

POLI 444

ELECTORAL POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY IN GHANA

SESSION 8 : ELECTORAL POLITICS FROM THE SECOND REPUBLIC TO THE THIRD REPUBLIC

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2014/2015 – 2016/2017

SESSION OVERVIEW

The military junta that took over the reins of power after the February 1966 coup, the National Liberation Council (NLC), saw itself as a care-taker government which would return the country to civilian rule as soon as possible. For this reason, in its first year, it set up a Constitutional Commission to collate views of Ghanaians on a new constitution for Ghana. This was followed by a Constituent Assembly which drew the 1969 Constitution. In August 1969, parliamentary election was held to choose MPs and the party which would form government. The Progress Party (PP) government led by Busia formed after the election lasted for 27 months when it was overthrown in January 1972. Before then in August 1970, a ceremonial President, Akufu Addo had been indirectly elected.

The new military junta , National Redemption Council (NRC) metamorphosed into the Supreme Military Council (SMC). In the 1976-78 period it attempted to introduce a new system of government called Union Government (UNIGOV) which resulted in a referendum in March 1978. A palace coup in July 1978, eventually led to a multi-party election in June/July 1979 and a new civilian government in September with Hilla Limann as President of the Third Republic. His government co-incidentally also lasted 27 months.

In this Session, we examine the intricacies of all these election-related matters, which in a way prepared Ghanaians for the Fourth republic

SESSION OUTLINE

The key topics to be covered in this session are:

- Topic 1: THE 1969 PARLIAMENTARY AND 1970 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
- Topic 2: **THE 1978 UNION GOVERNMENT REFERENDUM**
- Topic 3: **THE 1979 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**

READING MATERIALS

- Frempong, A. K. D (2017) *Elections in Ghana (1951-2016)*, Tema: Digibooks Ghana Ltd.
- Jeffries, R. (1980) “The Ghanaian Elections of 1979”, *African Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 316, July, pp. 397-414.
- Oquaye, M. (1980) *Politics in Ghana, 1972-1979*, Accra: Tornado Publications
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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the measures taken towards a return to civilian rule and the dynamics of the 1969 parliamentary and 1970 presidential elections
- Discuss the circumstances that led to the Union Government proposal and the resultant 1978 referendum
- Explore the dynamics and unique dimensions of the 1979 presidential and parliamentary elections
- Distil electoral lessons from the Second and Third Republics for the Fourth Republic

TOPIC ONE

THE 1969 PARLIAMENTARY AND 1970 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS



BACKGROUND TO THE 1969 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

- The National Liberation Council (NLC) because it saw itself as a caretaker government took several measures towards a return to constitutional rule:
- In September 1966, a Constitutional Commission, chaired by Chief Justice Edward Akufo-Addo, was appointed to collate views from Ghanaians for a new constitution to replace the 1960 Republican Constitution. The Commission started its work in December that year and published its report in January 1968
- The Constitutional Commission in its report made a number of important recommendations such as the abolition of the one-party system, the inclusion of a bill of rights, abolition of carpet crossing.
- In January 1969, a 150-member Constituent Assembly was appointed to write the new constitution. It consisted of 49 representatives local councils and 6 city & municipal councils; 9 representatives of chiefs; 18 representatives of farmers and market women, 55 from recognized institutions and organizations and 14 nominees of the NLC.
- The Constituent Assembly re-adopted the parliamentary system of government with a Ceremonial President and a Prime Minister & Cabinet with executive powers and a Council of State with advisory power. The opposition and its leader were specifically recognized in the Constitution. It provided for 140 members of Parliament
- It was on the basis of the 1969 Constitution that the August 1969 election was held

BACKGROUND TO THE 1969 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION (CONT'D)

- As a parliamentary system, the election was to chose MPs as well as the party to form the government.
- The NLC government lifted the ban on political parties in May 1969
- The electoral rules barred parties from adopting names, symbols and slogans of previous parties
- The CPP and several of its functionaries, particularly at the time of the 1966 coup, were disqualified from contesting, but the NLC provided a confusing set of exemptions
- The parliamentary seats were reduced from 198 in 1965 to 140 and the regional distribution was: Ashanti-22, Brong Ahafo-13, Central-15, Eastern-22, Greater Accra-9, Northern-14, Upper-16, Volta-16 & Western-13.
- Thus, Ashanti & Eastern had the largest number of seats, followed by Upper & Volta, Central, Northern, Brong Ahafo & Western and Greater Accra

