

POLITICAL APPARATCHIKS AND GOVERNANCE IN GHANA

Ransford E Gyampo

(Lecturer, Dept. of Political Science, University of Ghana)

Abstract

Political apparatchiks play a major role in ensuring the electoral victory of their respective political parties. They are also expected to strive hard to keep their parties in power to ensure that they deliver on their promises to make the life of the ordinary citizenry more comfortable and decent. However, their activities sometimes pose a severe challenge to governance. Using Ghana's Fourth Republic as a cases study, this paper discusses the evolution and role of political apparatchiks and the challenges their activities pose to governance in Ghana.

Introduction

The Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), which overthrew the constitutionally elected government of Dr. Hilla Limann on 31st December 1981, started the process designed to return Ghana to constitutional rule and usher in the Fourth Republic. Indeed, this marked the third such transition from de facto military to de jure government in Ghana's relatively short post-colonial history. In 1969, the National Liberation Council (NLC), which, on February 24, 1966, had overthrown the government of the First Republic led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party (CPP), handed over power to the constitutionally elected Progress Party (PP) government, led by Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia. In 1979, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), led by former President J.J. Rawlings turned over power to the constitutionally elected government of Dr. Hilla Limann and the Peoples' National Party (PNP), completing a transition began in 1977 under the Supreme Military Council I & II regimes of Generals Acheampong and Akuffo (Shillington, 1992). The final programme of transition that ushered in Ghana's Fourth Republic was formally started when former President

Rawlings, in his broadcast to the nation on the eve of the new year, (1991) declared that “our eyes are now firmly set on the final phase of our journey as a provisional government and on the road towards establishing for Ghana, a new constitutional order” (Daily Graphic, 1999:1-8). The programme effectively got underway with the submission on March 25th 1991 of the Report of the National Commission for Democracy (NCD). The government’s response contained in a White Paper released on May 10, the same year, provided for the establishment of a Committee of Experts to draft constitutional proposals using as guidelines, the NCD report and the abrogated constitutions of 1957, 1960, 1969 and 1979.

As is well known, the Fourth Republican Constitution was drafted and approved by Ghanaians in a referendum leading to the lifting of the ban on partisan politics in 1992. This also led to the re-surfacing of political parties such as the New Patriotic Party (NPP) People’s Heritage Party (PHP) EAGLE Party, the People’s National Convention, etc. Interestingly, President Rawlings also formed his party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and campaigned for votes in Ghana’s first election under the Fourth Republic which was slated for 1992. He won the elections massively but was severely criticized for rigging the elections due to the un-even playing field on which the electoral battle was fought (Oquaye, 1995). Indeed, the NPP went on to published the “Stolen Verdict” in which they catalogued several irregularities before and during the elections. Jerry Rawlings again retained his position as the head of state in the 1996 elections (ibid). His party was however voted out both in the 2000 and 2004 elections and regained power in 2008 with Professor J.E.A Mills then as a candidate and now president of the republic.

The reasons for these electoral outcomes have been analyzed by Borre (1998), Jonah (1998), Allah-Mensah (1998), Ayee (2000), Verlet (1998), Bluwey (1998), Boafo-Arthur (2004), Ansah-Koi (1998), Saaka (1998), Oquaye (1998), Drah (2000), Gyimah-Boadi (2000), Frempong (2004), Ninsin (2004), Essuman-Johnson (2004) etc. However, till date, no study has looked at the role of apparatchiks. In this study, I show the

relevance of this group to winning elections in Ghana and also discuss the threats they pose to governance after their parties have been elected to power.

It is important to note that no meaningful analysis of the electoral victories of political parties can be made without reference to the core role of party “apparatchiks”. Leaders in Ghana’s Fourth Republic may have been charismatic and presented good policies, programmes and manifestoes during the electioneering campaigns of the Fourth Republic. However, in this paper, I argue that these were not enough to have catapulted them into power. In every political party, there are those who provide funding for it; those who sit on the fence as passive members; and the “apparatchiks” who can always be counted on to defend the party at all times.

It is the “apparatchiks” who have provided the real shoulders upon which leaders of Ghana’s Fourth Republic have climbed on to political power. However, like a two-edged sword, they also create serious problems with governance for their leaders when their party is elected into power. The central thesis of this paper therefore, is that even though political “apparatchiks” play enormous role in Ghana’s democratic practice, they also play certain destructive roles that if not checked, could sacrifice good governance and erode the democratic gains of the country.

