

KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

COLLEGE OF ART AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES

**RELIGION IN AFRICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE: THE GHANAIAN
EXPERIENCE: A QUEST FOR RELEVANT INTERFACE.**

**Kwame de-GRAFT Agyei (Rev),
B.A.Theology; Dip. Theology; Teachers Cert “A” (3 Year Post Sec.)**

©August, 2010

**RELIGION IN AFRICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE: THE GHANAIAN
EXPERIENCE: A QUEST FOR RELEVANT INTERFACE**

by

**Kwame de-GRAFT Agyei (Rev)
B.A. Th.; Dip. Th.; Teachers Cert. “A” (3 Year Post Sec.)**

**A Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Kwame Nkrumah University of
Science and Technology, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of**

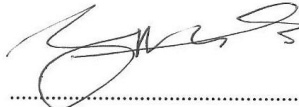
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES

©* August 2010, Department of Religious Studies

CERTIFICATION PAGE

I, Kwame de-GRAFT Agyei (Rev), hereby declare that this submission is my own work towards the Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) Degree in Religious Studies and that to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published by another person, nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree of the University, I further declare that all the quotations have been distinguished either by quotation marks, italics or indentation in the body of the Thesis and all sources of information specifically acknowledged by means of Bibliography. I take responsibility of any error in the piece.

Kwame de-GRAFT Agyei (Rev)



30th Aug 2010

Student Name

Signature

Date

Student ID: PG2489608

Certified by:

Most Rev. Prof. Emmanuel K. Asante



30th AUGUST, 2010.

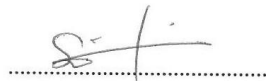
Supervisor's Name

Signature

Date

Certified by:

Very Rev. Dr. Nathan Samwini



30/8/10

Head of Department

Signature

Date

ii

HEAD
DEPT. OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
KNUST - KUMASI, GHANA

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research with deep gratitude and affectionate esteem to my dear mother, Madam Akua Obenewaa, who I owe this achievement of my life to, and my father, Samuel Edmund

Agyei, who has been called to glory

And

To my wife, Pearl de-GRAFT Agyei, for her care and support, love and understanding, as well as to my children.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The immediate occasion for the organisation and written composition of this research material was offered when at the invitation of Rev. Dr. K. Opuni Frimpong, a Lecturer (former Head of Department) at the Department of Religious Studies, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, I gave a lecture to my colleagues on the topic “Religion and Politics”. My lecturer as well as all my colleagues were unanimous that I had a store of knowledge which will be useful to the academia and the general public. I therefore expanded the topic and decided to research into it for my thesis. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Rev. Dr. K. Opuni Frimpong for psyching me up to write on this topic.

I am particularly grateful to my Supervisor, Most Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Kwaku Asante, Presiding Bishop of The Methodist Church, Ghana and a Lecturer at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology for painstakingly reading through the script and critiquing the work and helping to providing the “missing links” which have shaped up the work done. “Prof” as he is affectionately called has been a tremendous influence on my life for years. He doubles as my brother and mentor and I am forever indebted to him. His knowledge and insights informed and guided my inquiries and his patience and good humour enriched my work. May God continue to grant him his heart’s desires.

Many Lecturers, colleagues and friends have helped me with counsel, criticism and encouragement in the course of the effort to give my reflections the unity and precision which written communication demands in the measure that the complexity of the data and my ability permit. I record my special thanks to Very Rev. Dr. Nathan Samwini, Head of Department of Religious Studies, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology for the encouragement he has offered me. I am also grateful to Rev. Dr. Effah Ababio, Rev. J. E. T. Kuwornu Adjaottor and Rev. S. Asiedu Amoako, both Lecturers at the Department of Religious Studies, KNUST for the pieces of advice offered me whenever I called at their office. Throughout my work on this thesis, I have been stimulated and instructed by innumerable discussions with Dr. Obiri Danso, Dean of Biological Sciences Department, KNUST, and I am very grateful to him.

The list of those who have helped me during the writing of this Thesis is long and I cannot mention all of them, but their memories are printed on my heart with loving care. I am most grateful to all the personalities who offered themselves for me to interview as well as those who answered questionnaires submitted to them. To those who my memory may have failed me in remembering, God knows them and will graciously reward them appropriately. To authors and other researchers whose work I quoted from, I say God bless you.

Finally, and more importantly, I owe an immeasurable sense of gratitude to God the Creator of the Universe and our Lord Jesus Christ for giving me life and protection to enable me complete the studies.

Agyei Kwame de-GRAFT (Rev)

August, 2010

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

P.N.D.C.	Provisional National Defence Council
A.F.R.C.	Armed Forces Defence Council
D.C.E.	District Chief Executive
C.P.P	Convention Peoples Party
P.N.P.	Peoples National Party
N.D.C	National Democratic Congress
N.P.P	New Patriotic Party
N.L.C.	National Liberation Council
S/M/C	Supreme Military Council
P.P.	Progress Party
P.N.C.	Peoples National Convention
UNIGOV	Union Government
G.I.I	Ghana Integrity Initiative
T.I.	Transparency International
M.P	Member of Parliament
S.F.O	Serious Fraud Office

CHRAG	Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice
H.I.V.	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
AIDS	Acquired immunodeficiency Syndrome

ABSTRACT

The relationship between religion and politics in Africa has been approached from a multiplicity of angles. There is a common view that seeks to separate religion from politics. Those who hold these views insist that there is an irreconcilable gulf between religion and the state, the sacred and the secular. They argue that the church has jurisdiction over spiritual matters, while the state has jurisdiction over secular affairs. This Thesis has built upon the available reflections on politics and religion and also examined the interface between religious and political discourses in Africa with particular reference to Ghana. The thesis has established that religion and politics have and continue to influence and interconnect each other in ways that call for rethinking of the traditional formulations that religion must not mix with politics. We have stated that God as Creator and Ruler has instituted political principles. The difference between God's rule and human rule notwithstanding, God has instituted authority to oversee justice and rule of law. We have indicated that religious faiths, especially, the Church (Christianity) is expected to intervene in politics with its message of prophecy, justice, peace and righteousness, to challenge social ills and call political leaders to face up to their own failures and those of their Governments. The thesis concludes that religion has played a significant role in the provision of development projects which have improved the material welfare of the people. Religious Organisations have in this way become a source of identity to the poor in the community's grassroots, who are in most cases not accessed by the state's bureaucratic approaches to development. Politicians must therefore as a matter of policy collaborate with religious organisations not only to foster peace and stability but speed up the socio-economic and spiritual development of the people.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	ii
Certification Page	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgement	v
List of Abbreviations	viii
Abstract	x
Table of Contents	xi
Chapter 1: General Introduction	
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Problem Statement	8
1.2 Background to the Study	10
1.3 Significance of the Study	14
1.4 Research Methodology	15
1.5 Outline of the Study	16
1.6 Literature Review	18
1.7 Problems and Challenges	43
1.8 Conclusion	44

Chapter 2: Social Set-up of Ghana

2.0	Introduction	45
2.1	From Kingdom to Nation	45
2.2	Ethnicity and Creation of Tribe	49
2.3	Institution of Chieftaincy	51
2.4	The Akan Political System	59
2.5	Conclusion	63

Chapter 3: Major Religions in Africa

3.0	Introduction	65
3.1	African Traditional Religion	65
3.2	Christianity	69
3.3	Islam	75
3.4	Dominionism	83
3.5	Religion and African Politics	84
3.6	Religious Practice and Values	86
3.7	Conclusion	89

Chapter 4: A Brief Overview of the Political Scene of Ghana

4.0	Introduction	91
4.1	The Political History of Ghana	93
4.2	Political Leaders and Religion in Ghana	95

4.3	The Church and State	111
4.4	Governance	114
4.5	Convergence of Religion and Politics	118
4.6	Conclusion	128
Chapter 5: Political Corruption and Poverty		
5.0	Introduction	130
5.1	Corruption in Ghana, causes and effects and counter-measures	130
5.2	Religion and Public Life	140
5.3	Religion, Morality and Nation Building	143
5.4	Conclusion	149
Chapter 6: Summary		
6.0	Introduction	151
6.1	Analysis	151
6.2	Recommendations	153
6.3	Conclusions	159

Bibliography

Appendices

Appendix 1	-	Questionnaire
Appendix 2	-	Map of Ghana
Appendix 3	-	Ethnographic Map of Ghana
Appendix 4	-	Pictures of vehicles and businesses with religious motifs
Appendix 5	-	Pictures of Heads of State in Ghana

Appendix 6 - Pictures of Personalities Interviewed or quoted

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The story of human governments and their leaders have been a weary story of power, pride, politics and problems for a prolonged period of time. Jesus Christ, in commenting on the government officials of his day said “The Kings of the Gentiles lord it over them; and those who exercise authority over them call themselves Benefactors” (Luke 22:25, NIV). It means that Government leaders in his day used their positions of power to abuse, oppress and take advantage of those under their control. This is an accurate description of the way many government officials have acted down through history, most especially in Africa. It has been argued that Africans have chosen a political system that has no linkage to its cultural root. Pobe (1991: 11) says that in African societies, religion is one of the important institutional structures making up the total system. He has the following to say on the all pervasiveness of African societies:

Most of the communal activities and other social institutions of African peoples are inextricably bound up with religion and the spirit-world. Birth, puberty, marriage, death, widowhood, harvest and installations to traditional offices all partake of a religious nature. Political life itself is laced with religion. The metaphysical has always been a factor in politics

He goes on to explain that the office of the chief had a thick undergird of religion. The chief was at once a judge, commander-in-chief, a legislator, the executive and administrative head of the

community and above all a religious leader. This assertion is corroborated by many scholars including Mbiti, Sarpong and Brempong. In one of such literary work published by Odotei and Awedoba (2006: 32), Brempong says that before the intervention of the colonial masters in the affairs of the people of the then Gold Coast (now Ghana), the chief performed political, administrative, executive, judicial, military, cultural and spiritual functions. Evidence will be given in this thesis when we come to study the Akan Political system, to buttress this assertion. Unfortunately, there are sections of the society who hold the belief that religion should be divorced from politics. In this thesis, the researcher will argue strongly in favour of the system of Government that interfaces with religion, in as far as the system promotes unity, sense of commonality and belongingness.

The external politics of a religion are the ways it reacts to the culture and society around it, and the ways that it influences its members with regard to their interactions with that social order. Is there anything Christians and people of the various religious faiths can do when there is corruption and evil government leadership? The ways in which the clergy and theologians interpret the political domain, and the ways that they encourage people to behave within it, vary widely. Some urge their followers to withdraw completely from the outside world; others say politics should stay out of religion entirely. When this latter view is taken to an extreme it is known as quietism. Some religious groups may undertake political action in an attempt to cause social change and create a culture of social justice, a philosophy sometimes called liberation theology. Others attempt to find a point of peaceful coexistence, but not necessarily integration

or even cooperation, a line of thought exemplified by Jesus' command to his disciples to "Give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's (Luke 20:25, NIV).

This thesis seeks to examine Religion in African Politics and Governance; the Ghanaian Experience. We will interrogate it and try and find out if there is a relevant interface. To address this topic, there is the need to define the key concepts relating to the topic which are, "Religion," "Politics" and "Governance."

Religion

Religion has been defined in a wide variety of ways. Most definitions attempt to find a balance somewhere between overly sharp definition and meaningless generalities. Some sources have tried to use formalistic, doctrinal definitions while others have emphasized experiential, emotive, intuitive, and ethical factors. Otto (1958: 7) says definitions of religion mostly include:

- i. a notion of the transcendent or numinous, often, but not always, in the form of theism
- ii. a cultural or behavioural aspect of ritual, liturgy and organized worship, often involving a priesthood, and societal norms of morality and virtue
- iii. a set of myths or sacred truths held in reverence or believed by adherents

Sociologists and anthropologists tend to see religion as an abstract set of ideas, values, or experiences developed as part of a cultural matrix. For example, in Lindbeck's *Nature of*

Doctrine, religion does not refer to belief in "God" or a transcendent Absolute. Instead, Lindbeck (1984: 96) defines religion as, "a kind of cultural and/or linguistic framework or medium that shapes the entirety of life and thought... it is similar to an idiom that makes possible the description of realities, the formulation of beliefs, and the experiencing of inner attitudes, feelings, and sentiments." According to this definition, religion refers to one's primary worldview and how this dictates one's thoughts and actions.

Nukunya (1992: 55) says "religion may be described as the beliefs and practices associated with the supernatural". He goes on to say that the concept embraces many aspects of man's relations with the supernatural including magic, witchcraft, as well as practices associated with the dead and the ancestors.

Bryant (1967: 494), "Religion' is defined as "Man's recognition of his relation to God and the expression of that relation in faith, worship, and conduct". Yinger (cited in Haralambos et al, 2004: 405, 406) defines religion "As a system of beliefs and practices by means of which a group of people struggles with the ultimate problems of human life". In the same book, a definition provided by Roland Robertson (2004: 406) also states that "Religion refers to the existence of supernatural beings that have a governing effect on life".

In summary, religion may be said to be an organized approach to human spirituality which usually encompasses a set of narratives, symbols, beliefs and practices, often with a supernatural or transcendent quality, that give meaning to the practitioner's experiences of life through reference to a higher power or truth. It may be expressed through prayer, ritual, meditation,

music and art, among other things. It may focus on specific supernatural, metaphysical, and moral claims about reality (the cosmos, and human nature) which may yield a set of religious laws, ethics, and a particular lifestyle. Religion also encompasses ancestral or cultural traditions, writings, history, and mythology, as well as personal faith and religious experience. In Ghana, religious practices associated with the supernatural operate at many levels and in different forms. They differ from place to place though there are some general categories which could be isolated. This includes the High God, small gods, ancestors, witchcraft, oracles, magic, sorcery, and the occults.

We can infer from the definitions that Religion is an organized system of beliefs, ceremonies, practices, and worship that center on one Supreme God, or a deity, or deities. Religion gives many people a feeling of security because they believe that a divine power watches over them. Religious beliefs give meaning to life since they answer humankind's questions about him or herself and the world he or she lives in. Social life is full of contradictions that threaten the meanings people place on life. One of the major functions of religion therefore is to make sense of all experiences, no matter how meaningless or contradictory they appear. Mbiti (1969: 1) has said that "Africans are notoriously religious, and each people has its own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices." Religion, he continues, permeates into all the departments of life so fully that it is not easy or possible always to isolate it. Mbiti (1975:10) writes again that religion is by far the richest part of African heritage. He says religion has dominated the thinking of African peoples to such an extent that it has shaped their cultures, their social life, their political organizations and economic activities. We can say therefore, that religion is closely bound up

with the traditional way of African life, while at the same time, this way of life has shaped religion as well, he continues.

Politics

Politics is defined variously by various scholars. Okwudiba (1986: v, 7) provides various definitions among which are that (a) Politics is those activities that in one way or another, are oriented toward the seizure, consolidation and use of state power. A look at modern politics confirms the existence of these three interrelated dimensions of political life. The seizure of political life means the coming into position of dominance in the society of a new ruling class. The nature and interests of this class become the motive force for the re-organisation of the entire socio-economic, political and cultural relations in the society. However, for purposes of this thesis, we shall dwell on the definition provided by Asante. Asante (2007: 89) defines Politics as “Social response to the expression of demands and wants and the process of administering the goods of society among the various groups on whose behalf these demands and wants are made.” He continues that politics deals with the management of the economy, the level of wages, the scope of social services, the organization of education, and the formulation of policies governing foreign relations and on other aspects of our everyday life. It is apparent that from this definition, politics has to do with government, influencing, leadership and management. It is a mechanism by which society is controlled and managed for the good of all.

