RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

Research Response Number: GHA34660
Country: Ghana
Date: 3 April 2009

Keywords: Ghana – 2008 elections – National Patriotic Party

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Questions
1. Can you please provide information about elections of December 2008 and the resulting need for a run off election and the irregularities which caused a third election?
2. Can you please provide dates of the elections and any irregularities which were identified in the run off which caused the third election?
3. Can you please provide information on the NPP and names/details of significant members including information on Nana Akuffo Addo?
4. Please advise whether you can locate information on any violence at polling stations?

RESPONSE

1. Can you please provide information about elections of December 2008 and the resulting need for a run off election and the irregularities which caused a third election?
2. Can you please provide dates of the elections and any irregularities which were identified in the run off which caused the third election?

Information (quoted in full below) from reports and news articles on the recent Ghanaian elections indicates that elections for President and for the 230 members of parliament were held on Sunday 7 December 2008. None of the eight presidential candidates received the required 50% majority vote. On 10 December 2008 a run-off election was announced, as required by Article 63 of the 1992 Constitution, between the leading candidates Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP (New Patriotic Party) and professor John Evans Atta Mills of the NDC (National Democratic Party). A run-off election between Akufo-Addo and Mills was held on Sunday 28 December 2008. A delay in the announcement of the result occurred because voters in one constituency – Tain in the Brong Ahafo Region – could not cast their ballots on 28 December due to the late arrival of materials. Tain constituency voted on Friday 2 January 2009. On Saturday 3 January 2009 the opposition candidate John Atta Mills was declared the winner of the Presidential elections.
The U.S. Department of State, in its 2008 Human Rights Report: Ghana, published on 25 February 2009, gives the following information on the 2008 election dates, “voter intimidation and election irregularities”, and violence in the lead up to December 2008:

Elections and Political Participation

The country continued its transition from a one-party state to a multiparty constitutional system. On December 7, Ghana held its election for president and for the 230 members of parliament. Domestic and international observers reported that the elections were generally free, fair and peaceful. None of the eight presidential candidates received a majority of votes, forcing, per the constitution, a run-off election. The run-off was held on December 28, and resulted in a narrow victory for Professor John Atta Mills, the candidate of the opposition NDC.

The December 7 parliamentary elections also gave the NDC 114 seats, the New Patriotic Party 107, minor parties three, and independents four seats. Two seats are subject to court challenges; in one, six ballot boxes were stolen by supporters of one party in an effort to disrupt the parliamentary voting.

The elections were generally peaceful and transparent. Activities at polling stations were observed by party agents and thousands of domestic and international observers. There were reports in some areas of voter intimidation and election irregularities, particularly in the regions of the country where the two main parties have their base of support. However, the consensus of observers and the independent Electoral Commission was that these irregularities were insufficient to have altered the outcome of the election.

The political system includes recognized opposition parties, which expressed their views freely. Registered political parties operated freely; however, opposition parties and persons in private business continued to allege that government contracts were often awarded on the basis of ruling party membership.

During the run-up to the election there were some incidents that involved violence. On September 1, there were violent clashes in Gushiegu District in the Northern Region between NPP and NDC supporters when they attempted to erect campaign flags in the same location. The clashes resulted in six deaths and the burning of houses and vehicles. An NPP rally in Tamale was disrupted by gunfire, forcing the party’s vice presidential candidate to flee, also in early September. The incident led to attacks on NDC supporters returning from their own rally, and in the destruction of houses and vehicles (U.S. Department of State 2009, 2008 Human Rights Report: Ghana, 25 February, Section 3 – Attachment 1).

The situation immediately following voting for the run-off election on Sunday 28 December 2008 is explained in a 31 December 2008 Daily Independent news article. On 30 December 2008, the Electoral Commission announced the reasons for a further delay in the announcement of a result:

Ghanaians still have to wait till Friday [2 January 2009], and perhaps beyond, to know who succeeds John Kuffuor as President – even with the election already held twice this month.