So, who are political “apparatchiks”? How did they evolve and what role did they play in politics?. What role do they play in Ghana’s Fourth Republican democratic dispensation? What challenges do they pose to governance and democracy?. How can such challenges be minimized? I will attempt to address these research questions in the paper.

In the next section of this paper, I present in detail, what I refer to as “political apparatchiks”. This is followed by a discussion of the role they play in ensuring electoral victory as well as the challenges they pose to governance in Ghana’s Fourth Republic. Conclusions and policy recommendations are finally made.

Political Apparatchiks Defined

The word apparatchik is a colloquial of Russian origin which was used to denote a full-time, professional functionary of the Communist Party or government; i.e., an agent of the governmental or party "apparat" (apparatus) that held any position of bureaucratic or political responsibility, with the exception of the higher ranks of management. James Billington describes an apparatchik as "a man not of grand plans, but of a hundred carefully executed details." (Billington, 1999:455) Members of the "apparat" were frequently transferred between different areas of responsibility, usually with little or no actual training for their new areas of responsibility (Pearson, 1998:20) Thus, the term apparatchik, or "agent of the apparatus" was usually the best possible description of the person's profession and occupation (Huntford, 1972:135).

Today, this term is also used in contexts other than the Soviet Union. For example, it is often used to describe people who cause bureaucratic bottlenecks in otherwise efficient organizations. It is also frequently used to describe individuals, appointed to positions in any government, on the basis of ideological or political loyalty rather than competence (Lane and Ross, 1999:25-26). Finally, in this paper, "apparatchiks" are defined as party foot-soldiers who work so hard to ensure the election of their respective parties into power and can always be counted on to respect and tow the party line with great gusto (ibid).

Political apparatchiks evolved in the Soviet Union as lower rank supporters of the Russian Communist party. They functioned in governance not necessarily as competent appointees but as party loyalists (Huntford, 1972:136). In their quest to represent the interest of the Communist party in the decision making process, they insisted on ideological purity of policies, thereby causing delays and bureaucratic bottlenecks in political organizations (Lane and Ross, 1999:127). The position of political apparatchiks also was an anti-thesis on the desirable concept of meritocracy that according to Max Weber (1947) must feature prominently in political appointments. Nevertheless, apparatchiks were responsible for ensuring that there was no disconnect between party

programmes and government policies, thereby making the Communist Party very strong (Huntford, 1972:134).

The role of party apparatchiks, irrespective of how divisive it may seem, is often not intended to break their parties. Instead, they seek to ensure that their parties get elected and hold on to the reins of political power (ibid). However, their activities after their parties have been elected to power poses threats to good governance. They tend to put a lot of pressure on their elected leaders, particularly the political executive in a manner that does not allow the government or party leadership the free mind to govern objectively and independently (ibid)

In Ghana, the evolution of political apparatchiks may be traced to the PNDC era where organized groups such as the “Mobisquad”, Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR), and other mass youth were trained and armed to defend the revolution. In the Fourth Republic, various wings such as the Women’s and Youth Wings of Political Parties, particularly the two main ones, were formed. These wings were made up of die-hard or core foot soldiers (Asante 2006:222).

Under the Fourth Republic, therefore, the concept of political “apparatchiks” is borrowed to refer to the category of lower rank party supporters, popularly referred to as the “foot-soldiers” who worked hard to get their parties elected and sought (or were given) political appointments and other favours. It is a common knowledge that political “apparatchiks” in Ghana, (unlike their Russian counterparts) who have worked their way into government have not been able to ensure a reflection of party programmes in national or government policies. This has led to a perceived disconnect between the manifestoes of the party that elected the leaders of the Fourth Republic and the policies the leaders initiate as governments. Nevertheless, it is probably appropriate to use the term “political apparatchiks” to refer to the lower rank party supporters in Ghana because they typify most of the characteristics of their counterparts in the then Soviet Union.

