in all the pre-independence elections

1.
 - a. In pairs, organise the following cards into a timeline of key events from the 1951 elections to Ghana's independence in 1957.
 - b. Annotate the timeline with detailed information about the various events
 - Independence Declaration of Ghana
 - The First General Election

- The Plebiscite
 - The Second General Election
 - The Rise of the NLM
 - Appointment of Nkrumah as Prime Minister
2. In groups, discuss why Nkrumah won all pre-independence general elections. Record your discussion on the mind map below.

Factors that Contributed to Nkrumah's Victory in All Pre-independence Elections

3. In groups, craft a presentation on the significance of the 1956 elections in the progress towards independence.
4. In groups, debate on the motion that 'Nkrumah's methods and strategies set a positive precedent for future political leaders in Ghana.'

EMERGENCE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT (NLM)

The NLM was launched in Kumasi on 19th September 1954, barely three months after the General Elections. It was spearheaded by Baffour Osei Akoto, a chief linguist (*Okyeame*) of the Asantehene, Nana Osei Agyemang Prempeh II. With the support of Asante's chiefs and disgruntled CPP members, the movement was formed primarily to oppose Dr Kwame Nkrumah's CPP and address Asante's grievances. The charts below demonstrate the reasons for its formation and demands its members made to the colonial administration as well as the factors that led to its failure.



Figure 3.24: Okyeame Baffour Osei Akoto (founder of the NLM)

Reasons for Formation of NLM

1. The Asante traditional council was unhappy about the reduction of the powers of the chiefs in local governance by the 1951 constitution.
2. They were dissatisfied with and implementation of the Van Lare Commission Report on the redemarcation of the constituencies in the country.
3. They feared of southern political control and domination after independence.
4. Disappointment by a group of Asante youth members of the CPP who were not elected as CPP candidates in the 1954 elections supported the formation the NLM.
5. The disappointment of cocoa farmers in Asante over low cocoa prices also contributed to the formation of the party.
6. The founders were unhappy with Social and economic developments restricted to the southern parts of Ghana.

Its Demands

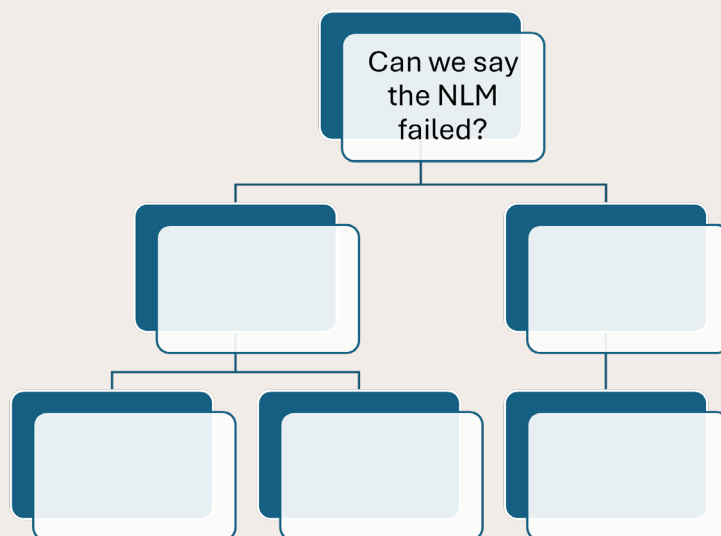
1. The NLM demanded for fresh elections in spite of the 1954 elections
2. It demanded for increase in cocoa prices.
3. It demanded for a bi-cameral legislature with the upper house made up of traditional leaders.
4. It demanded for a federal system of government.
5. It demanded for a new constitution.
6. It demanded for an independent public services commission.

Factors for the Failure of the NLM

1. The NLM was not a broad-based political party because its leaders and majority of its supporters were of Asante ethnic.
2. It lost in the 1956 general elections, which it particularly pushed for. This further reduced its popularity.
3. The uncompromising stance of the NLM on what type of government system to be adopted (federal or unitary) also made its unpopular.
4. The passage of the Avoidance of Discrimination Act in 1957 after independence compelled the NLM to merge with other opposition parties to form the United Party (UP). The Law outlawed the formation of political parties based on ethnic, regional, and religious affiliation.

Activity 3.17 The emergence of the NLM

1. With the use of the internet and books, in small groups, search and discuss the reasons for the formation, demands and activities of the NLM. Document your key points in your notebook.
2. Split your class into two groups, debate on the motion that ‘The demands of the NLM were justifiable.’ Each group should take a different side.
3.
 - a. In groups, discuss why the NLM’s activities might have delayed Ghana’s Independence.
 - b. Solidify your notes from the discussion into a concept map focusing on whether the NLM failed. Use the chart below as a guide.



TOGOLAND QUESTION OF UNION OR UNIFICATION AND THE 1956 PLEBISCITE

The Togoland Question and the Plebiscite of 1956 were key events in Ghana's path to independence. The issue centred on the United Nations Trusteeship Territory of Togoland, known as Trans-Volta Togoland (TVT), which had been divided between the British (British Togoland) and the French (Togo). This area had been in German control since the 1880s. After the defeat of Germany in World War I, the United Nations mandated the British to take charge of Trans-Volta Togoland, while the French took over the modern-day Togo.

In 1954, the British Government asked the UN to end the trusteeship agreement for British Togoland and suggested merging it with the soon-to-be-independent Ghana, known then as the Gold Coast, due to Britain's inability to administer British Togoland after Ghana gained independence. The UN General Assembly agreed to Britain's request in 1954 and decided to determine the preferences of the people of British Togoland.

In 1955, a mission was dispatched to British Togoland, where they discovered two main opposing views: integration with an independent Gold Coast, and the Ewe in particular expressed interest in reuniting with their kinsmen in Togo or remaining as British Togoland as an independent entity. The mission recommended a plebiscite to resolve these differing opinions. **Figure 3.25** is a colonial map of Ghana showing the administrative regions.



Figure 3.25: Colonial map of Ghana showing the various administrative regions

Details of the dates are below:

1. Declaration of the Asante (Ashanti) protectorate in 1896 and officially recognised as a colony under British administration in 1901.
2. Occupation in 1916 and consequent division of the German Togoland protectorate into British and French administrative zones after Germany withdrew from West Africa in 1919.
3. Formal creation of British Togoland, constituting a transfer from German to British rule, under the League of Nations class B mandate.
4. Plebiscite in 1956 officially recognised the region as a part of newly independent Ghana.

Results of the 1956 Plebiscite

The plebiscite was held on 9th May 1956, and the results were divided regionally –the northern and the southern (Ewe) section. Out of the total votes in the northern (non-Ewe) section, 79% voted for union with Gold Coast, while 58% in the southern (Ewe) section voted for separation. This resulted in an overall majority in favour of union with Gold Coast. The picture below was taken by a UN observer at the outside of the Togoland Congress office during the 1956 plebiscite.



Figure 3.26: A UN observer gathered people together outside the Togoland Congress Office for a photo.

The charts below further illustrate the results of the 1956 Plebiscite:

Results of the 1956 Plebiscite-Northern Section

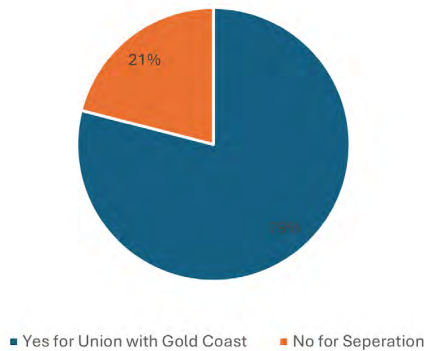


Figure 3.27: A chart showing the results of the 1956 Plebiscite (northern section)

Results of Southern (Ewe) Section

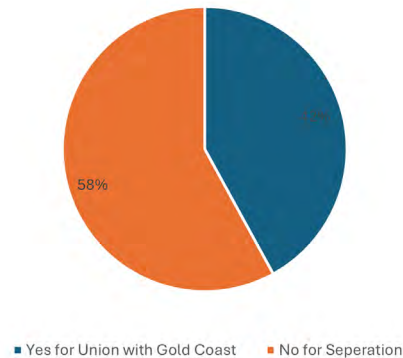


Figure 3.28: A chart showing the results of the 1956 Plebiscite (Ewe section)

The various sectional results shown in the charts above indicated that, majority of the people voted for unification with the Gold Coast. District distribution of the votes for the plebiscite is illustrated in **Table 3.4**.

Table 3.4: District results of the 1956 Plebiscite in British Togoland

District	Number of Votes Cast for:	
	Union	Separation
Mamprusi	17 870	3 429
Dagomba	28 083	6 549
Gonja	3 166	2 729
Buem/Krachi	28 176	18 775
Kpandu	8 581	17 029
Ho	7 217	18 981
	93 093 (58 %)	67 492 (42 %)

Source: Year Book of the United Nations, 1959 p. 368 cited in R.B. Bening (1983), 'The Ghana-Togo boundary, 1914-1982,' *African Spectrum* 18 (2), p. 206.

In December 1956, the UN passed a resolution endorsing the union of the Togoland with Gold Coast. However, the Togoland Congress (an Ewe based political party) and some members of the southern Ewe section contested the decision. They claimed that the northern votes should have been counted separately and alleged vote rigging in the northern section. As a result, they boycotted Ghana's independence celebrations in March 1957.

Figure 3.29 is a poster of the rules and regulations of the conduct of the 1956 plebiscite in Ghana.

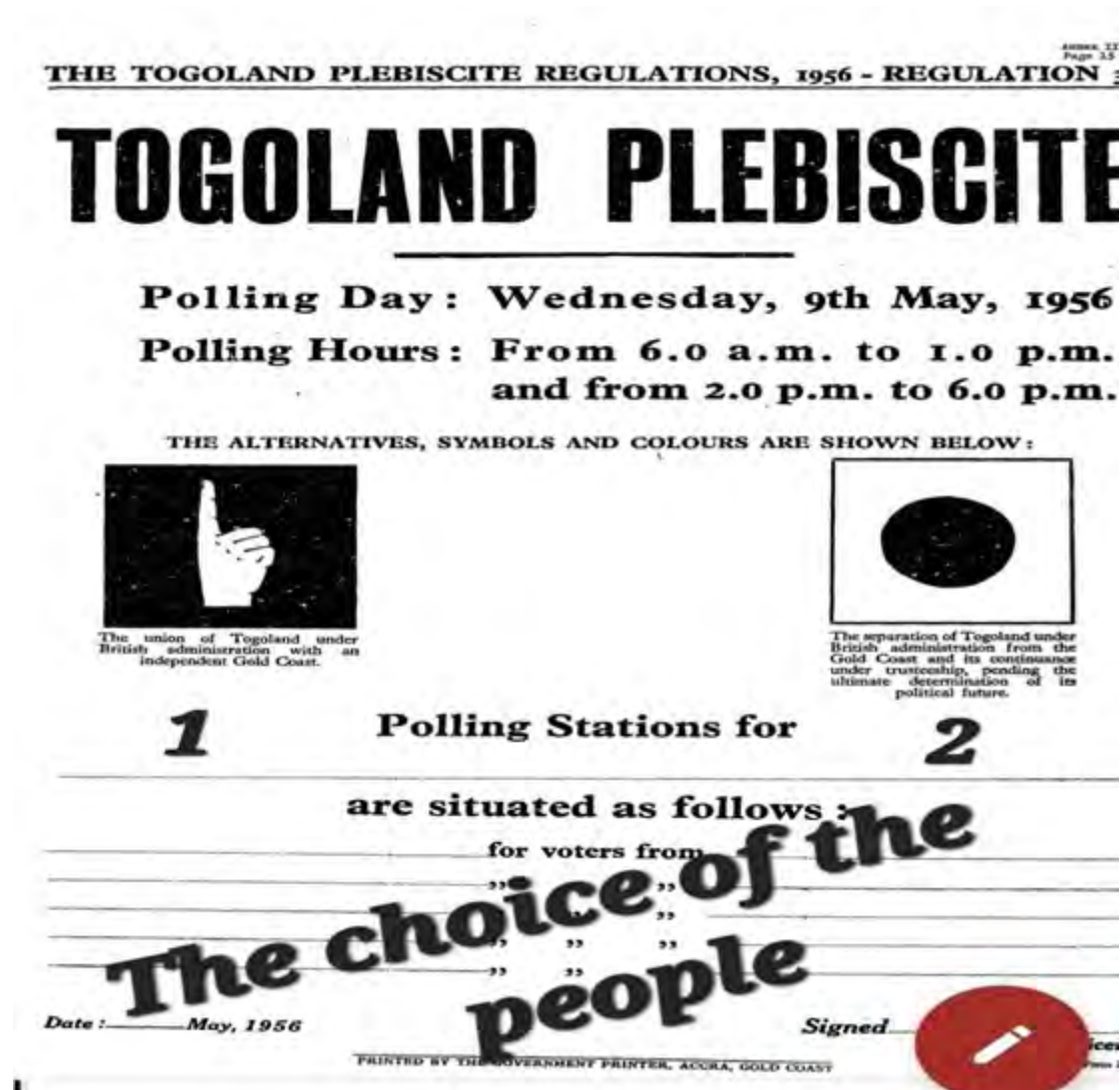


Figure 3.40: Regulation of the 1956 plebiscite

Activity 3.18 The 1956 Plebiscite

1. In small groups, create a timeline of events leading up to the 1956 Plebiscite in Ghana.
2. In groups, discuss the different perspectives held by the British government, the United Nations, the people of British Togoland and political parties like the CPP and the Togoland Congress with regards to the Togoland Question.

Present your key points in the table below.

Perspectives of the various actors in the Togoland Question				
The British Government	The UN	People of British Togoland	CPP	Togoland Congress
The British government wished to merge the Togoland to Gold Coast				

- In groups, create charts such as bar or pie charts on the voting patterns in different regions British Togoland. Refer to **Table 3.4** for the data on the voting pattern.
- In groups, examine the immediate and long-term consequences of the 1956 plebiscite's outcome for the people of British Togoland and the Gold Coast. Use the internet for broader information on the impact of the plebiscite. Present your work in tabular form like the one below.

Consequences of the Outcome of the 1956 Plebiscite	
Short-term consequences	
On the people of British Togoland	On the Gold Coast
Long-term consequences	
On the people of British Togoland	On the Gold Coast

THE ROLE WOMEN PLAYED IN GHANA'S INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE

Women played a crucial role in Ghana's struggle for independence from British colonial rule. With the formation of Kwame Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949, which had broad base mass participation, women became actively involved in national politics of the country.

Several notable women were at the forefront of the independence movement. Mabel Dove Danquah and Akua Asabea Ayisi worked alongside Nkrumah. They wrote articles for the *Evening News newspaper*, demanding independence and risking persecution. During the ‘Positive Action Campaign’ of civil disobedience, women like Leticia Quaye and Akua Asabea Ayisi were imprisoned for their actively involvement in the campaign.



Figure 3.41: Pictures of Mabel Dove Danquah (left) and Akua Asabea Ayisi (right)

The CPP formed a women’s wing that was instrumental in mobilising grassroots support. In 1951, the party appointed four women as Propaganda Secretaries: Leticia Quaye, Hannah Cudjoe, Ama Nkrumah, and Sophia Doku. These women travelled the country and enrolled people in the CPP and its women’s wing. They organised rallies and spread the party’s message.

Women’s involvement extended beyond the elite. Market women were particularly active, contributing funds to the CPP and vocally supporting independence struggle activities, rallies and gatherings. Their economic power and community influence helped build a mass base for the CPP as the dominant nationalist political movement in the country.

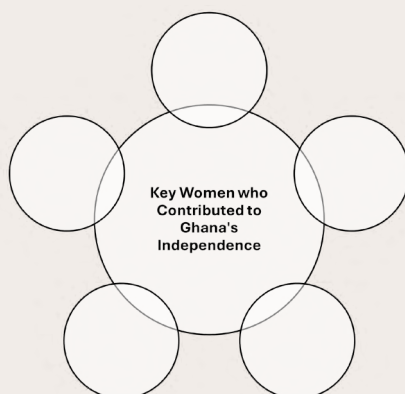
The Ghana Women’s League, led by Hannah Cudjoe, engaged in both political activism and social welfare work. They organised demonstrations, such as protesting French atomic tests in the Sahara. They also conducted educational campaigns on issues like nutrition and childcare.

Through these varied efforts – from elite political activism to grassroots organising, women were indispensable to building popular support for independence struggle in Ghana. Their contributions helped lay the groundwork for women’s continued involvement in Ghanaian politics after independence. Below are women who contributed in diverse ways to the decolonisation process in Ghana.

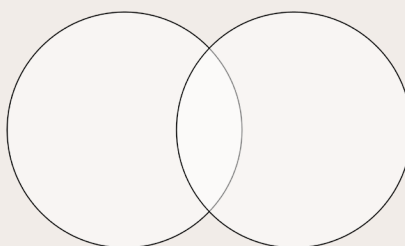
1. Esther Korkor Sackey
2. Nana Dedei Aryeetey
3. Eugenia Kai Sasraku
4. Agnes Oforiwaa Tagoe-Quarcoopome

Activity 3.19 Role of women in Ghana’s independence

1. a. In small groups, create a mind map to identify key women who played significant roles in Ghana’s independence struggle. Use the chart below as a guide.



- b. Discuss the role these women played in early political party movements in Ghana. Document key points in your notebook.
2. a. In groups, create Venn diagrams to compare and contrast the roles of elite women (like Mabel Dove Danquah and Akua Asabea Ayisi) with those of grassroots women (like Naa Dedei Aryeetey) in Ghana’s independence struggle.



- b. Analyse the impact of their different positions and strategies. Present your analysis in a form of the table below.

Impact of their different positions and strategies		
Position	Strategies	Impact(s)

3. Hold a debate on the theme, 'Women were indispensable to Ghana's independence struggle.' Put down the key ideas in your notebook.

EXTENDED READING

- Adu Boahen, A. (2000). *Ghana: Evolution and change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Sankofa Educational Publishers.
- Fynn, J. K., Addo-Fening, R., & Anquandah, J. (1991). *History: For senior secondary schools*. Accra: Evans Brothers.
- A video link on the effects of the 1948 riot
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bPx5CZyP5OQ>



REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Describe the nature of resistance against colonial rule in Ghana.
2. Identify nationalist movements in Ghana before WWII.
3. What were the specific grievances of British West Africans that led to the formation of the NCBWA?
4. Identify nationalist movements in Ghana after WWII.
5. Identify two major achievements of the UGCC and explain their significance in the struggle for Ghana's independence.
6. Explain five reasons for the formation of the NLM.
7. Describe two ways in which women contributed to the CPP's activities during the independence struggle.



