

Country: Ghana

Years: 1952-1965

Leader: Kofi Kwame Nkrumah

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Nkrumah's affiliation as CPP. Murray (1992) writes "Nkrumah... had long regarded himself as a socialist". Botwe-Asamoah (2005) identifies Nkrumah as a leftist, writing "Though he had attended meetings and participated in conventions of Marcus Garvey's UNIA and West Indies National Council in New York, Nkrumah chose Marxist socialism as his guiding light" (p. 81). "Ray Logan thought that the Philosophy of Marx and Lenin," Sherwood quotes, "impressed Nkrumah as being the best adaptable to the solution of colonialism" (p. 83). Oquaye (1995) writes "leftists such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana". Perspective Monde codes the CPP as "moderate left." World Statesmen (2019) codes Nkrumah's party as CPP, described as "Convention People's Party... socialist, Nkrumaist, pan-African". Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. CPP is a member of the Socialist International.

Years: 1966-1968

Leader: Joseph Arthur Ankrah

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Ankrah's party as none. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes, "An eight-man National Liberation Council (NLC) headed by Lt. Gen. Joseph A. Ankrah ran the government. Promising an eventual return to civilian rule, the NLC carried out a far-reaching purge of Nkrumah adherents and sponsored the drafting of a new constitution." Owusu-Ansah (2014: 10) writes, "The important character of this military government was its interim nature. The National Liberation Council (NLC), immediately after coming to power, established several commissions to investigate cases of corruption against officials of the Nkrumah administration. It also introduced liberal economic policies and put together committees to rewrite a constitution for Ghana's Second Republic. With regard to foreign policy issues, the government was more Western in its orientation. Indeed, the main focus of the NLC regime was to dismantle the structures of the previous administration. The NLC barred those previously associated with the CPP from participating in the political process when the ban was lifted on political party activities in preparation for the return to civilian rule in 1969. Critics accused the NLC military regime of handing power to Dr. K. A. Busia's Progress Party (PP) on a silver platter."

Murray (1992), Botwe-Asamoah (2005), Oquaye (1995), Perspective Monde (2020), World Statesmen (2020), and Manzano (2017) all identify Nkrumah and/or the CPP as leftist. On Kofi Abrefa Busia, Owusu-Ansah (2014: 78) writes, “By 1957, he was the leader in organizing the United Party (UP) in opposition to Nkrumah’s Convention People’s Party (CPP)... His program of austerity won him no friends.” Owusu-Ansah (2014: 29) also writes, “National Liberation Movement (NLM). Political movement formed in Asante in September 1954 under the leadership of Kofi A. Busia. Members of the party were in favor of a federal decentralized form of government as opposed to the centralized power that the Convention People’s Party proposed. In October 1957 the NLM joined other opposition parties in the United Party.” Berry (1994) writes, “The PP found much of its support among the old opponents of Nkrumah’s CPP... Some observers even saw Busia’s devaluation of the national currency and his encouragement of foreign investment in the industrial sector of the economy as conservative ideas that could undermine Ghana’s sovereignty.” Berry also writes, “According to one writer, the overthrow of the PP government revealed that Ghana was no longer the pace-setter in Africa’s search for workable political institutions. Both the radical left and the conservative right had failed.” Lentz (1994: 320) writes, “In 1970 [Busia] purged the civil service of supporters of Nkrumah who had refused to cooperate with his leadership. His austerity program to stabilize the economy provoked widespread dissent when inflation hit basic commodities.” Furthermore, Political Handbook describes the New Patriotic Party (NPP), writing, “The center-right NPP was launched in June 1992, its founders including former members of the old Progress Party, which had governed Ghana from 1969 to 1972 under Prime Minister Kofi Busia.” Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify NPP as center-right. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 5 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of NPP as 7.7. NPP is a member of the International Democrat Union.