The Role of Party Apparatchiks

Party apparatchiks have played an important role in both local and national politics since the inception of Ghana's Fourth Republic in 1993. They have served as foot-soldiers and vehicles through which party manifestoes have been transmitted to the electorate, particularly those in the hinterlands. In all elections held under the Fourth Republic, they have played the crucial role of serving as polling agents during registration and voting exercises. As polling agents, they promote fairness and transparency in the electioneering process especially during voter registration exercises which are crucial for the legitimacy of electoral outcomes and their acceptability to all. For example, the decision of some parties to use local or indigenous "apparatchiks" to monitor polling centers especially in the rural communities during the 2008 elections contributed immensely towards the checking of impersonation (Asante, 2006:215).

Another key role of party apparatchiks in the political process lies in their zeal in making the presence of their parties felt across the country. They are often seen chanting their party slogans and moving from house to house, campaigning for their parties in an attempt to win more supporters. In the 2004 general elections for instance, the NPP apparatchiks used the propaganda that a vote for Professor Mills of the NDC would mean a vote for former President Rawlings (ibid:220). This propaganda seemed to have worked in almost all the areas that the NPP won the elections in spite of all efforts by the NDC youth and apparatchiks to disabuse the minds of the electorate regarding the NPP's propaganda.

Furthermore, party apparatchiks have also served as pressure groups within their parties and often brought pressure to bear on national executives over pertinent issues, including matters bordering on internal democracy. Some of them have resisted attempts by party executives to impose parliamentary candidates on them in their constituencies. For instance, in the run up to the 2008 parliamentary elections of Ghana the NPP apparatchiks embarked on massive demonstrations, in an attempt to press home their disapproval of persons whose candidature they saw as an imposition on them by the party

executives. In the Ablekuma South, Abirem, Bekwai, and Suhum constituencies, it sometimes resulted in violent clash with the security agencies (ibid).

In addition, “apparatchiks” of the two main political parties in Ghana, the NDC and NPP in particular, organized series of press conferences, and issued press statements to enlighten voters about their party positions on pertinent national issues and in some cases to deny allegations made against their party. For example, it was the NDC apparatchiks in Tamale who held a press conference to refute allegations of corruption leveled against the Northern Regional Minister, Stephen Sumani Nayina in October 2009 in a Daily Guide (an Accra based newspaper) report. Furthermore, party “apparatchiks” have been instrumental in organizing party rallies and the hoisting of party flags in an attempt to socialize Ghanaians about the ideals of their respective parties (ibid:227).

Moreover, in Ghana, just as in many emerging democracies, fund raising activities for political parties is crucial because of the lack of political parties by the state. Since no meaningful party activity can be embarked upon without funding, political apparatchiks continue to support their parties to embark upon several activities aimed at raising funds, for example, through the sale and distribution of party cards and other paraphernalia (ibid).

It is worth adding that, in their quest to defend their parties to the hilt, some political apparatchiks have also engaged in violent activities. Indeed, many young apparatchiks, especially youth activists, have been involved in most of the inter-party and intra-party conflicts. There are several reported cases where young “apparatchiks” of the two leading parties have clashed over the venue, timing for organizing rallies and other seemingly petty issues. In October 2004, for instance, apparatchiks of the NDC and NPP clashed in the Yendi constituency during an NDC rally (CDD-Ghana, 2005:30). Again during the elections in the Tolon/Kumbungu district in 2004, NPP “apparatchiks” stormed an NDC stronghold to investigate allegations of under-aged voting. This led to a clash between the two groups resulting in the death of two persons (Heritage, 2005:1-3). In some

constituencies, ballot boxes were stolen and burnt by the young “apparatchiks” of both the NPP and the NDC. These constituencies include Mion and Tolon in the Northern Region and New Edubiase in the Ashanti Region. Party “apparatchiks” were also involved in the destruction of bill boards, posters etc of their opponents as well as physical assaults of their rival contestants (Asante, 2006:229). In 2009, the Akwatia re-run and Chereponi bye-elections as well as the Atiwa bye-elections in 2010 also witnessed violence perpetrated by party apparatchiks of the NPP and NDC.

Regarding intra-party conflicts, party apparatchiks supporting different parliamentary aspirants in the same party have often clashed. Violent confrontations oftentimes characterized press conferences convened by party executives particularly at the constituency level. Again, the decision by some aspiring candidates, who lost primaries, to contest as independent candidates has often led to intra-party conflict with the party apparatchiks being the main protagonists (Asante, 2006).