SECTION

4

POST-INDEPENDENCE DEVELOPMENTS IN GHANA



INDEPENDENCE AND POST-COLONIAL DEVELOPMENTS

Socio-Economic and Political Developments in Ghana (1957 – 2007)

INTRODUCTION

This section delves into post-independence developments in Ghana from 1957 to 2007. It covers the transition from the diarchy system, the Republican and Military regimes, the birth of the Fourth Republic and after. It examines the shifts in the government system and the significant socio-economic and political changes during this period.

By the end of this section, you should be able to:

- Assess the socio-economic and political developments in Ghana from 1957 – 1969.
- Examine Ghana's socio-economic and political developments from 1969 to 1981
- Analyse the Processes Leading to the Birth of the Fourth Republic.
- Assess the socio-economic and political developments in Ghana from 1993 to 2007.

KEY IDEAS

- **The Accelerated Development Plan on Education** was to help develop a balanced system which will work towards universal primary education.
- **A diarchy system** is a form of government characterised by co-rule, with two people ruling a state together.
- **House-cleaning Exercise** was the AFRC's campaign to eliminate corruption and economic crimes through special military tribunals and harsh punishments.
- **The June 4th Uprising** was a military revolt led by junior officers that brought the AFRC to power.

- **Operation Feed Yourself** was a policy initiated by Acheampong's government in February 1972 aimed to increase levels of food crops produced in Ghana for domestic consumption.
- **People's Revolutionary Courts** were special tribunals established to try cases of economic sabotage and corruption by the AFRC.
- **Union Government (UNIGOV)** was a concept brought forward by Gen. Acheampong in 1977 to make Ghana a non-party state. The proposed government system was to be composed of the military, the police and the civilians.

THE DIARCHY SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN GHANA (1957 - 1960)

In this part of the section, we will learn about the nature of the government system practised in Ghana between independence and the First Republic in 1960. The governance system was characterised by what is known as the diarchy system, which allowed both the newly independent government to co-rule the country with the British through the Governor General.

Ghana at Independence

On 6th March 1957 at 12:00 am, the Gold Coast, Asante, the Northern Territories and British Mandated Togoland were unified as one single independent country within the British Commonwealth. The name Gold Coast was changed to Ghana to reinforce the ancestral link with ancient Ghana (in modern-day Mali), which was also rich in gold.

The Ghana National Anthem was sung. The Ghanaian flag was made to replace the British flag as the national flag of the nation. The people were very happy for their independence. However, the British still maintained some control over the nation, with the Queen of the United Kingdom as Head of State. She was represented in Ghana by the Governor-General.



Image 1



Image 2

Figure 4.1: Scene at the independence declaration on 6th March 1957

The Nature of Government (1957 – 1960)

The colonial government aimed to guide the young independent Ghana until it was deemed that the leadership of Ghana could fully embrace its role.

The Governor-General exercised most of the powers of the Queen and was appointed by the Queen on the recommendation of the Prime Minister of Ghana. He was a ceremonial head of the state, acting on the advice of the Prime Minister. When the Governor-General was absent, the Chief Justice served as the Officer Administering the Government.

Functions of the Governor-General

Some of the key functions of the Governor-General included:

1. Ceremonial functions thus received visitors and other important dignitaries into the country.
2. On the advice of the Prime Minister, he exercised the power of prerogative of mercy. That was the privilege to pardon prisoners.
3. He was the commander in chief of the Ghana army.
4. Opening and closing sessions of the Parliament, he would formally open and close sessions of the Parliament, delivering speeches outlining the government's agenda and achievements.
5. Appointing the Prime Minister, he appointed the Prime Minister based on the political party that had the majority in the Parliament. This role was more of confirming the leader of the party with majority in Parliament as Prime Minister rather than appointing him/her.

Functions of the Prime Minister

Dr Kwame Nkrumah was the Prime Minister of independent Ghana. This became possible after the CPP won the majority of the seats in the 1956 general elections. His term of office lasted until Ghana became a republican state in 1960. The following are some of the constitutional mandates of the Prime Minister.

1. Recommended some members of parliament to be appointed as ministers by the Governor-General.
2. Formulated and implemented policies.
3. He was the advisor to the Governor-General on public and constitutional issues.
4. He prepares and presents budget in parliament.

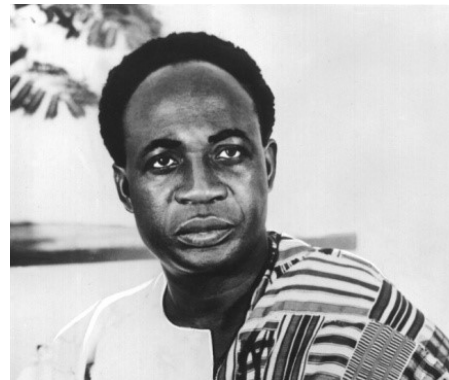


Figure 4.2: Governor-General Lord Listowel (left) and Dr Kwame Nkrumah (right)

Cabinet Ministers that served Ghana (1957 – 1960)



Figure 4.3: Cabinet ministers in Ghana (1957 - 1960)

Standing left to right; *Hon A. Ofori Atta, MP; Hon N. A. Welbeck, MP; Hon B. Yeboa Afari, MP; Hon J. H. Ahassan, MP; Hon J. B. Erzuah, MP; Hon L. R. Abavana, MP; Hon Ako Adjei, MP; and Hon Krobo Edusei, MP.*

Seated left to right; *Hon A. E. Inkumsah, MP; Hon Kojo Botsio, MP; Hon Kwame Nkrumah, LLD, MP (Prime Minister); Hon K. A Gbedemah, MP; Hon A. Caseley Heyford, MP.*

Activity 4.1 The diarchy system in Ghana

1. In groups, using the internet, prepare an oral or written presentation on the features of the diarchy system of government as practised in Ghana from 1957 to 1960.
 - a. Ensure that your presentation covers the roles of the following people: prime ministers, presidents, and key government officials.
 - b. Try to locate primary sources such as speeches and photographs so your audience can understand who these people were and what they believed in.
2. In pairs, create a photo gallery of the cabinet ministers who served in Ghana from 1957 - 1960. Label the photographs with information about what the cabinet ministers achieved.
3.
 - a. In small groups, discuss the roles played by the Governor General and the Prime Minister in Ghana from 1957 – 1960.
 - b. Analyse the source below and address the following questions in the table below.

Identify the two individuals and their positions in Ghana's history.	What were their roles as leaders of state?	What context led to the writing of the letter?

My dear Lord Listowel,

It is the intention of the Government of Ghana to appoint the next Governor-General from the United Kingdom. I know the part you have played in the socialist struggle in Great Britain. I also know of your services as Chairman of the Fabian Colonial Bureau while I was in London during my student days. In these circumstances, I would be very pleased to know whether it would be possible for us to consider your name among those from whom we might choose a Governor-General. It would a privilege for Ghana if we were able, by appointing you, to honour the work which you did in the achievement of Indian Independence and which you have done in the cause of colonial freedom. As you will realise the matter is urgent and I should greatly appreciate an early reply.

Yours very sincerely,

Kwame Nkrumah

MERITS AND DEMERITS OF THE DIARCHY SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT THAT WAS PRACTISED IN GHANA FROM 1957 – 1960

The diarchy system adopted after independence had both positive and negative impacts.

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
Many people believed that it was an opportunity for Ghanaians to study how to govern the state and some administrative procedures before they can take full control of the country.	The nature of government did not make Ghana a sovereign nation even after regaining Independence in 1957.
The British provided a lot of assistance to the new country, Ghana. Among them was the provision of military training assistance.	This allowed the British to interfere in the country's internal affairs
Provision of governance experts. The British provided experienced politicians to support Ghana's transition into a republican state. An example was Geoffrey Henry Cecil Bing who served as Ghana's Attorney General, from 1957 to 1961.	It did not give autonomy to Ghana to make her own decisions, especially with regards to foreign affairs.



Figure 4.4: Picture of Geoffrey Henry Cecil Bing, Attorney General of Ghana (1957-1961)

Activity 4.2 Merits and demerits of the diarchy system

1. In groups, create a chart that shows the merits and demerits of the diarchy system of government that was practised in Ghana from 1957 to 1960.
2. Organise yourselves into two groups and debate on the merits and demerits of the diarchy system as practised in Ghana from 1957 to 1960.
3. Compose and perform a short skit depicting a debate in Ghana's parliament for and against the diarchy system.

Think carefully about what roles you will choose to play in the skit and what arguments you think the different sides of the Parliament would have had.

PROCESSES LEADING TO GHANA'S ATTAINMENT OF A REPUBLICAN STATUS IN 1960

Ghana had experienced co-rule with the British for three years under the diarchy system before attaining republican status in 1960. For example, a Governor-General and Attorney General were appointed by the British crown to co-rule the country. This was done to ensure greater adaptation. Below are the processes leading to Ghana becoming a republican state.

- Independence (1957): Ghana gained independence from British colonial rule under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, becoming the first sub-Saharan African country to do so.
- Constitutional reforms: Following independence, there was a push to remove remaining colonial influences from Ghana's governance structure.
- Republican referendum (1960: A national referendum was held, with citizens voting overwhelmingly in favour of adopting a republican constitution.
- New constitution: A new constitution was drafted, establishing Ghana as a republic with a presidential system of government.
- Presidential election: Kwame Nkrumah was elected as the first President of the Republic of Ghana.
- Proclamation of the Republic: On 1st July 1960, Ghana officially became a republic, with full sovereignty and the Monarch of England no longer serving as head of state.

Activity 4.3 Towards attainment of republican status

1. In pairs, using the internet and variety of sources, create a timeline of the events from Ghana's independence to it becoming a republic. Try to include primary sources in your timeline if you can find some.
2. In groups, discuss the following key features of the first Republican constitution of Ghana. Discuss the following:
 - a. What are the strengths of the constitution?
 - b. What rights does it protect?
 - c. What are some potential problems that you could identify?

Excerpt from Fynn, J. K., Addo-Fening, R., & Anquandah, J. (1991). History: For senior secondary schools. Accra: Evans Brothers.

In 1960, the Republican Constitution... strengthened the position of Dr Nkrumah as the Executive President. Article 55 gave the President powers to rule by decree of legislative instrument. Also, Article 44 empowered the President to appoint and dismiss the Chief Justice who was head of the judiciary. Thirdly, clause 51 vested in the President 'the appointment, probation, transfer, termination of appointment, dismissal and disciplinary control of members of the public services'. Finally, under Article 24, the President was empowered to give assent to every bill passed by Parliament either wholly or in part or even reject the whole bill.

3. In groups, debate the different viewpoints on adopting a republican constitution versus maintaining ties with the British monarchy. At the end of the debate, come to a conclusion as a class about why the constitution was decided upon by the Ghanaian government.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE CPP (1957-1966)

Social developments are policies that are intended to improve the well-being of individuals in the society. The Convention People's Party's government focused on education, health, infrastructure and housing as its major social development areas to improve the lives of Ghanaians.

Developments in Education Sector

The CPP government upon assuming office in 1951 believed that education was the corner stone of the country's development. Among the new government's first aims was to, as soon as possible, make education available for every child of school going age.

The CPP government prioritised education with two main objectives: to increase literacy and to train skilled personnel for national development.

Developments in Pre-Tertiary Sector of Education

The nationalist government of Dr Kwame Nkrumah that assumed office in August 1951 introduced the Accelerated Development Plan (ADP) for Education, to provide for a significant expansion of education at all levels. In January 1952, tuition-free elementary education was introduced for children between the ages of 6 and 12. Essentially, this marked the beginning of what can be described as free primary education in Ghana. The ADP was to help develop a balanced system which will work towards universal primary education as quickly as the country's finance can allow and take teacher training into consideration. It was to also maintain the right percentage of facilities in tertiary education for those who qualify to receive it.

The infant junior schools were to be converted into primary schools and senior primary schools into middle schools. The middle schools were to be regarded as extension of the primary system.

To give legal backing to the ADP of 1951, the Nkrumah government passed the Education Act of 1961. The 1961 Act enabled the CPP government to implement the proposals of the ADP on Education. This made Ghana the first African country to offer free primary education, including free tuition, textbooks, and school materials.

The government significantly expanded educational institutions at all levels. **Table 4.1** illustrates the increase in enrolment of students from primary, middle and secondary levels between 1957 and 1960 after the implementation of the ADP.

Table 4.1: Expansion in education under the CPP government

School levels	Initial Enrolment in 1957	Increased Enrolment by 1959/1960
Primary schools	3,571	3,713
Middle schools	1,314	1,394
Secondary schools	12,119	20,000



Figure 4.5: Tamale Secondary School

Government approved secondary schools rose from 38 in 1957 to 59 in the 1960s. Some existing middle schools were upgraded to secondary school status. For instance, the then Tamale Boys School was upgraded to become the first secondary school in the then Northern Territories. The Government of the CPP built new Government Secondary Schools such as Ghana Secondary School (Tamale) in 1960 to accommodate the increasing population across the country.

The ADP also recommended that four secondary technical schools should be provided. In addition, the government technical institute at Takoradi was converted to Government Technical School in 1953. The four technical institutions were to be established at Tarkwa, Kumasi, Accra and Sekondi-Takoradi. Below are examples of the schools that were built/upgraded by Nkrumah to increase access to secondary education in Ghana.

School Name	Location	Year Established
Ghana National College	Cape Coast	1948
Mfantsiman Girls' Secondary School	Saltpond	1960
Apam Secondary School	Apam	1953
Winneba Secondary School	Winneba	1949
Swedru Secondary School	Agona Swedru	1959
Tema Secondary School	Tema	1961
Oda Secondary School	Akyem Oda	1960
Techiman Secondary School	Techiman	1963

It must be noted that many schools underwent name changes over the years, and some schools that existed before Nkrumah's presidency received significant support and expansion during his era. **Figure 4.6** is the image of the entrance of Tarkwa Secondary School built under Nkrumah's regime.



Figure 4.6: Tarkwa Secondary School

Developments in Teacher Training Education

The CPP government also developed teacher training colleges to train professional teachers for the increasing number of basic schools that were being built as a result of the Accelerated Development Plan. The government set up 16 new teacher training colleges from 1952. These new colleges included Atebubu Training College (established in 1965), Berekum Training College (established in February 1953), Foso Training College (established on 15th November 1965) and the Enchi Training College (established in 1965), among others. **Figure 4.7** is one of the teacher training colleges that were established through the effort of Nkrumah's CPP government.



Figure 4.7: Berekum Training College (Feb. 1953)

The National Teacher Training Council (NTTC) was established in 1958. The (NTTC) was to promote efficiency and uniformity in the conduct of examination and certification. Apart from this function, the NTTC was to advise the Ministry of Education (and later the Ghana Education Service) on procedures necessary to implement programmes related to teacher education.

Developments in University Education in Ghana

The Nkrumah government also gave assistance to the two university colleges at Legon and Kumasi, and in 1961 both became fully-fledged universities awarding their own degrees. The University of Ghana started as the University College of Gold Coast. It was founded by an Ordinance on 11th August 1948 for the purpose of providing for and promoting university education, learning and research. It operated as a college until in the 1960-61 academic year when the college council made a request to the government of Ghana to enact an act of parliament to give it a university status. On 1st October 1961, an act of parliament (Act 79) was

enacted granting the university college a full University status and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became the first Chancellor of the University.



Figure 4.8: University of Ghana

The Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology was established in 1951 as a college for training teachers. It was officially opened in 1952 with 200 teacher training students from Achimota and received further expansion with the addition of the School of Engineering and Commerce. The college was granted full university status and named after Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in 1961.

The University of Cape Coast was established in 1962 as a university college and placed in a special relationship with the University of Ghana, Legon. On 1st October 1971, the college attained the status of a full and independent university, with the authority to award its own degrees, diploma and certificates by an act of parliament (The University of Cape Coast, Act, 1971 (Act 390). The purpose of the university was to among other things train highly qualified and skilled teachers to meet the needs of the ADP.

Nkrumah's government also provided scholarships for Ghanaians to study and acquire knowledge abroad. By 1959, about 3,000 Ghanaian students were studying in Western Europe on scholarship. The move was to acquire knowledge in European countries and return to Ghana to work for the development of the country.

The government also focused on adult education and cultural promotion by establishing the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana in 1961 and a cultural centre in Kumasi. These were meant to research and preserve Ghanaian and African cultural heritage.

Developments in the Healthcare Sector

The CPP government made significant strides in improving healthcare between 1957 and 1966. At independence, Ghana's formal health system was made of government and mission hospitals and health centres situated in the southern coastal regions of the country. Three hospitals existed in the colonial capital Accra. They were Accra, Korle-Bu, and Ridge Hospitals which were all initially built to serve the British colonial officials.

The Convention People's party government expanded existing hospitals like Korle-Bu to meet the healthcare needs of the people. These facilities include four former colonial army medical facilities which were turned into civilian facilities (c. 1890) located in Keta, Cape Coast, and Elmina; four purpose-built health facilities (c. 1890) in Dixcove, Saltpond, Winneba and Ada; four mission hospitals in Agogo, Asante Akim (built in 1931), Breman Asikuma (built 1943), Jirapa and Wora Wora (built in 1951); a collection of mission run dispensaries, aid post and clinics situated largely in rural areas.

Thirty-five new health centres including Komfo Anokye Hospital in Kumasi and Effia Nkwanta Hospital in Sekondi were built across the country between 1960 and 1966. The government also constructed polyclinics, health centres, and maternity clinics in both urban and rural areas. **Figure 4.9** is the Komfo Anokye hospital built during Nkrumah's regime to facilitate healthcare delivery in Ghana.



Figure 4.9: Komfo Anokye hospital (Kumasi)

The government launched campaigns against communicable diseases such as yaws, smallpox, tuberculosis and leprosy. The public health focus during the first decade after independence was on infectious diseases prevention and control.

Investments were made in building capacity for healthcare professionals with the establishment of a medical training centre in 1964 at the University of Ghana Medical School, nursing training at the University of Ghana and pharmacy training at the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi.

Strategies were also developed to incorporate traditional medical systems into formal healthcare. In 1961, the Nkrumah government established the Ghana Psychic and Traditional Healers Association. The following are the aims of the Ghana Psychic and Traditional Healers Association:

1. To study herbal medicine so that it could be used in the public health sector.
2. To promote and modernise traditional medicine and healing.
3. To improve and expand medical facilities.
4. To integrate the indigenous African knowledge systems into the new Africa.
5. To further remove the Eurocentric ideology and cultural imperialism on African healing knowledge.

