# POLI 444 ELECTORAL POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY IN GHANA

SESSION 10: THE 2000 & 2004 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLAIMENTARY ELECTIONS

Lecturer: Mr. Alex K. D. Frempong

Contact Information: akdfrempong@ug.edu.gh /kaadupong2002@yahoo.co.uk



#### UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

College of Education

**School of Continuing and Distance Education** 

2014/2015 - 2016/2017

Lecturers: Dr. S Atindanbila /Mr. Muhammad

Amin Jibril

#### **SESSION OVERVIEW**

After studying the first two elections in the Fourth Republic (1992 & 1996) we turn in this session to the next two (2000 & 2004) the former which led to the first alternation in power in Ghana's electoral history and the latter which retained the incumbent party for a second term. For each of them we shall explore the context, issues, contesting parties, the outcomes and post-election politics.

#### **Session Outline**

The key topics to be covered in this session are:

- •Topic 1: THE 2000 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
- Topic 2: THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
- •Topic 3: LESSONS FROM THE 2000 & 2004 ELECTIONS



#### READING MATERIALS

- Frempong, A.K. D (2012) Electoral Politics in Ghana's Fourth R epublic in the Context of Post-Cold War Africa, Accra: Yames P ress Ltd
- Frempong, A. K. D (2017) *Elections in Ghana (1951-2016)*, Te ma: Digibooks Ghana Ltd.
- Ayee, J. R. A, ed. (2001) Deepening Democracy in Ghana: The P olitics of the 2000 Elections, Vols. 1 & 2, Accra: Freedom Publi cations
- Boafo-Arthur, K. ed. (2006) Voting for Democracy in Ghana: T he 2004 Elections in Perspective, Vols. 1 & 2, Accra: Freedom Publications

#### **LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

At the end of the session, students should be able to:

•Understand clearly the circumstances leading to the thir d and fourth elections of the Fourth Republic

•Explain the contexts, contestants, issues, outcomes and post-election politics of Elections 2000 and 2004

•Appreciate the implications those elections had for the future

#### **TOPIC 1**

## THE 2000 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

### BACKGROUND TO THE 2000 ELECTIONS

After the 1996 elections and ahead of the 2000 elections the two major parties took some decisions that would influence the outcome and the first alternation in power. For the ruling NDC:

- •Rawlings' 1996 re-election meant that he was constitutionally barred from contesting again in 20 00, but fears about him lifting the two-term limit persisted.
- •Perhaps to allay those fears President Rawlings at a party rally at Agona Swedru (Central Region ) in June 1998 declared his wish for his new Veep John Mills to become the part's next presidenti al candidate. This became known as the 'Swedru Declaration' and had serious impact on the succe ssion in the NDC and its performance in the 2000 elections
- •Opponents within the party saw the declaration as an attempt by Rawlings to select a docile succe ssor through whom he could have his third term. Others saw the declaration as undemocratic and f ormed a Reform Movement demanding internal democracy. The group, led by Goosie Tanoh, latte r broke away to form a new party, the National Reform Party (NRP), which would contest the 200 0 elections. Some stalwarts in the party like Foreign Minister Obed Asamoah and Defence Ministe r Mahama Iddrisu, who had an eye on the flagbearer slot saw it as the second time the new comer, John Mills, had outwitted them. All these factors caused serious confusion and division in the ND C and at the parliamentary level several aspirants would contest as independent protesters



### **BACKGROUND TO THE 2000 ELECTIONS (CONT'D)**

#### For the major opposition NPP:

- •Its second defeat in 1996 meant it needed to do everything to avoid a third consecuti ve loss which might lead to a break up of the party and as a result took a number of cr ucial decisions:
- After assessing the challenges encountered in the Great Alliance the NPP decided it w ould contest the 2000 elections on its own without a formal alliance
- •It further decided that it would elect its presidential candidate at least two years ahe ad of the elections. This it did in August 1998 and re-nominated Kufuor, who was offer ed sufficient time to heal internal party wounds, to tour all parts of the country to exp ose himself and message to Ghanaians, and to craft innovative strategies for the camp aign
- •Recognizing the crucial role of its parliamentary caucus in keeping the party in the lim elight, the NPP in the end retained 55 of its 60 MPs for re-election, while it conducted a more peaceful primaries in the orphan constituencies