Governance

In the *Oxford Dictionary* (1998: 352) Governance is defined as “the act or manner of governing.” Governance therefore relates to decisions that define expectations, grant power, or verify performance. It consists either of a separate process or of a specific part of management or leadership processes. Sometimes people set up a government to administer these processes and systems. As a process, governance may operate in an organization of any size: from a single human being to all of humanity; and it may function for any purpose, good or evil, for profit or not. A reasonable or rational purpose of governance might aim to assure, (sometimes on behalf of others) that an organization produces a worthwhile pattern of good results while avoiding an undesirable pattern of bad circumstances. Politics provides a means by which the governance process operates. For example, people may choose expectations by way of political activity; they may grant power through political action, and they may judge performance through political behaviour.

Ghana is bubbling with much political activity. The issue since independence is how to satisfy the aspirations of the people which include the need for jobs, decent living standards, security for the people and peace for all. If politics is a striking feature of the society, so is religion central to the Ghanaian societies. However, there is a common view that seeks to separate religion from politics. Politicians and other people who in their public practice and conduct insist that there is irreconcilable gulf between religion and politics, in their private life and conduct run to seek spiritual protection and fortification from pastors and spiritualists. There is no denying the fact

that the Ghanaian explains life in a religious frame of reference. Every aspect of our culture and life is inextricably bound up with religion and the spirit-world. Birth, puberty, marriage, death, widowhood, harvest of crops and installations to traditional and political officers all partake of a religious nature. Why then should people advocate for a separation between religion and politics? Perhaps, the nation seems to have taken too long to begin asking questions such as; “what is the relationship between the church and the politics”?; “what implications do religious faiths have for various political issues”?; “what role should religious organizations play in the various political issues that confront us as a people”?; Does religion have a solution to the intractable economic problems of the country as well as moral corruption at all levels of society”?; In what ways are domestic political policies influenced by religious agendas and vice-versa”?; “can religion mix with politics”? This research will seek answers to these and other questions.

1.1 Problem Statement

The relationship between politics and religion has never been of more pressing importance than today. The events of September 11, 2001 dramatically highlighted within the United States of America the pertinence of religious forces in both national and global politics. In France, immigration from Muslim countries has generated major debates including a recent public inquiry on the century-old law separating the French state from the Catholic Church and the introduction of a new law banning selected religious insignia in French public schools. In the U.S. too, the public education system has been a major battleground for religious forces while in

both countries the position of Jewish and Muslim minorities is inextricably intertwined with transnational political issues, most notably in the Middle East as well as some African Countries. In these and other ways, adherents of diverse faiths – African Primal Religions, Christian, Jewish, Islamic and others – are highly visible in Africa and Ghana both as objects of political discourse and as actors in the political arena. While the official discourse of most African nations is that of secularism, our private practice and conduct has always been bound up with religion and the spirit-world. Political life itself is laced with religion. The metaphysical has always been a factor in politics. The crux of the matter in this thesis is whether religion should and can mix with politics. Is there a symbiotic relationship between religion and politics? Very often one hears people lamenting that religion should not mix with politics. Those who make this assertion appeal to the separation of church and state. However, they are quick to add that individual Christians and Muslims may and should participate in politics. Such people argue that religion deals with spiritual matters usually considered in “other worldly” terms whereas politics is considered as “this worldly” affairs. The thesis seeks to generate a better understanding of the interface between politics and religion in Ghana. Politics and religion have become indistinguishable and an understanding of their commonalities and distinctiveness could have profound effect on the unity and integration of the country. Consequently, this thesis will examine the role and place of religion in the development of Africa zeroing in on Ghana. Overall, this thesis makes the case that religion can be a unifying and nation-building force.

1.2 Background to the Study

The factors that have motivated this researcher to undertake this research are myriad. Some of them are personal and others external. Back in his Secondary School days, this researcher encountered a situation which has been the primary motivating factor. As a secondary school form two student, he was on his way to church one Sunday morning when the head watchman of the school met him. The watchman told him that on a number of occasions he had met this researcher on campus, he had seen that it was written on his forehead that he would grow up to become a District Chief Executive. Events unfolded and in February 1982 the then Government of the day appointed him PNDC District Secretary for Asante Akim. He served variously and continually as PNDC District Secretary/District Chief Executive for nineteen years. This prophecy or whatever one will term it was religious in character which received manifestation in politics. While in Obuasi as the District Chief Executive, he attended a religious function organized by the Global Evangelical Church (then called E. P. Church, Ghana). The Moderator of the Church who had come from Accra prophesied that this researcher will one day be called into the Pastoral Ministry. Today, this researcher after several attempts to escape that prophecy is an Ordained Minister of the Gospel. Throughout his life as a politician, and now as a Pastor, he has been a living witness to the involvement of religion in politics and vice versa. Interestingly, even though some politicians will speak about the separation of the State and church when the church comes heavily on them, they are quick to seek solace in religion when there is conflict in the society and or, when they require spiritual protection. It is instructive to observe that by the lyrics of the first and last stanzas of the National Anthem, Ghanaians acknowledge that God is our shepherd. The first sentence calls on God to bless our homeland Ghana while the last

sentence of the third stanza says that we march on only under the care and protection of God (emphasis mine).

God bless our homeland Ghana,
And make our nation great and strong,
Bold to defend forever
The cause of Freedom and of Right.
Fill our hearts with true humility
Make us cherish fearless honesty,
And help us to resist oppressors' rule
With all our will and might for evermore.

Raise high the flag of Ghana,
And one with Africa advance;
Black star of hope and honor,
To all who thirst for liberty;
Where the banner of Ghana free flies,
May the way to freedom truly lie
Arise, arise, O sons of Ghanaland,
And under God march on forevermore.

Again, the President of the Republic of Ghana, Ministers of State and Members of Parliament as well as other Political office holders take the oath of office by swearing by the Bible, Quran or the Crucifix as the case may be. The Judiciary has a practice of making defendants and witnesses who appear before the Court of Law to swear by the Bible, the Quran, Crucifix or make affirmation as the case may be. On 7th January 2009, President John Evans Atta-Mills swore the oath of office holding the Bible (<http://news.myjoyonline.com/news/200908/33945.asp>, assessed on 11th January 2009). By these, the state is affirming the immanence and transcendence nature of God and thus admitting the interfacing of religion and politics.

The majority of the members of Parliament/Government in Africa and particularly Ghana are openly religious, and one would have expected that these religious politicians would live by the demands of their religious beliefs, and ultimately provide the best forms of governance. On the

contrary, available research some of which will be chronicled in this thesis shows that the bulk of the blame for under-development falls on bad governance from our politicians who are religious zealots in belief and not in practice. These politicians have demonstrated the worse of values and behaviours, which are surprisingly accepted in silence, albeit, disapprovingly. There has been numerous reportage about some Heads of State and Parliamentarians who have misappropriated huge sums of money, which belongs to the State. Take for instance the case of General Sani Abacha, a former Nigerian Head of State who died in June 1998. He ruled Nigeria from 1993 to 1998. His five-year rule has been described as the “darkest period in Nigeria’s history. Investigations conducted revealed massive case of corruption and embezzlement of state funds. West Africa (issue No. 4204) reports that among the items which were found in his house and confiscated to the state were fifty-two (52) luxury cars, huge industrial crates containing US\$2.2 Billion as well as some local currencies. Thirty-four (34) houses he had purchased with monies looted from state coffers were recovered and his family were made to return over N220 billion. Several cases of corruption involving former Heads of State in Uganda, Gabon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe and Ghana, to name a few, have been reported in the mass media.

The carnage which have gone on in Somalia and Sudan and have engaged the attention of the United Nations Security Council for years have been attributed to religious factors. In Somalia, some fundamental Islamic forces have been fighting to take over the reign of Government with the sole aim of introducing Shar’ia Laws (Use of the Quran to determine cases adjudicated by the Judiciary). The situation has witnessed the dramatic rise of armed criminal groups throughout much of southern Somalia. Kidnapping has reached epidemic proportions. Piracy and armed robbery at sea, perpetrated by seagoing militias based chiefly in Puntland (north-eastern

Somalia) and the southern Mudug region, has made Somali territorial waters some of the most dangerous in the world for commercial shipping. Ransoms from piracy and kidnapping have been used to finance arms embargo violations. In the case of Sudan, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, on 18 September, 2004 the Security Council adopted resolution 1564 requesting, *inter alia*, that the Secretary-General “rapidly establish an international commission of inquiry in order to immediately investigate reports of violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law in Darfur by all parties, to determine also whether or not acts of genocide have occurred, and to identify the perpetrators.” The Commission submitted a full report on its findings to the Secretary-General on 25 January 2005. The Commission reported among others the following:

Based on a thorough analysis of the information gathered in the course of its investigations, the Commission established that the Government of the Sudan and the Janjaweed are responsible for serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law amounting to crimes under international law. In particular, the Commission found that Government forces and militias conducted indiscriminate attacks, including killing of civilians, torture, enforced disappearances, destruction of villages, rape and other forms of sexual violence, pillaging and forced displacement, throughout Darfur. These acts were conducted on a widespread and systematic basis, and therefore may amount to crimes against humanity. The extensive destruction and displacement have resulted in a loss of livelihood and means of survival for countless women, men and children. In addition to the large scale attacks, many people have been arrested and detained, and many have been held *incommunicado* for prolonged periods and tortured. The vast majority of the victims of all of these violations have been from the Fur, Zaghawa, Massalit, Jebel, Aranga and other so-called ‘African’ tribes.

The commission established religious reasons for the genocide in Sudan. These observations of huge discrepancy between values thought by religion and the practices that inform daily lives

and governance, provides justification for this thesis. In the Thursday, September 3, 2009 issue of *The Daily Graphic*, the media reported that leading members of the Catholic and Presbyterian churches in Ghana have taken politicians and the media to task for the specter of a polarized nation. The reaction of the clergy was provoked by the recent Akwatia by-election and the Agbogbloshie violence. The Metropolitan Archbishop of Accra, Most Reverend Charles Gabriel Palmer-Buckle is on record to have condemned politicians for inflammatory statements and for fomenting divisiveness for their own political agenda. According to him, democracy was a painstaking exercise, which must take into consideration the rule of law and the opinions of different stakeholders in the development of the country. The Presbyterian Church had also in a pastoral letter, noted its apprehension for what it described as penchant for political parties, politicians, the media and serial callers to politicize every issue which it said was a drawback to national development. There is a general feeling that the religious must serve as a check on politicians and civil society to ensure that all live by the dictates of the constitution. All these observations have motivated the research into the topic under discussion. It is the submission of this researcher that findings and conclusions of this thesis will provide an additional material for the academia and the general public alike.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The thesis is very significant in that it will establish that religions that emphasise adherence to strong moral codes are more likely to produce members who are critical of society and will seek to change it. If a religion stresses concern with this world, it is more likely to result in actions by its members which produce change. Again, in societies where religious beliefs are central to the culture, such as in the Northern parts of Ghana where Islam is dominant, anyone wishing to

produce change will tend to use a religious legitimisation for their actions. By examining the factors which influence the type of role that religion plays in society, we will come to appreciate it when religious leaders issue pastoral letters on political situations of the country or when religious leaders issue statements commending or condemning the conduct of Government. Again, we shall re-kindle the awareness of Ghanaians especially the academia on the innovative approaches and tools to adopt for theorising changing relations between religion and politics.

Most Christians are products of missionary theological traditions that came to us incorporating a variety of development activities, such as education, hospitals and agriculture. However, a number of people who belong to the various faiths seem withdrawn and have allowed politicians to have a field day. This thesis will enable us develop confidence in ourselves and help strengthen democratic institutions to ensure that the people live in freedom and peace and under laws based on the principles of justice. It is the expectation of this researcher that all who read this thesis will come to identify religion and politics as "two ways of world making," and will be able to explain why it is necessary, and how it is possible, for politics and religion to "teach" each other, using illustrations from many different religions. Profound shifts in economics, political culture, technology and political life create imperatives that make it necessary for religion and politics to come together to remake the world, in a shared vision.

1.4 Research Methodology

In gathering information, and data for this thesis, this researcher intends to use the qualitative methods involving participant observation, interviewing, administration of structured and unstructured questionnaires and case studies to collect quality data from two hundred and forty individuals for analysis. Relevant literatures on the subject under investigation would be

critically consulted to determine what has already been written about the problem at stake. As already indicated elsewhere, the rationale for writing on the topic has been largely because the researcher has had the opportunity to serve in the political arena before and is currently a Pastor. Ethical considerations in the conduct of research would be followed to prevent ethical dilemmas. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity some names of respondents and that of institutions involved would not be mentioned. Among those we intend to interview are politicians, some government officials, chiefs, the clergy and where relevant, representatives from civil society organizations.

1.5 Outline of the Study

The research will look at the main Religions in Ghana and how they influence Politics in Ghana. In the case of African Primal Religion, we will focus our scope on the Akans in Ghana with particular reference to the Asante's where we will examine the position of the chief before the colonial intervention when he had performed political, administrative, executive, judicial, military, cultural and spiritual functions. We will then relate it to what our chiefs' role is in the contemporary situation and determine whether religion plays any role in their administrative and or judicial functions. The thesis is divided into six chapters, in the first of which we introduce the issues at stake by providing a statement of the problem, the significance of the research, methods would adopt for the research as well as books and periodicals to be consulted and personalities to be interviewed. Problems and challenges encountered during the research are also highlighted.

Chapter two will look at Ghana and how it evolved from kingdom to a nation. We will study its ethnicity and the system of Governance it practiced before colonialism and this will include the

Institution of chieftaincy. A closer look at the Akan Political System will then be undertaken to establish the commonalities and dis-commonalities with the Political System introduced by colonial masters.

The third chapter looks at the major religions in Ghana where the living beliefs and cultural practices and thoughts of the people as well as the degree to which it fulfils their religious and political aspirations are captured. The religions are African Traditional Religion, Christianity, and Islam. Religion and how it interfaces with politics will also be examined. We will then take a look at the religious practice and values of the people of Ghana with particular reference to the Akans.

In chapter four, we will provide a brief political history of Ghana and examine the issue of governance in detail. Examples of how some of our leaders interfaced religion in their work schedules will be provided. During the pre-colonial times, there tended to be a close identity and interaction between the religious and political spheres and a strong sense of common purpose between the two. The religious authorities were often the political authorities. Today, there is a separation between the Church and the State, between the religions and the political sphere. This chapter will take a look at the church and state and bring out their commonalities. We will then examine the convergence of religion and politics. How religion has helped in the socio-economic development of the Country and how it has involved itself in politics to ensure that the social mandate of the church has been prosecuted will be discussed here.

In chapter five, the research will focus on corruption and poverty and trace the causes of corruption and the effects it has on national development as well as what counter-measures we

can adopt to stem the tide. We shall examine the church and its mandate for social change in theory and the practical response they have developed in fighting poverty and corruption in the country as well as ensuring that there is equity and parity in the distribution of the National cake. We will then examine the relation between religion and morality and its effects on development. In chapter six, a summary of the issues discussed will be outlined and some recommendations will be formulated and statement of conclusions made.

1.6 Literature Review

Pobee (1991: 8) has written a book on Religion and Politics in Ghana where he establishes the all pervasive nature of religion in the African society. He focuses the research on the Nkrumah and Acheampong regimes and shows how certain religious clerics manipulated Nkrumah and Acheampong for their own selfish ends. He defines Politics as “The process of creating public policy through influencing or controlling the sources of power and authority. The process involves competition and usually conflict.” Pobee is right when he says that:

Politics concerns how the sources of power and authority may be channelled into creating viable public policy. It involves competition and conflict because it concerns the relationships between at least two groups in society e.g. the haves and have-nots, and the social and economic framework which arise from this interaction

Pobee’s work is quite lucid. However, his work fails to cover the roles of Africa’s primal religions as well as what Christianity and Islam have contributed to the socio-economic development of the Country. This thesis will capture not only that but look at how religion has been used by some of our leaders in governance. The work of the media will also be interrogated to determine whether or not they contribute to development in the interplay of power and authority.