The Emergence of Free Healthcare in Ghana

Nkrumah's government introduced free medical care, making Ghana the first African country to do so. On the 1st of September 1958, Nkrumah's government withdrew 'the privileges of private practice from all medical doctors and dentists'. Consequently, for the first time in the country, patients whether Ghanaian or non-Ghanaian, stopped paying professional fees in government health facilities. With the abolition of private fees in government health facilities, financial access to health care was improved because hospital charges were drastically revised downwards. For instance, with respect to midwifery services, women delivering in government hospitals, spending ten days and beyond, were charged only £1 as daily maintenance charges; children of 16 years and below were treated free of charge; government official employees, public and civil servants and all workers were entitled to free medical care at out-patients' clinics.

Subsequently, Nkrumah essentially instituted a free health care policy for all persons living in Ghana at all public health facilities by 1965. This free health care policy was financed mainly from the state's tax revenue.

Nkrumah's government also gave priority to the training of healthcare personnel. By the end of 1960 about 400 Ghanaians had been given scholarships to study medicine overseas with a view of increasing the number of medical practitioners in the country.

Developments in the Housing Sector

The improvements in the health services led to low death rate and consequently an increase in population. This resulted to pressure on housing in both rural and urban areas of Ghana.

To address housing shortages, especially in urban areas, the government:

1. Established the Housing Corporation in 1956 to construct several houses for people in both the rural areas and in towns. The Ghana Housing Corporation was tasked with providing different types of furnished houses to people based on their incomes.
2. Created the Ministry of Housing and expanded the Ghana Housing Corporation. The ministry was also to propagate good building techniques to the communities. The government was to also exploit limestone deposits to offer cheap building materials.
3. Launched a plan to build 50,000 houses at an estimated cost of £45 million under the Seven Year Development Plan (1963). The plan was to provide housing units for Urban and medium sized towns. It was estimated that, within seven years from 1963, there will be population growth of about 600,000 persons in the urban areas of Ghana. Hence, the plan to build these houses to accommodate the estimated population.
4. Initiated the Rural Housing Scheme. The rural housing scheme under the CPP government in Ghana was implemented through the Ghana Housing Corporation. This provided housing units for the rural communities to accommodate the increasing population. The assistance of the Central Government to rural housing during the period consisted mostly of the further extension of 'the Roof Loans Scheme and of the development of a building materials industry which was to offer the rural communities access to building materials at reasonable prices.
5. Introduced housing loan schemes and hire-purchase systems. Under this scheme individuals were offered the opportunity to apply to the town council of cities for financial assistance to build or own housing property.
6. Supported mortgage schemes through the First Ghana Building Society. All applicants under this scheme were required to deposit at least 20% of the cost of the estimated building, including land, before granted the financial assistance. This was done to provide affordable housing, encourage individual home ownership and promoted national development. Below is a housing unit built under the CPP government.





Figure 4.10: An old house at Karimenga in the North East Region of Ghana

Developments in Infrastructure

The CPP government established the State Construction Corporation in February 1962, which between 1964 and 1965, was handling 75 per cent of all government construction work. The government invested heavily in infrastructure development through:

1. Expansion of water supply and electricity to both urban and rural areas. Under the Second Development Plan of 1959-64, large sums of money were allocated for the provision of water, electricity and health services for the rural areas.
2. Construction of feeder roads to link major trunk roads and connect rural areas to urban centres. There was deliberate effort by the Nkrumah government to connect the rural roads to cities and towns. The administration targeted 10,000 miles of feeder roads but achieved 6,000 miles of feeder roads by 1966. They include the Kumasi-Ejisu Road, Hohoe-Kadjebi road, Tamale-Bolgatanga roads, among others.
3. In Accra, the government built new dual-carriage roads (Tema motorway) and installed streetlights. The Nkrumah government tried to develop Accra as a suitable capital for a new nation. By 1960, new dual carriage roads, streetlights and new tall buildings had completely changed Accra from the city it had been in 1957. The government also constructed Accra-Kumasi highway, Takoradi-Kumasi roads among others.



Image 1 (still in good shape)



Image 2 (most part deteriorating now)

Figure 4.11: Tema motorway

Activity 4.4 Social development under Nkrumah

1. a. In small groups, analyse the sources (**Source 1 and 2**) below to discuss the seven-year development plan initiated by the CPP government (1957-1966). Be guided by the table below.

Sources	What type of source is this?	What does the source reveal about Ghana's social climate during Nkrumah's regime?	What conclusions can you make about the social initiatives of Nkrumah's government?
Source 1			
Source 2			

Source 2: Excerpt from a book chapter on the health services in Ghana after 60 years of independence. [At https://academic.oup.com/book/7355](https://academic.oup.com/book/7355)



Mr. Speaker, we know that the desire of people is to have enough to eat without spending too great a part of their income on food. They want a reasonably comfortable place to sleep; they want light, a ready supply of water, education for the growing children and future generation, adequate medical care and welfare services. Our present plan will go a long way to fulfilling these very legitimate desires of the people. The Volta project will provide us with abundant light and water. In addition, a whole programme of irrigation and water development is engaging our attention very seriously.

I can already see, in my mind's eye, a picture of Ghana as it will be by the end of the plan period. I see a state with a strong and virile economy, its agriculture and industry buoyant and prosperous, an industrialised nation serving the needs of its people.

Let us, therefore, as from to-day, move forward together, united in devotion and determination, to give of our best in the execution and implementation of this Seven-Year Plan.

Mr. Speaker, members of the National Assembly, it gives me a great pleasure on this historic occasion, and in this House, to launch our Seven-Year Development Plan.

Source 2: Excerpt from a book chapter on the health services in Ghana after 60 years of independence. [At https://academic.oup.com/book/7355](https://academic.oup.com/book/7355)



At Independence Ghana's formal health system was a collection of government and mission hospitals and health centres situated in the southern coastal regions. Three hospitals existed in the colonial capital Accra: Accra, Korle-Bu, and Ridge Hospitals—all initially built to serve the British colonial officials. The Accra Psychiatric Hospital, built in 1906, served mentally ill natives who were perceived to require institutional care. Thirty-five new health centres were built across the country between 1960 and 1966 during the Nkrumah regime. Two new psychiatric hospitals were established: Ankafu in Cape Coast in 1965 and Pantang in Accra in 1975. The public health focus during the first decade after independence was on infectious disease prevention and control. Investments were made in building capacity for healthcare professionals with the establishment in 1964 of medical training at the University of Ghana Medical School, nursing training at the University of Ghana and pharmacy training at the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi. Strategies were also developed to incorporate traditional medical systems into formal healthcare

- b. Outline some of the key social policies initiated by the CPP government between 1957 and 1966.
2. a. Using the internet and books identify facilities constructed under Dr Kwame Nkrumah's regime.

- b. Create a chart showing the conditions of those facilities and in a class discussion suggest ways that any abandoned projects can be renovated.
3. Watch a documentary from the link below on Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's regime (1957-1966) and discuss in groups some social developments that occurred under Nkrumah's regime. Put down key points in your notebook. https://youtu.be/TMY0iTcspNA?si=h_rrnXexwfcPGZFj



ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE CPP (1957-1966)

Ghana witnessed significant economic developments from 1957 to 1966 under the Convention People's Party (CPP) government. The government implemented various initiatives aimed at fostering economic growth, industrialisation, and self-reliance, which had a profound impact on the country's economy.

Between 1957 and 1960, Nkrumah initially continued the colonial free trade policy to attract foreign investment and loans. He introduced incentives like reduced company taxes, tax reliefs for new industries and allowed profits to be repatriated. This attracted some foreign capital and new industries but also led to continued foreign domination of the economy. An estimated £7 million was lost annually from 1958 to 1960 as more money left Ghana than came in. From 1960 onwards, the government began taking more control of the economy. Key economic developments focused in the following.

Agriculture

The Convention People's Party government quest to grow and diversify agriculture led to the following initiative:

1. The Nkrumah government tackled the cocoa swollen shoot disease by compensating farmers for destroyed trees.
2. The government also established the Cocoa Purchasing Company in 1962 to break foreign monopoly. The company bought cocoa beans from the farmer for the government of Ghana with an improved and uniform price. This incentivised the cocoa farmer and by 1966, Ghana became the world's leading cocoa producer.

3. The government also diversified into crops like coffee, pineapples, and bananas for export. Agricultural research and training facilities were established to improve productivity.
4. It introduced mechanised farming, irrigation, and use of fertilisers.
5. It provided credit facilities and marketing support to farmers.

Manufacturing and Industrial Sector

1. The CPP government established state owned enterprises, later merged into Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation (GIHOC) in 1963. This was to promote industrialisation and economic development in Ghana. The objectives of the corporation were to:
 - a. Manage and control state-owned industries for the socialist government.
 - b. Generate employment opportunities by creating more industries.
 - c. Enhance self-reliance by producing what the country need.
2. The government established factories that produced goods like matches, canned foods, pharmaceuticals, metals, and electronics. For instance, the Ghana iron and steel Corporation, Ghana Agricultural manufacturing Corporation.



Figure 4.12: GIHOC Distilleries

3. The CPP government built the Volta River Hydroelectric Project at Akosombo for cheap power supply (commissioned in 1966) for industrial growth. The figure below is a picture of the Akosombo Dam.



Figure 4.13: An image of the Akosombo Dam (opened in 1965)

4. The CPP government expanded technical and vocational education to train skilled workers to manage the factories that were built. For instance, the Accra Technical Institute was commissioned in 1957 to train skilled labour to man the industries.
5. The government offered tax incentives and duty exemptions to boost local industries. This was to encourage the private sector to create more jobs by opening businesses.

Banking and Financial Sector

1. Nkrumah's CPP government established the Bank of Ghana as the Central Bank in 1957 and expanded it to control nearly half of all commercial banking by 1960.
2. He introduced Ghana's own currency, the cedi in 1965 to replace the Ghana pound, shilling and pence.
3. Nkrumah set up institutions like the Capital Investment Board and Industrial Development Bank

Infrastructure and Services

1. Nkrumah also constructed new roads and highways, including the Accra Tema Motorway in November 1965 to connect and ease traffic between the industrial towns of Accra and Tema.

2. The CPP government completed the Tema port on the 10th of February 1962. The government commissioned the construction of the port in 1959 at an estimated cost of £18million.
3. Nkrumah established the Black Star Line for shipping. The Black Star Line was a shipping line established by Nkrumah's government in 1957 to promote economic development and self-reliance. This was established to break colonial monopoly over import and export trade.
4. To facilitate easy communication across nations, Nkrumah expanded air services and telecommunications. In 1958, the transportation sector received a big boost as Nkrumah's government launched a national airline to facilitate domestic and international travels.
5. Nkrumah's government developed the tourism industry and established the Ghana Tourist Board to Ghanaian tourist site. In 1960, the ministry of Information and Broadcasting established a tourism unit and in 1963, the Ghana Tourism Board was formed to promote tourism.

Effects of the Economic Policies under the CPP Government

1. Reduced dependence on imported goods as Ghana began producing some essential items
2. Increased employment opportunities for Ghanaians
3. Expanded external trade and transport infrastructure
4. Led to urban migration, potentially affecting the agricultural labour supply
5. Depleted foreign exchange reserves due to importation of machinery and raw materials

Activity 4.5 Economic development under CPP (1957-1966)

1. In small groups, create posters to describe the state of Ghana's economy as inherited by Dr Kwame Nkrumah's government from the colonial regime.
2. In pairs, discuss the economic policies of the CPP government from 1957 to 1966 and its effects on the country. Write down the key points from your discussion in your notebooks.

3. In small groups, using the internet and textbooks, prepare a presentation (either oral or multimedia) on key developments in the following sectors under the CPP government (1957-1966).
 - a. Agricultural sector
 - b. Manufacturing
 - c. Tertiary (banking, finance)

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE CPP (1957-1966)

The birth of Ghana on the 6th of March 1957 came with glory to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the nation. However, Ghana's independence came with several political issues for Nkrumah's young government to deal with.

Internally, Nkrumah was confronted with the issues of solving the country's socio-economic problems which had political consequences; internal political opposition especially from the members of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC).

Externally, Nkrumah's government had to deal with the ideological war between the capitalist West led by the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) (Russia). He also had to deal with the issue of liberation of the African continent from colonialism and imperialism, among others. The political developments that occurred under the CPP government are simplified below.

1. Consolidation of power: After independence in 1957, Kwame Nkrumah and the CPP took steps to consolidate their power and weaken opposition. This includes:
 - a. Appointing CPP members as regional commissioners to replace civil servants in regions where the party was weak.
 - b. Passing laws like the deportation Act (1957) to expel foreign opponents.
 - c. Introduction of the avoidance of discrimination Act (1957) to ban parties formed on ethnic, regional or religious lines.
2. Suppression of Opposition: The CPP government enacted several laws to suppress opposition, including:
 - a. The emergence of power Act (1958), giving the government powers to deal with unrest.

- b. The Prevention Detention Act (1958), allowing the detention without trial for up to 5 years. This was used extremely to detain opposition figures.
 - c. By 1961, over 300 people had been detained, including prominent opposition leaders like Dr. J.B. Danquah who died in detention.
- 3. The 1960 Constitution and the move towards One-Party system.
 - a. 1960 Republican constitution made Nkrumah both Head of State and Government with extensive powers.
 - b. In 1964, Ghana officially became a One-Party state after a referendum.
- 4. Ideological shift: The CPP's ideology evolved over time.
 - a. From 1957-1960, Nkrumah practiced capitalism while consolidating power.
 - b. After 1960, he began implementing socialist policies more openly.
 - c. He established Nkrumah ideological Institute to propagate his ideas.
- 5. Pan-African leadership: Nkrumah positioned Ghana as a leader in Pan-African Affairs.
 - a. Nkrumah organised conferences of African states and Liberation movements.
 - b. He provided financial support to other African countries (Guinea) and liberation movements.
 - c. He played a key role in forming the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.
- 6. Foreign policy: Ghana's foreign policy under Nkrumah was based on non-alignment but shifted overtime.
 - a. Nkrumah initially maintained close ties with Western countries such as the UK and the USA.
 - b. However, he gradually established stronger relations with communist countries like the Soviet Union and China, especially after 1960
- 7. Internal Opposition: despite suppression, the CPP government faced internal opposition.
 - a. The labour strikes in 1960 criticised government policies.
 - b. There were multiple assassination attempts on Nkrumah, including at Kulungugu in the Upper East in 1962.
 - c. There was growing discontent in the military, leading to dismissals of top officers in 1965.

Activity 4.6 Political development under Nkrumah (1957-1966)

1. Watch the documentary in the link below about the Kulungugu bomb attack on Dr Kwame Nkrumah and discuss instances of assassination attempts on the political figure of Nkrumah.
<https://youtu.be/JICGZaCEDZY?si>

- a. Think about the reasons why people may be driven to such drastic actions.
 - b. Think also about how things changed as a result of the assassination attempts.
2.
 - a. In small groups, using the internet and textbooks, identify contextual problems that existed in Ghana by 1957 that called for the enactment of laws including the Prevention Detention Act (PDA), Emergency Power Act, Deportation Act, and the Avoidance of discrimination Act by the CPP government.
 - b. Create a poster or chart linking the contextual issues (identified in question 2 a.) in Ghana by 1957 to some laws enacted by Dr Kwame Nkrumah.
3.
 - a. In groups, discuss the political developments that happened under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, including the introduction of a constitution in 1960, a referendum in 1964, among others.
 - b. Use the information from your discussions to do a written or multimedia presentation to the class. Come to a conclusion in your presentation about which of these developments was the most significant for Ghana today.

FACTORS LEADING TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE CPP AND THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL (NLC), 1966 – 1969

The Factors Leading to Nkrumah's overthrow

The government of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah had enjoyed support from the people of Ghana since gaining independence. Despite his industrialisation drive and economic vision, his government was heavily criticised for focusing too much on Pan-Africanism and making the country a One-Party State. This led to a military takeover in 1966.

The Coup and Formation of the National Liberation Council (NLC)

A military coup took place on February 24, 1966, leading to the ousting of Nkrumah's government. Subsequently, the National Liberation Council (NLC) was established as Ghana's inaugural military administration, with Lt. General J.A. Ankrah as its leader. Other key members included Police Commissioner J.W.K Harlley (Vice-Chairman), Major General Emmanuel Kwesi Kotoka, and Colonel Akwasi Amankwah Afrifa. The NLC comprised military and police personnel, alongside civilian commissioners overseeing various ministries. Civilian commissioners headed ministries while civil servants remained in their positions.



Figure 4.14: A picture of Lt. General Joseph Arthur Ankrah, leader of the NLC

The major factors that contributed to the overthrow of Nkrumah are summarised below.

1. **Economic mismanagement:** Rushed planning and overspending on development projects resulted in heavy external borrowing and internal taxation, causing economic distress to the country.
2. **Military dissatisfaction:** The establishment of the presidential guard and preferential treatment given to Nkrumah's bodyguard created tension within the regular army.
3. **Foreign policy issues:** Nkrumah's socialist policies and pursuit of a Continental Union Government for Africa invited external enemies.
4. **Corruption:** Unqualified persons were placed in responsible positions, leading to rampant bribery and corruption among CPP officials.
5. **Increase in personal power:** Nkrumah subdued state agencies and used the Preventive Detention Act to imprison opposition members, including prominent figures like Dr. J.B. Danquah.

Key Political Developments under the National Liberation Council (NLC) from 1966- 1969

The NLC took some measures to restore the country's political atmosphere after successfully overthrowing the Nkrumah's government in 1966. The following are some of the key political developments that took place under the NLC

1. Release of political prisoners and repeal of repressive laws:
 - a. The NLC immediately released all political prisoners upon taking power.
 - b. They repealed Nkrumah's Preventive Detention Act, which had allowed detention without trial. This was a major step towards restoring civil liberties and political freedoms.
2. Provision of aid and rehabilitation for former detainees:
 - a. The National Relief Committee was established to provide food, clothing and assistance to former political detainees.
 - b. Funds were made available to help ex-detainees start small businesses. This was to reintegrate them into society and restore their dignity.
3. Non-interference in state institutions: The NLC pledged not to interfere in the operations of the public service, judiciary, armed forces, police, statutory boards and universities. This was meant to promote stability and allow institutions to function independently.