It was with these contrasting circumstances that NDC & NPP enter Election 2000



#### THE 2000 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: THE CONTESTING PARTIES

Seven parties contested the 2000 presidential election:

- •The ruling NDC expectedly confirmed Vice President Mills as its presidential candidate and after a long search the running mate slot went for Martin Amidu, the Deputy Attorney General
- •The NPP had Kufuor for a second bid and he too after a circuitous effort, chose a party benefact or from the Northern Region, Aliu Mahama
- •The PNC too retained Edward Mahama who nominated Bernard B. Ntim, from Kwahu as his ru nning mate
- •The PCP which had assumed its traditional name Convention People's Party (CPP), nominated, George Hagan, a university professor who went for veteran Ibrahim Mahama, one of the content ders for the flagbearer, as running mate.
- •The NDC breakaway, NRP nominated Goosie Tanoh as presidential candidate with Cletus Kosiba as running mate
- •The GCPP made its presidential debut with its founder Dan Lartey as its flagbearer and Edward Ladzaglah as running mate
- •The United Ghana Movement (UGM) a chip off NPP had Charles Werko-Brobbey as presidential candidate and Adotey Addo as running mate



#### THE 2000 PRESIDENTIAL TICKETS

PARTY	PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE	RUNNING MATE
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS (NDC)	JOHN EVANS ATTA MILLS	MARTIN AMIDU
NEW PATRIOTIC PARTY (NPP)	JOHN AGYEKUM KUFUOR	ALIU MAHAMA
PEOPLE'S NATIONAL CONVENTION (PNC)	EDWARD NASIGRI MAHAMA	BERNARD B. NTIM
CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY (CPP)	GEORGE PANIN HAGAN	IBRAHIM MAHAMA
NATIONAL REFORM PARTY (NRP)	GOOSIE TANOH	CLETUS J. KOSIBA
GHANA CONSOLIDATED POPULAR PARTY (GCPP)	DANIEL LARTEY	EDWARD LADZAGLAH
UNITED GHANA MOVEMENT (UGM)	CHARLES WEREKO-BROBBEY	LARRY ADOTEY ADDO

# THE 2000 FIRST ROUND PRESIDENTIAL OUTCOME

The 2000 presidential election was inconclusive in the first round as none of the 7 candidates made more than 50% of the eligible votes cast:

- •Kufuor (NPP) led with 48.2%, (an improved 11.6% over 1996) with a majority in six regions: Ash anti, Brong Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Greater Accra & Western (up from one in 1996). The NPP vot e improved in all the regions except Northern, ironically, the home of its running mate. In constit uency terms, NPP jumped from 63 in 1996 to 105
- •Mills (NDC) trailed with 44.5% a dip of 12.9% from 1996), with a majority in four regions: Northe rn, Upper East, Upper West & Volta (down from nine in 1996). The NDC vote dipped in all the 10 regions. In constituency terms, the NDC dipped from 137 in 1996 to 92
- •Mahama (PNC) got 2.9% down from 3.0% in 1996, won in no region but in three constituencies (West Mamprusi, Bolgatanga & Sissala)
- •Hagan (CPP) got 1.8%, Tanoh (NRP)-1.2%, Lartey (GCPP)-1.0%, & Wereko-Brobbey (UGM)-0.3% The above outcome left Kufuor (NPP) and Mills (NDC) as the frontrunners for the 28 December run-off, but the aggregate 7.3% of the other contestants would be crucial



### THE 2000 PARLIAMENTARY RESULTS

The outcome the parliamentary contest held on the same day followed closely the presidential:

- •The NPP won 100 of the 200 seats up by 39 from 61; significantly, it retained 60 of its 61 seats, Wulensi, the only exception. It also had parliamentary majority in four regions: Ashanti, Brong Ah afo, Eastern & Greater Accra
- •The NDC won 92 down by 41 from 133 but still maintained majority in six regions: Central, North ern, Upper East, Upper West, Volta & Western
- •The PNC from one seat won three seats across three regions: West Mamprusi (Northern), Bolgat anga (Upper East) & Sissala (Upper West)
- •The CPP (former PCP) retained only one of its five seats: Ellembelle
- •The four other seats were won by independents, all NDC protesters, who defeated two-term N DC incumbents in Salaga, Garu-Tempane, Akan & Anlo
- •The NRP did not win any seat but induced NDC's first defeat (and NPP's first win) in six seats: Ja man, Techiman South, Okere, Krowor, Damongo-Daboya & Navrongo Central
- •Only eighteen (18) MPs were women from across all but the Eastern Region; interestingly, nine f rom NDC and the other nine NPP



### THE 2000 PRESIDENTIAL **RUN-OFF**

Going into the run-off, Kufuor (NPP) had a number of advantages against Mills (NDC) and the winning bandwagon was with the NPP:

- •Being the ruling NDC allowing itself to be boxed into a run-off meant its apparent invincibility wa s broken
- •From the NPP's control of one region, it jumped to six while the NDC dipped from 9 to 4
- •In constituency terms at the presidential level the NPP improved from 63 constituencies to 105 against NDC which dipped from 137 down to 92;
- •Also at the parliamentary level the NPP won an additional 39 seats from 61 against and the NDC 41 less from 133
- •All the five other contesting parties publicly declared their support for Kufuor and the NPP Against this background:
- •Kufuor (NPP) won by 56.9%-43.1% against Mills, a margin of 12.8%
- •While Kufuor retained a majority in the same six regions; it improved in all of them.
- •In constituency terms Kufuor (NPP) won 127 and left Mills with 73.
- •Most interestingly, in Mills' home region of Central, Kufour won 16 of the 17 constituencies leavi ng Mills with only his home constituency, Mfantsiman East



### THE 2000 ELECTIONS: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME

#### For the First Presidential Ballot:

- •The NDC succession challenges, particularly the breakaway of the NRP, meant the rul ing party entered the election with a divided front
- •Rawlings' virtual single-handed 'anointment' of Mills created the impression that Ra wlings wanted to have his third term through Mills, who would not be his own man, if elected
- •The NDC after winning the two previous elections was generally complacent, thinking it could still make it for a third term. As a result, some government officials refused to respond positively to some criticisms of government
- •The NPP's strategy of early congress worked well and allowed the candidate to be ex posed to the voters and his campaign team to adopt catchy slogans and giggles
- •The hard work of the NPP parliamentary caucus helped keep the party in the minds o f the voters far more than when the party operated from outside Parliament

#### THE 2000 ELECTIONS: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME (CONT'D)

- There was a general yearning for change after Rawlings and several officials had h eld power for nearly two decades and the NPP capitalized on this with its 'Positive Change' slogan
- In the election year, there was economic downturn in the form of falling export pri ces, increased oil prices, depreciating value of the Cedi. While the NDC blamed the se on the international economy, the NPP insisted they were the failures of the ND C government

#### For the Parliamentary contest:

- The split of the NRP had worse impact on the NDC at the parliamentary level wher e NRP's presence caused the defeat of the NDC in at least six seats
- The independent contestants who were NDC protesters also greatly affected the N DC. In addition to the four seats the NDC lost to independents, there were others where the party lost because of the presence of other protesters



#### THE 2000 ELECTIONS: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME (CONT'D)

- The general yearning for change also affected the NDC at the parliamentary level a s well. Indeed several of its third term seeking MPs lost from the perception that li ke the President, two terms were enough for the MPs
- The NPP's strategy of retaining most of its second term seeking MPs worked well. Only one of the 55 incumbents it retained failed to be elected. In addition, even the e seats where the incumbents were changed the party were still elected
- As a party in opposition, NPP's nominations in the orphan constituencies was not a s controversial as NDC's

#### For the Run-off

- By trailing in the first round the previously held perception that the NDC was unbe atable was erased
- Because the NDC lost its parliamentary majority, the voters wanted to avoid a situ ation where the President could have the support of the majority in Parliament
- The public support of the third parties which had made 7.3% in the first round refl ected in the outcome of the runoff