Challenges Posed to Governance

The role of apparatchiks after their parties have been elected to power poses threats to good governance. In Ghana especially in the Mills administration, they have embarked upon several acts of hooliganism and vandalism in a manner that could affect the ability of the executive to freely govern objectively and independently. The damning criticism being suffered by President Mills from within his own party as a result of the demands by party apparatchiks for example, is not new. In the Third Republic, the Limann regime suffered a similar challenge. He encountered severe criticisms from within his own party in a manner that made him lost focus and failed to effectively govern the country. Indeed, this created a state of praetorianism within his party and government that led to his overthrow by Rawlings (Shillington, 1992). It should also be noted that one other reason for Limann’s woes was that he was not a founding member of the PNP. He was therefore, perceived to be an outsider to the party.

The first NDC regime led by former President Rawlings did not suffer much criticism and demands from party apparatchiks because most supporters were mindful of the military high handedness that characterized the PNDC regime. The few daring ones like Ato Austin, Obed Asamoah, Christene Churcher, and other former PNDC members who tried to challenge and criticize him or his administration were either sidelined, subtly expelled or made to remain docile (Ahwoi, 2010). During former President J.A. Kufuor's regime, the issue about perceived disconnect between his government and party apparatchiks led to severe criticisms and internal wrangling. To minimize this, he co-opted the party national chairman and general secretary as members of his cabinet so that they can explain government policy and issues to the party "apparatchiks" in order to prevent a situation of feeling sidelined (Ntow, 2008). Even though this arrangement could not work to perfection and he was blamed for ignoring party "apparatchiks", the Mills regime is continuing with this arrangement (Ahwoi, 2010).

Like his predecessor, President Mills is suffering monumental criticisms from within his own party. These criticisms have either been directed at his health or his style of leadership. While some have felt that the president is not healthy to lead the country and has therefore allowed "others behind the scene" to dictate to him, others have criticized him for surrounding himself with young and inexperienced ministers and being too slow in dealing with former government functionaries for their alleged corrupt acts when they were in government (Ahwoi, 2010). Some of these damning and in most cases less constructive criticisms have either been leveled against the president directly by the apparatchiks or by top gurus like the founder, Rawlings and his wife; Alban Bagbin, the majority leader in parliament; Dr. Ekow Spio-Garbrah, a former presidential aspirant of the NDC; Alfred Agbesie and Michael Teye Nyaunu who are both NDC MPs.

Interestingly, these top gurus often claim their criticisms are a reflection of the views of the apparatchiks of the party. Perhaps, like Limann, President Mills is also seen not to be a party-man but an outsider. His zeal to rule according to law and his own conscience not to follow the dictates of the "real party men and owners of the party" is therefore being

met with opposition from the apparatchiks on whose shoulders he climbed to power (Ahwoi, 2010). It must be noted that unlike the Limann era, Ghana, has currently reached a stage in her democratic practice where it will probably be difficult for any soldier to intervene and cease power. However, internal wrangling and destructive criticisms by party apparatchiks could bring untold hardships and suffering to people. Such internal wrangling could simply be distracting to policy makers and force them to focus on issues that may not benefit the interest of the entire citizenry.

In every democracy, it is important for leaders to tolerate dissenting views and criticisms, particularly the constructive ones. However, criticisms may cease to be constructive when appropriate channels through which they can be made within a party are not utilized and exhausted. Such criticisms must also be based on issues germane to national development. Granted this, it is completely out of place for political apparatchiks who worked to get their parties elected into power to criticize officials appointed on merit simply because they were not part of the struggle to capture power.

Oftentimes, apparatchiks unnecessarily vent their spleen on competent appointed officials simply because they (appointed officials) are perceived to be “chopping” the goodies and niceties associated with power in a manner typical of the popular Ghanaian saying “*monkey dey work, baboon dey chop.*” The criticisms being leveled against the Chief of Staff, Mr. J.H Martey Newman by party “apparatchiks” is an excellent example. Some are even calling for his removal because he is not a “party man” (Ahwoi, 2010).