THE 1969 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION: CONTESTING PARTIES

Five political parties emerged to contest the election:

- The **Progress Party (PP)** led by K. A. Busia, former opposition (UP) leader who was forced into exile in 1959. The party was largely seen as the re-birth of the UP as several of its candidates were former UP MPs and politicians
- The **National Alliance of Liberals (NAL)** led by K. A. Gbedemah, a prominent member of the CPP who fell out with Nkrumah and went into exile in 1961. Some of its candidates were former CPP MPs who were not in office at the time of the 1966 coup
- The **People's Action Party (PAP)** was led by Imoru Ayarna a politician in the early part of the Nkrumah era
- The **United Nationalist Party (UNP)** which was a merger of two groups: the Nationalist Party and the Ghana Democratic Party, led by H. S. Bannerman but included two veteran UP MPs, Joe Appiah and M. K. Apaloo
- The **All People's Republican Party (APRP)** which was also a merger of two groups: P. K. K. Quaidoo's Republican Party and E. V. C de Graft-Johnson's All people's Congress.
- The PP & NAL each contested 138 of the 140 seats, UNP-84, PAP-52 & APRP-46
- In addition were 20 independent candidates spread across all the regions except Brong Ahafo
- Only two seats were contested unopposed: Agona Kwabre (Ashanti) & South Tongu (Volta)

THE 1969 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION: THE OUTCOME

The election held on 29th August 1969 produced an interesting outcome:

- The overall results were: PP-105, NAL-29, UNP-2, PAP-2, APRP-1 & one independent
- The 105 PP seats were spread across all the nine regions. It won all the seats in Ashanti (22), Brong Ahafo (15) and Central (15) as well as 18 of 22 in Eastern, 13 of 16 in Upper, 10 of 13 in Western, 9 of 14 in Northern, 3 of 9 in Greater Accra and 2 of 16 in Volta
- The 29 NAL seats were won across five regions: 14 of 16 in Volta, 5 of 14 in Northern, 4 of 22 in Eastern, 3 of 9 in Greater Accra and 3 of 16 in Upper. It however won none in Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Central & Western
- The UNP's only two seats were both in Greater Accra: Ashiedu Keteke (H. S. Bannerman) and Ga (Alex Hutton-Mills).
- The PAP leader, Imoru Ayarna lost his seat in Upper Region, but his party's two seats were both in the Western Region: Nzema East (T. A. Mensah) & Nzema West (F. A. Amelemah).
- The APRP's single seat was won in the Western Region by P. K. K. Quaidoo (Amenfi-Aowin)
- The sole independent winner was in Greater Accra: Harry Sawyerr (Osu-Klottey)
- The two candidates elected unopposed were Victor Owusu (PP, Afigya Kwabre) & G. K. Agama (NAL, South Tongu)
- Only one of the nine female contestants was elected: Lydia Akanbodi-Po (NAL, Sandema)

THE 1969 PARILMENTARY ELECTION: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME

A number of factors accounted for the massive victory of the PP and the poor showing of the others:

- The personality of Busia, the PP leader was a major factor. He was well known throughout the country as an eminent scholar and teacher, an experienced administrator and above all a bitter opponent of Nkrumah. He held many positions under the NLC but in particular his position as chairman of the Centre for Civic Education further exposed him to a majority of Ghanaians
- Gbedemah, the leader of NAL was also well-known throughout the country as a man with likeable personality, a good businessman, a brilliant organizer and strategist but he and his party were handicapped by his long association with Nkrumah and the CPP
- There was the general perception that it was time to reward the former UP and its members for all that they suffered under Nkrumah. The PP therefore benefitted from identifying itself with the UP. This for example, explains why the PP won 13 of the 16 seats in the Upper Region where the UP was strong
- Several people who became leading members and/or candidates of the PP had held important positions in NLC regime and on both the Constitutional Commission and Constituent Assembly. Though other parties had candidates who were also members of the Constituent Assembly they were fewer compared to the PP