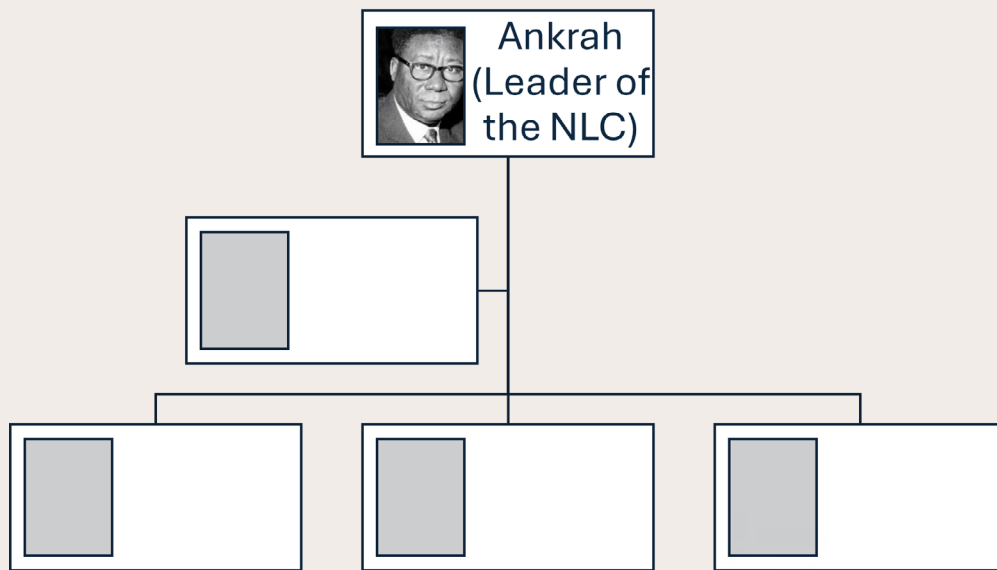
4. Reinstatement of chiefs: The institution of chieftaincy was guaranteed. Chiefs who had been removed for political reasons under Nkrumah were reinstated. Example, Nana Ofori Atta II of Akyem Abuakwa.
5. Prevention of arbitrary dismissals: Strict instructions were issued to prevent capricious dismissals of public servants without NLC approval. This aimed to avoid vengeance and promote national reconciliation.
6. Restoration of civil liberties:
 - a. Freedom of speech, association and press were restored.
 - b. Independent newspapers like The Legon Observer were allowed to operate.
 - c. Exiled politicians were encouraged to return home.
7. Military assistance in development: The military was deployed to assist with development projects. Example, 'Operation Yellow Pod' used the army to transport cocoa from the rural areas.

Activity 4.7 Overthrow of Nkrumah and political developments under NLC

1. a. In small groups, discuss the circumstances surrounding Nkrumah's overthrow.
- b. Use the table below to compare the circumstances surrounding Nkrumah's overthrow to the reasons the National Liberation Council gave for his overthrow.

The circumstances surrounding Nkrumah's overthrow	The reasons the NLC gave for his overthrow

2. In groups, design a hierarchical chart that describes the composition of the National Liberation Council (NLC). Use the chart below as a guide.



3. a. Follow the link to watch a short video on the overthrow of the Nkrumah's government. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ReE4Is9Q9Yg>
- b. In groups, debate whether the reasons given by the leadership of the NLC for the overthrow of Nkrumah were justifiable.
4. In small groups, using the internet, create a chart to explain the political developments that took place under the NLC.



SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE NLC (1966-1969)

Major Problems which the NLC Faced Upon Assumption of Office in 1966

1. There was high national debt (over 800 million cedis) with low foreign reserves (8 million cedis).
2. There was food shortages, unemployment, and indiscipline.
3. They had problems deciding how to handle former CPP officials who were accused of corruption.
4. They were faced with difficulty of restoring freedoms and institutions like chieftaincy that were suppressed under Nkrumah.

5. The NLC also had to battle with how to improve strained relations with Western nations and some African countries.
6. Above all, they were faced with the challenge of preparing the country for a return to constitutional rule.

How the NLC Tackled the Economic Problems

The following measures were taken by the NLC to tackle the economic challenges faced by the country:

1. The NLC government sought for expert advice on the economy by setting up an Economic Committee chaired by E.N. Omaboe to advise on economic policies.
2. The NLC government appealed for aid from Western countries like the US, UK, Germany and Canada to solve the economic problems.
3. The NLC government negotiated with the IMF and World Bank for financial assistance and debt rescheduling.
4. The NLC government cancelled Nkrumah's Seven-Year Development Plan and halted costly prestigious projects.
5. The NLC government reduced government ministries from 32 to 17 and cut foreign missions by 40% to save cost.
6. The government also reorganised state-owned corporations to improve efficiency and profitability.
7. The government set up commissions to investigate corruption under the previous regime (Nkrumah's administration).
8. The NLC government reduced taxes on essential commodities and exempted low-income earners from tax.
9. The government increased cocoa prices to support farmers and boost production.
10. The government devalued the cedi in 1967 to attract foreign investment and make exports more competitive.
11. Above all, the government launched a Two-Year Development Plan (1968-1970) focusing on agriculture, mining, and infrastructure.

Social Developments under the NLC

The **Table 4.2** below summarises the social developments under the National Liberation Council's government

Table 4.2: Social developments under the National Liberation Council

Sector	Development
Education	• The NLC set up a committee to review the entire educational system. • It set up standardised fees for private schools and colleges. • It withdrew scholarships awarded on political grounds by Nkrumah's government. • It established the Centre for Civic Education to educate citizens on their rights and duties.
Chieftaincy:	• It restored support for chieftaincy institutions that had been undermined by Nkrumah. • It reinstated chiefs who were destooled for political reasons.
Social Values:	• It established a National Courtesy Campaign Committee to improve social behaviour and business ethics. • It also promoted values of selfless public service, accountability, and tolerance through civic education programmes.
Public Services:	• It appointed the Mills-Odoi Commission to reorganise the structure and remuneration of public services. • It increased salaries and wages for public sector workers by 5% to offset the effects of devaluation.
Rural Development:	• It provided pipe-borne water and electricity to rural areas. • It established health facilities and industries in villages to stop rural-urban migration.

Main failures or Criticisms Against the National Liberation Council (NLC)

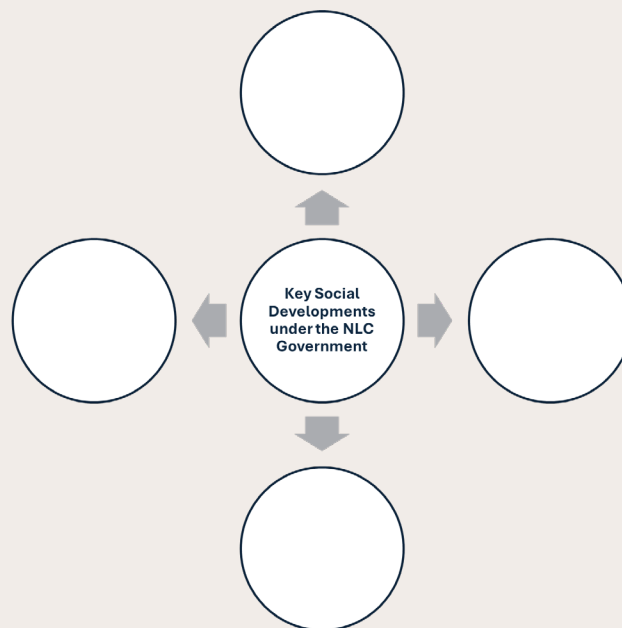
The leadership of the National Liberation Council faced some criticisms from politicians and educated elites due to their inability to address the economic and political problems of the country after the 1966 coup. The following are some of its failures or criticisms:

1. **Political pressure:** Ambitious politicians and educated elites criticised the NLC for retaining power for too long. They argued that military personnel lacked the expertise to govern effectively and handle complex national issues.
2. **Instability:** The abortive coup attempts in April 1967 confirmed fears about the instability of military rule. This resulted in the death of Lt. General E.K. Kotoka and the execution of the coup leaders.
3. **Economic hardship:** Despite efforts to improve the economy, some NLC policies caused significant hardship for many Ghanaians. The policy of retrenchment worsened unemployment rates.
4. **Currency devaluation:** The devaluation of the cedi led to an increased in prices for imported goods, making the NLC unpopular among the masses who struggled with the rising cost of living.
5. **Corruption scandal:** Major-General Ankrah, the NLC Chairman, was forced to resign in March 1969 due to a bribery scandal. This incident convinced many Ghanaians that soldiers were also susceptible to corruption.

Activity 4.8 The regime of the NLC

1. a. In small groups, discuss the major problems the NLC faced upon assumption of office, including foreign debts, a high budget deficit, among others and how the new government tackled them. Write down the key points in your notebooks.
- b. Prepare an oral presentation to the class from your discussions of Question 1 a. of this activity. Deliver this to the class.

2. In pairs, complete the mind map below to describe some of the social developments under the NLC regime.



3. In small groups, discuss the criticisms or failures of the NLC government and write down the key points in your notebooks.

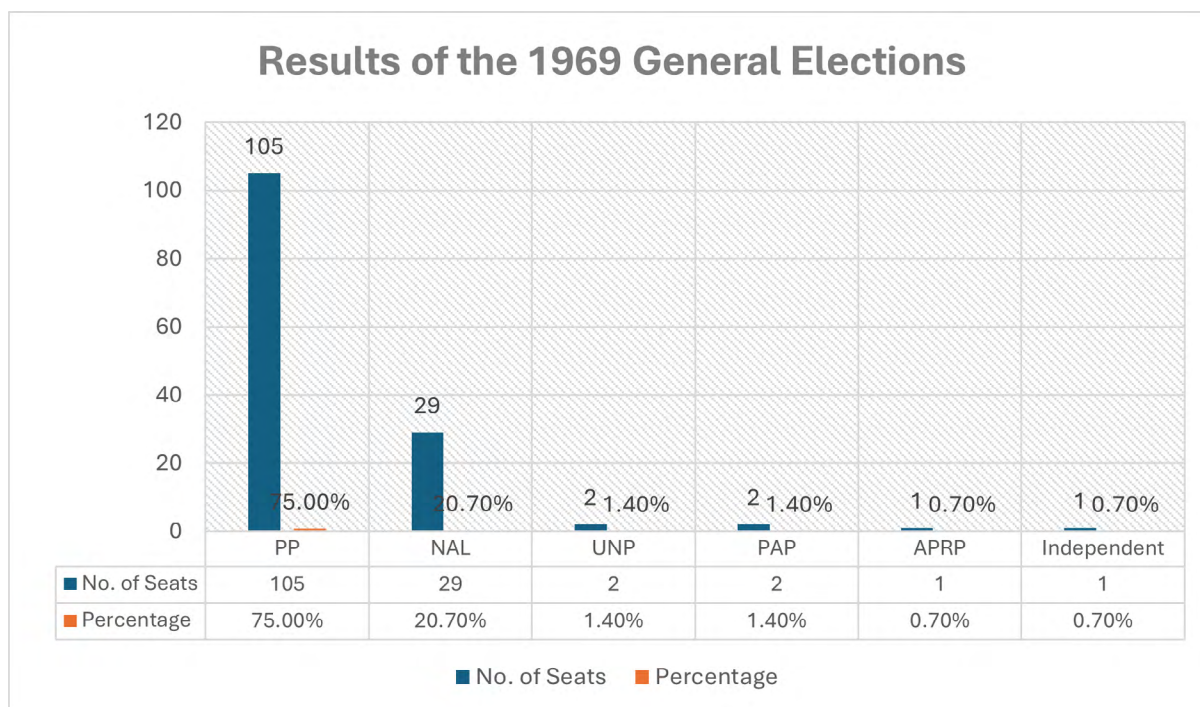
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE PROGRESS PARTY (PP), THE 2ND REPUBLIC

In May 1969, the ban on political activities was lifted, allowing political parties to participate in the general elections held on 29th August 1969. By the end of June, there were 20 political parties, but only five survived to contest the 140 parliamentary seats, along with one independent candidate. Two seats out of the 140 were uncontested, one by the Progress Party (PP) and the other by the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL). A total of 479 candidates competed in the 138 contested constituencies: 138 from the Progress Party (PP), 138 from the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL), 86 from the United Nationalist Party (UNP), 52 from the People's Action Party (PAP), 45 from the All-People's Republican Party (APRP), and 20 independent candidates.

The table and figure below show the various political parties that contested the August 1969 general elections and the number of seats each party obtained.

Table 4.3: Results of the 1969 General Elections

Political Party/ Independent	Seats	%
PP	105	75.0%
NAL	29	20.0%
UNP	2	1.4%
PAP	2	1.4%
APRP	1	0.7%
IDENPENDENTS	1	0.7%
	140	100%

**Figure 4.15:** A chart showing the results of the 1969 General Elections

The elections went on as scheduled on 29th August 1969. From the table and the chart above, ultimately the Progress Party under the leadership of Dr K.A. Busia, gained an emphatic landslide victory when the electoral commission declared the results on 1st September 1969. Below is a picture of Dr. K. A. Busia, winner of the 1969 general election and Prime Minister of the Second Republic.



Figure 4.15: Dr Kofi Abrefa Busia

Factors that Contributed to Dr Kofi Abrefa Busia's Electoral Victory in the 1969 General Elections

The following are some of the factors that helped Dr Kofi Abrefa Busia to win the 1969 general elections:

1. Dr K.A. Busia's positive public image and academic credentials contributed to his electoral victory in the 1969 general elections.
2. The banning of opposition parties, including the CPP paved way for the Progress Party.
3. The high quality of Progress Party Parliamentary candidates was a factor for the Party's success.
4. The ethnic factor in the 1969 general elections favoured the Progress Party which was dominated by Akan.
5. The Anti-CPP sentiments worked against the main opponent, Gbedemah, who was a leading figure in CPP and the Nkrumah's government.

On 3rd September 1969, Dr Kofi Abrefa Busia, who had received his education at Oxford, was inaugurated as the Prime Minister of the Second Republic of Ghana.

The 1969 Constitution also outlined the position of a Ceremonial President as the head of state. This role was filled by Edward Akufo-Addo, a prominent member of the 'Big Six' and a former Chief Justice of Ghana. According to the 1969 constitution, the Ceremonial President was to be supported by a Council of State. The image below is a picture of Edward Akufo-Addo.



Figure 4.16: Image of Edward Akufo-Addo (Head of State, 1969-1972)

Key Political Developments under the Progress Party (Second Republic)

The inception of the Second Republic brought hope to the people of Ghana. A turn away from military government and a new dawn for political and socio-economic developments. The following are some of the political developments under the Progress Party (Second Republic)

1. Democratic Restoration:

- a. The Progress Party introduced a parliamentary system of government with a ceremonial President and Prime Minister.
- b. Busia's government emphasised dignity and freedom for all citizens.
- c. Busia's government upheld fundamental human rights and liberties after years of dictatorship.

2. Civil Liberties:

- a. There were no political detentions during Busia's administration.
- b. The citizens of Ghana enjoyed freedoms of association, speech, academia, and religion.
- c. Busia's administration demonstrated tolerance by releasing a student from custody who had thrown an object at the Prime Minister.

3. Judicial Independence:

- a. The administration respected the independence of the judiciary.
- b. Busia's government avoided interference with court activities.

4. Constructive Criticisms/Parliamentary Oversight:

- a. Dr. Busia allowed a vibrant opposition to criticise his government freely.
- b. Parliament was given space to scrutinise the government without intimidation.

5. Foreign Policy:

- a. Busia focused on good neighbourliness.
- b. He pursued dialogue with Apartheid South Africa to persuade them to end racial discrimination. According to Busia, his advocacy of dialogue with South Africa was mainly to persuade the then Apartheid South African government to end racism.

Activity 4.9 Political developments under Busia

1.
 - a. In small groups, create a chronological chart of major events leading to the inception of the Second Republic including the 1969 general elections.
 - b. With the help of books, prepare an oral presentation on the factors that led to Busia's victory in the 1969 general elections to the class
2. In groups, create leadership diagrams in your notebooks to describe the leadership of the Progress Party, including the nature of its government system.
3. In small groups, discuss key political developments under the Second Republic of Ghana.
 - a. Discuss the differences in government between 1951 and 1969.
 - b. Discuss what problems had been addressed and what problems still remained.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE PROGRESS PARTY (2ND REPUBLIC)

Ghana's Second Republic began with high expectations, given Dr K.A. Busia's distinguished background as Ghana's first university professor and his experience teaching at prestigious institutions in England and the Netherlands. The Progress Party government, after assuming office on 1st October 1969, brought together

former members of the National Liberation Council, technocrats, and university academics to form the administration.



Figure 4.17: Seated middle: Mr. Edward Akufo-Addo (who was the Chief Justice under the NLC regime) with Prime Minister Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia on his right

The Progress Party inherited significant challenges from the previous NLC administration. The economy had shifted away from Nkrumah's industrialisation programme. It had reverted to a colonial-style pattern of raw material exports to Europe and North America in exchange for manufactured goods. This economic structure posed immediate challenges for the new government.

His administration quickly established clear priorities:

1. He established the Ministry of Social and Rural development to tackle poverty and under development in rural areas in Ghana.
2. He provided good drinking water, electricity and health facilities for rural areas.
3. There were improvements in the health sector (Danfa project, rehabilitation of the Sunyani Regional Hospital, among others.).
4. There was construction of feeder roads (Konongo-Dwease Praso roads and many others) to facilitate economic activities.
5. He established an agricultural pilot scheme to ensure sustainable food production (the pilot maize storage facility at Agona, Swedru and other areas).
6. He established the National Small Business Loans Scheme which was approved by parliament in 1970 to provide direct credit to small scale Ghanaian traders and artisans.

7. His government enacted the Industrial Relations Act 1971. This law aimed to regulate labour laws in Ghana and ensure they conformed to the International Labour Organisation conventions.

Factors that Led to the Overthrow of the Progress Party Government

Despite Busia's major achievements in rural development, his PP government was overthrown by Colonel I. K. Acheampong's National Redemption Council (NRC) on 13th January 1972, which sought to correct some malpractices and inefficiencies of the PP government.

The following are some of the factors that led to the overthrow of his government:

The dismissal of 568 public servants for corruption, ineptitude and inefficiency (Apollo 568 case) was an unpopular decision by Busia's government.

The disregard for a constitutional provision that required him and his ministers to declare their assets infuriated the Ghanaian public.

The removal from office of the editor of the Daily Graphic for being critical of Busia's stance on the Apartheid South Africa issues made him unpopular.

Busia's policy of dialogue with the then Apartheid South Africa also cost his government.

The introduction of Student Loan Scheme which most thought was a total deviation from Nkrumah's fee free education policy was a big short fall of the Busia administration.

The imposition of the National Development Levy on the workers when they were already suffering was insensitive.

The implementation of the Aliens Compliance Order stimulated widespread criticisms and statements of condemnation from neighbouring states like Nigeria and Togo.

Figure 4.18: A chart showing why the overthrow of the PP Government

Activity 4.10 Socio-economic development under Busia and why his downfall

1. In pairs, create posters to explain major achievements under Busia's government, including economic policies and social developments.
2. In groups, discuss the effectiveness and consequences of the Busia government's social development policies and write them in your notebooks.
3. In groups, write a detailed report on one specific aspect of social or economic developments under Busia, including its role and impact on the downfall of the Busia government.
 - a. Share your report with another group.
 - b. Discuss any similarities and differences in your findings.