### THE 2000 ELECTIONS: POST-**ELECTION POLITICS**

- Kufuor as the second President of the Fourth Republic and Aliu Mahama as Vice w ere inaugurated on 7th January 2001 in Ghana's first civilian-to-civilian alternation i n power
- Kufuor's first government comprised mostly the second term NPP MPs several of w hom were previous minority spokespersons in Parliament. The included: J. H. Men sah, Nana Akufo-Addo, Addo-Kufuor, Osafo-Maafo, Owusu-Agyeman, Malik Yakub u, Gladys Asmah, Richard Anane, etc
- There were as well as NPP members who were non-MPs including Alan Kyeremant en, Courage Quashigah, Kwaku Afriyie.
- He also included non-party men such as Kwesi Nduom (CPP), Malam Musah & Dani Baah (PNC) in what was called an 'all-inclusive government'
- Deputy ministerial appointments also went to three of the four independent winne rs: Boniface Saddique (Salaga), Joseph Akudibillah (Garu-Tempane) & Rashid Bawa (Akan)

### THE 2000 ELECTIONS: POST-**ELECTION POLITICS (CONT'D)**

- Former NPP chairman, Peter Ala Adjetey was elected Speaker of Parliame nt, with former Second Deputy Speaker Frederick Blay (CPP, Ellembelle) b ecoming the First Deputy and swapping positions with ex-First Deputy ken Dzirasa (NDC, South Tongu) as Second Deputy
- There were other changes in the parliamentary leadership. Ex- Minority Le ader, J. H. Mensah (NPP, Sunyani East) became the new Majority Leader w ith Owusu Ankomah (NPP, Sekondi) as Deputy majority Leader in place of Gladys Asmah (NPP, Takoradi) appointed Women & Children Affairs Minis ter
- A third term NDC MP, Alban Bagbin (Nadawl West) was appointed the ne w Minority Leader with another third termer I. K. Adjei-Mensah (NDC, Tchi man South) as Deputy Minority Leader

### THE 2000 ELECTIONS: POST-**ELECTION POLITICS (CONT'D)**

- Being the first time, the transition was perceived as a 'second independen ce' but the transition and retirement packages for former government offi cials were marked by controversies
- The NDC as a party accepted some of its mistakes while in power and soo n set out to re-organize the party. This however was stalled over the prop er role of ex=President Rawlings
- A number of ex-government officials and NDC party functionaries would b e tried for various alleged offences while in power
- The third parties cherished their role as 'kingmakers' with a few of their m embers appointed to ministerial and other government positions
- The confidence of Ghanaians in the electoral system improved seeing they could peacefully remove a government through the 'power of the thumb'

#### **TOPIC TWO**

• THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENT **ARY ELECTIONS** 

### **BACKGROUND TO THE 2004** ELECTIONS

- The 2004 elections would be the first time the NPP would contest as a par ty in power and the NDC as a party out of power
- After its 2000 defeat, the NDC set up a revamp committee, chaired by Ob ed Asamoah, to re-organize the party. But the committee's work was stall ed over the role of ex-President Rawlings in the new dispensation. Soon t wo groups emerged: pro-Rawlings & anti-Rawlings. The first group still wa nted him to continue to play a dominant role; while the other wanted the party to move beyond his era
- This pro- & anti-Rawlings division would widen. At its first post-defeat con gress in April to elect national officers, the anti-Rawlings group prevailed with the separation of the position of party founder from party leader and the election of Obed Asamoah, as national chairman. Asamoah had campa igned to bring back former stalwarts of the party who had fallen out with Rawlings.