THE 1969 PARILMENTARY ELECTION: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME (CONT'D)

There were ethnic dimensions to the outcome as well:

- Before the election, the two major parties in particular were identified with the ethnic group of their respective leaders: the PP as an Akan party and NAL as a an Ewe party.
- To a lesser extent the UNP was identified with the Ga (Accra) ethnic group and the PAP with pe oples of northern descent.
- In addition the leadership of the ruling NLC was divided along ethnic lines in their support for th e two main parties. Chairman Afrifa (an Akan) supported the PP while Deputy chairman Harley & member Deku (both Ewes) supported NAL
- The outcome reflected these ethnic divisions particularly in the five Akan regions (Ashanti, Bron g Ahafo, Central, Eastern & Western) and Volta (the only ewe dominated region)
- Of the 85 seats in the five Akan regions, PP won 78 (all the 50 in Ashanti, Brong Ahafo & Central; 18 in Eastern & 10 in Western. In those regions NAL won only 4 (incidentally the only non-Akan s eats in Eastern).
- On the other hand, NAL won 14 of the 16 seats in Volta and PP only the remaining two (Krachi & Nkwanta) which were an Akan enclave in the region
- The UNP, which had a slogan in Ga, won its only two seats in Greater Accra , where the two maj or parties won three each

THE 1969 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION: POST-ELECTION POLITICS

- Busia, as MP for Wenchi East and leader of the majority party (PP) was appointed Prime Minister who selected 19 ministers and 25 deputies from the PP MPs.
- The ministerial positions were unevenly spread across eight regions: Ashanti-11, Eastern-10, Central-7, Brong Ahafo-6 (including the Prime Minister), Western-4, Upper-3, Greater Accra-2 & Northern-2, with none from Volta.
- Among the leading cabinet members across the regions were J. K. Lamptey (Sekondi, Defence), W. Ofori Atta (Akwatia, Education), S. D. Dombo (Jirapa Lambussie, Defence), Victor Owusu (Agona Kwabre, External Affairs), J. H. Mensah (Sunyani, Finance), N. Y. B. Adade (Asante Akim South, Justice & Attorney General), T. B. Brodie-Mends (Cape Coast, Information), Bruce-Konuah (Tema, Housing)
- At the parliamentary level, on the majority/government side, Justice Nii Amaa Ollenu was elected Speaker with Isaac Amissah-Aidoo (PP, Assin) as his Deputy. B. K. Adama (PP, Wa) was appointed Leader of the House and Saki Scheck (PP, Takoradi) as Government Chief Whip
- On the side of the opposition, Gbedemah as winner for Keta and leader of the second largest party, should have been the Opposition Leader, but he was disqualified on the basis of Article 71 of the 1969, which debarred persons against whom there have been adverse findings by a commission of inquiry from holding public office

THE 1969 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION: POST-ELECTION POLITICS (CONTD)

- In Gbedemah's absence, G. K. Agama, the unopposed NAL winner for South Tongu was appointed Opposition Leader.
- The sole female winner, Lydia Akanbodii-Po (NAL, Sandema) was appointed Opposition Chief Whip & Spokesperson on Parliamentary Affairs
- Other opposition (NAL) spokespersons across the regions included: Sam Okudzeto (North Tongu, Justice), Obed Asamoah (Biakoye, External Affairs), E. R. T. Madjitey (Manya, Interior), Ibrahim Mahama (Tamale, Education) & C. T. Nylander (Ablekuma, Health)
- By the provisions of the Constitution, Prime Minister Busia and Opposition Leader Agama also became members of the Council of State which included the Speaker of Parliament
- Two by-elections were held to replace disqualified MPs. The first was in Keta in December 1969 to replace Gbedemah. It was won by the NAL candidate Albert de Souza. The second was in Chiana-Paga in March 1970 after PP MP Clement K. Tadam was disqualified. That by-election, interestingly was won by Catherine K. Tadam, the PP candidate and daughter of the disqualified MP
- In 1970, the opposition parties merged to form the Justice Party (JP) in the hope to contest the next election with a united front. E. R. T. Madjitey (NAL, Manya) was then appointed the new Opposition Leader. However, the Second Republic would be cut short by the 1972 coup