Unfortunately, to be seen as a political hero in Ghana under the Mills’ regime, it seems the only thing one has to do is to “go public in the media” to criticize the president, damning the consequences for the party and its internal cohesion. The tendency for such destructive criticisms to demoralize the president, frustrate and make him lose focus on key national development issues as it happened to Limann leading to his overthrow cannot be under-estimated. I attribute a recent presidential directive to all political appointees to pay attention to the needs of party apparatchiks to the frustrating and

destructive pressures piled on the president. Upon issuing such a directive, the president has received several condemnations and criticisms from Ghanaians including some from his own party for such a directive because it violates his presidential oath he swore to do good to all manner of persons. Unfortunately, no serious effort is being made by the party apparatchiks to defend the president for issuing such an unpopular directive.

Good governance is not about wrangling, parochially partisan demands and destructive criticisms but one that requires sanity, peace, tranquility and harmony to address real problems facing the nation. Good governance encourages the expression of diverse opinions which will ultimately lead to development, unlike wrangling that tend to shift attention from meeting the needs of the entire citizenry to finding solutions to internal partisan squabbles by party “apparatchiks”(Jonah, 2005). Obviously, this is not to say that intra-party wrangling must be left unattended to when they are well-founded.

There is a growing demand that soon after leaders are elected, their “apparatchiks” must necessarily take over the reins of governance and occupy key decision making positions. Others in opposition are to be treated with contempt, fired from their positions, arrested and be thrown into jail (Cook and Ayee, 2006). It was against this background that NDC apparatchiks soon after the party’s victory in 2008 were reported to have seized public toilets, markets and car parks being managed by suspected party loyalists of the NPP (Ahwoi 2010). In other parts of the country, they chased administrators of the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP) etc from their offices, issuing death threats and calling for their replacement with NDC loyalists. For instance, on January 13, 2010, one Steve Asare and Inusah Abu stormed the NYEP office in Obuasi with a group of NDC apparatchiks and attacked Fredrick Addai, the Deputy Coordinator, when the complainant and other witnesses were at the office working. Members of the group, who were armed with butcher's knives, daggers and other armed gang operational appurtenances, assaulted Addai, the complainant, and forced him and other officers of the NYEP out of the office. They later barricaded the office and placed it under lock and key before they fled the scene, prosecution indicated

(Ahwoi, 2010). Again, on 13th July 2010, Shakespear Ofori Atta, a youth activist and NDC constituency Secretary in Kyebi, the Abuakwa South Constituency led a group of irate NDC apparatchiks to chase out workers in the NHIS office and locked the place. They claimed the NDC, barely two years in power had not fulfilled its campaign promise of getting them all employed. Similar events happened during the NPP regime (2001-2008) where some officials were dismissed while others were asked to proceed on leave; and cars belonging to officials of the previous administration were seized by their apparatchiks (Ahwoi, 2010).

Suffice it to say however, that one key principle of good governance is equal treatment of all, irrespective of partisan coloration. Indeed, good governance and the kind of politics that treats party apparatchiks different from their counterparts in the other political divide cannot be bed-fellows. Even though one important ingredient of good governance is popular participation in the decision making process, good governance must necessarily thrive on meritocracy (Goldsmith, 2005). Therefore comments like the chief-of- staff at the Mills' presidency not being a party-man in my view, begs the question. This is because in a developing country like Ghana, it is wise for our national developmental agenda to be spearheaded by experts, technocrats and people whose positions are given to them on merit (ibid). Many African countries are less developed because in making political appointments leaders have often kowtowed to the demands, whims and caprices of party apparatchiks irrespective of their qualifications (Ayee, 2008).

The role of party apparatchiks in every democracy, admittedly, cannot be relegated to the background. Carrying their wishes and giving in to their insatiable demands may make presidents popular and give them some peace within their own parties. However, it cannot be part of good governance and indeed, it is inimical for all political appointments and favors to be given to party "apparatchiks" alone to the total neglect of others and national development as a whole.