#### **BACKGROUND TO THE 2004 ELECTIONS**

- At the December 2002 to elect its 2004 flagbearer, former finance minist er Kwesi Botchwey contested for the anti-Rawlings group, but was soundl y defeated by Mills who was pro-Rawlings. Thus the NDC would enter Elec tion 2004 with an anti-Rawlings national executive and a pro-Rawlings presidential ticket which would affect its performance considerable.
- On his part, incumbent President Kufuor would not have any open challen ge in his re-election bid not least because all the MPs who challenged him in the 1998 primary for the 2000 election (Akufo-Addo, J. H. Mensah, K. K. Apraku and Malik Yakubu), were all ministers in Kufuor's government
- Ahead of the elections the number of parliamentary seats was increased f rom 200 to 230

# THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: THE CONTESTING PARTIES

Four parties contested the 2004 presidential election:

- •The ruling NPP nominated incumbent President Kufour by acclamation for his re-election bid and he in turn re-nominated Vice President Aliu Mahama as running mate
- •The opposition NDC re-nominated ex-Vice President Mills at the December 2002 congress to give him two years to campaign. He later nominated the ND C MP for Kumbungu and ex-Employment Minister, Muhammad Mumuni, as h is running mate
- •The PNC nominated Edward Mahama for the third consecutive time but he a lso became the candidate for a so-called Grand Coalition which included the GCPP and the EGLE. As a result, Danny Ofori Atta, leader of the EGLE became his running mate
- •The CPP nominated George Aggudey, a 2000 losing presidential aspirant, as its new presidential candidate with George K. Ameyaw as running mate



### THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL TICKETS

PARTY	PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE	RUNNING MATE
NEW PATRIOTIC PARTY (NPP)	JOHN AGYEKUM KUFUOR	ALIU MAHAMA
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS (NDC)	JOHN EVANS ATTA MILLS	MUHAMMAD MUMUNI
PEOPLE'S NATIONAL CONVENTION (PNC)	EDWRD NASIGRI MAHAMA	DANNY OFORI ATTA
CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY (CPP)	GEORGE OPESIKA AGGUDEY	GEORGE K. AMEYAW

### THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL **ELECTION: THE OUTCOME**

The details of the outcome of the 2004 presidential election were as follows:

- •Kufuor (NPP) won re-election with 52.5%, still retaining a majority in the same six regi ons: Ashanti-74.6%, Brong Ahafo-52.0%, Central-56.6%, Eastern-60.5%, Greater Accra-52.0% & Western-56.6%. In the four other regions, the NPP got: Northern-36.2%, Upp er East-31.7%, Upper West-32.0% & Volta-14.3%. In each of the 10 regions, the NPP's vote was less than the 2000 run-off
- •Mills (NDC) made 44.6% with a majority in the same four regions as before: Northern -56.9%, Upper East-53.9%, Upper West-57.0% & Volta-83.8%. In the other six regions, the NDC made: Ashanti-24.1%, Brong Ahafo-46.1%, Central-39.2%, Eastern 38.4%, Gre ater Accra-46.4% & Western-44.6%. The NDC vote improved in six regions over the 20 00 run-off: Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Eastern, Greater Accra, Northern & Western but dip ped in the other four: Central, Upper East, Upper West & Volta
- •Edward Mahama (PNC) got 1.9% and Aggudey-1.0%
- •Again in Mills home region of Central, Kufuor won 16 of the 19 constituencies



#### THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: THE OUTCOME (CONT'D)

- Ahead of the presidential election the ruling NPP had boasted that it would win 75% of the eligible votes cast. But as it turned out, with the advantages of incumbency, it got 52.5%, only 2.5% beyond the 50% threshold. It also could not win any additional region apart from the six it previously won.
- On its part, the NDC entered the election with all the disadvantages of a par ty out of office, but still got 44.6% very close to what it got in the first roun d in 2000 when it was in power
- It is from this perspective that the outcome of the 2004 presidential election has been described as 'a victory with a taste of defeat' for the ruling NPP a nd as 'a defeat with a taste of victory' for the opposition NDC.