In writing about political Corruption, Gyekye (1997: 2) was quick to mention that in the event of the public discovery of scandalous acts of official corruption, people talk in anguish about the decline of societal morals and the low status of moral integrity, virtue and character of our public officials. He argues that “political corruption, despite its name, is essentially or fundamentally a moral problem and that serious and profound commitment to our moral beliefs and principles will be the most adequate therapeutic response to the phenomenon of political corruption.” The researcher shares in this opinion and wants to argue that the solution to the breakdown of the moral fiber of the society is the introduction of religion in politics.

Asante (2007: 111) cites Waldo Beach who says that “To approach all political problems with the chant, “religion should not mix with politics” is to misunderstand the nature of religion and to seal off politics from the moral guidance it needs and might derive from religion”. There is a general axiom by Plato which says that “The price the wise who refuse to participate in governance pay is to be ruled by a government of foolish men/women”. The implication is that when the godly or righteous refuse to get involved in politics, then they will be ruled by the ungodly or unrighteous.

Does the Bible have something to say about politics? What about the African primal religions, particularly the primal religion of the Akan’s of Ghana? We shall look at a few instances to inform our minds to take a position on the subject under discussion. Marbell (Feb. 2009: 75) in an article on “The Bible and Politics” in the *Jabs Journal of African Biblical Studies*, Vol. 2 quotes Pastor Martin Niemoeller of Nazi Germany who says:

In Germany they came first for the communist, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionist and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no one was left to speak up.

When religious people remain adamant about politics and choose not to actively involve themselves in the political dispensation of the day, they stand the risk of annihilation. Engstrom (1976:11) opens the introduction to his book *The Making of a Christian Leader* with a thought provoking statement. He says:

Our nation and the world today are faced with the problems that appear insurmountable. Security and defence problems are staggering. For the most part, our youth, our future leaders, are confused, alienated, and demoralized. Morals are at an all-time low. Moral standards are almost nonexistent. The growing national debt, bankrupt nations, financially troubled cities, and economic instability create more alarm each passing day. Amid these grave circumstances, our generation is facing an equally serious problem: a leadership crisis.

Stott (1999: 421) also has the following to say about the gloomy situation the world finds itself:

Globally, there are still the terrifying size of nuclear arsenals, the widespread violations of human rights, the environmental and energy crisis, the North-South economic inequality. Socially, there are the tragedy of long-term unemployment, the continuance of conflict in industrial relations, the outbreaks of racial violence. Morally, Christians are disturbed by the forces which are undermining the stability of marriage and the family, the challenges to sexual mores and sexual roles, and the scandal of what is virtually abortion on demand. I might add, there are the spread of materialism and the corresponding loss of any sense of transcendent reality. ...People are confused, bewildered, alienated. To borrow the metaphors of Jesus, we seem to be "like sheep without a shepherd", while our leaders often appear to be "blind leaders of the blind".

From the above quotes by Engstrom and Stott, one can see that it is not far-fetched to strongly advocate for involvement of religion in politics and governance. Psalm 125:3 says “The wicked will not rule the land of the godly, for then the godly might be tempted to do wrong.” This thesis seeks to address the intersection of religion and politics, the two powerful forces as it plays out in our world today.

Thomson (2007: 59, 67) discusses primarily ethnicity and how it is used as a method of modern political mobilization. He argues that even though ethnicity and religion sometime result in violence, such desires and demands can be channeled peacefully through political institutions to further the development of a country. He continues to say that “As with ethnicity, religion has also long been established as a social cleavage generating political competition within, and between societies. Ever since humans have been in existence, individuals have been mobilizing politically by referring to spiritual beliefs”.

This is very true in Ghanaian politics. During the 2008 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, one Prophet Nkansah claimed that he had received a message from God to establish a Political party and contest the Presidential elections. (<http://news.myjoyonline.com/news>, assessed on 10th August 2008). He accordingly registered the New Vision Party but was disqualified by the Electoral Commission from contesting because he failed to meet all the eligibility criteria. Nkrabea Effah Dartey also contested in the New Patriotic Party primaries for selection of their Presidential candidate on the slogan that it is God who had asked him to contest (<http://news.peacefmonline.com/news>, assessed on 6th July 2008)

The National Narcotics Control Board has been in the news of recent past for the successes it is chalking by the arrests they have been making. On September 9th, 2009, *Joy FM* interviewed Akrasi Sarpong, the Executive Director of Narcotics Control Board during the 6pm “News file”. He was asked to explain the secret behind the success hauls his commission had made. He said that he had been successful because of the God he serves. For the African as it is the case in Ghana, the physical world is controlled by many kinds of spirits - the earth, rivers, rain, sun, ancestors and ghosts of the dead who have achieved partial divinity. These beliefs give a powerful political position to individuals, priests, lineage and clan elders, rainmakers, diviners, prophets and other figures who act as intermediaries to the spirits. Thomson (2007: 68) says that even though politicians may have been promoting alternative ideologies and belief systems like nationalism, socialism, capitalism, populism and so on, “None of these ideas could supersede the notions of Christianity or Islam in African minds”.

It is significant to note that from time to time, the religious institutions served as rallying point and conduit for individuals and civil society to express grievances against the state. In South Africa for instance, during the apartheid regime, when the white minority government had banned all other violent and peaceful black opposition groups during the 1980’s and early 1990’s, leaving the liberation movement voiceless, it was church leaders who stepped into this political vacuum (. Whereas a Government can easily place a ban on the activities of civil society groups, political parties or labour groups (The Progress Party Government proscribed the Trades Union Congress), churches and mosques are always given space to operate. Religion therefore

has and continues to serve as the conscience of the people and therefore cannot separate itself from politics.

The Christian Council of the then Gold Coast (now Ghana) has a publication (1955: 17-19) which features Professor K. A. Busia's lecture on "Ancestor Worship, Libation, Stools, Festival." Busia talks about the moral codes of the people of Ashanti and posits that the Ashanti have concepts of right and wrong, of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, culturally defined in terms of their own life and belief, where the ancestors and gods punish those who violate the traditionally sanctioned code, and reward those who keep it. He continues that the moral standards are sanctioned by the ancestors who see to it that they are observed.

When it comes to enforcement of morality, Williamson (1955: 108-109), in writing about the Akan, records that a student of his once remarked that "In the olden times there were no policemen and no need of them, the gods were the policemen". In those days, says Williamson, "The customs and traditional ways of life sanctioned by the spirit-ancestors and the gods provided the framework of the Akan ethical code".

Kudadjie (1978: 171) has this to say:

The promise and expectation, coupled with actual experience, of blessing and protection of the Supreme God and other spirit-powers for those who kept the moral code, on the one hand, and the fear and threat, coupled with the actual

experience, of punishment and desertion by the spirit-powers kept people doing what was right and avoiding what was wrong

Again, continues Kudadjie, curses also served as inhibitions. It was used to enforce morality in various other aspects of life including even marital fidelity. Punishments inflicted include physical illness, death, insanity or inability to leave the scene of offence. In the case of adulterers punishments include the inability to separate after the illicit sexual intercourse or impotence. Besides these religious sanctions there are a host of other social sanctions which could be divided into the positive, - those meant to encourage and give incentive to the good life, and the negative, - those meant to discourage the immoral. Kudadjie (1978: 172) provides a few examples. In the first place, society has the institution of honouring members who distinguish themselves in humane acts, bravery, and to mention a few, by giving them gifts of land and other property. Sometimes, they are given honorific names and titles. Parents also give gifts to a good, reliable child, or tell family secrets, show family property, or disclose secret knowledge of herbs or spiritual powers.

In the publication by Christian Council of the Gold Coast (1955: 5), Busia is quoted on the topic, “The African World View” a saying:

The African view of man in society in general lays more emphasis on his membership of a group than on his individuality. The membership of the group continues beyond death into life beyond. The dead, the living and the yet unborn form an unbroken family, and this concept is given emphasis in institutions and ritual.

From the scholars cited above, it becomes clear that religion teaches the person to realise that the quality of a person's life, is measured more by what that person does for others than by what he does for himself. A person fulfils his obligation not by what he accumulates for himself but by what he gives away to others; and the emphasis is clearly on group life and what each member can do for the community.

In the Akan community the relationship of the individual to the society is symbolised by a Siamese crocodile, with two heads, two tails and a common stomach. It is said that although they have a common stomach they struggle over food. The two heads is symbolic of the fact that each member of society has a uniqueness of his or her own, which is given expression in individual tastes, passions and desires. Even though conflicts in society arise because of the individuality of its members, the fact that the two crocodiles have one stomach also suggests that the members of the community share an identity of interests and must therefore cooperate with each other. The contribution of each leads to the good of all, and brings to the fore the futility of social conflicts. Members of the various political leanings are the same people who belong to the different religious persuasions in the country. It stands to reason therefore that we cannot divorce religion from politics.

The High God or Supreme Being is generally held by Ghanaians to be the creator of the world and everything in it as well as the source of all powers operating in it. Sarpong (2002: 95) posits that belief in a Supreme Being is central to African Traditional Religion. Among the Akans of Ghana, especially the Asantes, God's existence is known even by a child. The Asante have a proverb: *Obi Nkyere akwadaa Nyame* (Nobody has to show God to a child). The pervasiveness

of religion in the life of the African finds expression in legends, proverbs and symbols, some of which are provided here with their meanings.



Gye Nyame



ABODE SANTAAN



HYE ANHYE



AWIA REPUE



NYAME DUA



Actual Nyamedua tree that is placed in front of houses

Gye Nyame (Only God or Except God). It symbolises God Almighty, all present and all knowing. The symbol reflects the Akan belief of a Supreme Being, the Creator who they refer to by various names.

Abode Santaan (Totality of the Universe). It symbolizes God, the Creator; He created the sun, the moon and the stars, the rain and the wind; He created life, the human being, and He created

death. He lives forever. The symbol incorporates the eye, the rays of the sun, the double crescent moon, and the stool. The sun, the moon, and the eyes depict natural creation by a Supreme Being, while the stool depicts the socially created institutions and the creativity of human beings.

Hye Anhye (Unburnable). It is a symbol of the imperishability of the self, permanency of the human soul and toughness. This represents the idea that God, the Spirit, never dies, or God lives forever. The Akan belief is that the human soul, an image of God, the Spirit, lives in perpetuity. Thus, there is life after the death of the physical part of the human being.

Awia repue (rising sun). Symbol of vitality, life spark, warmth and energy. God is referred to as *Omawia* (source of the Sun's energy and vital force). This symbol became associated with the Progress Party in the 1969 general parliamentary elections in Ghana. To the Progress Party their policies symbolized the rising sun (*awia repue*); as an indication of progress.

Nyame Dua (God's tree). It is a three forked post planted in home compounds, an altar for God. It symbolises God's presence everywhere and every time, his protection and spirituality. The Akan used to place the *Nyame Dua* (God's tree) in front of the house as a sign of God's presence and protection.

These symbols which demonstrate the religiosity of the Akan, as in the case of all Ghanaians, have been incorporated into the liturgical art of the sanctuary of the Catholic Church in Ghana while other religious denominations have incorporated several of the Akan symbols in various aspects of church activities and church symbolisms. The religiosity of the African reflects in their moral conduct, since it is believed that God is the ultimate guardian of human morality.

Mbiti (1975: 174), writing about morality says that morals deal with the question of what is right and good, and what is wrong and evil, in human conduct. He says that there is a general belief that in African societies as in Ghana, their morals were given to them by God from the very beginning. It implies that moral concepts such as good, bad, right, and wrong are to be defined in terms of religious prescriptions or the commands of some supernatural being and that moral beliefs, principles, and ideals derive logically from those of religion. Religious prescriptions therefore provide the necessary justification for moral beliefs, principles and judgments. One cannot be far from right to say that the moral conduct of individuals are determined or greatly influenced by their religious beliefs. Politicians will therefore largely behave uprightly if they uphold the tenets of their religious faith.

The Bible says that “Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it (Prov. 22:6, NIV). When we take these words seriously and strive to bring up our children in the fear and admonition of the Lord, they will grow up having developed virtues that will impact on the way they do things when they ascend to public office. We submit that because religion does not receive the emphasis it received decades ago in secular education, all absolutes have been denied and there is therefore no basis for morality. It is no wonder that we live in an era of moral laxity and unbridled permissiveness.

Thomson (2007: 69), writes that some Muslims, broadly termed as Islamists, disagree that religion and the state should exist apart. Instead, Islamists argue that religion without authority is

worthless. Islamists point to the West where religion has become detached from public policy, and they see decadent societies where greed, crime, materialism and a lack of community are rife and argues for the unification of religion and politics because it is a faith that seeks to regulate both the spiritual and temporal worlds. In terms of politics, Islamists advocate *shari'a* to be the guiding principles of government. *Shari'a* law is developed from the Qur'an, and Islamists argue that a State's implementation of *Shari'a* correctly will bring justice, order and clarity to a society.

Ball and Dagger (2006: 25, 29), in writing about Political Ideologies and democratic Ideal describes Christianity as a natural ally of democracy since Christianity proclaims that every person, regardless of gender, nationality or status, is a child of God. Christianity stands for radical equality. Rich or poor, slave or free, citizen or alien, Greek, Jew or Roman, woman or man are all equal in the eyes of God. Therefore, when politicians begin to trample on the freedom of other people and promote social exclusiveness, religious institutions must, as a matter of necessity, speak out and bring such people to order.

Haralambos and Holborn (2004: 236-242, 421) in discussing power, politics and the state provide examples that support the claim that religion promotes change. Among the examples are:

- a. In the USA in the 1960's the Reverend Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian leadership Council played a leading role in establishing civil rights and securing legislation intended to reduce racial discrimination.

- b. Poland provides another example of religion stimulating change. The Catholic Church opposed the communist state in Poland, and it supported the attempts of the free trade union solidarity to achieve changes in Polish society. In 1989 the communist monopoly on power was broken when Solidarity was allowed to contest and win many seats in the Polish Parliament.
- c. In South Africa, Archbishop Tutu was a prominent opponent of apartheid. It is said that examples like this led Nelson Mandela to conclude that “far from encouraging people to accept their place, religion can spearhead resistance and revolution” (Haralambos 2004: 421)

The foregoing and other examples that will feature in the thesis will affirm that religion really has a role to play in politics. In fact, the thesis will establish that religious influences are visible in all aspects of life of the Ghanaian, including politics. The ideas we entertain, the behaviour of political elites and ordinary citizens, the interpretation of public laws and the development of public programmes have religious flavour.

O'Donovan (2000: 171) writes that there is something God wants Christians and people of other faiths to do when evil leaders oppress and destroy nations. There are actions which the church can take to change the situation. He adds, “God’s people must understand that both in national governments and in church governments, corrupt officials do not give up their positions of power and influence without a fight” God has given Christians weapons to use in influencing political discourses in our country. The Bible says, “For though we live in the world, we do not wage war

as the world does. The weapons we fight with are not the weapons of the world. On the contrary, they have divine power to demolish strongholds” (2 Corinthians 10:3-4, NIV). This thesis will dilate on some of the strongholds and the spiritual weapons people of religious faiths can use to fight to overcome strongholds of evil influence.

Koduah (2008: 51), writes about the importance of developing right attitudes and says that the nation will change for the better if only the citizens will change their attitudes. The new Webster’s Dictionary defines attitude as “the posture of a person or a person’s mental or moral disposition” The Bible says in Proverbs 23:7 that “as a man thinks, so is he.” It has been said that it takes skills, knowledge and attitude to get things done. However, attitude to a large extent, determines a person’s output. Ghana abounds with plethora of professionals. We have teachers, nurses, doctors, civil servant, engineers, the clergy, architects, planners to name a few. Some of these people have a lot of experience on their jobs and yet because they do not apply the right attitudes to their jobs, not much is achieved through them.