Electoral Commission of Ghana (ECG) Chairman, Kwado Afari-Dyan, announced on Tuesday [30 December 2008] that the run-off ballot on Sunday again failed to pick either Nana Akufo-Addo of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) or John Atta Mills of the National Democratic Party (NDC).
Mills leads with 22,000 votes, scoring 4,501,466 votes (50.13 per cent), Addo 4,478,411 (49.87 per cent).

Results in the Ashanti [in which Kumasi is located] and Volta Regions have been disputed, and voters in Tain constituency in the Brong Ahafo Region, who could not cast their ballots on Sunday because of late arrival of materials, will now vote on January 2.

The results declared are those of 229 of the total 230 constituencies.

Afari-Dyan explained that the delay in announcing the results, which kept even foreign and local observers inside the ECG’s conference room on edge, was necessitated by the need to iron out differences between the parties, which had maintained tough positions since Sunday, alleging malpractices against each other in their strongholds.

In the first election held on December 7 with eight contestants, including an independent candidate, Akufo-Addo outscored Mills polling 4,222,261 votes (49.43 per cent) to 4,070,535 (47.65 per cent).

Sunday’s results came out of a total 8,979,877 valid votes, out of 9,072,363 total cast – or 72.74 per cent turn out of the 12,472,758 registered voters.

That left 92,486 or 1.02 per cent votes invalid.

The result brought by the NPP from the Abravo Region was rejected. The region has a voting population of 40,000. The NDP won the fist ballot in Abravo by 52 per cent while the NPP got 48 per cent.

Afari-Dyan acknowledged that the NDC raised serious concerns against the results, particularly in Kumasi [in which Bantama is located] and other parts of the Ashanti Region, the home base of Kuffuor.

He said the NPP did the same in some constituencies in the Volta Region, the base of former President Jerry Rawlings, a member of the NDC.

“We have always said that the name of the game is evidence. And today, the NDC provided some evidence that we think there is a need to audit some of the results of the election in the Ashanti Region, and the NPP has promised to do same in regards to some of the elections in the Volta Region,” Afari-Dyan added.

He said the closeness of the result makes it necessary to conduct a fresh vote in Tain to clear any doubt about the eventual winner, since votes there could affect the outcome of the election (Igboanugo, S. 2008, ‘Election Goes Into Second Run-Off’, Daily Independent, 31 December, allAfrica.com website http://allafrica.com/ – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 2).

As approximately 23,000 votes separated the candidates after the 28 December 2008 run-off, and as there were 53,000 electors in Tain constituency, articles at the time stated that the Tain electors “will decide the outcome” (Ohia, P. 2009, ‘Ruling party seeks poll delay’, All Africa, 3 January – Attachment 3).

Following the Tain vote, on Saturday 3 January 2009 the opposition candidate John Atta Mills was declared the winner of the Presidential election; on 7 January 2009 the new president was inaugurated and new parliament sworn in (Akorlie, C. 2009 ‘Africa hails Ghana election as democratic success’, Reuters, 4 January)
A number of inter-governmental bodies observed the elections and produced reports on their conduct. A Commonwealth Observer Group reported on the conduct of the 7 December 2008 and 28 December 2008 polls, and 2 January 2009 elections in Tain constituency. The group deployed six teams across the country, including one team in Ashanti Region (Kumasi) for the 7 December poll and again in Ashanti for the run-off election. The report comments on the conduct of the elections during the period in the lead up to the run-off election and the conduct for the later Tain poll, and makes reference to allegations of irregularities:

The Group noted that the campaign intensified as the date for the run-off election drew closer. While the first round campaign had largely been issues based, the Group was disappointed that the tenor of the campaign began to shift in the period between the two rounds to focus more on personality politics and party loyalty. Both parties increasingly began to accuse the other of trying to undermine the electoral process leading to increasing levels of tensions in some areas.

The Group was also disappointed that issues of ethnicity began to feature in the campaign. The level of ethnic rhetoric featured in media reporting even prompted one of the candidates to issue an appeal to radio stations not to promote tribalism in national politics. In addition, this rhetoric was criticized by prominent civil society leaders after the 28 December poll.