THE 1970 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

- The 1969 Constitution provided for a Ceremonial President to be indirectly elected by Parliament and representatives of the Regional Houses of Chiefs and District Councils, acting as an electoral college
- But there was a transitional provision which indicated that a three-member Presidential Commission comprising the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the NLC and the Chief of Defence Staff should perform the functions of the Ceremonial President for up to three years or a time Parliament shall decide
- As a result, Lt. Gen A. A. Afrifa (NLC Chair), W. K. Harley (Deputy NLC Chair) and CDS Lt. General A. K. Ocran performed the functions of the President such as the appointment and swearing in of the Prime Minister, assenting to bills, and various appointments in consultation with or on the advice of the Council of State

THE 1970 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (CONT'D)

- The Constitution further provided that in the absence of all the members of the Presidential Commission, the Speaker of Parliament should act as President.
- It was on the basis of this that when on 7th August 1970 the work of the Presidential Commission ended, Speaker Ollenu became the Acting President till the presidential election on 31st August 1970
- Two people contested the election: Chief Justice Edward Akufo-Addo and I. B. Asafu-Adjaye (ex-opposition MP for Juaben-Edweso) and Akufo-Addo was elected by 123-35 electoral college votes
- Akufo-Addo assumed office as President from 1st September 1970 till the 13th January 1970 coup brought the Second Republic to an abrupt end

TOPIC TWO

- **THE 1978 UNION GOVERNMENT REFERENDUM**



BACKGROUND TO THE 1978 UNION GOVERNMENT REFERENDUM

- The National Redemption Council (NRC) headed by Col. I. K. Acheampong, which assumed office after the January 1972 indicated that it was not going to hand over until it had put the economy on a sound footing
- In October 1975 the ruling council changed to the Supreme Council composed of service commanders with Acheampong, promoted General, still as Chairman, but with no change of policies
- Against this background and with the economic condition growing worse, various groups such as the Ghana Bar Association, the Ghana Medical Association and Ghana National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) began to mount pressure on the government for a return to constitutional rule.
- It was in response to these demands that Gen Acheampong in October 1976 introduced the idea of Union Government, which he described as 'a government of national unity, a government of the people, for the people, by the people, not a party government'
- It soon emerged that it was intended to be a no-party system in which the military and the police would be given special representation in Parliament and in government alongside civilians
- Clearly this was a strategy devised by the SMC regime to retain power

THE 1978 UNION GOVERNMENT REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN

- The SMC took several measures to force Unigov on Ghanaians
- An Ad Hoc Committee on Union Government was formed in January 1977 to collate ideas on union government and report on means for establishing it. In its report in October 1977, the Ad Hoc Committee claimed Unigov was the predominant wish of Ghanaians
- Even before the report, the SMC in January 1977 introduced a two-year transition programme which included a union government referendum on 30th March 1978
- Commissioners and other government functionaries abandoned their official duties, campaigning across the country and in some cases abroad, with state resources
- Special Aides of the Head of State were appointed to tour the country to sell the union government idea, while distributing goodies
- Several pro-unigov groups such as the Society of Friends, the Peace and Solidarity Council and Been-tos of Europe and America Association, staged rallies in support of unigov
- Chiefs were rallied round with enticement to hold durbars to promote union government
- Several veteran CPP politicians including Krobo Edusei, E. I. Preko, J. E. Hagan & A. E. Inkumseh, had their confiscated properties returned as bait for their support
- An American prophetess, Clare Prophet was brought in to declare unigov as God's message for Ghanaians

THE 1978 UNION GOVERNMENT REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN (CONT'D)

These desperate attempts to impose unigov led to stiff opposition from various groups:

- The GBA, NUGS and other professional groups continued their opposition to the unwillingness of the SMC regime to return the country to civilian rule
- The Christian Council and the Catholic Secretariat continuously spoke against military involvement in politics and corruption
- The stiffest opposition however emerged with the formation of the People's Movement for Freedom and Justice (PMFJ). This group included politicians of the political divide such as William Ofori Atta, K. A. Gbedemah, A. A. Afrifa and others like Adu Boahen, G. W. Amartefio and Nana Akufo-Addo. The PMFJ opposed the one-sided nature of the unigov debate and advocated the free formation of political parties
- Two other anti-unigov groups, both Kumasi-based were the Third Force (TF) led by John Bilson and the Front for the Prevention of Dictatorship (FPD) led by Victor Owusu. Incidentally, both would become presidential candidates in 1979
- The SMC government was not tolerant of opposition to unigov. As a result, the anti-union groups were either denied permits to hold rallies or their rallies disrupted by state-sponsored thugs. Also some prominent public officials were sacked including Navy Commander C. K. Dzang, Chief Justice Azu Crabbe, BOG Governor Amon Nikoi, etc

THE 1978 UNION REFERENDUM: THE VOTE AND THE OUTCOME

- The ballots for the referendum presented an interesting picture:
- The 'Yes' ballot had two hands in a handshake on a blue background, and apparently represented unity.
- The 'No' ballot had three people looking their separate ways on a red background intended to symbolize disunity, but Ghanaians in their ingenuity, interpreted it to mean 'three heads are better than one'
- In spite of fear of violence, the referendum day was relatively peaceful
- However, Electoral Commissioner I. K. Abban had to run for his dear life after announcing results from just two constituencies in Accra. His deputy A. M. Quaye, an avowed unigov supporter was appointed Acting Commissioner to complete the count.
- The most interesting aspects of the outcome was not that 'Yes' won but that there were two contrasting results
- The first results presented to the Head of State had had a voter turnout of 43.0% with Yes-55.6% & No-44.4%. However the gazetted results on 21st April indicated a voter turnout of 50.8% with Yes-60.1%-No-39.9%. Clearly the second result had been manipulated to give some respectability of more than 50% turnout and more than 60% Yes vote

THE 1978 UNION GOVERNMENT REFERENDUM: POST-REFERENDUM POLITICS

- After it was declared that 'Yes' had won, it was said there was no need to celebrate since unigov was for unity.
- The three anti-unigov groups were declared banned with immediate effect on grounds that those groups were no longer needed
- Leading members of the three groups were arrested and detained together with several professionals, intellectuals and students
- In response, lawyers withdrew their services indefinitely and students totally boycotted lectures
- Then on 5th July 1978, barely three months after the referendum, Acheampong was forced to resign in a palace coup and replaced by his Deputy, Lt. Gen. F. W. K Akuffo whose SMC-II government would eventually give to multi-party politics from January 1979, the holding of elections in June/July 1979 and the ushering of the Third Republic

TOPIC THREE

- **THE 1979 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**

BACKGROUND TO THE 1979 ELECTIONS

- The removal of Acheampong in July 1978 somehow brought the imposition of union government on Ghanaians, to an end
- However the SMC-II regime initially proposed a four year no-party transitional national government which also vehemently opposed by the groups that had opposed unigov
- The SMC-II government on 1st January 1979 gave in to a return to a multi-party constitutional rule. It introduced a tight schedule of constituting a constituent assembly to write a new constitution, the lifting of the ban on political parties, the holding of election and the handing over to a civilian government all by the first of July 1979.
- The new constitution adopted the presidential system of government which provided for separate presidential and parliamentary elections; the selection of presidential candidates and running mates ahead of the elections; more than 50% of eligible votes for a single round presidential victory or a runoff between the first two contenders; and the exclusion of MPs from assuming positions except they resigned
- It was on these bases that the 1979 presidential and parliamentary elections were held mid-June 1979. Two weeks ahead of the election however, the SMC-II regime was overthrown and replaced by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) but the election was held on schedule but with the hand over pushed back