Ghana is a Country that is blessed with mineral resources like gold, diamond, manganese and bauxite. Just recently, the country has hit large deposits of crude oil. The four main ecological zones, which comprise southern savannah, the forest, and the transitional and northern savannah zones are conducive for agricultural production. Okyere (2000: 199) states that at independence in 1957, the nation had reserves of £200 million, but Gadzekpo (1998: 202) posits that by 1966, the country was already bankrupt as the external debts stood at £400 million. This sad state of

affairs is blamed on years of economic mismanagement and corruption by Government officials and technocrats. If all Ghanaians can have a change of attitude, it will enhance nation building. This change of attitude can come about only from the religious point of view. African Traditional Religion, Christianity and Islam are the three main religions of Ghana. All of them have a theology of a righteous God who is present and active in the day to day activities of the world. It stands to reason therefore to say that the nation requires men and women who are morally upright and God fearing to take political appointments.

Indeed, all human government is necessarily derivative of and circumscribed by God's Sovereign leadership (Eph. 1:20-21; Phil. 2:9-10; Col. 2:10). Accordingly, in our discussion of the subject at stake, there is the need to recognize that in the light of God's overall headship, not only are the leaders of the people of God chosen by Him (Deut. 17:14-15), but also secular authorities are instituted by Him (Dan. 2:37-38; 4:31-32; Rom. 13:1). It is God who promotes or demote those in positions of leadership. (Ps. 2:75:6-7). God neither abdicates His position of supremacy nor completely delegates that authority to human leaders, but desires that the world be governed through human beings in accordance with his will (Gen. 1:28). In effect, all leaders are ultimately accountable to God (Luke 12:48; Heb. 13:17).

It is instructive to observe that the National motto of Ghana is "Freedom and Justice." Justice is a derivative of righteousness and these are the standards in doing politics in the Bible. God chose Saul, David and others to rule over Israel. Whenever the Kings lived in righteousness, Israel enjoyed peace and prosperity. In the same vein, Israel received due punishment whenever they ignored the rules provided by God. The researcher submits that the same concepts of

“Righteousness and Justice” should be the measuring rod for evaluating politics in Ghana.

Asante (2007: 98) writes:

The ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the one essential ministry of the church, has a “positive bearing upon the transformation of human society not only in the private domain of thought and feeling but also in the public domain of law, government and economics”. This involvement of the church in the social, cultural, political and economic development of society has shown clearly that, while the Church seeks to avoid any kind of political reduction of the Christian faith, the Church is increasingly aware that the Christian faith has a concrete dimension involving certain socio-political attitudes and commitments

This statement implies that the Church has a mandate to present constructive, social, economic, political and religious criticism in view of justice which is central to the very being of God. To be able to do this, Asante (2007: 105) continues that the church and for that matter other religious bodies must have some understanding of the workings of our society particularly how our society is structured in ways that place others in good stand and give them unfair advantage over others even when the privileged ones do not intend to be unjust. He concludes that there should be a commitment to correct injustice, not just on ad-hoc basis but by replacing the unjust structures with equitable ones. This is a social mandate of the church and its failure will be lack of responsiveness to the Gospel itself.

Religious beliefs have moral and social implications, and it is appropriate for people of faith to express these through their activities as citizens in the political order. The fact that ethical convictions are rooted in religious faith does not disqualify them from the political realm. However, they do not have secular validity merely because they are thought by their exponents to be religiously authorized. They must be argued for in appropriate social and political terms in harmony with national values. Let it be said here that it is the very people who profess religious

faith that participate in politics in the state. It is therefore very difficult, almost impossible to determine where to draw the line, if there should be a line of demarcation at all. In the Ghanaian context, there have been instances where the Christian Council and the Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference have jointly or separately addressed secular issues of national concern. In the foreword of *Ghana Bishops Speak* (1999: xiii), Cardinal Appiah Turkson writes that the church has “endeavoured, relying on God’s help, to give direction, to admonish, to exhort, to correct, to encourage and to praise Ghanaians, and indeed, the local Ghanaian Church in her quest to be faithful to her vocation and character through the vagaries and vicissitudes of life”. A few of the Communiqués, Memoranda and Pastoral Letters the Church has issued to various Governments in time past will suffice here. The Supreme Military Council led by Col. I. K. Acheampong which had assumed the reign of power in 1972 had wanted to introduce what it called Union Government and make Col. Acheampong “Life President”. The Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference issued a Memorandum on March 30th, 1977 to Government and all the churches in Ghana (*Ghana Bishops Speak*: 1999: 14-15, 18). It expressed its disapproval to the idea and made observations as well as recommendations, a few of which the researcher captures here:

1. That Ghana is a geographically, culturally, linguistically and socially a heterogeneous society with varying stages of scientific and technological development. Local concerns and interests differ and prevail in people’s thinking. Unless this diversity is recognized and reflected in any Government which must then set about working and cutting across it, in order to achieve a degree of desirable unity within it, we shall be doing an injustice to a vast majority of Ghanaians.

2. That the proposed Union Government would be dominated by a minority and professional interests, as would inevitably be the case in the Army-Police-Civilian Alliance. The obviously inherent danger in such a government is the fact that the Army and the Police, because of their position, would normally have their way.
3. ...District Councils should be strengthened by religious and traditional interests, and empowered to handle important matters on the local level.

In the concluding part of the Communique, a profound statement was made: “Fully aware that all authority comes from God, we pray, trust and hope that the future leaders of this Country will derive their inspiration and guidance from the immutable laws of God....” This confirms the assertions made in the opening portions of this thesis that all kingships whether secular or religious are derivative of God. The Church even advocated for religious and traditional interests to be included on the District Councils (now Metropolitan, Municipal, and District Assemblies).

In another Pastoral Letter issued on September, 25th 1992 (1999: 211-216), the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference, jointly expressed some concerns which they regarded as important for the smooth transition to the Fourth Republic. They called on Ghanaians not only to seek the guidance of the Almighty God in casting their vote, but also to inform themselves, as thoroughly as possible, as to the claims and purposes of the rival Presidential candidates and political parties. Again, they called upon all men and women to refrain absolutely from all forms of violence, ethnic bigotry, intolerance, insinuations and intimidation of any kind. The two bodies even set the week beginning on Sunday, 25th October

1992 as a Special Week of Prayer for the Nation and called all citizens of Ghana to observe the week.

Such is the clout of Religious bodies. Whenever there are political and or ethnic tensions in the country, they have stood up to mitigate the situations. The Church is on record to have spoken against social evils, corruption and bad governance. (Ghana Bishops Speak, 1999)

Asante (1995: 162) agrees that human institutions have the right to offer suggestions on socio-political issues. He says:

As human institutions ordained by God, governments and other ruling institutions, whether understood as sacred or as secular, are subject to the rule of God. Therefore church community, as the witness of God's Kingship in this world, needs to make its voice better heard on socio-political issues. As itself a sacred community brought into being by the Kingly activity of God in the mission of Jesus in order to testify to God's Kingdom, the church needs to make responsible engagements in social and political tasks.

What Asante means is that it is important for Religion to confront the ruling authorities and other elements of the social order if we want equity and social order to prevail in the society.

Nicholls (1986: 163-177), cited Tokunboh Adeyemo's work on which he discusses "the Church and its Mandate for Social Change." It provides an insight into the mission of the church in the world. The church's social responsibility derives from and fulfils that for which Christ was sent. In Luke 4:18-19 which is a quotation from Isaiah 61:1-2, Jesus enunciates his mission in terms of proclamation, healing and liberating. God has exalted Jesus to the highest place and has given him the name that is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to

the glory of God the Father (Phillipians 2:9-11, NIV). In this divine declaration, God does not exclude any part of the created universe from the domain of Christ's leadership. Neither does he exempt any creature. The Lordship of Jesus Christ extends to, and covers, all of life and its daily reality. Throughout the Old Testament, Yahweh is proclaimed as just and righteous (2 Chr. 12:6; Neh. 9:3; Jer. 9:24). He looks for justice and righteousness (Isa. 5:7). He challenges his people "to seek justice, encourage the oppressed, defend the cause of the fatherless and plead the case of the widow" (Isa.1:17). The church therefore is to empathize with the poor, the oppressed, the sick as well as the marginalized and provide support for them.

Again, it has a mandate to speak against the ills of the society. It stands therefore that the church has a role to play in the politics of the society so as to ensure that politicians do not take the nation for a ride. There are people who hold the view that indices used to measure the development of a nation are types of buildings and highways, forms of transportation and communication systems, number of high-technology industries, kinds of energy in use and the extent to which people are computer literate or linked to the internet. They forget that there is a symbiotic relationship between religion, morality and development. Kudadjie and Ganusah et al (2002: 31) discusses the relevance of religion and morality and argues that moral development is necessary for economic and technological development. It cannot be far from the truth to say that throughout human history, the quest for God has inspired the art, poetry, music, literature and morality that have enriched human civilizations. Kudadjie et al (2002: 43) writes:

When people have truly encountered God, what is referred to as religious experience, they gain new insight into the way things are; their outlook on life

changes for the better; their life is ennobled; their conscience is sharpened; a fundamental change in the disposition of their heart occurs; and their sensitivity to abhor evil is heightened. Such persons have the capacity to tell right from wrong; their one great desire is to be good, and they are irresistibly urged to do the right and avoid the wrong

No good tree bears bad fruit. It is equally true that out of the heart come evil thought, murder, adultery, fornication, theft, false witness and slander (Matthew 15:19). We therefore submit that religious bodies should be pro-active and critique national policies and plans as well as prepare well thought out alternative development plans based on positive religious values and hand them to the appropriate bodies. As indicated by Kudadjie, by inviting themselves into the decision-making platform, religious bodies can profoundly influence national policies for the overall development of Ghana. Moral concerns are central to humanness. Moral values, moral choice and moral responsibility are human universals.

Significantly, among the Akan of Ghana, the sacred and secular finds its congruence in the monarchy. For the Akans, the monarch is sacred because he participates in the Kingship of God as God's servant-representative. The researcher agrees with Asante (1995: 132) that the monarch "symbolizes the people's relation to the Supreme Being and to his divine emissaries, namely, the ancestors and lesser divinities. In Ashanti, The Asantehene (King of Ashanti) serves as a corporate entity that incorporates all his subjects. According to Asante (1995: 132), by virtue of the fact that he sits on the stool that symbolizes the presence of the ancestors and as a corporate personality he fosters perpetual communion or contact between the living, the unborn and the dead members of his community. The Asantehene is also the fountain of justice because

as judge, he ensures that the equilibrium of society is maintained. According to Asante (1995: 133), “For the Akan, a monarch is one chosen by the people to a sacred office informed by the Kingship of God.” *Onyame* (God) is the origin of both the Akan royalty and the community insofar as He is the *Oboadee Nyinaa*, (Creator of all things). In this respect, an Akan monarch is expected to promote and indeed, be the concrete manifestation of traditional values such as godliness, respect for authority, and a strong sense of group solidarity precisely because Akan monarchs are more than political leaders. Godliness is expected of them because they are perceived as *ahene-akomfo* (priest-kings) who lead their people in the formal worship of God through the sacred deputies, the lesser-divinities, and the ancestors, concludes Asante. The fusion of religion in the political leadership of the Asantehene has been largely responsible for the peace, cohesion and the stability of the Asante State.

This understanding of the Akan’s that all things are creations of God make all things sacred. Therefore the Akan sees the earth, rivers as well as plants and animals to mention a few, as sacred. Commitment to the Kingdom of God therefore calls for the practice of fairness and impartiality in dealing with others as well as the environment. Years of ecological mismanagement the world over, has brought most of the nations to the brink of ecological disaster. Ghana is no exception. There is talk of the green-house effect and the depletion of the ozone layer. Governments are at their wits end in finding ways of getting its citizenry to abide by measures that can stabilize the situation. It is the view of this researcher that if the Government of Ghana for instance incorporates the African view of nature (which is religious) and the environment in its policies, it will in no time formulate an “ecological theology” that will be all

embracing. The Akans view of nature as sacred can serve as a unique relationship to nature. Indeed, the Akans like all other tribes and cultures in Ghana, regardless of their religious leanings, attribute all happenings and phenomena of national or tribal consequences to God. Sarpong (1974: 11) says, “He makes the sunshine, He rains, He thunders, He sends epidemics, He causes plagues, He is responsible for famine, drought, too much rain and an unusual wave of deaths”. Let it be said here that to the Ghanaian, poverty, wealth, sickness, bad crops, abundant harvest, and health are all caused by God and the deities as reward for righteousness or punishment for violations of sanctioned laws and prohibitions. It is not unusual for people who profess to be Christians or Muslims to approach their Pastors, Imams or the lesser deities in African Primal religion to consult and ask for propitiations when they are sick and such sickness cannot be diagnosed by medical officers, or when a calamity befalls them. We should always bear in mind that the Constitution of the Republic (1992) provides that Government shall have the primary responsibility to secure for the citizenry prosperity and blessings of liberty, equality of opportunity and prosperity, freedom, justice, probity and accountability. In spite of such provisions, Ghanaians do not go to Government as first resort when they are faced with socio-political problems, but appeal to God and the deities. No wonder Mbiti (1975: 10) writes that religion “has dominated the thinking of African peoples to such an extent that it has shaped their cultures, their social life, their political organizations and economic activities” According to him, Africans believe that religion is relevant in all these areas of life. We therefore submit that without religion as its base, development will be reduced to an appendage of capitalist ideology and, therefore, will not offer much to the people of Africa and Ghanaians for that matter.

The notoriously religious nature of the African, and yet society's insistence for religion to stay away from politics has been the cause of our woes. This is not to say that there is lack of people to fill administrative positions or serve in Political office. What we are stressing is the need for political leaders who evidence integrity and can stand the pressures of the corrupt society. The truth is that the African cannot divorce religion from politics. In January 2009, the Minority Leader of the Parliament of Ghana, Hon Kyei Mensah Bonsu, complained on the floor of Parliament that he had seen that his swivel chair had been tampered with and suspected that somebody may have planted a juju substance underneath the chair. This had caused the Speaker of Parliament of the Republic of Ghana to set up a three-member committee to investigate the matter (<http://news.myjoyonline.com/news>, assessed on 9th January 2009). Of recent past, the rate of accidents on our roads has risen at a very alarming rate. People have suggested that apart from the indisciplined nature of some drivers which may contribute to such accidents, the hand of spiritual beings involved in such accidents cannot be discounted. Pastors, Parliamentarians, and Traditional heads have called for a Nation-wide prayer session to help stem the tide.

On the International front, the involvement of Africa's churches in the public sphere has been increasingly recognized by international organizations including the World Bank. Belshaw and Calderisi, et al (2001: 237) have said that the World Bank has recognized that to succeed in addressing poverty it needs to be in partnership with the churches. This is because it recognized the strategic advantage of the church in poverty alleviation. The church is rooted in the community. It is present not just in urban areas but also, and particularly, in the remote rural areas, including even areas of conflict where many Non-Governmental organizations are unable

to operate. The church is non-partisan and serves the whole society, the family, the community, and even the government. It serves the rich and the poor and spans ethnic and other dividing lines. The church is not in a position to take power, nor is it interested in such struggles; hence it is not in competition with established political and traditional structures. It is also recognized that the church conforms to moral order. In practice, its personnel are by and large people of integrity. Comparatively speaking, the Church has a high credibility, even in skeptical modern society. Also, the traditional African awe of religion means the Church is held in high esteem, and is even expected to serve as the conscience of society.