#### THE 2004 PARLIAMENTARY **CONTEST**

The 30 newly-created seats were spread unevenly across 10 regions:

- •Ashanti-6, Brong Ahafo-3, Central-2, Eastern-2, Greater Accra-5, Northern-3, Upper East-1, Upper West-2, Volta-3 & Western-3
- While there were only four presidential tickets, as many as eight parties contested the parliamentary poll but with varied strengths, together with 126 independents:
- •The ruling NPP contested 226 of the 230 and deferred four to candidates (CP P-3 & PNC-1), who were in the Kufuor government: Kwesi Nduom (Komenda-E-E-Abrem), Frederick Blay (Ellembelle), Kojo Armah (Evalue-Gwira) & Dani Ba ah (Sissala East)
- •The NDC contested 229 deferring the Wenchi seat to the EGLE candidate
- •The CPP contested 172, PNC-125, EGLE-30, DPP-30, GCPP-10 & NRP-5
- •All the four independent incumbents re-contested one as IND & 3 as NPP



#### The 2004 PARLIAMENTARY **ELECTION RESULTS**

The details of the 2004 parliamentary results were as follows:

- •NPP-128, NDC-94, PNC-4, CPP-3 & IND-1
- •The ruling NPP won its 128 seats across all the 10 regions: Asha nti-36, Brong Ahafo-15, Central-16, Eastern-22, Greater Accra-16 , Northern-8, Upper East-2, Upper West-1, Volta-1 & Western-11 . This was the first time the party won seats in Upper West & Vol ta
- •The NDC won its 94 seats across ali the 10 regions: Ashanti-3, Br ong Ahafo-9, Central-2, Eastern-6, Greater Accra-11, Northern-1 7, Upper East-9, Upper West-7, Volta-21 & Western-9



#### THE 2004 PARLIAMENTARY RESULTS (CONT'D)

- The PNC won its 4 seats in 2 regions: Upper East (Bolgatanga) & Zebilla) and Upper West (Sissala East & Sissala West)
- The CPP won its 3 seats in 2 regions: Central (Komenda-E-E- A) brem) and Western (Ellembelle & Evalue Gwira)
- The sole independent winner was in the Northern Region: Jos eph Yaani Labik (Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo), a former NDC MP
- Only one of the four re-contesting incumbents won but on NP P ticket: Boniface Saddique (Salaga)
- Twenty five (25) of the 230 MPs were women, spread across a Il the 10 regions, 20 from NPP and the remaining 5 from NDC

# THE 2004 ELECTIONS: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME

**For the Presidential Election**, the following factors accounted for the relative performance of the contesting parties

- •The NPP retained part of the initial goodwill from the people four years before. The party could also point to its successes in terms of economic stability, freedom, security and rising international image. Also as a party in power, the NPP had access to nation al resources and exploited its incumbency to organize a more well-resourced campaig n than in 2000. There was also the general perception that the NPP should be given a second term like the NDC. However, the NPP appeared complacent by projecting it could win 75% of the presidential vote
- •The **NDC** contested as a party out of power for the first time and had lost the previou s access to state resources and other advantages of incumbency. Again several of its members were facing court trials. However the biggest problem was the pro- & anti-R awlings division in the party. Under the circumstances, the NDC performed relatively well winning the same percentage as in the first round in 2000 and retaining the four r egions it had won in 2000



## THE 2004 ELECTIONS: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME (CONT'D)

• The performance of the third parties (2.9%) was poorer than 7.3% in 2000. perhaps if the PNC & CPP had made 5% the election would have been pushed into another run-off

#### For the Parliamentary Election:

- The general perception that the Kufuor should be allowed to have a second term affected the parliamentary election and ensured that the party increased its membership by 28 sea ts; but this was still below the party's own expectation
- While the NDC's 94 seats compared to 92 in 2000, it had succeeded in re-capturing from the NPP, particularly in Brong Ahafo and Greater Accra, a number of seats it lost in 2000. the NDC had also defeated a number of prominent NPP candidates
- The CPP with the support of the NPP increased its seats from one to three
- The PNC also increased its seats from three to four, one of them with the support of the NPP
- Only one of the four independent incumbents could be re-elected but that was on NPP tic ket. The sole independent winner was a former two-term NDC MP