THE 1979 ELECTIONS: THE CONTESTING PARTIES

- Six parties emerged to contest the 18 June 1979 presidential and parliamentary elections:
- The **People's National Party (PNP)** was the successor to the CPP and saw in the 1979 polls its first opportunity to comeback to power since 1966. Its electoral strategy was to use the old CPP networks but to put forward a large number of young and highly educated new faces for both the parliamentary contests. This was what led to the choice of Hilla Limann, a scholar and a diplomat, whose 1954 parliamentary contest had been long forgotten. The PNP promised to follow Nkrumah's programmes for national unity and economic reconstruction
- The **Popular Front Party (PFP)** was one of the two parties that emerged out of Busia's Progress Party (PP). Its leader, Victor Owusu and several of its founding members were ministers in Busia's government particularly those from Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Upper Regions. The PFP promised to follow the PP's free enterprise and rural development
- The **United National Convention (UNC)** was the other party which emerged from Busia's Progress Party. Its leader, William Ofori Atta, was also on the Busia cabinet but the UNC also had among its leaders former NAL & UNP MPS. This was why the UNC described itself as 'broad-based'. It promised to promote national unity and the working of a multi-party system

THE 1979 ELECTIONS: THE CONTESTING PARTIES (CONT'D)

- The **Action Congress Party (ACP)** was formed and led by former military agricultural commissioner in the Acheampong regime, Frank G. Bernasko. He promised to bring an agricultural revolution similar to the 'Operation Feed Yourself' he introduced in the Acheampong era
- The **Social Democratic Front (SDF)** which was led by a tamale-based lawyer and former NAL MP, Ibrahim Mahama, was said to be the workers' party which hoped to work with the TUC to improve the conditions of workers in the country
- The **Third Force Party (TFP)** emerged from the anti-unigov group the Third Force, and its leader was John Bilson, a Kumasi-based medical practitioner who had become a politician
- In addition were four **independent presidential candidates** : R. P. Baffour, Kwame Nyanteh, Nii Diamond Addy and Imoru Ayarna (the leader of the erstwhile People's Action Party, PAP)
- Thus there were as many as 10 presidential candidates in the 1979 presidential election with the full presidential list as shown below:

THE 1979 PRESIDENTIAL TICKETS

Party	Presidential Candidate	Running Mate
People's National Party (PNP)	Hilla Limann	J. W. S de Graft-Johnson
Popular Front Party (PFP)	Victor Owusu	Yakubu Tali
United National Convention (UNC)	W. Ofori Atta	Mahama Iddrisu
Action Congress Party (ACP)	Frank G. Bernasko	Attoh Okine
Social Democratic Front (SDF)	Ibrahim Mahama	J. Mawuse Dake
Third Force Party (TFP)	John Bilson	John Kportugbe
Independent	R. P. Baffour	Christine Debrah
Independent	Kwame Nyanteh	Albert Baiden Amissah
Independent	Diamond N. Addy	R. A. Quansah
Independent	Imoru Ayarna	Kofi Kissi Debrah

THE 1979 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: TICKET BALANCING

The table of presidential plates above has interesting ticket balancing dimensions which would become a feature of presidential elections in the Fourth Republic:

- A number of tickets ensured **geographical (north-south) balance**: PNP's Limann from Upper and de Graft-Johnson from Central; PFP's Owusu from Ashanti and Yakubu Tali from Northern; UNC's Ofori Atta from Eastern and Mahama Iddrisu from Upper; SDF's Ibrahim Mahama from Northern and Mawuse Dake from Volta
- Some ensured **ethnic balance**: ACP's Bernasko (Akan) & Attoh Okine (Ga); TFP's Bilson (Akan) and Kportugbe (Ewe);
- Others ensured **religious balance**: PFP's Owusu (Christian) & Tali (Muslim); UNC's Ofori Atta (Christian) & Iddrisu (Muslim), independent Imoru Ayarna (Muslim) & Kissi Debrah (Christian)
- Independent Baffour, went for **gender balance** with Christine Debrah, who became the first female running mate in the country's electoral history

THE 1979 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: FIRST ROUND RESULTS

None of the 10 candidates could make more than 50% of the eligible votes cast to win in a single round:

- Limann (PNP) led with 35.3% followed by Owusu (PFP)-29.9%, Ofori Atta (UNC)-17.4%, Bernasko (ACP)-9.5%, Mahama (SDF)-3.7%, Bilson (TFP)-2.8%, Baffour (IND)-0.5%, Nyanteh (IND)-0.3%, Addy (IND)-0.3% & Ayarnah (IND)-0.3%
- In constituency terms, Limann won 73, Owusu-40, Ofori Atta-14, Bernasko-10 & Mahama-3, with none for the five others
- The two front runners Limann & Owusu together made about 65% with 35% to fight for in the run-off. Also together they won 113 constituencies with 27 to fight for in the run-off
- While Limann's 73 constituencies were spread across all the nine regions (Upper-15, Eastern-11, Volta-11, Western-10, Central-8, Northern-7, Greater Accra-6, Ashanti-3 & Brong Ahafo-2), Owusu's 40 were spread across six (Ashanti-18, Brong Ahafo-11, Eastern-6, Northern-3, Greater Accra-1 & Upper) with none in three (Central, Volta & Western)