Calderisi et al (2001: 210) has stated that “The Church is the one forum where leaders and followers in society can dialogue in a mutual exchange of information and support, thus empowering citizens and requiring accountability of leaders” He further reveals that as part of the World Bank study on poverty in the twenty-first century, a consultation was held in Johannesburg in 2001 where the major areas of debate were poverty measurement and definition. It was revealing that among economists, cultural anthropologists, and sociologists alike, there was agreement that any measurement and definition that does not include the religious dimension is inadequate. This theological shift is very significant for the church, since it legitimizes its role in development. It continues that no matter how advanced materially a country may be, without the dimension of religious experience and values, that progress cannot pass for development. It cites the case of Russia which has more engineers per head than most Western nations and is able to send human beings into space, yet it has hundreds and thousands of people sleeping under bridges and is receiving aid from the IMF and World Bank as if it were

a third world country. Another example is that of India which exports Medical Doctors to the rest of the world and has nuclear capacity. Yet poverty in India is desperate by comparison with other developing countries. This may be largely due to the absence of the religious dimension in the developmental agenda of the country. Politicians run for office, and however good they may be they still cannot separate what they do from winning the next election. However, the church serves the people ecumenically, without favour to ethnic or denominational allegiance. People want society to be shaped by a moral vision – not just by economic, social and political constructiveness. Religion must therefore corroborate with politics and vice versa to facilitate a harmonious way of life.

Okwudiba (1986), has written extensively on Politics, Democracy in Africa and the use of State power. He provides definitions for politics as well as power and authority which will be discussed in chapter four.

1.7 Problems and Challenges

The topic of this thesis will provoke excitement in most of the people interviewed. However, for fear of political victimization, I will remain anonymous. I will attempt to look for and interview politicians who are in one way or the other, resolved for religious means to win power or undermine one political party or another. We know that this will not be an easy task but we will try our best. However, because of the sensitive nature of some of the stories, not all will be cited

in this thesis. Since distinguished politicians are scattered all over the country, collecting data will be expensive because it will involve a lot of travelling. Nonetheless, we will persist to gather the data to support our assertions in this thesis.

1.8 Conclusion

Section 26 (1) of the *1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana* provides for every Ghanaian to practice any religion of his or her choice. There is however no mention in the Constitution for separation of the State from the church or Religion. In Asante (2007: 111), Waldo is quoted as having said that “The double standards approach, where we do politics according to its rules without any religious considerations and practice our religion without any political considerations, also do not hold water” Whatever religious faith we profess, we cannot be insulated from the socio-economic pressures of the world. After all the heavens and the world and everything in it are the creations of God. Moral authority is indeed conferred on the Church that obligates it to speak out about society’s ills. We therefore agree with Asante (2007: 112-113), when he writes that:

The issue is not whether the Christian should be involved in politics, since by virtue of his citizenship of the human community, he is already immersed in politics. The real issue is how the Christian’s unavoidable participation in politics can be guided by Christian norms; how his transcendent loyalty to God in Christ can be made relevant to the choice he must take within the realm of Caesar.

There is therefore the utmost need for people who are seen to be morally upright and God fearing to involve themselves in politics.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIAL SET-UP OF GHANA

2.0 Introduction

In the next chapter, we will examine the major religions in Africa and the inseparability of religion and politics in the African context. We will try to show the religious undergird of the traditional political systems and how that affects modern politics. The symbiotic relationship between religion and politics in Africa, with particular reference to Ghana will also be examined. This chapter begins with general information on the origins of the historiographical traditions in the Gold Coast before it became Ghana. Its system of traditional governance with particular reference to the Chieftaincy Institution and the Akan Political system will be examined.

2.1 From Kingdom to Nation

West Africa is historically a fascinating cultural area, a region with a gorgeous, monarchical past, the cradle of empires. The first of these empires was called Ghana. This empire was centred in an area covered by modern republican states of Senegal, Mali and Mauritania. Bedu-Addo (1990:10-11) writes that the exact date of its inception is still unknown but some historians suppose it to have been founded by Berbers around the fourth century AD. By 790 AD political powers had passed on to a purely black dynasty which continued to rule till the thirteenth century, when it was overrun by Moorish invaders from Morocco. Amamoo (2007:2-3) writes that there is an absence of unchallengeable and conclusive archaeological and anthropological evidence about the origins of the people of Ghana, and when they settled in Ghana. However,

accepting the theory that early man originated from the land borders between Kenya and Ethiopia, he agrees to the hypothesis that migrations in various waves to present day West Africa, including Ghana, began about 50,000 BC. It is generally believed that as the various groups of migrants settled in different parts of the West Africa sub-region, principally in the forest areas where food and water were easily available, they would have developed into tribal groups with their own specific languages, customs and traditions. Amamoo (2007: 3) argues that linguistic evidence apart, it needs to be noted that the main tribal grouping in Ghana, the Akan, who form the majority of the population, have marked physical features and identical blood groups, as would be expected of people from the same gene pool. The official language, as would be expected of a former British colony is English. However, there are several local languages as there are tribes in the country (refer Appendix 3 for the Ethnographic map of Ghana). The principal local languages are Twi, Fante, Ga, Guan, Dagomba, Gonja, Hausa, Frafra, Wala and Dagbani. It is said that the former Ghana Empire had very important trading links with Kintampo, Begbo and the forest areas of present Ghana due to its gold deposits.

These trading contacts, according to Bedu-Addo (1990: 19), must have encouraged some amount of migratory tendencies from the powerful Ghana Empire down south, especially in times of war and during disputes. He writes that excavations near the Black Volta have established the existence of a civilisation with naturalist art reaching back to 1500 BC. Among Archaeologists, this is known as the Kintampo culture. It is not very clear who these people were, but the Akan people who live in the village of Hani and its surroundings in the Brong-Ahafo Region have a belief that their ancestors emerged from a big hole about six kilometres away from the

community. This site, incidentally, is one of the places where vestiges of the “Kintampo culture” have been found. He says that some Akan groups trace their ancestry to the West Sudan, where their forefathers were supposed to have fled Arab attacks. After wanderings in search for a new home, they reached the confluence of the Pra and Offin rivers and settled there. Various ethnic groups came from the old Ghana Empire and elsewhere and settled in the present day Ghana which our colonial masters christened Gold Coast, due to the blocks of massive gold found on its shores. Records at Ghana Statistical Services have it that in 1960 roughly 100 linguistic and cultural groups were recorded in Ghana. The subdivisions of each group share a common cultural heritage, history, language, and origin. These shared attributes were among the variables that contributed to state formation in the pre-colonial period. The Denkyiras, for example, who live along the Offin River, claim that their ancestors left the banks of the Nile River and crossed Islamic territory to settle at Nkyiraa in the present Brong-Ahafo Region for two centuries before moving to their current home (Bedu-Addo 1990:21). All the tribes had their own language and social organisation. The founders of the tribes or communities assumed the title chiefs and their lineage became the leaders or ruling class. The tribes then began their historical interactions with foreigners, notably, Arabs and the Europeans. In each case, trade, conquest and religion have been the principal modes of such interaction. Amamoo (2007: 23) says that the Arabs came from the north of Sahara Desert and penetrated the northern parts of present day Ghana from as far back as 600 AD and probably earlier.

They introduced their Muslim religion and by the time the Europeans represented by the British reached the north, that part of Ghana was very well organised and well-run as a Muslim enclave.

Samwini (2006: 22) corroborates this when he writes that Muslims were present in Ghana among the Gonja as far back as the middle of sixteenth century, among the Dagomba and the Wala by the seventeenth century and among some southern peoples especially Asante by the eighteenth century. Islam began in the north of the Country working down to Kumasi and eventually reached the coast in the 1840's to the early 1900's. Although the numerous forts along the coasts testify to hundreds of years of European presence, European contact was initially restricted to the coast. The littoral known as Gold Coast became a British Colony in 1874, and over the next thirty years two more protectorates were established, one over the northern territories, and one over the Ashanti Region in the centre – the latter effected by the British only with considerable difficulty. The Ashanti, members of the Twi-speaking branch of the Akan peoples, developed a powerful empire which reached its peak in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The British finally occupied Ashanti in 1896. Between 1944 and 1957 the Gold Coast remained a British Colony. Gifford (1998: 3) writes that the Colonial administration was both centralised and authoritarian. Just as important, the rulers manifested a sense of superiority over those they ruled, and power was experienced as coming from above rather than flowing from below. The ruled developed a sense of the state as an alien institution, to be feared but also to be deceived and exploited, since it existed on a plane above the people whom it governed, beyond any chance of control. Let it be said here that, even under self-Government, the situation has not changed that much. This will receive elucidation in chapter four. Following agitations led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Obetsebi Lamptey, Akuffo Addo and others, the British granted Ghana its independence on March 6th 1957 and we became a Republic on July 1st 1960.

The official language, as would be expected of a former British colony is English. This is spoken or understood by about sixty percent of the population, especially in the major cities and towns. The principal local languages are Akan, Ga, Ewe, Guan, Dagomba, Gonja, Hausa, Frafra, Walas and Dagbani. The subdivisions of each group share a common cultural heritage, history, language, and origin. These shared attributes were among the variables that contributed to state formation in the pre-colonial period.

2.2 Ethnicity and Creation of Tribe

There is no doubt that the frontiers of the former Ghana Empire never reached the boundaries of present Ghana, even though the old empire modified its borders a lot of times during its long history. It is however an established fact that the empire had very important trading links with Kintampo, Begho and the forest area further south, all in present day Ghana. Since the Sahel area has not been known to have possessed extensive gold deposits at anytime, where else could the gold of legendary Timbuktu have come from? There were trading contacts which might have encouraged some amount of migratory tendencies from the powerful Ghana Empire down south, especially in times of war and during disputes. In any case, some Akan groups trace their ancestry to the West Sudan, where their forefathers are supposed to have fled Arab attacks. After wanderings in search for a new home they reached the confluence of the Pra and Offin Rivers. When interviewed on December 10th 2009, Nana Dr. Otuo Serebour, Paramount Chief of Juaben Traditional Area, explained that among many human societies, the paramount reasons for getting together are security and protection against external enemies. This need brought people together

and over time they developed into ethnic groupings. To be able to fight internal and external aggressions, the ethnic groupings developed leadership that inspires and motivates. This is confirmed by Addo Dankwah III (2004:1) who goes further to say that normally, the chosen leader is the person who founded or who first occupied the area; or he might be a person with sterling leadership qualities or one who, in his own special way, radiated respect and confidence which helped the inhabitants to live in peace and harmony. This leadership arrangement developed into what we now know as the chieftaincy Institution. The extended family where the first leader is chosen from becomes the royal family from which chiefs for the community are selected. To make sure that the aspirations of the community are fulfilled and accountability is made manifest, a form of social contract is entered into between the chief, who serves as *Obirempong* (Paramount Chief), on one hand and the rest of the community on the other. He is made to swear to the community that he will rule with the consent and concurrence of the heads of the various family groupings. The leaders of the various groupings who have developed to become wing chiefs will also respond to the oath, saying that they and their descendants would retain their confidence so long as the Paramount Chief fulfilled the contractual obligations.

One basic difference prevails between the Akan and the other ethnic groups in Ghana. In an interview with Nana Owusu Ansah Sikatuo, Chief of Morso in Ashanti, on January 4, 2010, Nana explained that with the Akans, filiation within the lineage and the clan is via the women (matrilineal), whereas with the other groups, filiation is via the men (patrilineal). Every Akan belongs to the lineage and clan of his or her mother, or *abusua*, (family) and a man's legacy is inherited not by his own children but by the children of his clan. In the election of a new chief,

the candidates are chosen not from among the sons of the deceased or outgoing chief but from among his uncles, his cousins on his mother's line, his brothers by the same mother, or his nephews who are the sons of his sisters. This system of matrilineal filiations has resulted in a particular consideration for women, and the queen mothers have always enjoyed and retained a great influence in the choice of the successor to the stool and in the carrying out of everyday affairs. As an Akan himself, the researcher knows by experience and observation that it is the queen mother who nominates a candidate and submits same to the board of kingmakers for consideration and approval and installation as chief.

2.3 Institution of Chieftaincy

Chieftaincy has been an important institution of traditional governance long before the colonial masters colonised the tribes and brought the people together to form the Gold Coast. It has and continues to serve as the medium for the expression of social, political, religious and to some extent, economic authority. Addo Dankwah (2004: 19) says that in the pre-colonial period, “a chief was somebody who, in accordance with custom had been nominated, elected, enstooled or enskinned as a chief or, as the case may be, appointed and installed as such.” Chiefs by the definition held office as ordained by tradition. The communities had the power, without any outside interference to enstool and destool a chief. The colonial masters and subsequent Governments, after the country's attainment of independence enacted laws and Acts of Parliament that gave the Government the power to determine who is a chief. The *1979 Constitution* restored the pre-colonial definition of a chief and this has received recognition in the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. Article 270 of the *1992 Constitution* (1992:164)

says that “The institution of chieftaincy, together with its traditional councils as established by customary law and usage, is hereby guaranteed”. In article 277 (1992: 168), a chief is defined as:

A person, who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage, has been validly nominated, elected or selected and enstooled, enskinned or installed as a chief or queenmother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage.

Odotei and Awedoba (2006:15) write that in 1471, when the Europeans arrived on the coast of Ghana, their first contact was with a chief bedecked with gold ornaments and accompanied by an entourage of attendants. It was with the chiefs and their councils that agreements were signed for land to build the forts, castles and trading centres that dotted the coast. The chiefs played important roles in the trade in gold, slaves and other commodities creating the conditions for the commercial activities that defined the Ghanaian economy from the fifteenth through the nineteenth century.

Even when the Gold Coast was declared as a colonial territory and the British introduced their political system of democracy to govern the colony, Odotei et al (2006: 15) says that the chiefs again rose to the forefront of resistance against colonisation and agreements that undermined the sovereignty of their people. They say further that when the British realised that they lacked the resources and institutions to administer the territories by themselves, they decided to use the chiefs as agents for their indirect rule policy. In a paper by Nana Arhin Brempong cited by Odotei et al (2006: 32), he writes that the chief, before colonial intervention, performed political, administrative, executive, judicial, military, cultural and spiritual functions or exercised what may be called diffuse differential authority. Sarpong (1974: 39, 41) says that Africans and for

that matter Ghanaians hold a traditional belief that the dead become ancestors and all tribal taboos and laws are said to be for the ancestors and infringement of them infuriates them. The dead are supposed to partake invisibly in the life of this world. They continue the ties of kithship and kinship after death. Sarpong (1974: 42-43) continues that the Ghanaian does not worship his ancestor as Christians worship God or Muslims worship Allah. The ancestors are rather venerated. Ancestor veneration is a lineage or clan affair and it is here that it is mixed with politics and tribal authority. In the absence of an organised priesthood to cater for the needs of ancestors, the veneration of ancestors is in the hands of heads of towns and in the case of ancestors of chiefdoms and tribal ancestors, in the hands of Paramount Chiefs and Kings. The chief is therefore held in sacred position. He or she is a being hedged with sanctity or divinity.

Sarpong (1974: 43) cites Fortes who says that:

The ancestor cult, the supreme sanction of kinship ties, is a great stabilising force counteracting the centrifugal tendencies inherent in the lineage system. However widely the lineage may be dispersed, its members can never escape the mystical jurisdiction of their founding ancestor.

Sarpong concludes that in Ghana, “one is said to be a chief because the ancestors have made him so, and he is made a leader in order to render due cult to the ancestors”. According to him, all other functions of the chief are peripheral. From the above illustrations, one is left without a doubt about the important position chieftaincy occupies in our society. Chiefs serve as unifying factors and agents for peace and order in the society. Governments in the past and present do recognise that traditional disputes and rifts can best be resolved by our chiefs. A case in point is the Dagbon crisis which has claimed several lives. Government in an attempt to find solution to

the crisis has appointed the Asantehene to chair a committee of eminent chiefs to arbitrate, and indications are that progress has been made in resolution of the impasse. Annual festivals, old, revived and newly invented are held by chiefs to help bring together citizens and friends resident in other parts of the country and outside the country as well as local and central government officials and representatives of development agencies. The occasions are used to renew allegiance, launch appeal for funds to implement development projects, or inform Government of the needs of the communities. The occasion is also used to commission projects as school buildings, health posts, water project, and places of convenience initiated by the community or Central Government working through Local Government agencies. The *1992 Constitution* also makes provision for statutory functions, following those of 1969 and 1979 constitutions. Article 270 (3) of the *1992 Constitution* enjoins Traditional Councils to hear cases through their judicial committees on dispute, involving the validity of the nomination, election, selection, installation, deposition of a person as a chief and 270 (3b) to establish and operate a procedure for the registration of chiefs and the public notification in the Gazette or otherwise of the status of persons as chiefs in Ghana. Asante (1995: 161) says that the office of an Akan monarch is believed to be defined by the Kingship of Onyame. He cites Patrick Akoi who says:

Foremost amongst [Akan beliefs] is their belief that there exists one Supreme Being who is the King of the universe of which their own State is a part. On the basis of this belief, their clans and sub-tribes, which are all matriarchal, are organised with strictly centralised institutions of divine Kingship. Whoever is enstooled King, is recognised as a representative of the deity and so participates in His divine Kingship.