**The ethnic rhetoric was prevalent in areas perceived to be strongholds of the NPP and NDC such as the Ashanti, Northern and Volta regions.** This shift away from issues based politics presented a backward step for the maturing Ghanaian political system. Coupled with what appears to be an ethnic bias as reflected in historical voting patterns in these areas, this shift proved divisive on polling day.

Despite this, the overall conduct of the campaign between the two rounds of the election was generally orderly, but allegations of irregularities in the Ashanti region relating to the special voting process held on 23 December was of concern. The readiness of crowds of people to gather to protest on the basis of rumours and allegations, rather than rely on institutional mechanisms to address issues of concern, also proved to be a feature on polling day itself.

…Both parties complained of intimidation of its activists by the other, particularly in areas considered as their strongholds. This led to the NDC instructing its polling agents not to sign results sheets in the Ashanti region regardless of the conduct and quality of the poll and count process.

…In announcing the results of the 229 constituencies excluding Tain, the Chairman of the EC stated that the parties had raised serious concerns and provided some evidence about **irregularities** in election results from Kumasi and other parts of the Ashanti Region, as well as some constituencies in the Volta Region. He stated that the outcome of the Tain poll with 53,890 registered voters could affect the overall result given the very slim lead held by NDC at the time.
He went on to state that investigations into **alleged irregularities made by NDC about Kumasi and the Ashanti region**, which were supported with some evidence, as well as concerns expressed by NPP over some constituencies in the Volta region, for which evidence was yet to be submitted, would be pursued. The final winner would only be declared once the outcome of the Tain poll and the investigations had been completed.

*Presidential Run-Off Election in Tain Constituency, 2 January 2009*

…There were tensions and clashes between NPP and NDC supporters in the run up to both the first round and run-off elections in Tain. The District Electoral officer was allegedly attacked and beaten on 5 December by the NPP Parliamentary candidate, and complaints of bias were made against local EC staff who in turn complained of harassment and intimidation. The constituency EC office and stored election materials were destroyed by a fire on the night of 11 December, and numerous clashes between supporters of the two main parties took place subsequently. In light of these events, the EC appointed the Returning Officer from the neighbouring constituency to preside over the 2 January 2009 poll (Commonwealth Observer Group 2009, *Ghana Parliamentary And Presidential Elections 7 December 2008 And Presidential Run-Off Election 28 December 2008*, 17 February [http://www.thecommonwealth.org/files/187673/FileName/GHANA2008ELECTIONS-COGREPORTFINAL.pdf](http://www.thecommonwealth.org/files/187673/FileName/GHANA2008ELECTIONS-COGREPORTFINAL.pdf) – Accessed 1 APRIL 2009 – Attachment 5).


3. Can you please provide information on the NPP and names/details of significant members, including information on Nana Akuffo Addo?

**The New Patriotic Party (NPP) and names/details of significant members:**


provides the address of the headquarters, the Party logo, and a list of the seven leading NPP officials:

PARTY HEADQUARTERS, New Patriotic Party, H/No. C. 912/2 Duade Street, Kokomlemle Accra, Ghana.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTY HEADQUARTERS, New Patriotic Party, H/No. C. 912/2 Duade Street, Kokomlemle Accra, Ghana.</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NEW PATRIOTIC PARTY</strong></td>
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<td>National Chairman</td>
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<td>First National Vice Chairman</td>
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<td>Telephone Numbers</td>
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The NPP website also provides some details on the early formation and history of the party in 1992 (when multiparty elections were first allowed in Ghana), especially the role of Mr B. J.


Nana Akufo Addo:

The BBC News website provided the following profile of Nana Akufo-Addo as part of its coverage of the 2008 elections:

Nana Akufo-Addo was not John Kufuor’s first choice for NPP candidate

One of the founding members of the New Patriotic Party in 1992 when multi-party democracy returned to Ghana, Nana Akufo-Addo has had presidential ambitions since 2000.