NATIONAL REDEMPTION COUNCIL (NRC) AND SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL I (SMC I)

The Inception of the Military Regime of Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong

The National Redemption Council, under the leadership of Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong, staged a successful coup that ousted the government of Dr Kofi Abrefa Busia on 13th January 1972. Colonel Acheampong served as the head of state and chairman of the Council. Other key members of the Council were Major A.H. Selormey, Major Kwame Baah, E.N. Moore as Attorney general, Major K. B. Agbo, Brigadier N.Y.R Ashley, among others. The NRC was later reorganised to form the Supreme Military Council I. The image below is a picture of Colonel Acheampong.



Figure 4.19: Colonel I. K. Acheampong, Chairman of the Supreme Military Council (1972-1978)



Developments under the National Redemption Council (NRC) and Supreme Military Council (SMC I)

The charts below simplify the various developments that occurred during the NRC and SMC I.



Figure 4.20: Charts showing achievement of Acheampong

Factors Leading to the Overthrow of the Acheampong's Government

On the 5th of July 1978, there was a palace coup that forced the chairman of the Supreme Military Council, General I.K. Acheampong to resign. He was replaced by Lt. General Akuffo who was the Chief of Defence Staff and whose government was now referred as Supreme Military Council II. Other members of the SMC II were Major General R. E. A. Kotei, Brigadier N. A. Odartey-Wellington, Colonel I. K. Amoah, and more others. The image below is a picture of the leader of the SMC II, Lt. Gen. Fred Akuffo.



Figure 4.21: Picture of Lt. Gen. Fred Akuffo

The following factors accounted for the fall of the Acheampong's government.

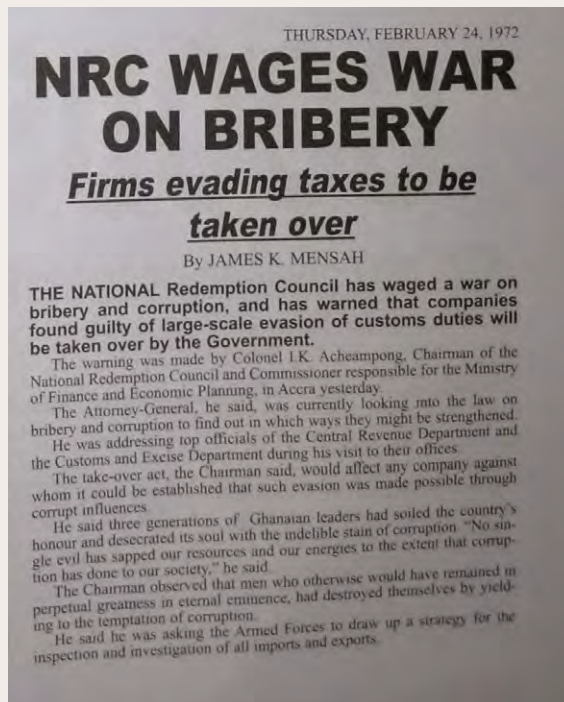
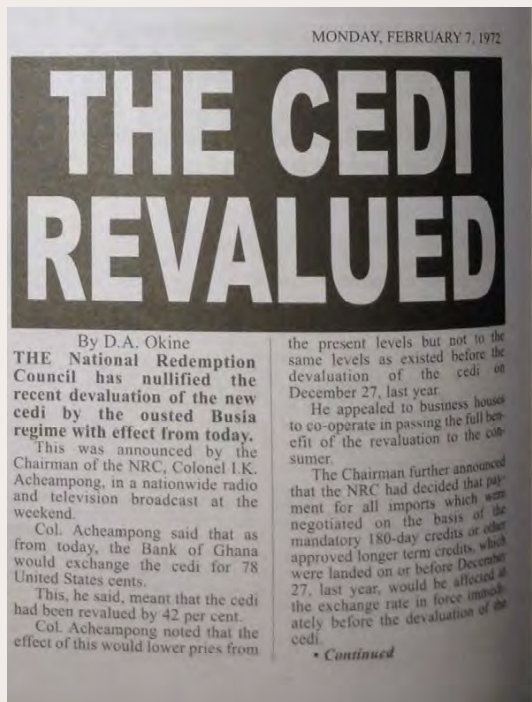
- 1. Dysfunctional economic policies:** The increasing foreign debt and the implementation of the 'Yentua' policy (on 5th February 1972) by Col. Acheampong repudiated some of Ghana's Foreign debt. This made it difficult for the government to access loans from foreign countries leading to financial instability.
- 2. Trade malpractice ('kalabule'):** The widespread corruption, including hoarding and smuggling, caused severe shortages and inflation of essential goods. The practice of traders selling items beyond its normal or controlled prices destroyed the economy.
- 3. Corrupt allocation of import licenses:** Col. Acheampong's favouritism led to licenses being granted to his associates, who resold them at inflated prices. Acheampong himself was neck deep in the corruption as he ordered Principal Secretaries of Trade and Finance to issue import licenses to his favourites, especially young women and mistresses.
- 4. Favouritism and Cronyism:** Unqualified individuals were promoted to high positions, while competent people were dismissed, which undermined effective governance in the country.

5. **Low wages and public sector strikes:** Poor wages led to strikes and an exodus of skilled workers, closing many rural schools and negatively affecting public services. Workers in the public sectors such as nurses and teachers embarked on strikes to back their demand for high wages.
6. **Dictatorship:** Colonel Acheampong ignored professional advice and centralised power to himself.
7. **Failure of agricultural programmes:** Drought and neglect of farmers' needs led to ineffective agricultural programmes and food shortages. The government could not sustain the laudable Operation feed yourself programme leading to food shortage.
8. **Unproductive irrigation projects:** Investment in irrigation failed due to drought, acute food shortages, and Acheampong's dismissive attitude.

Activity 4.11 The Acheampong's Regime

1.
 - a. In groups, discuss the key events that influenced the emergence of the NRC and SMC I in Ghana's political landscape. Write them down in your notebooks.
 - b. Use the information from your discussion to create a timeline of the key events that influenced the emergence of the NRC and SMC I in Ghana's political landscape.
2. In small groups, analyse the following source and discuss the socio-economic and political developments under the NRC/SMC I. Use the chart below to guide your analysis.

	Content: what does the source tell us about society and the economy in Ghana under the NRC/SMC I?	Judgement: are these positive or negative developments?
Source 1		
Source 2		
Source 3		



Source 1: Newspaper

Source 2: Newspaper

Source 3: Excerpt from Lt. Gen. Afrifa Letter to Col. Acheampong on 18th December 1977, at: <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/Afrifa-s-Letter-To-Acheampong-22811>



When I write to you since you came into office, I do not receive any acknowledgment. I would normally not write again, but this is a matter that touches on my life and the lives of a few others.

I feel greatly disturbed about the future after your government. I have heard from certain quarters of the CPP threats, which they will execute after 1979. In order to discourage the military from staging coups in the future, how about if they line us all up and shoot us one by one? Then they would disband the Ghana Army; but I do not certainly want to be arrested, given some sort of trial and shot. These are my genuine fears. All members of the NLC including General Joseph Ankrah, are involved. I still have no regrets whatsoever about my part in the operations of 1966.

My fears increase when I look at the Koranteng-Addo Report as a whole. I do not like the Union Government as proposed in their report. The political forces militating against it are too strong.

3. In small groups, create a concept map showing the major factors that led to the overthrow of the NRC/SMC I regime under Colonel Acheampong. Take the time to draw links and connections between the different factors.

THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL (SMC) II

There was widespread unrest in Ghana as a form of protest due to the socio-economic challenges and the 'Union Government System' proposed by Acheampong. To restore normalcy and prevent further chaos, the army staged a palace coup on 5th July 1978 to remove Colonel Acheampong from office. This resulted in Lt. Gen. (later General) Frederick William Kwasi Akuffo emerging as the Head of State and Chairman of the reconstituted Supreme Military Council I, which was later renamed the Supreme Military Council II.

The SMC II embarked on socio-economic policies to tackle the challenges inherited from the SMC I. These policies are summarised below.

1. The reduction in monetary supply to curb inflation
2. Initiated a policy of demonetisation aimed at getting rid of large hordes of illgal cedi both in and outside the country
3. Declaration of a state of emergency and passage of the Emergency Decree of 1978 which outlawed strikes and other forms of protest.
4. Boosted agricultural production by allocating 15.8 million and 16.4 million towards crop and livestock development respectively.
5. Improvement in tax collection by reassessing the taxable income of all companies
6. Institution of a 10-member National Economic Advisory Committee to advise on stabilisation of the economy.

Factors Leading to the Overthrow of the Supreme Military Council II (SMC II)

1. Devaluation of the cedi on 25th August 1978 by 58.2 percent.
2. The government's decision to undertake a demonetisation exercise had a profound impact, leading to a noticeable increase in the prices of consumer goods.
3. Workers organised a series of strikes, which the government quickly stopped by passing the Emergency Decree Act of 1978.
4. The inability of the government to stop 'Kalabule'.
5. The 'retired' members of the S.M.C. were not probed. A presidential plane was ordered to Ghana by Acheampong at the time of financial crises. There were calls for the Akuffo government of the SMC II to probe the scandal, but he failed to heed to the public outcry leading to public dissatisfaction.

6. The Krobo Edusei's assets issue contributed to the fall of Akuffo's SMC II government. The decree by the SMC II to re-confiscate the property of Krobo Edusei after it was given back to him through a decree under Acheampong resulted in a legal battle. This exposed the incompetence of the Akuffo's government in the approach to the problems.

Activity 4.12 The SMC II regime

1.
 - a. In groups, discuss the inception of the Military Regime of General Akuffo (1978-1979).
 - b. From your discussions, and with the help of the internet, create a timeline of the key events that influenced the emergence of the SMC II in Ghana's political landscape.
2.
 - a. Analyse the following sources.

Source	What type of source is this?	How reliable is this source?	What conclusion can you make from this source?
Source 1			
Source 2			

Source 1: at <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world>

As a result, there were about eighty strikes in a four-month period to protest the regime's economic policies. In November 1978, when junior civil servants went on strike, the regime declared a state of emergency and dismissed more than 1,000 public employees. Akuffo eventually succumbed to this pressure by announcing that the ban on political parties would be lifted on January 1, 1979, and that free elections would be held.



Source 2: Newspaper



- b. Use the information from the sources, as well as what you have already learned, to create a presentation that analyses the major socio-economic and political developments under the SMC II regime. Present this to the class in groups.
3. In pairs, using the internet and/or textbooks, create a mind map showing how the major factors that led to the overthrow of the SMC II regime under General Akuffo are related to those of SMC I under Colonel Acheampong.

THE ARMED FORCES REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL [AFRC] (JUNE 4 - SEPTEMBER 24, 1979)

The Inception of the AFRC Government

The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council emerged on June 4, 1979, through a military uprising led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings. The council included junior and middle-ranking officers who were determined to address corruption and social injustice. Major Boakye Gyan served as the official spokesperson, while other members included Major Mensah Poku, Major Mensah Gbedemah, and several other junior officers. General Hamidu was appointed as liaison between the AFRC and the civil service.

Major Reasons that Accounted for the Emergence of the AFRC

1. **Economic Problems:** Corruption and mismanagement had crippled Ghana's economy. Wealthy individuals and businesses evaded taxes while ordinary citizens struggled. The practice of *kalabule* - illegal trading and hoarding - made basic goods expensive and scarce.
2. **Military Issues:** Junior officers resented corruption among senior military leaders. Flight Lieutenant Rawlings and other young officers believed the armed forces needed cleaning up before civilian rule could return.
3. **Social Problems:** A huge gap existed between rich and poor Ghanaians. Public officials abused power while most citizens faced hardship. The SMC II government failed to fix these issues.

Major Developments During the AFRC Regime

The House-Cleaning Exercise

The AFRC launched what it called a 'house-cleaning' exercise to tackle corruption and economic crimes. This campaign began with the execution of former military leaders. On 16th June 1979, General I.K. Acheampong and Major General E.K. Utuka were executed at the Teshie military range after trials by revolutionary courts. Ten days later, more senior officers faced execution, including General F.W.K. Akuffo, Lt. General A.A. Afrifa, and four others. These actions marked the beginning of a period of radical reforms.

Economic and Social Reforms

The AFRC implemented sweeping measures to address economic malpractices. They recovered nearly ₵24 million in tax arrears through aggressive collection efforts. Companies found guilty of economic sabotage were taken over by the government, including Tata Brewery. The symbolic demolition of Makola Number 1 market, considered the centre of *kalabule* (corrupt trading practices), demonstrated their commitment to fighting economic crimes.

To provide relief for ordinary citizens, the AFRC ordered landlords to reduce rents by 50 percent and required government approval for tenant evictions. Cocoa farmers received support through increased producer prices, raised from ₵80 to ₵120 to revitalise the industry. The regime also targeted inefficiency in government departments, giving strict deadlines for public works completion.

The Impact and Challenges of AFRC Rule

The AFRC's Radical Measures

Despite its brief three-month rule, the AFRC's actions had far-reaching consequences. The executions of former heads of state and senior military officers sent shockwaves through Ghana and abroad. On June 16, 1979, General Acheampong and Utuka were executed, followed ten days later by General Akuffo, General Afrifa, and four other senior officers. These executions marked the beginning of a period of revolutionary justice that deeply divided public opinion.

International and Economic Consequences

The harsh methods of the AFRC prompted significant international backlash. Nigeria imposed an oil embargo against Ghana, cutting the credit period for oil from ninety to thirty days and demanding immediate payment of outstanding

bills. Western European and North American nations also imposed economic sanctions in response to the executions. The International Monetary Fund reduced its financial aid, while foreign suppliers began an informal economic embargo. A Japanese shipment of canned fish never arrived, and a Nigerian oil tanker turned back upon hearing news of the executions.

Domestic Impact and Public Response

The AFRC's actions created a climate of fear but also garnered significant public support. University students demonstrated in favour of the regime, with some carrying placards reading "Let the blood flow" and "Kill them all." However, organisations like the Ghana Bar Association, Christian Council of Ghana, and National Catholic Secretariat appealed for mercy and justice.

Economic Challenges

Contrary to expectations, the AFRC's strict measures led to unexpected economic problems. Traders and middlemen went into hiding, fearing harsh punishments. This resulted in severe shortages as food supplies to urban areas dwindled. The few army trucks available couldn't adequately supply city markets. Women caught selling above control prices faced public humiliation, being stripped and whipped in public.

Transition to Civilian Rule

Despite these challenges, the AFRC maintained its commitment to return Ghana to civilian rule. Elections proceeded as planned on June 18, 1979. Six political parties contested, with the People's National Party (PNP) led by Dr Hilla Limann emerging victorious. After a second-round runoff, Limann won with 62% of the vote. True to their word, the AFRC handed over power to civilian government on September 24, 1979.

Activity 4:13 The AFRC

1. Study and analyse this excerpt from Flight Lieutenant Rawlings' radio and TV broadcast on 30th June 1979.

Excerpt: Transcript for [Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings | National Radio Broadcasts | Ghana Military Uprising | June 1979]

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-GBfHi01R_4



“Countrymen, it is nearly one month now since, by the spontaneous action of the junior officers and men of the Ghana Armed Forces, the government of the Supreme Military Council was overthrown, and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council was established. That action represented a revolt of the ordinary Ghanaian against social injustice, against economic hardship and against the cancer of corruption that has eaten deep into the fabric of our society.

The main purpose of the exercise is to ensure that the gap between the haves and have-nots, the rich and poor, is bridged. This is a limited objective which would help the incoming administration to take all necessary long-term measures for bringing stability to the nation.

The people of Ghana have endured hunger for far too long. There is not one single worker who could make ends meet, and the miracle is that the people have been able to endure this for so long. You may say that this has been possible because of our excellent tradition of tolerance and patience, but patience and tolerance can be dangerous because they allow a build-up of anger to such an extent that when the bubble finally bursts, they can hardly be a way of containment.”

Questions for Analysis

- a. Identify three main problems Rawlings mentions
 - b. What does he mean by: a) “cancer of corruption”? b) “fabric of our society”? c) “bridge the gap”?
 - c. Why does Rawlings say “we” and “ordinary Ghanaians” instead of just talking about the military?
 - d. What reasons does Rawlings give for the military takeover?
2. How does he justify the AFRC’s actions? Study sources A and B below and answer the questions that follow

Source A: Rawlings’ June 30th Broadcast, 1979

“The action represented a revolt of ordinary Ghanaians against social injustice, against economic hardship and against the cancer of corruption that had eaten deep into the fabric of our society. We are here to ensure that the gap between the haves and have-nots, the rich and poor is bridged.”



Source B: Rawlings at University of Science and Technology, July 6, 1979

Speaking about Ghana's economic and social problems, Rawlings identified "lack of moral courage to challenge leaders with dubious character" as a key issue. He urged Ghanaians to show "red cards" to politicians who would "plunge the economy into further mess."

Questions for Analysis

- a. Compare the messages in both speeches. What common themes emerge?
 - b. How does Rawlings' language differ when speaking to students versus the general public?
 - c. What solutions does he propose in each speech?
3. Using the information from both source activities, and what you have learned in class, work in small groups to create a presentation that explains how the AFRC ushered Ghana into the Third Republic.
 4. In small groups, discuss the major political, social and economic developments under the AFRC. Write your thoughts and observations down in your notebook.
 5. Follow the follow link and watch a documentary on the AFRC and discuss your observations in groups. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wioKQkuFvik>



Extended Activity

1. Write a short speech about a current problem in Ghana using Rawlings' speaking style.
2. Interview someone who lived through the AFRC period about their experiences and memories.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC (1979-1981)

The Emergence of the PNP Government

The Third Republic emerged after a brief but significant period of military rule under the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). Despite gaining popularity for fighting corruption, Flight Lieutenant Rawlings and the AFRC kept their promise to hand over power to a civilian government. This set the stage for Ghana's return to multi-party democracy.

The 1979 General Elections

Six political parties contested the elections. These parties are shown below

- People's National Party (PNP)
- Popular Front Party (PFP)
- United National Convention (UNC)
- Action Congress Party (ACP)
- Social Democratic Front Party (SDF)
- Third Force Party (TFP)

Apart from the six political parties that contested the 1979 General Elections, three independent candidates also contested the election. **Table 4.4** shows the election results of the 1979 elections.