Years: 1969-1971

Leader: Kofi Abrefa Busia

Ideology: Right

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Ignatius Kutu Acheampong instead of Kofi Abrefa Busia as head of government on December 31, 1972. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Busia’s party as PP. World Statesmen (2019) codes Busia’s party as PP. Owusu-Ansah (2014: 78) writes, “By 1957, he was the leader in organizing the United Party (UP) in opposition to Nkrumah’s Convention People’s Party (CPP)... His program of austerity won him no friends.” Owusu-Ansah (2014: 29) also writes, “National Liberation Movement (NLM). Political movement formed in Asante in September

1954 under the leadership of Kofi A. Busia. Members of the party were in favor of a federal decentralized form of government as opposed to the centralized power that the Convention People's Party proposed. In October 1957 the NLM joined other opposition parties in the United Party." Berry (1994) writes, "The PP found much of its support among the old opponents of Nkrumah's CPP... Some observers even saw Busia's devaluation of the national currency and his encouragement of foreign investment in the industrial sector of the economy as conservative ideas that could undermine Ghana's sovereignty." Berry also writes, "According to one writer, the overthrow of the PP government revealed that Ghana was no longer the pace-setter in Africa's search for workable political institutions. Both the radical left and the conservative right had failed." Lentz (1994: 320) writes, "In 1970 [Busia] purged the civil service of supporters of Nkrumah who had refused to cooperate with his leadership. His austerity program to stabilize the economy provoked widespread dissent when inflation hit basic commodities." Political Handbook describes the New Patriotic Party (NPP), writing, "The center-right NPP was launched in June 1992, its founders including former members of the old Progress Party, which had governed Ghana from 1969 to 1972 under Prime Minister Kofi Busia." Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify NPP as center-right. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 5 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of NPP as 7.7. NPP is a member of the International Democrat Union.

Years: 1972-1977

Leader: Ignatius Kutu Acheampong

Ideology:

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Ignatius Kutu Acheampong instead of Kofi Abrefa Busia as head of government on December 31, 1972. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Acheampong's party as none. Rulers (2020) writes, "Initially [Acheampong] earned the respect and loyalty of many Ghanaians as he pressed on with currency reform and an austerity program that banned the import of luxuries." On the coup that overthrew Kofi Abrefa Busia, led by Acheampong, Berry (1994) writes, "The army troops and officers upon whom Busia relied for support were themselves affected, both in their personal lives and in the tightening of the defense budget, by these same austerity measures" implemented by Busia. On the National Redemption Council (NRC), also led by Acheampong, Berry continues, "Although committed to the reversal of the fiscal policies of the PP government, the NRC, by comparison, adopted policies that appeared painless and, therefore, popular. But unlike the coup leaders of the NLC, the members of the NRC did not outline any plan for the return

of the nation to democratic rule. Some observers accused the NRC of acting simply to rectify their own grievances.”

Years: 1978

Leader: Frederick William Kwasi Akuffo

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lentz (1994: 318) writes, “[Akuffo] became a member of the ruling Supreme Military Council under Ignatius Acheampong in 1975 and served as chief of the defense staff. Akuffo joined with other members of the council to oust Acheampong on July 5, 1978, and he became Ghana’s head of state. He vowed to restore Ghana to a parliamentary democracy and freed many political prisoners. He instituted austerity measures to improve Ghana’s sinking economy.”

Years: 1979-1980

Leader: Hilla Limann

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Limann’s affiliation as PNP. Perspective Monde codes the PNP as “moderate left.” World Statesmen (2019) codes Limann’s party as PNP, described as “People’s National Party... socialist, Nkrumaist, pan-African”. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify PNP’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.062) in 1979.

Years: 1981-2000

Leader: Jerry John Rawlings

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Rawlings’ party as none from until 1992 and as National Democratic Congress (NDC) afterwards. DPI identifies NDC ideology as left. Manzano (2017: 91) identifies Rawlings as leftist, writing “Rawlings and his military supporters came to power with a strong socialist ideological agenda and in fact, during this period, Ghana was seen as a model of revolutionary populism in Africa.” Everett (1986) describes “Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings in Ghana” as the leader of a “leftist military government.”