Before I make policy prescriptions, I re-state my argument by posing two questions as follows:

- a. *Looking at the invaluable role and support of party “apparatchiks”, should leaders have a preferential and favorable treatment for them to the neglect of the other Ghanaians who do not belong to any political party or those at the other political divide? If this becomes the route to go, it will surely give presidents some peace and assure them of partisan support. However, apart from this being inimical to good governance, the whole nation may have to contend with the appointment of people who may not necessarily be qualified to man key positions of decision making. This may sacrifice national development. I will quickly add here that appointments that are based on meritocracy and competence from within the ruling party are acceptable.*
- b. *The second question that presents a difficult knot to un-tie is whether leaders should make political appointments on merit and irrespective of the political divide one may come from. This will in no doubt bring into governance and decision making competent people capable of steering the affairs of the nation to development. However, as the evidence in Ghana now shows, leaders who go this route may have to contend with destructive criticisms that stems from the fact that “apparatchiks” who worked for the party to win elections may feel sidelined. The impact and telling effect of this on the popularity of leaders in their own party are monumental.*

Policy Recommendation / Way Forward

From the foregone discussions, the following policy recommendations are worth considering:

- Democracy is yet to take firm roots in Ghana. Granted this, one can argue that many Ghanaians do not have firm grasp of its full tenets. It is therefore important for a continuous education of the entire citizenry about the work of elected leaders to be carried out. Such educative programmes should drive home the point that

even though parties produce presidents, once elected, they are answerable to all Ghanaians and not to party apparatchiks irrespective of the role they played in getting them elected (Gyampo and Obeng-Odoom: 2009).

- Some measure of recognition and appreciation must be given to party apparatchiks. It may not be politically wise a decision to totally ignore them once leaders are elected. Leaders must therefore, strive to frequently interact with them and where necessary, appoint the qualified ones amongst them into positions of decision making.
- Leaders must be firm, strong and remain focused in order to be able to withstand political turbulence within their own parties. They should not lose focus as a result of internal party wrangling and demands from apparatchiks but should remain resolute in pursuing policies aimed at ensuring national development and not partisan or sectarian interests.
- There should be a policy to effectively deal with the general unemployment situation facing the country. Many party apparatchiks who throng the offices of ministers, DCEs, and the presidency in search of favours do so because they are not employed (Ahwoi, 2010). There may be a few of them who may be looking for other favours. However, a huge chunk of them may be unemployed. Such people become agitated and feel sidelined when they are unable to have access to the top government functionaries for favours and other issues that could have been dealt with had they been gainfully employed.
- Political parties must also strive to build credible and effective internal mechanisms that can serve as a channel for ventilating and dealing with grievances of “apparatchiks”. This grievance handling mechanism must be proactive and swift in dealing with complaints in a manner that will ensure good image and respect for its activities by party apparatchiks, political leaders and other agents of decision making in the party. This will nip in the bud the growing spate of politicians and “apparatchiks” washing the dirty lining of their parties in public. This does not work well for the party’s internal cohesion and may ultimately affect its electoral fortunes.

REFERENCES

Ahwoi, K. (2010) Interview with Kwamena Ahwoi, Leading Member of the Mills Administration and Former Minister of Local Government in the P(NDC) regime in Accra on 10th April 2010.

Ansah-Koi, K (1998) “Ghana’s 1996 Elections: A Study of the Akropong Constituency” in JRA Ayee (ed) *The 1996 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Ghana* (Accra: Gold-Type Ltd) pp 371-384.

Asante, R. (2006). “The Youth and Politics in Ghana: Reflections on 2004 General Elections”, in K. Boafo-Arthur (ed.) *Voting for Democracy in Ghana: The 2004 Elections in Perspective*. Vol.1, Accra: Freedom Publications Ltd, 2006, pp 215-227.

Ayee, J.R.A (2000) *Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections* (Accra: Freedom Publication), pp1-11.

Ayee, J.R.A (2008) *Some Thoughts on Ministerial Reshuffles in Ghana* (Accra: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung) pp 8-9.

Allah-Mensah, B. (1998) “Politics, the Economy and Voting Behaviour in the 1996 Elections: The Case of Ellembele Constituency” in JRA Ayee (ed) *The 1996 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Ghana* (Accra: Gold-Type Ltd) pp 259-274.

Boafo-Arthur K. (2004) *Voting for Democracy in Ghana: The 2004 Elections in Perspective* (Accra: Freedom Publication) pp 1-12.

Borre, Ole (1998) “The 1996 Election in Ghana: Survey Evidence of Vote for the President” in JRA Ayee (ed) *The 1996 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Ghana* (Accra: Gold-Type Ltd) pp 211-228.