Table 4.4: 1979 General Election Results

1979 (1st round)	Total number	%
Registered voters	5,070,000	-
Votes cast	-	-
Invalid votes	-	-
Valid votes	1,788,209	-
Hilla Limann (PNP)*	631,559	35.3
Victor Owusu (PFP)	533,928	29.9
William Ofori-Atta (UNC)	311,265	17.4
Frank George Bernasko (ACP)	167,775	9.4
Alhaji Ibrahim Mahama (SDF)	66,445	3.7

1979 (1st round)	Total number	%
John Bilson (TFP)	49,104	2.7
R. P. Baffour (Independent)	8,812	0.5
Kwame Nyanthe (Independent)	8,490	0.5
Diamond Nii Addy (Independent)	5,957	0.3
Alhaji Imoro Ayannah (Independent)	4,874	0.3
*The anticipated presidential candidate of the PNP, Imoru Egala, was debarred from standing for election since he was found guilty of using public office for private gain. However, Egala was able to secure the candidacy of his nephew, the virtually unknown Hilla Limann.		
1979 (2nd round)	Total number	%
Registered voters	5,070,000	-
Votes cast	-	-
Invalid votes	-	-
Valid votes	1,804,402	-
Hilla Limann (PNP)	1,118,305	62.0
Victor Owusu (PFP)	686,097	38.0

Source: Nohlen, D., Krennerich, M., & Thibaut, B. (Eds.). (1999). *Elections in Africa: A data handbook*. Oxford University Press.

Reasons for the Victory of the PNP in the 1979 General Election

Dr Limann brought valuable experience to his candidacy. He had served as Head of Europe Desk at Ghana's Foreign Affairs Ministry and helped draft the 1969 constitution. Unlike other candidates, he carried no political baggage from previous regimes. The PNP, therefore won through an effective campaign strategy and several advantages summarised below:

Rural Support

1. Effectively mobilised rural voters unlike other parties
2. Connected with farmers and village communities
3. Built on Nkrumah's legacy which remained popular in rural areas

Leadership Advantage

1. Limann was seen as a fresh face without controversial past
2. Main rival Victor Owusu faced criticism for links to unpopular Busia government
3. PNP presented itself as heir to Nkrumah's progressive policies

Opposition Division

1. PFP and UNC divided Danquah-Busia tradition votes
2. Combined opposition votes often exceeded PNP totals
3. Internal rivalries prevented opposition unity

Major Developments Under the PNP Government

When Dr Hilla Limann took office in September 1979, Ghana faced severe economic and social challenges. His government inherited empty shops, food shortages and strained international relations following the AFRC period. The PNP administration worked to address these problems through several key programmes.

Agricultural Development and Food Security

Agriculture became a cornerstone of Limann's policies. Recognising that Ghana had abundant arable land, the government launched a Two-Year Agricultural Programme rather than relying on food imports. Farmers received machinery, technical advice and better prices for their produce. This comprehensive approach helped increase food production, and gradually the long queues for basic foodstuffs disappeared from Ghanaian markets.

The cocoa sector, vital to Ghana's economy, received particular attention. The government raised cocoa prices to ¢120 per 30kg bag to help farmers and reduce smuggling. However, this price remained well below the ¢600 offered in neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire and Togo, reflecting Ghana's economic constraints. Despite the limitation, this represented the government's best effort to support cocoa farmers within its means.

Essential Commodities and Basic Needs

One of the most pressing challenges was the shortage of essential goods following the AFRC's hasty selling of available stocks. The Limann government moved quickly to import basic items like milk, sugar and soap. By establishing new trade

relationships, particularly with Nigeria, the administration managed to improve supplies of everyday necessities. Though shortages did not disappear entirely, the situation improved noticeably during this period.

International Relations and Economic Recovery

The PNP government recognised the need to mend the sour relations between Ghana and the international community because of the activities of the AFRC. Limann personally led diplomatic missions across Western Europe, Africa and the Far East. A significant breakthrough came in 1980 when his visit to Nigeria resulted in resumed oil deliveries to Ghana. The government also hosted an international mining seminar in Accra that attracted investors from Canada, USA and Britain, leading to new investments in Ghana's mining sector.

Transportation and Infrastructure Development

Transportation posed a major challenge for ordinary Ghanaians in 1979. The Limann government tackled this through a significant initiative — importing Tata buses from India. These buses transformed inter-city travel, making it easier for people to move between major towns and cities. The government's transport policy focused on both urban and rural connectivity. It also helped to reduce the isolation of farming communities and improve market access for agricultural products.

Human Rights and Civil Liberties

After the strict military rule of previous regimes, the PNP government made significant strides in protecting fundamental human rights. Citizens could freely express their views without fear of intimidation. The press operated with greater freedom, and political opposition was tolerated. This marked a return to democratic values and constitutional governance.

Factors Leading to the Fall of the Third Republic

Economic Crisis and Public Hardship

By late 1981, Ghana's economy was in severe distress. The PNP government struggled with inflation reaching 100 percent annually, while the black market exchange rate soared to sixteen times the official rate. Basic commodities became increasingly expensive, and despite government efforts, hoarding and speculation continued. Workers found their wages inadequate as prices rose constantly. The situation became particularly difficult when workers in the Black Star Line

demanded dollar payments. This led to a confrontation with the government that damaged Limann's credibility.

Professional Exodus and Service Decline

Perhaps the most damaging development was the 'brain drain' crisis. Frustrated by low wages and poor conditions, many Ghanaian professionals sought opportunities abroad, particularly in Nigeria. Teachers, nurses, doctors and engineers left in significant numbers. This created severe staffing shortages in essential services. Schools struggled to maintain educational standards, while hospitals faced difficulties providing adequate care. This departure of skilled professionals severely undermined public services and contributed to growing public dissatisfaction.

Internal Party Conflicts

Internal party conflicts seriously weakened the PNP government. A major division emerged between the young "Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards" and the older party officials known as "Old Guards", including veterans like Kojo Botsio and Dr Ayeh-Kumi. Senior party figures like Nana Okutwer Bekoe and Alhaji Imoru Egala tried to control the president. They effectively reduced him to what critics called a "puppet". Instead of addressing national problems, the party became consumed by leadership battles and internal disputes.

Corruption Allegations

The government's reputation suffered from corruption scandals. These included:

1. A £2.4 million currency printing contract controversy.
2. Allegations that top party members received bribes from foreign businessmen.
3. Claims of favouritism in awarding contracts and import licences.
4. Accusations that PNP membership cards became necessary for securing jobs.

External Pressures and Military Intervention

The final blow came from external factors. Libya's leader Muammar Gaddafi, angered by Limann's hostile policy, reportedly supported Rawlings' return to power. Combined with growing public dissatisfaction and economic problems, these pressures culminated in the December 31, 1981, coup that ended Ghana's third experiment with democratic rule.

Activity 4.14 Analysing the 1979 Elections and the PNP government

1. In pairs, using the internet, create a timeline of events leading to the emergence of the PNP government.
2. In small groups, using the internet and textbooks, analyse the socio-economic and developments under Dr Limann's Government (1979-1981).
3. In groups, discuss the factors leading to the overthrow of the Limann's government. First discuss the internal factors, then move on to the external factors that led to the overthrow of the Limann government. Your discussion should be guided with the following questions:
 - a. What evidence supports each factor?
 - b. How did these factors interconnect?
 - c. Which factors were most significant?

Now present your discussion to the class.

Extended activity

1. Follow the video link to watch J.J. Rawlings - handover to Hilla Limann in 1979
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PbuGZVosum4>

2. Interview people who lived through the Third Republic about daily life experiences. Use the table below to guide your interview. Record key findings in the table.

	Transport situation before and after Tata buses	Food availability and prices	Freedom of expression under Limann	General living conditions
Key Findings				

THE PROVISIONAL NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL (PNDC), 1981-1993



Figure 4.22: A photo of Ft. Lt. Rawlings with a woman

Inception of the PNDC

The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) came to power through a military coup on 31st December 1981, led by Ft. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings. This coup overthrew the democratically elected government of Dr Hilla Limann's People's National Party (PNP). The PNDC would go on to rule Ghana for 11 years, from 1981 to 1993, implementing significant reforms while also facing various challenges.



Figure 4.23: A photo of Ft. Lt. Rawlings with ordinary citizens

Reasons for the 1981 Coup

Several socio-economic and political factors necessitated the military coup that brought the PNDC to power. Some of the factors that called for the 1981 coup include:

Economic Crisis

1. High inflation rates (over 100%)
2. Severe shortage of basic goods
3. Declining agricultural production
4. Lack of infrastructure development
5. Currency devaluation

Political Issues

1. Perceived weak leadership under Limann
2. Inability to control corruption
3. Breakdown of public services
4. Poor management of state resources
5. General administrative inefficiency

Social Problems

1. Rising unemployment
2. Deteriorating living standards
3. Social injustice
4. Growing gap between rich and poor
5. Breakdown of public morality

Structure and Organisation of the PNDC

After overthrowing Dr. Hilla Limann's government on 31st December 1981, Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings established a unique hybrid military-civilian administration. The PNDC was structured as the supreme governing body of Ghana, with a maximum membership of eleven people combining both military personnel and civilians.

The regime's organisational structure had two main components:

1. **The Council (PNDC):** The executive decision-making body chaired by Rawlings.

2. **The Committee of Secretaries:** Equivalent to a cabinet, responsible for policy implementation.

Structure of the PNDC government.

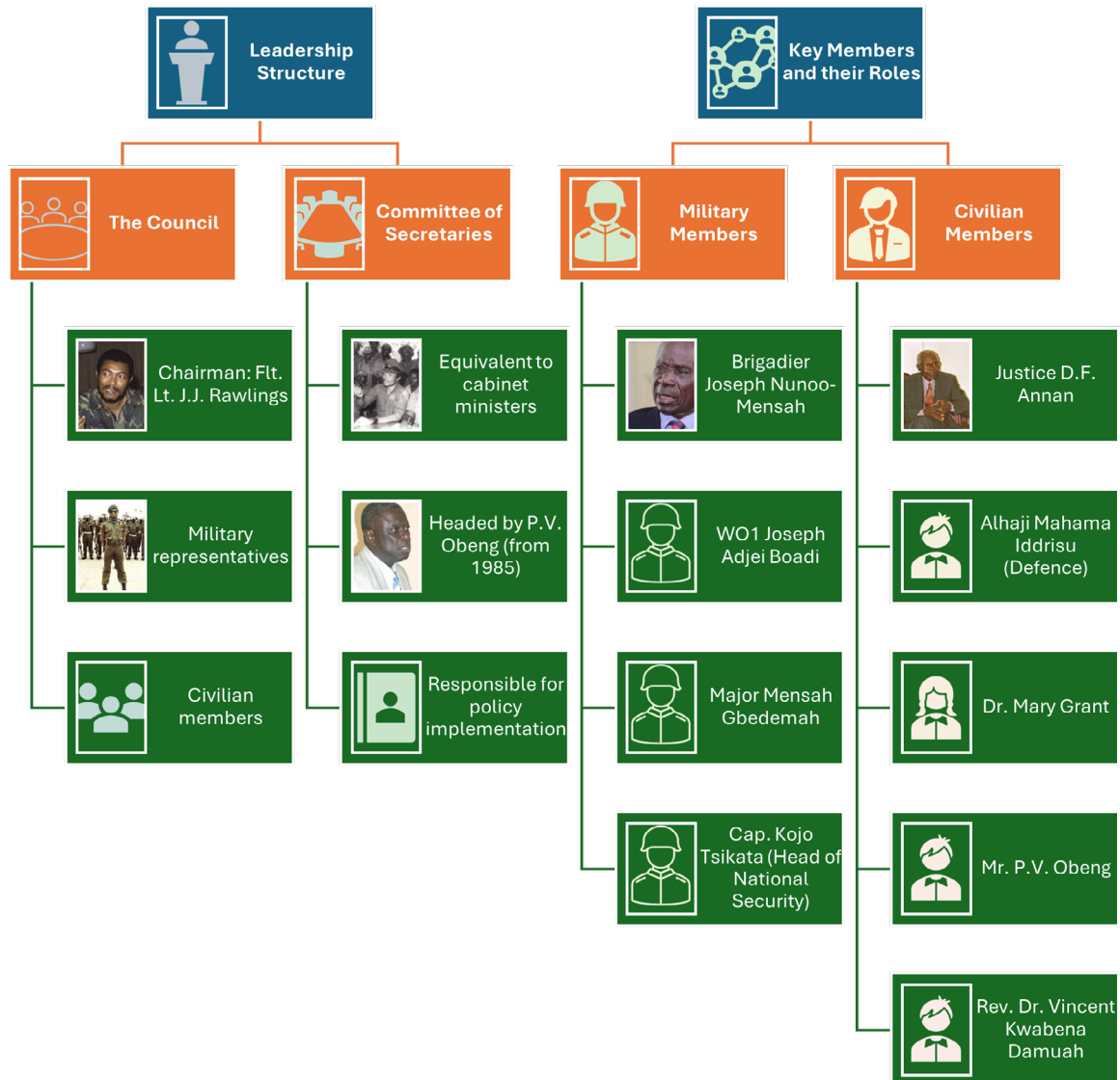


Figure 4.24: A chart showing the structure of the PNDC government

The Revolutionary Organs

A distinctive feature was the creation of various revolutionary organs to support governance at different levels. These included the People's Defence Committees (PDCs), later renamed Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs), Workers Defence Committees (WDCs), Public Tribunals, and the 31st of

December Women's Movement. The various revolutionary organs of the PNDC are listed below.

1. People's Defence Committees (PDCs)
2. Workers Defence Committees (WDCs)
3. Public Tribunals
4. 31st December Women's Movement

What made this structure unique was its attempt to combine military authority with civilian expertise while creating grassroots institutions for public participation in governance. This marked a departure from previous military regimes in Ghana's history.

MAJOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE PNDC

National Investigations Committee

The PNDC established the National Investigations Committee as one of its first major political initiatives to combat corruption. This committee was granted broad powers to investigate cases of corruption, economic crimes and abuse of power. The committee's mandate covered both past and ongoing cases. It examined the conduct of public officials; business leaders and individuals suspected of corrupt practices. Their investigations led to several high-profile prosecutions and the recovery of state assets.

Citizens Vetting Committee

A significant innovation was the creation of the Citizens Vetting Committee, which introduced a novel approach to addressing unexplained wealth. The committee was empowered to investigate individuals whose lifestyles appeared inconsistent with their known sources of income. This body represented a direct attempt to address the accumulation of illegal wealth and ensure accountability in public life. The committee's work resulted in the confiscation of assets and properties deemed to have been acquired through corrupt means.

Public Tribunals

The establishment of public tribunals marked a significant departure from the traditional court system. These tribunals were designed to provide swift justice and handle cases of corruption and economic crimes. Unlike conventional courts, the tribunals operated with simplified procedures and were more accessible to ordinary citizens. They became a cornerstone of the PNDC's justice system, though they were often criticised for their summary justice approach and potential for political manipulation.

Decentralisation of Political Power

The PNDC implemented a comprehensive decentralisation programme through the Local Government Law (PNDCL 207) of 1988. This reform divided the country into 110 districts, each with its own District Assembly. The assemblies were composed of both elected members (two-thirds) and government appointees (one-third), including traditional authorities. This system aimed to bring governance closer to the people and enhance local participation in decision-making processes.

Workers Defence Committees

The Workers Defence Committees were established at various workplaces throughout the country. These committees served as watchdogs within organisations. They monitored management activities and protected workers' interests. They were also tasked with improving productivity and reporting cases of economic sabotage. The committees represented a significant shift in workplace dynamics, though their effectiveness and impact on productivity were subjects of debate.

The 31st of December Women's Movement

Founded in 1982, the 31st of December Women's Movement became an influential political force under the leadership of Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings. The movement advanced women's rights and economic empowerment through various initiatives, including:

1. Establishing cooperative ventures for women
2. Providing vocational training programmes
3. Supporting literacy campaigns
4. Advocating for women's rights legislation

The movement played a crucial role in mobilising support for the PNDC's policies and became particularly influential after the passage of the Intestate Succession Law (PNDCL 111) and the Customary Marriage and Divorce Registration Law (PNDCL 112).



Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings standing behind the podium

Economic Reforms and Social Programmes Under the PNDC

Think About This:

Before we delve into the reforms, consider these questions:

1. Why would a government choose to implement harsh economic measures despite potential public resistance?
2. How might economic reforms affect different social classes differently?
3. What role should international financial institutions play in a country's economic recovery?

The Economic Recovery Programme (ERP)

When the PNDC launched the Economic Recovery Programme in 1983, Ghana's economy was in dire state. Imagine walking into shops with empty shelves, carrying bags of rapidly devaluing currency, or being unable to find basic necessities like bread and soap. This was the reality that prompted what would become one of Ghana's most comprehensive economic reform programmes.

The ERP unfolded in two distinct phases. The first phase, from 1983 to 1986, focused on economic stabilisation. Picture a doctor treating a critically ill patient - the immediate goal was to stop the economic bleeding. The government took several bold steps: the cedi was devalued from 2.75 to 90 cedis to the dollar, price controls were gradually removed, and public sector reforms began in earnest.

The second phase, from 1987 to 1989 emphasised structural changes. The government privatised state enterprises reformed the financial sector, and liberalised trade. These reforms were like renovating a house - painful and disruptive in the short term but aimed at creating a more stable structure for the future.

Social Intervention through PAMSCAD

As economic reforms bit deeper, the government recognised the need to protect vulnerable citizens. The Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) was introduced in 1988. This was essentially the government's way of saying, "We understand these reforms are difficult, but we will not leave you behind."

PAMSCAD implemented various initiatives:

1. Community development projects brought electricity and water to rural areas.
2. Employment programmes helped retrenched workers start new businesses.
3. Educational projects supported schools in deprived areas.
4. Health programmes expanded access to basic healthcare.

Social Transformation Programmes

The PNDC's social programmes went beyond economic considerations. The education reform of 1987 completely restructured Ghana's education system. Gone was the old 17-year pre-university system, replaced by a more streamlined 12-year programme. This was not merely about saving time - it was about creating an education system that better served Ghana's development needs.

Healthcare saw significant changes too. The government rehabilitated existing hospitals and built new clinics, particularly in rural areas. However, the introduction of hospital fees under the cost recovery programme raised important questions about healthcare access.

Women's Economic Empowerment

A particularly successful aspect of social reform was the focus on women's economic empowerment. The 31st December Women's Movement helped establish numerous small-scale industries and cooperatives. Women received training in various skills, from gari processing to soap making. More importantly, they gained access to credit and business support.