THE 1979 PARLIAMNTARY RESULTS

The outcome of the parliamentary election held the same was not very different from the presidential:

- The PNP won 71 spread across all the nine regions: Upper-15, Volta-11, Eastern-11, Western-9, Central-8, Northern-7, Greater Accra-6, Ashanti-2 & Brong Ahafo-2
- The PFP won 42 across seven regions: Ashanti-19, Brong Ahafo-10, Eastern-6, Northern-4, Greater Accra-1, Upper-1 & Western-1, with none in Central & Volta
- The UNC won 13 across four regions: Volta-5, Eastern-4, Greater Accra-3 & Ashanti-1, with none in five Brong Ahafo, Central Northern, Upper & Western
- The ACP won 10 in two regions: Central-7 & Western-3 (same as the presidential)
- The SDF won 3, all in Northern (same as presidential) but the TFP did not win any
- There was one independent winner, Owusu-Sekyere (Sunyani, BA) who acted as a front for the PFP candidate J. H. Mensah, who was disqualified
- Five of the 20 female contestants were elected: Constance Commey (ACP, Elizabeth Kusi-Aidoo PNP, Densuagya, Eastern), Eunice Ametor-Williams (PNP, Ada, Greater Accra) and Monica Atenka (PNP, Buem, Volta)

THE 1979 PRESIDENTIAL RUN-OFF

Going into the 9th July 1979 presidential run-off, Limann had a number of advantages over Owusu (PFP):

- In the first round, Limann led Owusu by more than 5% margin and in constituency terms by a difference of 33
- The constituencies Limann won more evenly spread across all the nine regions compared to Owusu who won 29 of his 40 constituencies in only Ashanti and Brong Ahafo
- Limann had dominated Central and Western regions, two regions that had almost gone completely to the PP in 1969 but in which Owusu could not win any in the first round
- Limann secured the support of the parties not in the runoff, ACP, SDF, TF and especially UNC
- The fact that Limann's party, PNP, had won majority of parliamentary seats across the country was another advantage
- Not surprisingly Limann won 62% of the run-off vote against Owusu's 38%. In constituency terms, Limann won 105 (32 more than previously) and Owusu-35 (5 less than previously)
- Limann won constituencies in each of the nine regions: Upper-all 16, Volta-all 16, Central-all 15, Greater Accra-all 10, Eastern-14, Northern-12, Ashanti-6 & Brong Ahafo-3
- Owusu won constituencies in only 4 regions: Ashanti-16, Brong Ahafo-10, Eastern-7 & Northern-2. He lost all constituencies in Central, Greater Accra, Upper, Volta & Western

THE 1979 ELECTIONS: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME

For the inconclusive first round:

- The large number of presidential candidates each with some amount of following ensured that no one got enough to pass the more than 50% threshold
- While the choice of Limann proved useful for his party because he was not known in Ghanaian politics with little or nothing against him, he was not known enough to win outright
- The Nkrumahists (PNP) who had been out of power for 13 years were hungrier for power and worked harder to unite all the former supporters of the CPP. The PNP also made references to the infrastructural and other achievements of Nkrumah but cleverly disassociated itself from the bad aspects of his regime
- The PFP candidate Victor Owusu was experienced but he was perceived to be a proud politician and a tribalist owing to his inward looking reaction in the Parliament of the Second Republic
- The PFP appeared complacent in its campaign behaving as if it was virtually going to win to continue from where the Progress Party left off
- More significantly, the division of the former PP into PFP and UNC affected the two parties. For instance neither of them could win in Central & Western, regions where the PP had performed so well in 1969. In the Eastern region too the division gave advantage to the PNP

THE 1979 ELECTIONS: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME (CONT'D)