Billington J.H (1999), *Fire in the minds of men*, (London: Transaction Publishers), p. 455

Bluwey, G.K. (1998) "Determinants of Political Choice in Agona-West and Effutu Constituencies in the Central Region" in JRA Ayee (ed) *The 1996 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Ghana* (Accra: Gold-Type Ltd) pp 341-354.

CDD-Ghana (2005). *Election 2004 Observation Report*, The Ghana Center for Democratic Development p. 30

Crook R. and Ayee J. (2006) "Urban Service Partnerships, 'Street-Level Bureaucrats' and Environmental Sanitation in Kumasi and Accra, Ghana: Coping with Organisational Change in the Public Bureaucracy" *Development Policy Review* Vol 24 (1) pp 51-60.

Daily Graphic, 2nd January, 1991, pp. 1,8, 9.

Daily Graphic, 2nd December, 2009 edition, p.16.

Drah, F.K (2000) "The 2000 Elections in Okaikoi North and South Constituencies" in J.R.A Ayee (ed) *Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections* (Accra: Freedom Publication), pp 108-145.

Essuman-Johnson A. (2004) "The 2004 Elections in Four Constituencies: Bolga, Bongon, Gomoa West and KEEA" in K. Boafo-Arthur (ed) *Voting for Democracy in Ghana: The 2004 Elections in Perspective* (Accra: Freedom Publication) pp 41-62.

Frempong A.K.D (2004) "The Politics of Election 2004 in the Nkawkaw and Afram Plains South Constituencies: Continuity or Change?" in K. Boafo-Arthur (ed) *Voting for Democracy in Ghana: The 2004 Elections in Perspective* (Accra: Freedom Publication) pp 207-230.

Goldsmith, A.A. (2005) "How Good Must Governance Be?" available at <http://www.qog.pol.gu.se/conferences/november2005/papers/Goldsmith.pdf>

Gyampo, R and Obeng-Odoom F. (2009) "Ghana's Democracy: A Radical Perspective", *Current Politics and Economics of Africa*, Vol. 2(3/4) pp 221-242.

Gyimah-Boadi, E. (2000) "Ayawaso West Wuogon and Kpone Katamanso Constituencies in the December 2000 Elections" in J.R.A Ayee (ed) *Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections* (Accra: Freedom Publication), pp 67-85.

Huntford, R. (1972) "The Rule of the Apparatchiks," Stein and Day, 1972, pp. 135-140.

Jonah, Kwesi (1998) "Agency and Structure in Ghana's 1992 and 1996 Presidential Elections" in JRA Ayee (ed) *The 1996 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Ghana* (Accra: Gold-Type Ltd) pp 229-258.

Jonah, K. (2005) Interview with Kwesi Jonah, Acting Head of the Governance Center of The Institute of Economic Affairs in Accra on 30th June 2005.

Lane D.S and Ross C. (1999) *The transition from communism to capitalism: ruling elites from Gorbachev to Yeltsin*, (Palgrave: Macmillan), pp 25-130.

Ninsin K. (2004) "Dome-Kwabanya and Ayawaso West Wuogon Constituencies: A Study in Voter Choice in the December 2004 Elections" in K. Boafo-Arthur (ed) *Voting for Democracy in Ghana: The 2004 Elections in Perspective* (Accra: Freedom Publication) pp 187-206.

Ohene-Ntow, N. (2008) Interview with Nana Ohene Ntow, General Secretary of NPP in Accra on 5th May 2008.

Oquaye M (1995) "The Ghanaian Elections of 1992: A Dissenting View" *African Affairs*, Vol. 94 (375) pp 259-275.

Pearson R (1998) *The rise and fall of the Soviet Empire*, (Palgrave: Macmillan), p. 20.

Saaka, Yakubu (1998) 'The 1996 General Elections in Ghana: Analysis of Electoral Survey of the Bole-Bamboi and Damongo-Daboya Constituencies of the Northern

Region” in JRA Ayee (ed) *The 1996 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Ghana* (Accra: Gold-Type Ltd) pp 385-394.

Shillington, K. (1992) *Ghana and the Rawlings Factor* (London: MacMillan Press).

The Heritage, Vol. 4 No.228, March 4 2005, pp.1-3.