Tourism Development Initiative

The PNDC government recognised tourism as a vital sector for economic growth. Their comprehensive tourism development strategy focused on showcasing Ghana's rich cultural heritage whilst generating foreign exchange. The government renovated historical sites, including the coastal castles and forts, and developed new tourist facilities. This initiative did not only create employment opportunities but also promoted cultural awareness both domestically and internationally.

Revenue Mobilisation Campaign

A significant yet often overlooked aspect of the PNDC's economic reforms was its innovative approach to revenue collection. The government launched an aggressive campaign to expand the tax base by identifying and incorporating previously non-compliant taxpayers. This initiative marked a departure from traditional tax collection methods and introduced more systematic approaches to revenue generation. Special task forces were established to ensure compliance, whilst public education programmes helped citizens understand their tax obligations.

Infrastructure Development

The PNDC's infrastructure development programme went beyond basic road construction. Major highways, including the Accra-Kumasi and Tema-Aflao routes, were completely rehabilitated. These projects significantly improved transportation networks. It reduced travel times and transportation costs. The enhanced road network facilitated trade, making it easier for farmers to transport their produce to markets and supporting the broader economic recovery programme.

Agricultural Sector Transformation

The PNDC government transformed Ghana's agricultural sector through comprehensive reforms. At the heart of these changes was the revival of the cocoa

industry, which had nearly collapsed. The government increased cocoa producer prices from ₵0 to ₵20 per load to motivate farmers. They also provided essential farming inputs like fertilisers and pesticides through a new credit scheme.

To recognise farmers' contributions to the nation, the government established the annual Farmers' Day celebration in 1985. This event honoured outstanding farmers and fishermen. The government also introduced agricultural extension services to teach farmers new techniques. Agricultural officers regularly visited farming communities to offer advice and demonstrate improved farming methods. This practical support helped increase food production and reduce Ghana's dependence on imported food.

Women's Legal Rights Revolution

The PNDC brought significant changes to women's rights through two key laws. The first was the Intestate Succession Law (PNDCL 111) of 1985. Before this law, many women lost their homes and property when their husbands died. Under customary law, the deceased's family often inherited everything, leaving the widow and children with nothing. The new law ensured that wives and children received a fair share of the property.

The second major change came through the Customary Marriage and Divorce Registration Law (PNDCL 112). This law required all customary marriages to be registered to give them legal recognition. It protected women's rights during marriage and divorce and ensured women could claim their fair share of marital property. These laws marked a turning point for women's rights in Ghana, though their implementation faced some resistance from traditional authorities.

Shortcomings of the PNDC Regime

Despite implementing significant economic and social reforms, the PNDC regime faced numerous criticisms for its governance approach and human rights record. Whilst the government achieved some notable successes in economic recovery and social development, its eleven-year rule was marked by controversial actions and policies that cast a shadow over its legacy. Below were some of the shortcomings of the PNDC regime.

1. **Suppression of Free Speech:** A culture of silence was enforced, with attacks on journalists and restrictions on freedom of expression.

2. **Property Confiscation:** The regime confiscated properties and disrupted businesses without legal process, including the seizure of factories and industries.
3. **Political Repression:** Party politics were banned, undermining political pluralism and democratic freedoms.
4. **Human Rights Abuses:** The government was involved in severe human rights violations, including extrajudicial killings, arbitrary detentions, and executions of political opponents.
5. **High Court Judges' Murder:** The abduction and murder of three High Court judges and a military officer in 1982 was a notable crime that drew widespread condemnation.

Activity 4.15 The PNDC regime

1. a. Follow the video link and watch a documentary on the 31st December 1981 coup.PNDC <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I2GL1XFiV3s>



- b. As you watch, record key events, noting the date and significance of each occurrence. Pay particular attention to:
 1. Events leading to the coup
 2. The coup itself
 3. Formation of the PNDC
 4. Initial actions of the new government
- c. Use the information to create a chronological timeline of the emergence of the PNDC.
2. Working in small groups, create a digital or physical gallery of PNDC members. For each member, include the name, position, background information, role played in the regime and some significant contributions. Ensure to add at least one female member to your gallery. Your gallery should look like the chart below.

		
Name and position:	Name and position:	Name and position:
•Background information	•Background information	•Background information
•Role in the government	•Role in the government	•Role in the government
•Significant contributions	•Significant contributions	•Significant contributions

3. In groups, analyse the sources below to discuss the development and shortcomings of the PNDC regime. Present your analysis in a tabular form like the one below.

Source	What type of source is this?	How credible is this source?	What does it tell us about the political atmosphere of the PNDC?
Source 1			
Source 2			
Source 3			

Source 1: Excerpt from Berry, L (1994). Ghana: A country study. Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. p.50. Retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/item/95018891/>



In keeping with Rawlings's commitment to populism as a political principle, the PNDC began to form governing coalitions and institutions that would incorporate the populace at large into the machinery of the national government. Workers' Defence Committees (WDCs) People's Defence Committees (PDCs), Citizens' Vetting Committees (CVCs), Regional Defence Committees (RDCs), and National Defence Committees (NDCs) were all created to ensure that those at the bottom of society were given the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process. These committees were to be involved in

community projects and community decisions, and individual members were expected to expose corruption and ‘anti-social activities’.

Source 2: Read this brief excerpt from Kabral Blay-Amihere’s interview on Citi TV’s Footprints programme (2024):

‘When the 81 coup came, they invaded the Free Press, arrested and detained journalists including the editor for one year... I became the editor of the Free Press in ‘84. Those were difficult times... any dissenting voice had to be silenced.’

Source: Interview with Ambassador Kabral Blay-Amihere on Citi TV’s Footprints programme, 2024.

Source 3: News item from Ghana News Agency, 5th January 1982.

6



Rawlings explains

Below is the full text of a broadcast by Flt-Lt Jerry John Rawlings, Chairman of the PNDC, on January 5, 1982.

FELLOW countrymen, I have come to the studio for the second time since the events of the 31st December to explain to you this attempt to enable the people of this country to become a real part of the decision-making processes of government.

The military action that was taken in the early hours of 31st December, 1981 was to stem the rapid national decline that was upon us.

But it was not a military coup in the sense of another opportunity for some soldiers and their allies in trade and the bureaucracy to come to power for their own ends. It is rather to create by this action an opening for real democracy. Government of the people, by the people and for the people.

a point where they would be incapable of the most minimal resistance to oppression.

For so many of the adult population of this country over the last few years, even if they have not resorted to suicide to escape the shame of their condition, there has been for them no point to this life, nothing to look forward to except a continued slaving for others to enjoy.

People in the rural areas have slaved away producing cocoa only for officials of state to live in the most comfortable conditions with. Food crop farmers all over the country have also continued steadily in very adverse circumstances whilst their rural environments have continued to be deprived of basic facilities.

Even the road networks in these areas have become increasingly neglected. Our roads have become deathtraps and the vehicles which ply them break down at alarming rates. Government members were criss-crossing the world begging for foreign aid.

“Kalabule”

Extended Activity

1. Consider this scenario: You are a policymaker in 1987. You have limited resources but need to implement social programmes. Which would you prioritise and why?
 - a. Rural electrification
 - b. Healthcare expansion
 - c. Educational reform

d. Employment programmes

- 2.** In small groups, discuss the following questions and share your conclusions with the larger class.
 - a.** How did improved roads impact rural farmers?
 - b.** What effect did tourism development have on coastal communities?
 - c.** How did tax reforms influence business practices?
 - d.** How did the introduction of legal reforms change family dynamics in Ghana?
 - e.** What impact did the legal reforms have on traditional inheritance practices?
 - f.** Are these laws still relevant today?
- 3.** Research Project: “Then and Now,” compare aspects of Ghana before and after these reforms:

	Then	Now
Tourist attractions and facilities		
Major road networks		
Agricultural practices		
Women’s legal rights		
Tax collection methods		

- 4.** In small groups, each investigating one of the PNDC’s major shortcomings shown in the table below

Shortcoming	Key Findings from the Investigation
Suppression of Free Speech	
Property Confiscation	
Political Repression	
Human Rights Abuses	
High Court Judges’ Murder	
Social Disruption from Economic Reforms	

Each group should do the following

- a. Research their topic using newspapers, books and interviews
- b. Present findings in a 5-minute presentation to the larger class
- c. Include real examples and testimonies
- d. Discuss the long-term impact on Ghana

Introduction to Ghana's Return to Democracy

After ruling Ghana for eleven years (1981-1992), the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings initiated a process to restore constitutional rule. This transition was not merely an internal decision but was influenced by both domestic pressures and significant international developments.

Major Factors and Developments Leading to Ghana's Fourth Republic

The establishment of Ghana's Fourth Republic in 1993 was the culmination of a carefully planned transition from military to democratic rule. This transformation was driven by both internal dynamics and external pressures that made the return to constitutional democracy inevitable.

International Context

The late 1980s saw dramatic global changes that influenced Ghana's political direction. The collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War, and a wave of democratisation across Africa created an environment where military governments were increasingly viewed as unacceptable. International financial institutions like the IMF and World Bank, along with Western nations, particularly the United States, applied significant pressure on Ghana to return to democratic governance.

Domestic Developments

The PNDC government, recognising these changes, initiated a gradual process of democratic transition. This began with the establishment of the National Commission on Democracy (NCD) in 1984 to explore appropriate forms of democratic governance for Ghana. The process gained momentum with the successful implementation of District Assembly elections, which introduced grassroots democracy at the local level.

Summary of the Factors and Developments Leading to Ghana's Fourth Republic

The key institutions and events that led to the Fourth Republic in Ghana.

1. International Pressure

The general political scene in Africa compelled the PNDC to usher Ghana into constitutional rule. International bodies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and powerful countries like the United States of America pressured the country to return to constitutional rule.

2. Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC)

Ahead of the general elections scheduled for 1992, the PNDC government set up a body to oversee the conduct of the elections. Mr. Josiah Ofori Boateng headed INEC. The Commission later organised the referendum on the draft constitution and the first general election in the Fourth Republic in 1992.

3. The Committee of Experts

A special committee of experts was set up in May 1991 with the task of drafting a constitution under the chairmanship of Samuel Kwadwo Boateng Asante.

4. Lifting the Ban on Politics

A special committee of experts was set up in May 1991 with the task of drafting a constitution under the chairmanship of Samuel Kwadwo Boateng Asante.

5. The Consultative Assembly

A 258-member Consultative Assembly was established, whose membership represented the Market Women Association, Traditional Rulers, Artisans, Armed Forces, and University Teachers, among a host of other interest groups. The main aim of this assembly was to gather the public's views on the new constitution of Ghana.

6. National Commission on Democracy (NCD)

The PNDC established the NCD in 1984 to find ways of promoting participatory democracy in the country.

7. Organisation of District Assembly Elections

To gradually return the country to constitutional rule, the PNDC took steps to give power to the ordinary people of Ghana, by organising District assembly elections

8. The 28th April 1992 Referendum

A referendum on a new constitution was held in Ghana on 28th April 1992. The main issues were the reintroduction of multi-party politics and the division of powers between the president and parliament

9. The 1992 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections

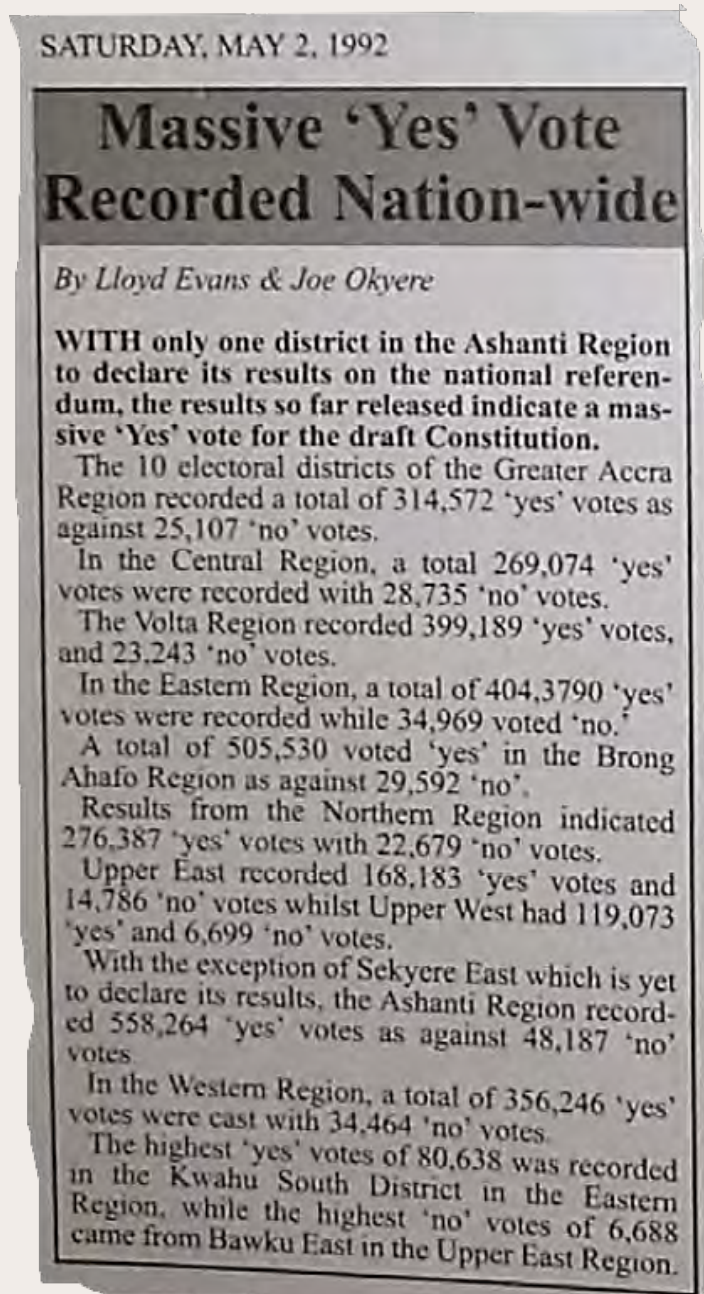
Presidential and parliamentary elections were held in Ghana on 3rd November 1992 and 29 December 1992, respectively. This represented the first contested elections held in the country since 1979.

Activity 4.16 The 4th Republic

1. In small groups, using a range of historical sources, including newspapers, books and the internet, create a timeline of major events leading to the emergence of the 4th Republic.
2. In the same small groups, analyse the roles played by the following key institutions towards the drafting of the 1992 Constitution and the organisation of the General Elections. Think about the following:
 - a. What was the responsibility of each institution?
 - b. What did each institution add to the new Constitution?

Group A: Committee of Experts	Group B: Consultative Assembly	Group C: INEC
• Membership • Terms of reference • Key recommendations	• Composition • Deliberations • Major decisions	• Structure • Responsibilities • Election management

3. Role-play the organisation of the District Assembly Elections in 1988/89 and discuss in small groups its impact on Ghana's political landscape. Think carefully about which characters you will choose to play. If you can, try to find primary sources and use quotations from them to add authenticity to your role play.
4. In small groups, study the historical source below carefully and complete the tasks on the outcome of the 1992 Referendum.



Source: Daily Graphic, Saturday, 2nd May 1992

- a. Complete the table below to show the referendum results for each region:
- b. Calculate for each region:
 - i. Total votes cast
 - ii. Percentage voting 'Yes'
 - iii. Percentage voting 'No'

Region	'Yes' Votes	Percentage (%)	'No' Votes	Percentage (%)	TOTAL
Greater Accra					
Central					
Volta					
Eastern					
Brong Ahafo					
Northern					
Upper East					
Upper West					
Ashanti (<i>excluding Sekyere East district</i>)					
Western					

c. Discuss these questions:

- i. Why was there such strong support for the constitution?
- ii. What explains regional variations in the voting?
- iii. What did these results mean for Ghana's democracy?

d. Present your findings by creating any one of the following:

- i. A colour-coded map showing regional voting patterns
- ii. A bar graph comparing regional results
- iii. A written analysis of voting trends

5. In pairs, study the source below and assess the role played by the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) in the organisation of the 1992 General Elections.



- How did this election's notice demonstrate the completion of Ghana's transition from PNDC military rule to multi-party democracy?
- What evidence does this source provide about INEC's role in organising Ghana's return to constitutional rule?
- Why was Flight Lieutenant Rawlings' presence as a candidate significant for Ghana's democratic transition?
- What does the inclusion of five different political parties tell us about the implementation of the 1992 Constitution?

Note

Your answers must be based on your knowledge of the events leading to the Fourth Republic and evidence from the source.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN GHANA: 1993-2007

Ghana's Fourth Republic began in 1993 following the promulgation of the 1992 Constitution. This marked the beginning of our longest period of sustained democratic rule. The era witnessed the presidency of Jerry John Rawlings, who transformed from a military leader to a democratically elected president, and later John Agyekum Kufuor, whose election in 2000 marked Ghana's first peaceful transfer of power from one elected government to another.

Political Parties that have Ruled Ghana from 1993 to 2007 and their Leaders

 National Democratic Congress	 New Patriotic Party
• Founded by JJ Rawlings, who had previously led the country under military rule • Ruled from 1993 to 2001 • Ideology: Centre-left, social democratic • First term: 1993-1997 • Second term: 1997-2001 • Oversaw Ghana's transition to multi-party democracy	• Traces its roots to UGCC and UP tradition • Ideology: Centre-right, liberal-conservative • Ruled from 2001 to 2007 (continued until 2009) • First term: 2001-2005 • Second term: 2005-2009

The NDC Era Under Rawlings: 1993-2000

The National Democratic Congress, led by Jerry John Rawlings, formed the first government of the Fourth Republic. Rawlings' transition from military leader to democratic president reflected Ghana's broader transition to constitutional rule. His government focused on continuing the economic reforms begun under the PNDC while building democratic institutions.



Figure 4.25: A picture of JJ Rawlings

During this period, Ghana saw the establishment of crucial democratic institutions. Parliament became a vibrant forum for national debate, though the NDC held a significant majority. The judiciary exercised increasing independence, and new constitutional bodies like the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) began their work.

The NPP Era Under Kufuor: 2001-2007 (continued until 2009)

The election of John Agyekum Kufuor in December 2000 marked a watershed moment in Ghana's democratic journey. For the first time, power transferred peacefully from one democratically elected government to another. Kufuor's New Patriotic Party government introduced several reforms, including the establishment of the National Health Insurance Scheme and significant developments in education.



Figure 4.26: Picture of J.A. Kuffour

Key Political Institutions and Office Holders

The Executive Branch

The presidency during this period demonstrated the growing strength of Ghana's democratic institutions. Both Rawlings and Kufuor served with different vice presidents, showing the evolution of executive leadership. The vice presidency became an increasingly important office, with each vice president taking on significant responsibilities in governance. **Figure 4.27** shows the vice presidents who served in Ghana's Fourth Republic from 1993 to 2007.