### THE 2004 ELECTIONS: POST-**ELECTION POLITICS**

- Kufuor and Aliu Mahama were re-inaugurated on 7<sup>th</sup> January 2005
- He retained some of his ministers in the portfolios after the 2003 reshuffle: e.g. Ak ufo-Addo (Foreign Affairs), Allan Kyeremanten (Trade & Industry) and Addo-Kufuo r (Defence), but there were significant reshuffles, most significantly: Osafo-Maafo and Baah-Wiredu exchanged the Finance and Education portfolios, Gladys Asmah moved from Women & Children to Fisheries. There were new faces as well: Dan B otwe (Information), Charles Bintim (Local Government), Mike Quaye (Energy), etc.
- In spite of the NPP's widened parliamentary majority, it decided to nominated a n ew person Begyina Sekyi-Hughes to replace Ala Adjetey as Speaker. In surprise mo ve, the NDC minority counter-nominated Adjetey, to push the election of the Spea ker into an unprecedented secret ballot which Adjetey lost
- In revenge, the NPP which retained Frederick Blay (CPP, Ellemebelle) as the First D eputy Speaker, also proposed Malik Yakubu (NPP, Yendi) for Second Deputy Speak er and ousted the incumbent Ken Dzirasa (NDC, South Tongu)



### THE 2004 ELECTIONS: POST-**ELECTIONS POLITICS (CONT'D)**

- Felix Owusu-Adjapong (NPP, Akim Swedru), appointed Majority Leader in 2003 retained his position with his deputy Abraham Ossei-Aidooh (NPP, T ema West)
- Alban Bagbin (NDC, Nadawli West) was retained as Minority Leader with E dward Doe Adjaho (NDC, Avenor) as the new Deputy in place of Adjei-Men sah who did not return
- Kufuor's second term however would be overshadowed by a fierce battle to replace him as the party's presidential candidate in 2008 which would s ee the resignation of eight minister
- On its part after surviving another breakaway, the Democratic Freedom P arty (DFP) in 2006, would grow increasingly united towards 2008

#### REFERENCES

- Frempong, A.K. D (2012) *Electoral Politics in Ghana's Fourth R* epublic in the Context of Post-Cold War Africa, Accra: Yames P ress Itd
- Frempong, A. K. D (2017) *Elections in Ghana (1951-2016),* Te ma: Digibooks Ghana Ltd.
- Ayee, J. R. A, ed. (2001) Deepening Democracy in Ghana: The P olitics of the 2000 Elections, Vols. 1 & 2, Accra: Freedom Publi cations
- Boafo-Arthur, K. ed. (2006) Voting for Democracy in Ghana: T he 2004 Elections in Perspective, Vols. 1 & 2, Accra: Freedom **Publications**

#### PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- How did Rawlings attempted to resolve doubts whether he would respect the two-term limit
- Show in any one way how the 'Swedru Declaration' affected the succession in the NDC ahead of the 2000 elections.
- Identify any two measures the NPP took to avoid a third consecutive defeat in 2000
- Show how Kufuor (NPP) performed in regional terms in the first round of the 2000 presidenti al election?
- Identify any two factors that led to the inconclusive first presidential round in 2000
- What was common about the four independent winners in the 2000 parliamentary election?
- Identify any one unique feature about the number of seats the NPP won in the 2000 parliam entary election.
- In what respect did the breakaway NRP affect the performance of the NDC in the 2000 parlia mentary election?
- Identify any one advantage Kufuor (NPP) had over Mills (NDC) in the run up to the 2000 presi dential run-off.
- How did the third parties contribute to the victory of the NPP in the 2000 presidential runoff



#### PRACTICE QUESTIONS (CONT'D)

- Identify any one factor that led to the defeat of the NDC in the 2000 elections
- Identify any one significance of the victory of the NPP in the 2000 presidential run-off
- What major reform took place ahead of the 2004 elections?
- Indicate any two challenges that confronted the NDC as a party in power ahead of the 2004 e lections.
- Indicate any one way in which the re-election of incumbent President Kufuor in 2004 could be described as 'a victory with a taste of defeat'.
- Identify any one positive aspect of the NDC's second defeat in the 2004 presidential election
- What was significant about the performance of Kufuor (NPP) in Central Region, the home region of the NDC presidential candidate in the 2004 presidential election?
- How many parliamentary seats did the NPP win in the 2004 parliamentary election?
- How did the third parties fare in the 2004 parliamentary election?
- What was significant about the electoral history of the sole independent winner in the 2004 parliamentary election
- Explain the drama that surrounded the election of the Speaker of Parliament after the 2004 elections.