Although Perspective Monde codes the NDC as “center,” Manzano (2017: 91) describes NDC as leftist, stating “As the NDC was a socialist party (it became a consultative member of the Socialist International), President Rawlings and his democratic government would be considered leftist.” The NDC is today a “Full Member Party” of the Socialist International. While Stewart (2008) notes that there was a “fundamental change in the economic ideology of the Rawlings regime from a radical Marxist-Leninist approach to a neo-liberal capitalist approach” over the

course of the 1990s, Lansford (2015) identifies this shift as a result of pressure from the IMF. Lansford (2015) states “in 1995 Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, who had championed Ghana's adoption of an IMF-prescribed economic reform program as well as a rescinded value-added tax, resigned as finance minister.” Kalu (2008) confirms Rawlings’ initial ideology and pressured shift, writing “[Rawlings] started out on a Marxist-Socialist economic framework, but quickly backtracked as Ghana’s economic realities set in... Rawlings’s subsequent rapprochement with the IMF and the World Bank and the imposed liberalization policies earned Ghana the enviable fame as a test model on how a structural adjustment program could work for many African countries.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 5 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of National Democratic Congress (NDC) as 3.0. In V-Party (2020), 8 experts identify NDC’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.95) in 1992, “Center-left” (-0.938) in 1996, and “Center-left” (-1.022) in 2000.

Years: 2001-2008

Leader: John Agyekum Kufuor

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Kufuor’s party as NPP. DPI identifies NPP ideology as right. Lansford (2017) also identifies the NPP’s ideology as right, writing “the center-right NPP... was widely viewed as devoted to the interests of the business class.” Perspective Monde codes the NPP as “center right.” World Statesmen (2019) codes Kufuor’s party as NPP, described as “New Patriotic Party... liberal conservative, center-right”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 5 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of New Patriotic Party (NPP) as 7.7. NPP is a member of the International Democrat Union. In V-Party (2020), 8 experts identify NPP’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.84) in 2000 and “Center-right” (0.8) in 2004.

Years: 2009-2011

Leader: John Evans Atta Mills

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Gyimah-Boadi and Prempeh (2012) identify Mills’ party as NDC, writing “in 2009... President John Kufuor of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) handed the reins to John Evans Atta Mills of the National Democratic Congress (NDC).” DPI identifies NDC ideology as left. Although Perspective Monde codes the NDC as “center,” Manzano (2017: 91) also describes NDC as leftist, stating “As the NDC was a socialist party (it became a consultative member of the Socialist International), President Rawlings and his democratic government would

be considered leftist.” The NDC is to date a “Full Member Party” of the Socialist International. World Statesmen (2019) codes Mills’ party as NDC, described as “National Democratic Congress... social-democratic, center-left”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 5 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of National Democratic Congress (NDC) as 3.0. In V-Party (2020), 8 experts identify NDC’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.022) in 2008.

Years: 2012-2016

Leader: John Dramani Mahama

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Mahama’s party as NDC, writing “Kwesi AMISSAH-ARTHUR (National Democratic Congress); sworn in on August 6, 2012, to succeed John Dramani MAHAMA (National Democratic Congress).” DPI identifies NDC’s ideology as left. Although Perspective Monde codes the NDC as “center,” Manzano (2017: 91) also describes NDC as leftist, stating “As the NDC was a socialist party (it became a consultative member of the Socialist International), President Rawlings and his democratic government would be considered leftist”. The NDC is to date a “Full Member Party” of the Socialist International. World Statesmen (2019) codes Mahama’s party as NDC, described as “National Democratic Congress... social-democratic, center-left”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 5 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of National Democratic Congress (NDC) as 3.0. In V-Party (2020), 8 experts identify NDC’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.022) in 2012 and 2016.

Years: 2017-2020

Leader: Akufo-Addo

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Akufo-Addo’s party as NPP, writing “Atta Mills confirmed that he would seek reelection in 2012, and Nana Dankwa Akufo-Addo again won the NPP bid to be its standard-bearer.” DPI identifies NPP ideology as right. Lansford also identifies the NPP’s ideology as right, writing “the center-right NPP... was widely viewed as devoted to the interests of the business class.” Perspective Monde (2021) corroborates Akufo-Addo’s party as NPP and codes the NPP as “center right.” World Statesmen (2021) codes Akufo-Addo’s party as NPP, described as “New Patriotic Party... liberal conservative, center-right”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 5 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of New Patriotic Party (NPP) as 7.7. NPP is a member of the

International Democrat Union. In V-Party (2020), 8 experts identify NPP's ideology as "Center-right" (0.8) in 2016.

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