Figure 4.27: Pictures Vice presidents from 1993-2007

The Legislature

Parliament grew in stature and effectiveness during this period. Under Speakers Justice D.F. Annan (1993-2001), Peter Ala Adjetey (2001-2005), and Ebenezer Begyiina Sekyi Hughes (2005-2007), the legislative branch matured as an institution. Parliamentary committees became more active in oversight, and debates grew more substantive.



Figure 4.28: Speaker of Parliament from 1993-2007

The Judiciary

The judiciary demonstrated remarkable growth and independence during the Fourth Republic. Under successive Chief Justices, Ghana's court system underwent significant modernisation and reform. Chief Justice Philip Edward Archer (1991-1995) guided the judiciary through the crucial transition from military to constitutional rule. He helped establish strong foundations for judicial independence. His successor, Justice I.K. Abban (1995-2001), focused on modernising court procedures and enhancing judicial training.

The period saw further transformation under Chief Justice E.K. Wiredu (2001-2003), who introduced computerisation of the courts and strengthened alternative dispute resolution mechanisms. Chief Justice George Kingsley Acquah (2003-2007) built on these reforms by establishing Fast Track Courts and advancing court automation. These developments significantly improved access to justice and case management efficiency.

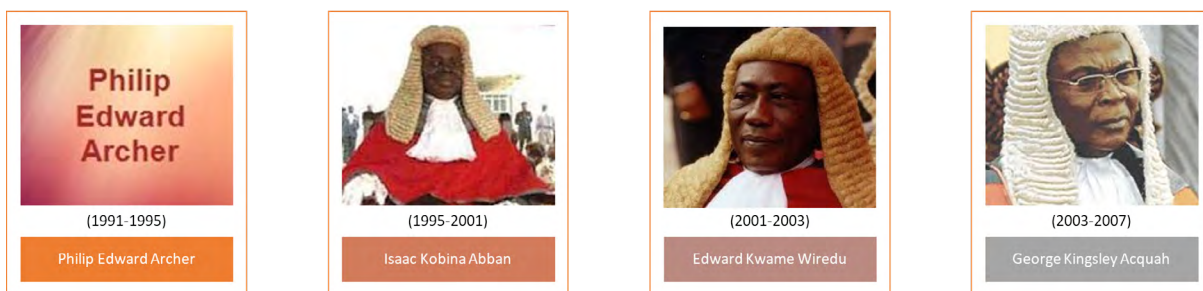


Figure 4.29: Chief Justice of Ghana, 1993-2007

Development of Democratic Institutions

The Growth of Independent Bodies

The Fourth Republic saw the emergence of robust democratic institutions. The Electoral Commission, under the leadership of Dr Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, established its independence through the successful conduct of elections in 1996 and 2000. The Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) began actively investigating cases of human rights abuses and corruption.



(1993-2007, continued until 2015)

Figure 4.30: A picture of Dr Kwadwo Afari-Gyan

Constitutional Bodies

- 1. The National Media Commission** helped transform Ghana's media landscape from state dominance to a vibrant, free press. By 2007, Ghana had numerous private radio stations, television channels, and newspapers, marking a significant shift from the state-controlled media of previous eras.
- 2. The National Commission for Civic Education** worked to deepen citizens' understanding of their democratic rights and responsibilities.

A timeline of key political developments in Ghana (1993 – 2007)

1993	On January 7th, the Fourth Republic began with Jerry John Rawlings sworn in as President and Kow Nkensen Arkaah as Vice President. Justice D.F. Annan became the first Speaker of the Fourth Republic Parliament. The 1992 Constitution established Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), the National Media Commission and National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE).
1996	The December 7th presidential election resulted in Jerry John Rawlings (NDC) securing 57.4% of votes whilst John Agyekum Kufuor (NPP) received 39.6%. The NDC won parliamentary majority with 133 seats, with the NPP securing 61 seats.

1997-2000	John Evans Atta Mills replaced Kow Nkensen Arkaah as Vice President in 1997. The December 2000 presidential election went to a run-off on December 28th, where John Agyekum Kufuor (NPP) won with 56.9% of votes against John Evans Atta Mills (NDC) with 43.1%.
2001-2004	John Agyekum Kufuor was sworn in as President on January 7th, 2001, with Aliu Mahama as Vice President. Peter Ala Adjetey became Speaker of Parliament. The December 2004 presidential election saw Kufuor winning with 52.45% against Atta Mills' 44.64%. The NPP secured parliamentary majority with 128 seats whilst the NDC won 94 seats.
2005-2007	Kufuor began his second term on January 7th, 2005, and Ebenezer Begyina Sekyi Hughes became the new Speaker of Parliament. The government initiated a constitutional review process, proposed electoral reforms, and drafted a presidential transition bill during this period.

Activity 4.17 Political developments in Ghana from 1993 to 2007

1. In small groups, work together to research the political parties that have ruled Ghana from 1993 to 2007. Use this information to create charts showing their founders, ideologies and key political figures that served under their governments.
2. In small groups, discuss some major political events that took place in Ghana from 1993 to 2007. Focus on the general elections, handing over of political officials, and their inaugurations. Come to a conclusion about what you think is the most significant event and be able to justify your choices.
3. In groups, use newspaper reports, photos, among others to create a poster on the transitional political periods in Ghana from 1993 to 2007. You can follow the link for news articles.

Daily Graphic and Ghanaian Times newspapers from 1993-2007 [Find samples of newspaper extracts from the link below]

https://drive.google.com/drive/u/1/folders/14_TRb2XJVYwvkeLookmHXrHQTbHLLhpH



Extended Activity Oral History Project

1. Interview family members or community elders about:
 - a. Their experiences of both NDC and NPP governments
 - b. Changes they observed in:
 - i. Democratic practices
 - ii. Political freedoms
 - iii. Public services
 - iv. Electoral processes
 - c. Present your findings in a written report or class presentation.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN GHANA FROM 1993 TO 2007

The change in governance from a military rule to a democratically elected government in 1993 ushered Ghana into the Fourth Republic with Jerry John Rawlings as President. In 2000, Rawlings handed power to President Kufuor who ruled as the second president of the fourth Republic from 2000 to 2008. The change in the political environment also influenced the socio-economic atmosphere of the country. The table below simplifies the socio-economic developments in Ghana from 1993 to 2007.

1993-1996	• Ghana returned to democratic rule in 1992, with Jerry John Rawlings elected as president. • The economic reforms continued under the Economic Recovery Program (ERP). • Gross domestic production growth averaged around 4-5% annually. • Primary school enrolment began to improve in this period. • The December 7th presidential election resulted in Jerry John Rawlings (NDC) securing 57.4% of votes whilst John Agyekum Kufuor (NPP) received 39.6%. The NDC won parliamentary majority with 133 seats, with the NPP securing 61 seats.
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1997-2000	• The Ghana Education Service (GES) implemented the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) aimed to improve access to education. • There was introduction of the a value added tax (VAT) in Ghana within this period. • The Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I) was initiated. • The National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) was conceptualised. • GDP growth remained steady at around 4-5% annually.
2001-2004	• The highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative was adopted, leading to debt relief. • The National Health Insurance Act was passed in 2003, paving the way for the NHIS implementation. • The Educational reforms continued, with increased focus on improving quality. • GDP growth accelerated to around 5-6% annually.
2004-2007	• The NHIS was fully implemented leading to an improved healthcare access. • Major infrastructure projects included the rehabilitation of the Accra-Tema Motorway and the expansion of the Tema Port. • The Millenium Challenge Account programme was signed in 2006, providing \$547 million for poverty reduction and economic growth. • Poverty rates declined from about 52% in 1991/92 to 28.5% in 2005/06. • GDP growth reached 6-7% anually by 2007.

Activity 4.18 Socio-economic developments under the Fourth Republic

1. In groups, analyse the economic policies of political parties that have ruled Ghana from 1993 to 2007 using the following sources:



Source 1: Excerpts from Jerry John Rawlings' Vision (2020) in 1996

<https://www.myjoyonline.com/throwback-rawlings-presidential-report-on-ghanas-visio-2020>.



The long-term vision for Ghana is that by the year 2020 Ghana will have achieved a balanced economy and a middle-income country status and standard of living, with a level of development close to the present level in Singapore. This will be realized by creating an open and liberal market economy, founded on competition, initiative and creativity, that employs science and technology in deriving maximum productivity from the use of all our human and natural resources and in optimizing the rate of economic and social development, with due regard to the protection of the environment and to equity in the distribution of the benefits of development. Details are set out in National Development Policy Framework (NDPF) which provides a long-term (25 year, 1996-2020) perspective for Ghana's socio-economic development. The NDPF (Volume 1: Long-Term Development Objectives) can thus be described as GHANA – VISION 2020. Specifically, the vision of Ghana in the year 2020 – a generation hence! – is of a country in which: - long, healthy and productive life for all individuals is the norm, with access to an enlarged range of choices for employment, shelter and leisure; - the benefits of development are equitably distributed and gross deprivation and hard-core poverty are eliminated; national income is growing by at least 8% per annum, compared with the present average of 4-5%; population growth is reduced from its present level of about 3% to 2% per annum, thereby allowing real income per head to rise to more than four times the 1993 level. Solutions to socio-cultural and economic problems of the individual, the community or the national are recognized and sought within the domain of science and technology.

Questions for analysis:

- a. What is the major aim of vision 2020?
- b. What measures are proposed by vision 2020 to achieve its aims:
- c. Identify three social impacts that vision 2020 will make on Ghanaians.
- d. Identify three socio-economic problems at the time of the launch of vision 2020.

Source 2: Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (19th February 2003)*Excerpt: Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (19th February 2003)**<https://www.fao.org/faolex/results/details/en/c/LEX-FAOC189994/>.*

Ghana is currently suffering one of many periodic economic crises, which have characterised its modern economic history. These crises manifest in several ways. Double-digit inflation has been fuelled by donor aid and the monetising of fiscal deficits. The excessive growth of money supply has resulted in the depreciation of the nominal value of the cedi. Persistent deficit financing has resulted in a massive debt overhang giving a ratio of external debt to GDP of 120%, the highest in Africa. The current crisis is a symptom of the domestic policy framework that has retarded Ghana's economic growth and development. In this context, crises are the consequences of past policy regimes. The mismanagement of each crisis lays the foundations for the next. The fundamental reasons for economic stagnation and for Ghana's susceptibility to crises is that the state has attempted to accomplish more than it is able given the limited resources it can command. It is also constrained by a weak administrative apparatus. Poor prioritisation has exacerbated the situation. The State has reached beyond its means and capabilities throughout Ghana's post-colonial history. The only difference in the performance of the various governments have been in the explicit policy means that have been used to express the presence of the state in the economic affairs of the nation.

Questions for analysis:

- a. From the source, what was Ghana's economic situation by 2003?
 - b. What has hindered Ghana's economic growth and development?
 - c. Identify the continuity and change in Ghana's economic policies using the source above.
2. In small groups, discuss the social policies of the political governments of Ghana from 1993 to 2007. Discuss whether you think they were effective or ineffective and what you think was the most important social policy.
3. a. In pairs, identify the achievements of Jerry John Rawlings' government (1993-2000) and John Agyekum Kufour's government (2001-2008) and write them in your notebooks.



- b. Use the information you have identified to make a comparison chart listing the achievements of the two governments. Use the chart below as a guide.

The achievements of Rawlings:

The achievements of Kufuor:

ROLE OF GENDER-BASED GROUPS IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN GHANA (1993 – 2007)

Ghanaian women's agitations for economic justice have been a feature of their activism since pre-independence nationalist struggles, including the trade blockades of 1917 and 1918. Market traders mobilised resources for party activities and took part in disruptive civil acts that undermined the colonial and contributed to making political change possible.

In the previous section, we learnt that Ghanaian women were equally instrumental to the success of the Convention People's Party (CPP) in national elections. During the early post-independence period, two dominant women organisations emerged: the Ghana Women's League and the Ghana Federation of Women (known earlier as the National Federation of Gold Coast Women). These were merged to form the National Council of Ghana Women (NCGW). However, the organisation was disbanded by the NLC government which overthrew Nkrumah in 1966.

From 1966 onwards, women's groups were mainly charity-oriented professional and religious associations, whose operations hardly questioned women's social status.

Broad-based national women's organisations emerged in the early 1980s. These were the Federation of Ghanaian Women, the 31st December Women's Movement (DWM) and the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA).

Some Gender-based Groups in Ghana (1993-2007)

1. 31st December Women's Movement (DWM)
2. Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF)
3. Network for Women's Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT)
4. Ghana Association of Women Entrepreneurs (GAWE)
5. Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Ghana)

The Role of Gender-based Groups in the Socio-economic and Political Developments in Ghana (1993 – 2007)

Gender-based groups in Ghana have contributed to the socio-economic and political developments through advocacy, leadership and provision of support to vulnerable groups in the country. The following are some socio-economic and political developments influenced by gender-based groups in Ghana from 1993-2007:

Gender-based Groups Contributions to Economic Developments

1. **Microfinance and entrepreneurship:** The 31st of December Women's Movement (DWM) and Ghana Association of Women Entrepreneurs (GAWE) provided microcredit and training to women entrepreneurs. These initiatives helped women to start small businesses, particularly in rural areas.
2. **Development of skills:** Gender-based groups organised vocational training programs for women in various trades. This improved women's employability and income generation capacities.
3. **Advocacy for economic policies:** Organisations like Network for Women's Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT) advocated for gender-responsive budgeting and economic policies. This led to increased consideration of women's economic needs in national development plans.

Gender-based Groups Contributions to Political Reforms and Advocacy

1. **Women's political participation:** Gender-based groups campaigned for increased women's representations in politics. This advocacy resulted in a gradual increase in women parliamentarians and local government officials.
2. **Legal reforms:** The Federation of Women Lawyers-Ghana (FIDA) and Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF) advocated for laws addressing domestic violence and property rights. Their efforts contributed to the passage of the Domestic Violence Act in 2007.
3. **Policy influence:** These groups contributed to the development of Ghana's gender policy. They also pushed for the establishment of the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs in 2001.

Gender-based Groups Contributions in Addressing Social Issues

1. **Education:** Gender-based groups campaigned for girls' education leading to increased enrolment rates. They also advocated for policies to keep pregnant girls in school.
2. **Healthcare:** organisations like the DWM set up health clinics and educational programmes. They raised awareness about reproductive health and HIV/AIDS prevention.
3. **Gender-based violence:** The gender centre and other groups conducted research and advocacy on violence against women. This work contributed to increased public awareness and policy responses.

Gender-based Groups in Ghana faced several challenges in their quest to bring change in the country. The challenges faced by Gender-based groups in Ghana over the years are listed below.

Challenges Faced by Gender-based Groups in Ghana

1. There is limited resource and funding for carrying out activism and support.
2. There is Political and social resistance to gender equality initiatives.
3. The difficulty in reaching rural and marginalised women
4. Balancing advocacy with service delivery

Activity 4.19 Role of gender-based organisations in the Fourth Republic

1. In pairs, identify key gender-based groups that emerged in Ghana between 1993 and 2007, and note your findings in a mind map.
2. In small groups, discuss and prepare an oral presentation to the rest of the class on the role of gender-based groups in the socio-economic and political developments in Ghana (1993 – 2007).
3. In small groups, using the internet, research the challenges faced by gender-based groups in Ghana's socio-economic and political development (1993-2007).
4. Create a poster showing the challenges faced by gender-based groups in Ghana's socio-economic and political development and propose solutions to the problems identified.

EXTENDED READING

- Aidoo, A. A. (2022). Women in the history and culture of Ghana. *Contemporary Journal of African Studies*, 9(2), 187-213.
- Fynn, J. K., Addo-Fening, R., & Anquandah, J. (1991). *History: For senior secondary schools*. Evans Brothers.
- Gocking, R. S. (2005). *The history of Ghana*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
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REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. List three cabinet ministers who served in Ghana's government between 1957 and 1960.
2. Highlight any five socio-economic developments under the CPP from 1957 to 1966.
3. Identify any five problems faced by the NLC upon assumption of office in 1966.
4. Highlight any five factors that aided in Busia and his PP victory in the 1969 General Elections.
5. Identify the key factors that contributed to the overthrow of the NRC/SMC I government.
6. List three major economic initiatives or programmes implemented in Ghana between 1993 and 2007.
7. Identify any three gender-based groups that contributed to the socio-economic and political developments of Ghana between 1993 and 2007.

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GLOSSARY

Annexation is a formal act whereby a state proclaims its sovereignty over a territory previously outside its domain.

Archive is a collection of historical documents or records providing information about a place, institution, or group of people.

Asante Empire was a powerful state of the Asante people, which lasted from 1701 to 1901.

Authenticity is the quality of a source being real and original for the writing of history.

Capitalism is based on the private ownership of the means of production and their operation for profit.

Colonisation is a process of a powerful country establishing control over another country, mostly a weaker one, purposely for the exploitation of both human and natural resources.

Commission is a group of people entrusted by a government or other official body with the authority to do something on its behalf.

Constitution is a set of fundamental laws and principles that establish the legal basis for a nation, state or organisation to operate.

Corroboration is when evidence confirms or supports other evidence for historical writing.

‘Kalabule’ was a term for economic malpractices, including hoarding, overpricing and corruption, originating from Acheampong’s regime.

Monarch is a sovereign head of a state, mostly a king or queen.

Nazism is a political ideology (National Socialism) that was adopted and practiced by Adolf Hitler and his Nazi Party in Germany from 1933 to 1945, which was driven by a totalitarian system for the supremacy of the Germanic race.

Objectivity is the quality of a historical work being free from biases and distortion.

PAMSCAD (Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment) was a social intervention programme designed by the PNDC in 1988 to reduce hardships from economic reforms.

Pan- Africanism was a movement by people of African descent across the globe, who shared a common goal of uniting Africans for the elimination of colonial and European supremacy from the African continent.

Plebiscite is a yes or no vote by the people of an entire country or a section to decide on an important issue, such as a choice of a ruler or government, option for independence or annexation by another power, or a question of national policy.

Reliability is the quality of sources being trusted for historical writing.

Socialist government is a system of government that focuses more on state ownership of the means of production for the collective benefit of the citizens.

Source is material or evidence needed for writing history.

Treaties were colonial binding formal agreements signed between the British and the traditional rulers.

This book is intended to be used for the Year Two History Senior High School (SHS) Curriculum. It contains information and activities to support teachers to deliver the curriculum in the classroom as well as additional exercises to support learners' selfstudy and revision. Learners can use the review questions to assess their understanding and explore concepts and additional content in their own time using the extended reading list provided.

All materials can be accessed electronically from the Ministry of Education's Curriculum Microsite.



[Scan the QR Code to visit the website]