With a father who was ceremonial president from 1969 to 1972 and relations who founded members of Ghana’s pro-independence movement, the United Gold Coast Convention, he also has political pedigree.

As a toddler, the family home in Accra was like the party’s headquarters.

AT A GLANCE: NANA AKUFO-ADDO
Nickname: Nana
Age: 64
Party: New Patriotic Party (NPP)
Home town: Kyebi, Eastern Region
Executive posts: Attorney general 2001-03; foreign affairs minister 2003-07
Profession: Lawyer

He was not outgoing-President John Kufuor’s favoured candidate for the NPP, but won a fierce contest at the party primaries last year.

His campaign slogan is “BIG – Believe In Ghana”.

As a student, he did economics in Ghana and read law in the UK, he flirted with Marxism, at one time describing himself as a Trotskyite, before returning to the liberal ideals of his political forebears, known in Ghana as the Danquah-Busia tradition.

In 1975 he became a barrister in Ghana and secretary general of the People’s Movement for Freedom and Justice, a broad-based coalition of activists that ultimately brought about the downfall of Ignatius Acheampong’s military government in 1978.

During the 20-year rule of Jerry Rawlings, Mr Akufo-Addo established himself in Ghana’s political arena as a champion of human rights.

He founded Ghana’s Committee on Human and Peoples’ Rights and as attorney general in 2002 drafted the National Reconciliation Act, which established the National Reconciliation Commission to investigate past human rights abuses in Ghana.

More details on Akufo-Addo’s campaign themes for the 2008 elections (“BELIEVE IN GHANA (BIG!)”), educational and political background, previously held leadership and cabinet positions, and vision for the country, are provided on his 2008 election website (see ‘Nana Akufo-Addo’s Profile’ 2008, Nana Akufo-Addo for President ‘08 website http://www.akufoaddo.org/candidate – Accessed 1 April 2009 – Attachment 14).

4. Please advise whether you can locate information on any violence at particular polling stations?

There were reports of violence against NPP supporters, concentrated mainly in the Volta region.

Several reports were found on voting within the Bantama constituency. On 30 December 2008, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* referred to the large electoral success of the NPP in Bantama in the run-off:

Thousands of supporters of the opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC) yesterday besieged the premises of the Electoral Commission (EC) after the leadership of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the NDC disagreed over the results of some constituencies in Ashanti region.

Media reports had earlier in the day put the Presidential Candidate of the NDC, Prof. John Evans Atta Mills ahead of the NPP’s Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo based on certified results from some of the constituencies.

With 223 out of 230 constituency certified results declared so far, the law Professor leads with 4, 414, 419 votes representing 50.64%. His challenger, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo trails him with 4, 307, 120 representing 49.36%.

Meanwhile, **Issa Alhassan reports from Kumasi that Ashanti Region, widely known to be the stronghold of the ruling New Patriotic Party experienced an uneasy calm throughout yesterday**, as results of the presidential run-off trickled in slowly via the various local radio stations.

Many residents, who until yesterday morning were very optimistic of the chances of the NPP, after the party recorded astronomical figures in certain polling stations in some constituencies in the metropolis, recoiled to their shelves in anxiety, as early results which trickled in from over 216 constituencies out of 230 indicated that the NDC flagbearer, Prof. Mills, was leading in popular votes.

Many residents continued to count their losses and ponder over the possibility that the ruling party may not be able to retain power.

Most of the constituents were shocked to see the NPP lose the elections to the opposition NDC, in the face of the huge electoral successes recorded at Manhyia, Bantama, Pankronu, Subin, Nhyiaeso, Asokwa and Suame constituencies.
Some of them, however, still remained cautiously optimistic considering the fact that there were a number of constituencies in the NPP’s strongholds in both the Ashanti and Eastern Regions which were yet to be declared.

Planned events and programmes by sympathizers of the NPP to mark victory have thus been nipped in the bud, as shock is written all over the faces of constituents. Nationwide provisional results of the second round polls made public by radio stations in the city, as of Monday, placed Prof. Mills ahead in percentage and popular votes, a situation which is quite different from what was witnessed in the first round of the December 7 elections when Nana Akufo Addo was leading.