This researcher agrees with Asante when he says that this divine kingship, in a sense of divinely originated Kingship imposes certain obligations on the monarch. Asante (1995:161) writes:

An Akan monarch is expected to promote and indeed, be the concrete manifestation of traditional values such as godliness, respect for authority, and a strong sense of group solidarity precisely because Akan monarchs are more than political leaders. Godliness is expected of them because they are perceived as *ahene-akomfo* or priest-Kings who lead their people in the formal worship of God through the sacred deputies, the lesser divinities, and the ancestors. The very presence of an Akan monarch, then creates a religious aura.

The Akan chief therefore is seen as both a political figure as well as someone who epitomises Godliness and therefore represent God. In this respect, the concept of separation of church and state, of the sacred and the secular has no grounds. For the religious person, there is nothing that is purely and simply secular. To the African and the Christian, there are no governing authorities or powers except as ordained by God (Romans 13:1-7). The Akan belief system runs in tandem with that of Christianity. The Akan believes that behind all events on earth and above all supernatural powers in heaven and on earth, is the Sovereign throne and will and purpose of the infinite Jehovah (God) himself. He overrules in sovereign government, intervenes in righteous judgment and consummates in gracious restoration.

Asante (1995:132) writes that “for the Akan, the monarch is sacred because he participates in the kingship of God as God’s servant-representative” This statement by Asante is very significant in that the whole concept of the monarchy revolves around it. The chief sits on the ancestral stool which is the symbol of his authority. He therefore symbolises the presence of the ancestors and fosters a perpetual communion or contact between the living, the unborn and the dead members of his community. The authority of the King is based on the idea that the leader mediates between the community and the divine, and indeed leadership is legitimised by its relationship

with the spiritual realm. The king therefore possesses the divine mandate which sets him apart from others. The stool, skin, sceptre, staff, crown and other symbols of office set him apart from all others. The history and development of political leaderships show that their secular forms owe their origins and legitimacy to their past religious roots.

Among the Akans, the belief is that it is God who appoints a chief. This is explained by the Akan maxim, *Onyame na osi hene* (It is God who appoints a chief). The idea is that God appoints the chief and man enstools him. After the installation of Asantehene for instance, the chief is carried shoulder high or in a palanquin and carried from Pampaso, Adum to Manhyia Palace followed by thousands of people including women who sing or yell as follows:

Ose ee yei! Yee ee yei!

Twere duampon ee! Yedaase oo!

Yedaase Amen oo

Y'anya ye hene oo!

Osee ee Yei! Yee ee yei!

The literal meaning is, “Dependable one, the One on whom we lean and do not fall (God), we thank you, we thank you, Amen, we have got our chief”. It is a delight to see thousands of people from all religious and political background and persuasions coming together, crying out and expressing joy and triumph. The people jubilate and offer thanksgiving to God for giving them a new chief. The present occupant of the Golden Stool, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II at a church service held in his honour on May 9th, 2010 broke his 11 years of silence on what necessitated his ascension to the Golden Stool, when he stated that “God made me King.” He indicated that there were equally competent and knowledgeable Ashanti royals like him who

vied for the highest position in Asanteman, noting that divine intervention enabled him to be elected. Otumfuo made this statement at the Calvary Charismatic Centre (CCC) at Asokore Mampong in Kumasi when he visited the well-esteemed church to thank God to climax series of activities marking his 60th birthday celebration.. Giving gratitude to God, who he described as the only Omnipotent One, the Asante Monarch said, “My potential and expertise did not enable me to become the Asantehene. He added that his mother, Nana Afia Kobi Serwah Ampem, the Asantehemaa was not a contributory factor for his selection as the 16th occupant of the Golden Stool. The seemingly-elated Asante King reiterated that God, who has all power, chose him to lead Asanteman and he owes him gratitude for that, stressing he would forever be grateful to God his maker. “If we forget that we owe our positions on earth to God who created us then we will go nowhere,” Asantehene said. Otumfuo Osei Tutu II admonished leaders not to use their positions to become lords over their servants, but show passion, love and concern for the oppressed and needy in society since that is what pleases God (<http://news.peacefmonline.com/social/201005/43125.php>, assessed on 11th May 2010)

Akrong is cited in Odotei et al (2006:195) as having said that “Basically, what can be described as traditional political leadership is based on clan social organisation which links the maximal lineage to clan political organisation through which the individual laid claims to political leadership” We are in complete agreement with Akrong when he says that the pre-eminence of religion as the substance that holds society together is most visibly expressed in traditional leadership institutions. The legal, social, moral, military authority of traditional leadership is based on the spiritual status of the leader who acts essentially as the link between society and the

spiritual founders of the community. The leader in whom the spiritual and the physical unite becomes a ruler because of the sacred *persona* he or she acquires, argues Akrong.

The chief serves as the Chief Justice of the community. This is based on the parental responsibility of ensuring peace and harmony in the community. As the representative of the ancestors, the chief is under obligation to ensure peace, justice, fairness and harmony among his people. In the discharge of his duties as judge, the chief is expected to be compassionate and fair to reflect the moral ideals of the ancestors who are ultimate rulers of the society. The management role of the chief as the chief executive of the society includes the maintenance of law and order, environmental protection and development understood in the wider sense of moral, spiritual, cultural and material growth of the people which should reflect the goodwill of the ancestors and their benevolence that ensures the prosperity of the people. In this respect, he ensures the implementation of all rituals that ensure the moral, social and environmental integrity of the nation. Nana Otuo Serebour II, Dwabenhene in the interview (10th December 2009) lamented over the ecological crisis humankind finds itself in and said that this has come about largely as a result of the desacralisation of nature. Among Akans as among Asantes, every tree, every spring, every hill had its own guardian spirit. Before one fells a tree, mined a mountain or dammed a brook, it was important to placate the spirit in charge. This served as inhibition and antiquity was able to preserve the eco-system. The desacralisation of nature that we find in Western democracies, concludes Nana, has contributed to the exploitation and violation of the natural habitat. We share in the logic of Nana and would want to add that, it is important for Government to recognise the wisdom in primal religion and partner our chiefs to fight

environmental degradations since we have no doubts that they hold the key to ecological restoration.

The chief also serves as the commander-in-chief of the military wing of the state. Here, his function implies the parental responsibility to provide protection and security for the people. This is consistent with the oath he swears to the people to serve, defend and protect the people at all times. In this respect, the chief leads his people to war whenever conflicts or war breaks out.

The chief by his conduct and actions must be seen to be moral paragon of the society. He must exhibit in his life the moral values that bind the society together and give it an identity. The chief has a moral responsibility to guard the moral values that regulate the life of the society with appropriate punishments and sanctions which will enforce the moral law and deter law-breakers. In situations where the chief is found to have broken any of the moral law, he has to abdicate his role as a chief or he will be forcibly destooled.

2.4 The Akan Political System

Nukunya (1992: 67) has stated that the various ethnic groupings in Ghana have centralised societies in which there is a chief or King whose authority is recognised throughout the territory which has clear-cut boundaries and the ruler's authority is supported by well-developed administrative machinery and clearly defined judicial institutions. What Nukunya says is true but this thesis focuses on the Akan political system with particular reference to the Asante Kingdom. The Asante nation, known as Asanteman, is a homogenous society comprising a number of states

all serving one King known as Asantehene. Each of the individual states is administered by a Paramount Chief and all these Paramount Chiefs owe allegiance to the Asantehene. Osei Kwadwo (1994: 1) writes that the Akan people migrated from Mesopotamia to settle at Old Ghana Empire and subsequently moved to settle at their present location. He continues that the Akans either shared the same boundaries with the Israelites or were of the same stock as the Israelites before they migrated to Africa. When Islam started in Arabia and entered North Africa, people were forced to accept the new religion, but the Akan's worshipped God through their lesser deities who they claimed to be the linguists to the Supreme God. They refused to convert to Islam and therefore migrated into the forest belt to have religious freedom.

The Asante political system is clearly centralised with paramount chiefs and *Abrempong* (Divisional chiefs) who exercise jurisdiction over wide areas. Their political units have clear-cut boundaries within which operate well-developed administrative, legislative and judicial institutions for the governance of the territories. The present occupant of the Golden Stool, which is the symbol of authority of the Asante King, is Otumfuo Osei Tutu II. Essential features of Central Government operate in the Asante political system. In the democracy that the 1992 Constitution guarantees, separation of powers between the executive, legislature and judiciary is guaranteed with a fourth estate, the Media created to serve as watch-dog. We have already stated that in the case of the Akan political system, the chief is vested with executive, legislative and judicial powers. One will be quick to conclude that the Asantehene and all the chiefs as the case may be, will be autocratic. This is far from the truth. There are series of hierarchical levels of authority which operate from the family units through the lineage until the final authority, the

paramount Chief (*Omanhene*), and in the case of Asante, the Asantehene. Even though considerable autonomy is guaranteed and recognised at every level, there are well-laid procedures for linkage that makes it possible for cases to move steadily from the household to the chief, the paramount and eventually to Asantehene.

The Asantehene exercises his authority through wing-chiefs, divisional chiefs and, or committees as the case may be. Addo Dankwa III (2004: 29) says that the administrative set-up was originally military in character and content. It was aimed at ensuring quick and complete victory in times of war and to offer maximum protection and security as well as efficient administration within the community. The Asantehene serves as the Commander-in-chief and around him are Paramount or divisional chiefs who serve as Captains. The *Adontehene* for instance is the head of the advance guard. Osei Kwadwo (March 2000: 41) writes that *Adonten* is a military term in the Akan language which refers to the main body of the middle infantry of an army. Within this division is the *Twafohene*, who serves as the Lieutenant of the reconnaissance force. On the right side of *Asantehene* is the *Nifahene* (The Mamponghe) who administers the Asante State when the Asantehene travels out of the Country. *Tafohene* is the *Benkumhene* (he defends the left hand side of Asantehene). Kumasi *Asafohene* is the *Akwamuhene*. He serves as deputy to *Kontihene* and commands the army in the absence of the chief and the *Kontihene*. The two are however equal in status and move together. The *Kyidomhene* is the head of the rear guard, while the *Ankobeahene*, (Adumhene) heads the military wing that remains at home when the rest have gone to war. He protects the women and children and the personal properties left at home during war. There is *Gyaasehene* who has control over all the attendants at the palace. The *Sanaahene* is the financial controller of Asantehene, while the *Nsumankwaahene* serves as the chief medicineman of Asantehene. *Bantamahene* is the *Kontihene* (he commands the army if

Asantehene does not go to war), while the *Akyempimhene* is the Public Relations Officer of Asantehene. He is also the *Kyidomhene* of Asanteman.

The *Omanhene* (paramount Chief) is the second in the hierarchy after Asantehene. The third in the hierarchy is the *Obirempong* who could be a chief of a town or cluster of towns scattered in the kingdom. Next in hierarchy is the *Odikro*, who is the ruler of a single village. All these chiefs have elders who assist them in administering the town or state. The administrative set up in the Asante Kingdom is the same in all Akan States, except that in the other Akan states, the hierarchy starts from Paramount Chief status downwards whereas that of Asante goes a step further to the position of Asantehene who is King and has several paramount chiefs serving under him. At all levels, the person next in order of importance in the traditional political organisation is the Queenmother. According to Nukunya (1992:69), “despite the name, she is not necessarily the real mother of the chief but can also be a sister, a mother’s sister or the latter’s daughter”. Besides her responsibility for the women in the chieftom or town, it is the queenmother who chooses the successor after the destoolment or death of the chief, but she does it after discussion, consultation and agreement with the lineage heads and other elders. A very important responsibility of Asantehene and all the chiefs who owe allegiance to him is to maintain link between the people and the ancestors. Chiefs lead the people in prayers during ancestral rites and important festivals. They embody the moral and ritual purities of their people.

2.5 Conclusion

A cursory look at the functions of a chief will suggest that he may appear autocratic and undemocratic. In practice, this is not the case. A closer working of the institution indicates that a chief can only perform with the advice and consent of the heads of the various sub-divisions. He represents a practical grass-root participatory democracy. The Akan chieftaincy is based on consultation, consensus and consent of the elders and any chief who fails to govern by this principle risks opening himself up for destoolment. Chiefs command a great deal of respect largely because of the fact that they serve as links to ancestors who are seen as owners of the land. Nukunya (1992: 76) cites Radecliffe-Brown who maintains that:

In Africa it is often hardly possible to separate, even in thought, political office from ritual or religious office. Thus in some African societies it may be said that the king is the executive head, the legislator, the supreme judge, the commander-in-chief of the army, the chief priest or the supreme ritual head, and even perhaps the principal capitalist of the whole community. But it is erroneous to think of him as combining in himself a number of separate and distinct offices. There is a single office, that of King, and its various duties and activities, and its rights, prerogatives and privileges, make up a single unified whole.

Radcliffe has said it all. Chiefs have and continue to play pivotal roles as instruments for development and the improvement of the welfare of the people. Even though it is admitted that some of our chiefs have operated as oligarchies, taking decisions for the many, nonetheless that does not negate the principle that chieftaincy has a role to play in our democratic dispensation.

There is no denying of the fact that the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II has brought development, peace and stability to the Region. From participant observation, this researcher can testify that his Educational Endowment Fund has created opportunity for people who ordinarily

could not afford to pay school fees to receive formal education. Under his leadership, the Asanteman Council has built several schools in remote and deprived areas in the Region Sekyere East District Assembly had been a beneficiary when this researcher was the political head of the district. We cannot but agree with the following quote of Justice Coussey, which is cited in Addo Dankwa III (2004: 124). Among other things he said, “The whole institution of chieftaincy is so closely bound up with the life of our communities that, its disappearance would spell disaster.”

CHAPTER THREE

MAJOR RELIGIONS IN GHANA

3.0 Introduction

There is hardly any important area of human experience which is not linked to the supernatural and the people's sense of religion and religious piety. Religion is a set of beliefs, symbols and practices which is based on the idea of the sacred and which unites believers into a socio-religious community. It is a known fact that religion has been part and parcel of the ideological structure of human society. In Africa in general and Ghana in particular, religion is intertwined with day to day life and activities, including politics. This chapter discusses the major religions in Ghana and how they impact on the socio-political life of the people.

3.1 African Traditional Religion

African Traditional Religion, also referred to as African Indigenous Religions or African Primal Religions, deals with a variety of religions indigenous to the continent of Africa. Like tribal religions from other parts of the world, African religious traditions are defined largely along community lines. Traditional African religions involve teachings, practices, and rituals that lend structure to indigenous African societies. These traditional African religions also play a large part in the cultural understanding and awareness of the people of their communities. Yet the religion constitutes the religious context in which a good number of people in Africa live or have lived. There are five foundational religious beliefs in the traditional religions: (1) the belief in

impersonal (mystical) power(s); (2) the belief in spirit beings; (3) the belief in divinities/gods, (4) belief in ancestors and (5) the belief in the Supreme Being. Quarcoopome (1987: 40) confirms this when he says, "Taking Africa as a whole there are in reality five component elements that go into making African Traditional Religion. These are belief in God; belief in divinities; belief in spirit beings; belief in ancestors and the practice of magic and medicine" These foundational religious beliefs are essential to our theological interpretation and analysis of the traditional religions.