- The votes of the UNC, ACP & SDF cut deep into the votes of the two major parties
- While the TFP and the independent candidates did not perform well they still took away more than 3% of the total votes cast

For the parliamentary election, in addition to some of the above:

- The PFP-UNC divide helped the PNP to win several seats which it could have lost if the two parties were united
- Unlike in 1969 when the five Akan regions voted solidly for one party (PP), this time their votes were shared among four (PNP, PFP, UNC & ACP)
- The other parties apart from the PNP had their strengths restricted to particular regions

For the run-off

- As earlier indicated, Limann entered the race with several advantages over Owusu
- Owusu could not win the support of the UNC because of the rivalry that emerged in the first round
- With the candidates reduced, the contrast between Limann and Owusu were more marked
- After several PFP candidates lost their seats they could not help Owusu much in the run-off
- After winning parliamentary majority, Ghanaians generally wanted to vote for Limann

THE 1979 ELECTIONS: POST-ELECTION POLITICS

- Limann after his victory in July had to wait till late September 1979 before he could be sworn into office as the President of the Third Republic. Meanwhile, the AFRC conducted what it called a house-cleaning exercise.
- Limann appointed about a dozen of his ministers from Parliament and they had to resign their seats for by-elections to be held in November 1979 to replace them
- In Parliament, Justice J. H. Griffiths-Randolph was elected Speaker, Edmond D. Mahami (PNP, Nalerigu) as First Deputy Speaker and Leonard P. Tosu (UNC, Keta) as Second Deputy Speaker
- Christoph Fitih (PNP, West Dayi) became the Majority Leader and Kwaku Baah (PFP, Nkawka w) as Minority Leader
- The PNP and UNC parliamentary caucuses agreed to work together in a loose alliance which would soon break up
- Some minority parties formed an opposition merger, All People's Party (APP) with the hope of contesting the next election with a united front
- The Limann government and the Third Republic were brought to an abrupt end by the 31st December 1981 coup and replaced by the Provisional National Defence Council which would hold the reins of power for more than a decade before Ghana would return to civilian rule

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PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- Identify any two steps the National Liberation Council as a care-taker government took towards a return to constitutional rule.
- Name in full any two of the five political parties that contested the 1969 election.
- What was unique about the performance of the Progress Party (PP) in Ashanti, Brong Ahafo & Central regions in the 1969 parliamentary election.
- How did the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) perform in the Volta Region in the 1969 parliamentary election.
- Indicate any two factors that accounted for the victory of the Progress Party (PP) in the 1969 parliamentary election.
- Identify any one reason for the defeat of the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) in the 1969 parliamentary election.
- What was common about the performance of the People's Action Party (PAP) and the United Nationalist Party (UNP) in the 1969 parliamentary election?
- Which three groups formed the electoral college for the 1970 presidential election?

PRACTICE QUESTIONS (CONT'D)

- Why did the election of the Ceremonial President for the Second Republic delay until August 1970?
- Under what circumstances was the Union Government proposed by the Supreme Military Council (SMC) regime
- Identify any two features of the proposed Union Government by the Supreme Military Council (SMC) regime.
- What role did the People's Movement for Freedom and Justice (PMFJ) play during the Union Government campaign?
- Indicate any one controversy relating to the outcome of the March 1978 Referendum.
- Identify any one form of ticket balancing in the 1979 presidential election
- What precedent did Christine Debrah set in the 1979 presidential election?
- Identify any one unique feature of the performance of Hilla Limann (PNP) in the first round of the 1979 presidential election

PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- Give any one reason for the inconclusive first round of the 1979 presidential election.
- What was the difference in regional terms of the performance of the People's National Party (PNP) and the Social Democratic Front (SDF) in the 1979 parliamentary election?
- How did the independent candidates perform in the 1979 parliamentary election?
- Which two parties contested the 1979 presidential run-off?
- How did the parties that did not contest the 1979 presidential run-off contribute to its outcome?
- Give one reason for the success of Hilla Limann (PNP) in the 1979 presidential run-off.
- Why did Victor Owusu (PFP) perform so poorly in the 1979 presidential run-off?
- What was the major reason for the November 1979 by-elections?