Whereas the NPP was recording impressive gains in some popular constituencies such as Manhyia, Subin and Asokwa constituencies, the NDC had also made significant improvement in the Volta, Northern and Brong Ahafo Regions, heightening fears and speculations of many residents that the National Democratic Congress might come back.

The Ashanti Region was identified as having held the key to NPP’s victory in the second round of the elections, after the ruling party attributed its inability to record a first round victory to the low turn out of voters in the region. This compelled the ruling party to embark on an intensive house-to-house campaign dubbed “Fre Wo Nua”, which literally means call your brother to go and vote on December 28.

While this campaign seem to have paid off, considering the increase of voting percentage from 73 to 83 percent respectively in the first and second round voting, the NDC once again put up a splendid performance in the NPP stronghold, resulting in the increase of percentage of votes for Prof. John Evans Attah Mills.

When The Chronicle stormed the city on Monday to interact with voters and seek their views on the outcome of the elections, most of them expressed shock at the turn of events, and brooded over what would become of them when the NPP fails to win.

A shop keeper at Adum, who gave his name as “Mugabe”, said he felt let down and terrified about the unfolding events in the elections. “I felt very worried and terribly shocked when I heard results that were coming in and I asked myself how come the NPP failed to maintain its lead as happened in the first round (‘Controversy Over Ashanti Votes’, 2008, Ghanaian Chronicle, 30 December – Attachment 16).

On 5 January 2009, The Ghanaian Chronicle wrote on the relative calm in Bantama:

KUMASI

Jubilant supporters of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) yesterday took over the principal streets of Kumasi, few minutes after the Chairman of the Electoral Commission, Dr. Kwadwo Afari Gyan, declared the flagbearer of their party, Prof. John Evans Atta Mills, president-elect, reports Issah Alhassan from Kumasi

As was expected, the relatively few supporters in the capital city had prepared feverishly towards the long awaited victory, even before the official declaration, as many supporters of the party, particularly those in the Zongo communities where the party enjoys major support, had lined up on the streets, waiting for Dr. Afari Gyan to declare their party winner in the crucial second round elections.
The principal streets of Aboabo, Asawase, Tafo and Ahwiaa were filled with ecstatic supporters, who were clad in party T-shirts bearing the portrait of the flagbearer of the NDC, Prof. Mills.

As if to make matters worse for their defeated colleague supporters of the NPP, some of the supporters were also spotted with T-shirts bearing the photograph of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo, and doing the Kangaroo dance to the NPP campaign hit song composed by Daddy Lumba, while interspersing it with another hit track “Aye Huhuhu and Nana Awuo oo,” also by the same artist.

The police and other security personnel had a hectic time controlling jubilant supporters, who brought vehicular movement to a standstill, as they looked on helplessly while the supporters did their own thing.

At the Aboabo Community in the Asawase constituency, the celebrations reportedly travelled deep into the night, when a coffin wrapped in NPP colours was carried through the streets, making occasional stopovers at premises of personalities purported to be sympathisers of the NPP, to signify the death of the party.

Jubilant supporters also besieged the party’s constituency office at Tafo Mile 4, bringing vehicular movement to a halt. Similar celebrations took place in other Zongo Communities in the metropolis.

Other parts of the city such as Bantama, Adum, Manhyia, Ash Town and Asafo, which are predominantly occupied by supporters of the NPP, were relatively calm.

Meanwhile, the Ashanti Regional Vice Chairman of the NDC has described his party’s victory in the elections, as a victory for Ghana’s unity and reconciliation.

Speaking to The Chronicle a few minutes after the official declaration of the results, Alhaji Mohammed Sannie called on all supporters, including those from the NPP, to unite and rally behind the newly-elected president to ensure the development of the country.

He has further appealed to supporters of the NDC, to be moderate in their celebrations, in order to avoid any confrontation with their opponents (‘NDC Supporters Celebrate in Grand Style in Regions’ 2009, Ghanaian Chronicle, 5 January – Attachment 17).