"Africans are notoriously religious." This assertion by Mbiti (1969: 1), one of the renowned African scholars can be verified in the lives of most Africans, whether they are exposed to the Euro-American influences or not. Religion permeates every aspect of the African life. Mbiti (1969: 2) expresses this religiosity forcefully:

Wherever the African is, there is his religion: he carries it to the fields where he is sowing seeds or harvesting a new crop; he takes it with him to the beer party or to attend a funeral ceremony; and if he is educated, he takes religion with him to the examination room at school or in the university; if he is a politician he takes it to the house of parliament. Although many African languages do not have a word for religion as such, it nevertheless accompanies the individual from long before his birth to long after his physical death.

In another book, Mbiti (1975: 15) expresses the same point thus:

African Religion is an essential part of the way of life of each people. Its influence covers all of life, from before birth of a person to long after he has died. People find it useful and meaningful in their lives, and therefore they let it spread freely. They teach it informally to their children through conversation, proverbs and myths, as well as through practice. Young people also learn about it through participating in religious activities such as ceremonies, festivals, rituals and so on.

Right from the womb, through birth, infancy, puberty, initiation, marriage, and funeral, many African societies have religious rituals for each phase of life. Major steps in the life of any given traditional community involve consultation of fortune-tellers and diviners to ascertain the will of God and the spirits. It is rare to find any act, human or otherwise, which is without religious explanation for it. Adherents do not undertake missions (evangelism) to win converts. It is a part of the African heritage and its followers are extremely friendly and often very disposed to welcome other believers.

Debrunner (1967: 1) provides a quote made by Dr. H. Ph. Junod which confirms the religiosity of the African. He said,

Wherever I went, I found that my Master had been there before me. This is true also for the history of Christianity in Ghana. Christ was there before the arrival of the missionaries. He was there in the boisterous and lively atmosphere of the country, the peculiar atmosphere so different from that of some other African countries, animated as it is by an immense zest for life. Prayer for life and desire for life are the heart and soul of pagan religion in Ghana.

Junod continues that it can be shown that Christ came into his own home when he came to Ghana, to a land whose religions present many aspects which he can and does use. This is a profound statement that confirms the richness and sacredness of the African Traditional Religion when Christianity arrived in Ghana. Osepetetrekue (2001: 33-38) argues that Akans and Gas worshipped God long before Christianity and Islam came to Ghana. He provides evidence to support his claim that the Gas and Akans migrated from Egypt and were part of the Hebrews who lived in Egypt. They worshipped Yawh and Amen, the God of the Hebrews. He gives a typical Ga prayer which ends like this:

Tswa, tswa, tswa, Omanyaba

Response: Yahw

Tswa, tswa, tswa omanyaba

Response: Yahw

Finally, finally, finally, may blessings be showered upon us

Response: Yahw

The response “*Yhw!*” according to Osepetetrekua Kwame Osei is a referent to the *Yhw* who was worshipped by the Hebrews during their sojourn in Egypt. From the consonants “*Yhw*” came *Yahweh*. Rev Laryeh, a Ga and Theologian agreed with us in an interview about this hypothesis and explained that most of the elders in the Ga state says that the referent to Yahw as the “*Yahweh*” who the Hebrews worshipped is in consonance with their belief. It should be acknowledged that in the spheres of health care, morality and spiritual development, African Primal Religions have made a great contribution. Claims abound that some people walk through flames without being hurt. Others use concoctions which prevent them from being cut or harmed by even the sharpest knives and cutlasses as well as gunshots. Before science developed bullet-proof vehicles and jackets, African Primal Religions had medications which, when administered, could ward off gun bullets. Plants are said to be used to ward off or attract lightning. Practitioners also use various plants to cure sicknesses and diseases most of which orthodox medicine cannot cure. Politicians consult oracles for spiritual protection during elections as well as thereafter and we will provide evidence obtained from interviews to support this claim.

3.2 Christianity

Gifford (1998: 57) provides an account of the emergent of Christianity in Ghana (Gold Coast). He says that modern Ghana is made up of about seventy-five tribes, of which the most numerous are the Akan, the Mossi, the Ewe and the Ga. Although the numerous forts along the coasts testify to hundreds of years of European presence, European contact was initially restricted to the coast. The littoral known as Gold Coast became a British Colony in 1874, and over the next thirty years two more protectorates were established, one over the northern territories, and one over the Ashanti Region in the centre – the latter effected by the British only with considerable difficulty. The Ashanti, one of the members of the Twi-speaking branch of the Akan peoples, developed a powerful empire which reached its peak in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The British finally occupied Ashanti in 1896. There is the belief that Christianity has existed in Ghana since 1482. Debrunner (1967:17-18) report of the expedition of Diego d’Azambuja and the building of Elmina Castle. Diego d’Azambuja led an expedition to Ghana and landed at Elmina on January 20’ 1482. On a small hill stood a big tree and on this the royal Portuguese banner was hoisted. At the foot, an altar was set up, at which the first mass was said. Azambuja wrote in his diary:

This mass was heard by our men with many tears of devotion, and thanks to God for allowing them to praise and glorify Him in the midst of those idolaters; asking Him that as He was pleased that they were the first to erect an altar at so great a sacrifice, he would give them wisdom and grace to draw those idolatrous people to the Faith, so that the church which they would found there might endure until the end of the world.

Thereafter, Diego d'Azambuja met the Chief of Elmina, Chief Caramanca (Kwamena Ansa) where he spoke at length about the King of Portugal's love for the soul of Caramanca. He preached on God, Christ, Heaven and Baptism and declared, "Should Caramanca accept and receive baptism...the King of Portugal would help him in all his need." The Chief provided land where a Castle was built and named after St. George, the patron saint of Portugal. Inside the castle, a church dedicated to the saint was erected. Trade soon became the obsession of the Portuguese and the Christian missionary enterprise was placed in abeyance until the 1800's. The Protestant missions occupy a very important place in the creation of Ghana and the spread of Christianity. The Basel Mission arrived in 1828; the Methodists in 1835 and Ghana's history cannot be understood apart from the elite they created. Samwini (2006: 43) says that, the beginning of Christianity in Ghana is generally associated with the arrival of the Portuguese merchants and explorers at the coasts in 1482. However, between that period and 1824 there was a limited Christian presence in the country. Christianity arrived in Ghana mainly by sea and therefore worked among the coastal peoples and spread northwards, reaching the northern parts of the country in the early twentieth century. Samwini (2006: 44-45) continues that sustained Christian activity in Ghana was started in 1828 with the arrival of the Basel Missionaries. The first Basel missionaries were initially chaplains to the Danish merchants and traders in the Christiansborg Castle. Following some misunderstandings that erupted between the missionaries and the merchants, Andreas Riis, a missionary relocated to Akuapim Akropong in 1835 and opened the first inland mission there followed by a second at Aburi in 1847. As explained by Samwini, following a political upheaval between the British and the local people of the Christiansborg area after the British took over the Danish Castle, more Basel missionaries in the Castle moved to Abokobi, a village north of Accra. A powerful traditional priest known as Owu

(Mohenu) converted to Christianity and was baptized. He became very instrumental in causing a lot of people to also convert to Christianity. By 1869, the Basel Missionaries had opened eight mission stations with twenty-four congregations and a total of 1,851 members. Scottish missionaries led by Rev. A. W. Wilkie took over from the German missionaries after having been forced out of the Country by the British Government.

Then came the Wesleyan Missionary Society which started work in 1835. By 1836 the mission had established two societies with 222 members. Thomas Birch Freeman, the son of an African father visited Kumasi in 1839, and with the help of James Hayford, a member of the Methodist church from Cape Coast, then working in Kumasi, Freeman managed to influence the then Asantehene Osei Yaw Akoto (1824-1833) to hold Christian worship alongside the Muslim services in the palace. Riis was also instructed by the Basel Mission to visit Kumasi. As far back as 1770 the relationship between the Asante and the coastal people and their European allies was that of war. However, the arrival of Riis and Freeman changed everything. Samwini (ibidem: 47) writes,

For Freeman to have come from the Fante and British side of the coast and Riis to have come from the Danish and Akwapim side was seen as the beginning of peace not only between the Asantes and the local coastal enemies but also between the Asantes and the Europeans as well.

King Kwaku Dua 1(1834-1867) gave permission for Freeman to open a mission station in Kumasi. Unlike the Basel Missionaries who were in the country to provide schools for the people and live in brotherly love with them, the Methodists were more explicit in their conversion and

“civilizing” intentions. Some of the schools and hospitals the churches built include Achimota College, Adisadel College, Aburi Secondary, Wesley College, Prempeh College, Opoku Ware Secondary, Wesley Girls in Cape Coast and Kumasi, Kumasi Anglican Secondary School, Aggrey Memorial, Mfantshipim Secondary, Agogo Presby Hospital, Jackie Catholic Hospital to name a few.

The Bremen (Evangelical Presbyterian Mission) also arrived and started work at Peki, among the Ewes at the southeast of the Volta River in 1847. They opened missions at Keta, Ho, Amedzofe and other areas and began their expansion activities there.(Samwini 2006: 47)

Samwini (2006: 50) reports that after the fifteenth century unsuccessful enterprise on the coast of Elmina with the Portuguese traders, the Roman Catholic Church returned to the Gold Coast to launch fresh missionary work in 1880, beginning from the same town. They opened a mission station in Kumasi in 1896 and were the first Christian missionaries to open mission stations in the north of the country in 1906 where Islam was already an integral part of the socio-political life of some of the people. The church expanded rapidly by establishing missions at Bolgatanga, Wiaga, Jirapa and other areas in the North. Samwini (2006: 52) writes that the church made a remarkable leap in the number of members, “rising from a few thousand members in 1906 to well over 50,000 in 1924” and over “half a million by 1950.”

Besides these bodies, other Protestant churches, notably, The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Seventh Day Adventist, Baptist Church, Salvation Army and Assemblies of God, to name a few, also entered the country and set up missions in Cape Coast, Keta, Twifo, Winneba,

Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi, Agona Duakwa, and Yendi. The Twelve Apostles Church, which styled itself as a Spiritual church also established itself between 1913 and 1915. The churches then began to spread throughout the country. Christianity began from the coast and worked itself upwards through Kumasi to the North. Christianity was favourably disposed to African Traditional religion because Christianity came to introduce a God who was already known in African Traditional Religion. The God of Israel and Jesus Christ was to the Africans, the same God who they referred to by various names in various dialects. Among the Akans of Ghana, he is called *Onyame*, *Onyankopon*, *Twereduampon* among others; the Ewes call him *Mawu* and the Gas call him *Ataala Nyuumo* (*God who is father and mother*). Ghanaians knew their God as the creator of the Universe who reigns as King. Asante (1994: 95) observes,

Onyame is believed to be Ohene (King). The Akan say, *Onyame ne Hene*, *Onyame* (God) is King. This maxim expresses the Akan's belief in the sovereignty of the reality represented by the symbol *Onyame*.... This reality, as King, is understood as the one whose "qualities and powers...are illustrious, glorious, luminous, shining and bright. As the King, he is the shining active reality elevated above and beyond the ordinary reach of the Akan.

Christianity introduced Western type education in virtually all the areas they operated. According to Samwini,(2003: 62) "with western type education in vogue, English became the dominant language and the dress of the educated began to change from traditional Akan cloth to suit and tie. Many saw education as a privilege to attain a high social status. Lifestyles began to be affected. The health of the people and communities improved with the increase in hospitals and clinics opened by both the Christian mission and the Government. Traditional Ghanaians saw Christianity as having come to improve their social life and therefore co-existed with them

in peace. The schools established by the churches turned out mission graduates who became nationalistic and joined the local people in their agitations against the colonial masters.

Gifford (1998: 57) writes that as far back as the 1870's there were Ghanaians in the Legislative Assembly. These Christians formed the Gold Coast Aborigines Protection Society to advance their interests. Not the least important of the organs through which they articulated their criticism of British Administration were those provided by Christian institutions like the Gold Coast Methodist Times. Ali Mazrui (1978:168) in making an assessment of the significance of Christianity in African political history wrote that Christianity, through giving access to modern Western-style education, as well as through its unique message about the inalienable right to freedom of the human person, had a creative role in fostering religious and intellectual awakening that eventually led to the demise of Western political dominance.

He had this to say about the contribution of Christianity to politics:

The expansion of the intellectual horizons of Africans, eased by Christianity, enhanced a new African self-understanding and self-appreciation beyond the immediate traditional circles of kinship and lineage, paving the way for the expressions of African nationalism that challenged and overturned Western rule.

Such was the impact of Christianity in setting the tone of Ghanaian society that they warmed themselves into the heart of adherents of African Traditional Religion. Historically, Christianity

has been a de-sacralising force. The de-sacralisation of political power in African society and the contribution Christianity has made to this process is evidenced in the careers of Desmond Tutu and other local churches in South Africa in the struggle against the white apartheid regime as well as in the united stance of the Christian Council of Ghana and the Catholic Bishops' Conference against the curtailing of human rights in Ghana. In Ghana, the Christian churches, their bishops, moderators and other leaders, have been called upon to stand in the breach to act as leaders of numerous negotiations and national conferences held to smooth the way into the new political dispensation. It is not surprising that Bediako (2000: 106) posits that the Christian churches are now recognized as institutions with genuine commitment to African concerns and with a deep understanding of African problems from an African perspective, arising out of their Christian convictions. He adds that the major challenge now facing Christian churches in Ghana in the political sphere is to raise to consciousness in the wider society the connection between the Church's message of righteousness, love and justice, and the search for sustainable democratic governance.

3.3 Islam

The Islamic religion takes its name from the Arabic word *islam*, which means "submission". It connotes submission or surrender of the individual's will to Allah, or God. The Qur'an which contains Prophet Mohammed's discourses with Angel Gabriel and subsequent revelations forms the basis of the Islamic faith. Within a century after the death of the Prophet Mohammad in A. D. 632, Islam had swept across the whole of Northern Africa and engulfed the Horn of Africa

stretching southwards along the east coast. According to Clarke (1982: 1), West Africa made its first contacts with Islam in the eighth century. Since then, Muslims in West Africa have been involved in building an Islamic community moulded on that established in Arabia between 610 and 632 C.E. by the Prophet Muhammad. Through the trade routes and commercial transactions between West African states and the Muslim north, Islam began to penetrate in a southerly direction into West African societies.

Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa has known a thousand years of cohabitation with traditional religion and adaptation to it, even to the extent of intermixture. In many areas it has little-by-little substituted itself for it, without too many clashes or ruptures. Samwini (2003: 22) writes that Muslims were present in Ghana among the Gonja as far back as the middle of sixteenth century, among the Dagomba and the Wala by the seventeenth century and among some southern peoples especially Asante by the eighteenth century. Islam began in the north of the country working down to Kumasi and eventually reached the coast in the 1840's to the early 1900. Samwini (ibidem: 24-30) continues that, Islam in the north of the Volta began just before the end of the sixteenth century (1599) with the area known as Gonja. Before the arrival of Islam, the place was dominated by the Mossi kingdom of Dagbon. However, at the end of the century, Mande-speaking cavalry raiders, thought to have come from Mali conquered the area and set up their own independent kingdom of Gonja. They were helped by Dyula Muslims, the same people who in Hausa-speaking areas are called "Wangarawa." He continues that the Gonja kingdom was established by Nabanga, a Malian-warlord who is said to have been accompanied by Isma'il Kamagate, a faqih, and his son Muhammad al-Abyad. Samwini quotes Levztzion who associates

the early Muslims among the Gonja with Hausa and Bornu and says they may have settled there before the Gonja conquest. This receives affirmation in Clarke (1982: 94) who says that a group of warriors from the middle Niger region of Bambara origin imposed their authority over the people in the Gonja region and established the state of Gonja with Gbuipe as its capital. At that time, there were some Muslims in the Gonja area who had arrived from Begho, Hausaland and Borno. They recruited Muslims to assist them in administration of the new state.