Reports of violence:

The European Union Election Observation Mission report on the elections states on the level and location of party violence during the elections: 

For the second round presidential run-off election on 28 December 2008...there were... claims by the parties that their party agents were intimidated in the strongholds of their opponents... There were a limited number of incidents where party agents were assaulted in Ashanti and Volta regions and this led the NDC and NPP requesting their agents not to sign the results forms.

Overall, voting was once again conducted in a calm manner in most of the country and the process was well organised for the second round. Polling procedures in 98 per cent of polling stations visited by EU observers were assessed as satisfactory or positive as was the case on 7 December 2008. Polling staff were again committed and acted professionally in polling
stations visited. The same degree of efficiency in processing of voters, use of controls and safeguards by polling staff was also recorded. Isolated cases of minors voting in Tamale and again in parts of Brong Ahafo Region were also observed. On special voting day for the second round, 23 December 2008, the process of special voting was similar to the first round apart from the increase in numbers. There were some isolated attempts to disrupt polling and some incidents of violence with an increase in tension in parts of the country but these were contained by the large number of security forces that were deployed on election day and did not affect the veracity of the poll. As was the case in the first round some of the lists were not present at polling stations that to some extent reduced the checks and balances at polling station level.

Whilst the environment on the election day of 28 December 2008 was generally calm there were some exceptions to this. Both parties claimed that their party agents were intimidated in the strongholds of their opponents, and there were incidents of intimidation that took place in Volta and Ashanti regions, though not on the scale suggested by the political parties. This led to the NDC instructing its agents in Ashanti to refuse to sign the result sheets at polling stations regardless of the quality of the polling there. The NPP also made a similar instruction to some of its agents in Volta Region. Turnout in five of the constituencies in Ashanti: Bantama, Kwadaso, Manhyia, Nhyiaeso and Suame also demonstrated unusually high numbers of votes cast, which was over 95 per cent of registered voters. In contrast to all other areas in the country the lack of safeguards used by polling officials and an absence of transparency in the transmission of the aggregated results for these constituencies makes the accuracy of results from these areas open to question. The high turn out recorded in these constituencies did not affect the overall results as they showed an overwhelming majority for NPP, who lost the presidential election. These incidents were not, however, adequately investigated by the Electoral Commission (European Union Election Observation Mission 2009, Ghana Final Report Presidential and Parliamentary Elections 2008 February 2009, European Union Election Observation Mission website, pp.6, 29 http://www.eueomghana.org/EN/PDF/Final_report/EU_EOM_Final_Report_Ghana.pdf – Accessed 2 April 2009 – Attachment 18).


On 27 January 2009, the Accra Mail (Ghana) reported that the NPP had decided to go to court to seek “redress over alleged ‘widespread violence and brutalities’… in some parts of the country, especially the Volta Region”:

The opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) has said it had decided to go to court to seek redress over alleged “widespread violence and brutalities” perpetrated against its supporters in some parts of the country, especially the Volta Region.

“The party has reviewed the gamut of infractions and breaches against our party and its accredited agents and officers in the conduct of the elections and even after the elections,” it said in a statement signed by Nana Ohene-Ntow, General Secretary. “Accordingly, the party has decided to proceed to court to seek redress,” it said.
The NPP appealed to its members, supporters and sympathisers “to remain calm and steadfast whilst holding fast to our principles” (‘NPP Heads to Court Over Alleged Election Violence’ 2009, Accra Mail (Ghana), 27 January – Attachment 23).

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Commonwealth Secretariat website, 17 February http://www.thecommonwealth.org/

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Region Specific Links
Modern Ghana.com website http://www.modernghana.com/

Topic Specific Links
New Patriotic Party website http://www.npp-ghana.org/

Search Engines

Online Subscription Services
allafrica.com website http://allafrica.com/

Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)
BACIS (DIAC Country Information database)
REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)
ISYS (RRT Research & Information database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)

RRT Library Catalogue

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    (FACTIVA)

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    (FACTIVA)


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