Islam then spread to Wala, Mamprugu and the Dagomba kingdoms. It is said that Muslims among the Gonjas played a major function by keeping formal lists of past chiefs and their imams. The reason for this exercise was to forestall problems and conflicts arising from succession disputes. Gonja Muslims also studied and recorded the history of the kingdom as a whole, and this became the first source material for European and other Western writers about the area. The mass adoption of Islam by the northerners is a relatively recent phenomenon. The Dagomba confederation had been throughout the centuries a firm resistance against the spread and influence of Islam. It was not until the eighteenth century that Na Zangina, who ruled the Dagomba kingdom from c. 1700 to 1714 made the religion popular for political and security reasons in an attempt to fend off Gonja attacks whose leaders said that one of the reasons for their success against the Dagomba was that they had the support and prayers of their Muslim followers. Na Zangina, realizing that he too could benefit from Muslim support, drew closer to the Muslims and in 1713 defeated an invading Gonja army. Again, faced with internal legitimacy problems with his brothers over his chieftainship, he turned to the Muslims for support. Uthman dan Fodio, the Fulani jihadist on visit to Ghana is said to have described Dagbon as “A country

where infidelity was overwhelming and Islam rare.” A Muslim of Arab origin from Hausaland is said to have established a principal market of Gonja at Salaga in the late 1700’s. The Hausa Muslims came to dominate the market in Salaga and also linked it to Kumasi. The Salaga market enabled Hausa Muslim traders to frequent and settle among the Gonjas and in Kumasi, the southern point of the trade route. Hausa occupation of Salaga had important consequences for the spread of Islam in Ghana. The position of Salaga as a mid-way town between Hausaland in Northern Nigeria and Kumasi in the forest belt of Ghana opened the way for Hausa penetration not only into Asante, but also the other southern parts of the country. With this interconnectedness, Kumasi and the other people in the southern belt came into contact with Islam. Samwini (2003: 32) chronicles other factors that brought Muslims to Kumasi and other parts of the south of Ghana.

1. Muslims came on diplomatic missions from Masina, while others came on visits or upon the invitation of clerics by the Asante kings.
2. Muslims were present in Asante and other parts of the south through conscription into both the Asante and British Armies and Police.
3. Muslim clerics came as Advisors to the Asantehene. The Muslim community in Kumasi at the time regarded the then Asantehene, King Osei Tutu Kwame (Osei Bonsu, c. 1800-23) as a friend on whom they could always rely for protection.
4. Asante kings had a belief that power from prayers and amulets could give protection in war and against other bad omens. Asante kings and their sub-chiefs applied for the same supernatural aid that the Muslims used to offer to their chiefs in the north, and so

throughout the nineteenth century, Asante chiefs used to invite Muslims from the north to pray for them.

5. The Asante Kings recruited Muslims into their army to help them fight battles against their enemies. Some of these Muslims served as the King's Secretaries and accountants, and in the wider community they served as medicine men manufacturing charms and amulets for the king and his people.

Nana Osei Kwadwo, a curator at the Manhyia Museum confirmed Samwini's assertion during an interview.

Adherents of African Traditional Religion believe that nothing happens by chance. Sarpong (1974: 50) has this story to justify the assertion:

A school boy is going to school; the wind blows, a tree falls and kills him. If a tree is blown by the wind it falls. That is understandable. But this tree has been there for a long time. Winds blow often. People are passing under the tree every day. Why should the particular wind blow precisely when the child is going to school? Why should it affect the tree precisely at that time? Why could not the tree have fallen at some other time? If the child had been one second late or early the tree would have missed him. Why did it fall at the split second that the child happened to be under it? The answer is simple: only witchcraft could have brought these vastly unrelated happenings together in time and place.

The traditional African is always at pains to find out the cause of death, diseases, poverty, sterility, bad crops and ill-luck and will consult divinations to find antidote against such calamities. Calamitous events are attributed to angry gods, and so, not infrequently, people go to them to propitiate them. The Tijaniyya Muslim sect which is sufi brotherhood and esoteric had

established itself and was playing dominant role in the spread of Islam. This is partly because of its exclusivist claims of spiritual as well as socio-political acumen. Muslims in Kumasi made charms thought able to cure leprosy, bed-wetting, small-pox, sexual impotency and many other diseases common in the region. Priests of African Traditional Religion also had powers to bring healing to people who were ill. It therefore saw affinities in what African Traditional Religion does and what the Muslims were doing. In the opinion of adherents of African Traditional Religion, the two were playing complementary roles.

The presence of Muslims in Kumasi are a consequence of the roles the clerics played in time past in the palace of Asantehene. It is no wonder that all the suburbs within the immediate environs of Manhyia palace (seat of Asantehene) is heavily populated by Muslims. The secretaries, clerics and accountants who served in the palace had to stay closer to the Palace to enable them respond to call promptly. Additionally, Asantehene Osei Tutu Kwame (Osei Bonsu), having conscripted some Muslims into his army had to accommodate them around the palace to enable them secure his safety (Samwini 2003: 32)

Between 1720 and 1750, Opoku Ware 1 ascended the throne as Asantehene. Osei Kwadwo (1994: 15) writes that Asantes fought battles during the reign of Opoku Ware 1 and expanded northwards. States like Dagomba, Mamprusi, and Gonja were defeated in 1751-1752 and absorbed into the Asante nation as provincial states. The expansion of Asante northwards brought into the Asante Union a large number of people who had already been converted to Islam. Soon, Muslims who were educated in the Islamic sciences and in Arabic were employed

in the Asantehene's court as private secretaries and civil servants. This marked the beginning of the recruitment of Muslims to serve in various capacities at the Palace. Osei Kwadwo (1994: 15) continues that, apart from these duties, there were some who prepared amulets and talismans for the king and other chiefs. These preparations were akin to preparations made by the Kings' priests to protect him from evil omen and help him out of danger. As such, Paramount chiefs in the region also began to employ some of the Muslims at their courts. King Osei Kwame, who reigned from 1777 to 1797 is said to have been a believer of Islam even though he never abandoned his traditional state cult. Oral tradition has it that he grew to dislike war and human sacrifice as well as executions in any form. He developed this attitude because he secretly converted to the Islamic faith. It is said that Muslims were always found in his company at all important negotiations with foreign visitors and ambassadors and they played active part in discussions. It must however be noted that Islamic elements and laws were not incorporated into Asante society and conversions remained very limited, if not negligible.

The Fante's encounter with Islam is said to have been different from that of the Dagomba, the Gonja, the Mamprusi and that of the Asante and Ga. According to Samwini,(2003: 37, 87) in July 1872 the British colonialists brought in some 300 Hausa Muslim troops to Ghana. These were stationed in Accra, Elmina and Keta. By 1886 the British were said to be paying salary to one "Muslim Priest" at each of the military posts with "a shilling per diem" and Muslims were given government land to settle and build mosques. The account has it that one Benjamin Sam, a Wesleyan Catechist at Ekrawfo near Cape Coast adopted Islam. After conversion, he used his previous experience as a trader, catechist and preacher to build up a sizeable Muslim community

of about five hundred people scattered over Fanteland. These “Fante Muslims” were for the most part illiterate in Arabic. In 1921, the group invited the first Indian Missionaries of the Ahmadiyya Movement to come to Ghana. They preached from the Bible, partly due to their background as former Christians or because they could not use the Qur’an since it was in Arabic and they could not read or speak the Arabic language.

Islam is concerned with the entire conduct of life - whether spiritual or temporal, religious or secular, domestic or societal, moral or material, social or cultural, economic or political, individual or collective, national or international. In non-Islamic communities, there are different sources for Law, different sources for morality and different sources for Religion. But as far as Islam is concerned, its morality, its laws, its culture, its politics, its economic affairs, its domestic affairs, its civil affairs, its social matters, its matrimonial matters, all originate from the same source, the Qur’an. Islam is a way of life with profound political and social implications. It draws no distinction, as Christians do between the state and church or religion and politics. It calls for a form of theocracy, a form of rule in which the law of the land is supposed to follow directly from God’s commands. Various developmental projects have been undertaken by Muslim groups in the country, especially the Ahmadiyya Muslim movement. They have built basic and secondary schools and have dug bore holes at various locations in the country. Thus, they have complemented the efforts of the Central Government. Politicians and other individuals are also said to have consulted the Muslim clerics for spiritual charms and protection. Succeeding chapters will provide evidence to that effect.

3.4 Dominionism

Dominionism describes, in several distinct ways, a tendency among some conservative politically-active Christians, to seek influence or control over secular civil government through political action—aiming either at a nation governed by Christians, or a nation governed by a conservative Christian understanding of biblical law. Although dominionism is used in several distinct ways, the origin of most usage can be traced back to a specific passage in the King James version of the Bible:

And God blessed [Adam and Eve] and God said unto them, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." —Genesis 1:28 (KJV)

Christians typically interpret this verse as meaning that God gave humankind responsibility over the earth, but theologians do not all agree on the nature and extent of that "dominion." It is on the same principle that has arisen Islamist fundamentalism which professes that it is the clerics who should exercise political power in Islamist dominated countries. A common view among evangelical Christians is that the granting of "dominion" in Genesis 1:28 includes a "cultural mandate" to influence all aspects of the world with Christian principles. It is true that Christians have an obligation, a mandate, a commission, a holy responsibility to evangelize and disciple all men and women, however, it is erroneous to think that God requires only Christians to have dominion in civil structures, just as in every other aspect of life and godliness. Politics is all about leadership. Aboagye-Mensah (2005: v) says "leadership is one of the most sacred privileges God confers on a person." It involves the taking and implementation of vital decisions which could have serious repercussions on the destinies of the constituents that leader is called to

serve. He continues to say that there are people who believe that what is of utmost importance about leadership is achievement. The leader, they think must and should seek to be an achiever at all cost. His or her moral character is of secondary importance. They argue that leaders are remembered for the physical and tangible monuments they leave behind and not their character. This argument has a flaw since there is a Ghanaian saying that a good name is better than riches. A good character is better than all dubious achievements. That is why Christians must win the world with the power of the Gospel and when that is done there will be no need to even worry ourselves about what the politician will do or not do because in the end we will be assured that the virtues propagated in Scriptures will be the guiding principle for their actions. We may argue that the Founding Fathers of Ghana were overwhelmingly Christian, that founding documents and the Constitution are based on Christian principles, and that a Christian character is fundamental to Ghanaian culture. Some Christian leaders even erroneously profess that Ghana is a Christian country. This is far from the truth. Ghana is a secular country which respects religious pluralism. In recent years, policymakers have begun looking to churches, synagogues, mosques, and other faith-based organizations which play a greater role in strengthening communities. People of all religious faiths should therefore put their hands to the wheels and help in the building of a just society, rather than advocate for the policy of dominionism.

3.5 Religion and African Politics

The 1980s saw a significant increase in the global visibility of political Islam as it became increasingly entwined with Cold War geopolitics. Three events from this decade are particularly noteworthy in terms of their importance to understanding the contemporary interface between

Islam and global politics. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, a number of volunteer fighters from the Arab world traveled to Afghanistan to assist in repelling what they interpreted as an atheist incursion into Muslim territories. These 'Arab-Afghans,' as they came to be known, were important insofar as their experience during these years (1980-88) helped to crystallize the ideological and geopolitical vision that would later define Al-Qaeda. Among this cadre from the Middle East was to be found Usama Bin Laden, a member of the wealthiest commercial family in Saudi Arabia who had renounced his family's business in the name of what he saw as a larger struggle against new forms of global, imperial atheism. The eventual withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan was interpreted by Bin Laden and his followers as a victory and as evidence of Islam's ability to triumph over the world's superpowers. From the crucible of this experience came the Bin Laden's vision Al-Qaeda: an effort to globalize the Afghan experience. (Haralambos 2004: 456-457)

Al-Qaeda for many, the group that most readily springs to mind today when speaking of Islam and violent extremism needs to be situated within a diverse and multi-faceted ecology of world political Islam. Al-Qaeda was established in Afghanistan by Arab-Afghan fighters following the decision by the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from that country after a failed occupation effort. Emboldened by this seeming victory, Al-Qaeda sought to export the Afghan model to other countries in which Muslims were understood to be fighting foreign invasions or resisting imposed secularism (Haralambos 2004: 456-457)

Apart from personal religious faith which respects the democratic rule of law, the politicized religion of fundamentalist claims is undergoing a revival in all cultures and in some places it is even making bids for state power. It also serves as an ideological justification for terrorist

violence. In this confusing situation, it will be suicidal to sweep religion under the carpet and pretend that religion should not mix with politics. With regard to the future relationship between religion and politics there are two contradictory tendencies or options: political co-operation between religious and cultural traditions, on the one hand, and a fundamentalist policy of conflict, on the other. The prospects of success for these two opposing options will be determined by a large and indeterminate number of actors operating in different spheres. They include states and transnational institutions, political parties, civil societies, religious communities and, above all, the mass media. Holding out the prospect of success in containing the fundamentalist temptation is a policy of recognition that would combine a declaration of the equal value of every religious identity – so long as it shows equal respect for all others – with a commitment to fair access for all to the social and economic resources of world society. Only if we manage to effectively implement at all political levels the fair and equal treatment of members of all religions and cultures through successful educational, social and economic policies, will it prove possible to contain fundamentalism on a lasting basis and turn the renaissance of religion to the advantage of African society. The political come-back of religion requires a co-operative policy of recognition in each individual society, in the various regions, and in the global arena.

3.6 Religious Practice and Values

The practice of religion (Traditional African Religion, Christianity and Islam) revolves around two dimensions, which can be labeled as “The Spiritual” (giving birth to rituals) and “The Conscience” (giving birth to humane laws and actions). Most contemporary European countries have apart from the spirit and rituals of Christianity, kept its conscience and humane laws/actions

and have succeeded in building societies which have overcome most of the societal problems of squalor, abject poverty and political exclusiveness. Ghanaians on the other hand, have kept only the spirit and rituals of Christianity, Traditional African Religion and Islam, and abandoned the conscience and humane laws of these faiths. Through an extreme essentialisation of prayer, to the exclusion of all other requirements, we have created a society which has become breeding grounds for lies, dishonesty, hate, wickedness, and all manner of injustice, in addition to hunger, disease and misery. It is one unique paradox of religiosity, which appears to defy explanation, but which certainly can be explained as emanating from historical, psychological and methodological developments.

Many Ghanaians think of religion in a one-dimensional way - it is only about prayer, and so we can pray for days without doing any other work. However, many will be surprised to realize that in the teachings of the Traditional African Religions, Christianity and Islam, more is required of us in relation to the welfare of the members of our society which includes justice, kindness, honesty and compassion.

The researcher was privileged to serve as PNDC District Secretary/District Chief Executive from 1982 to 2001. In 1996, while at Obuasi, the then Ashanti Goldfields Corporation (Now AngloGold) organised a function that required the presence of some Ministers of State. The Ministers who were six in number were scheduled to come and pass the night at Obuasi and then attend the programme. This researcher, arranged six Executive suites for the Ministers which were paid for in advance by the District Assembly. Unfortunately, only three of them turned up with their drivers who drove them from Accra. Having ushered the Ministers into their rooms

permission was sought from the leader of the team to enable the researcher to accommodate the three drivers in the other three rooms which had been paid for but which will remain vacant for the night. In any case, the Hotel Management was not going to refund the money to the Assembly. The leader flatly refused the suggestion, remarking that the drivers did not deserve to enjoy the same facility they are enjoying. This researcher was compelled to put all the three drivers in a room outside the hotel. That is what political corruption can do. These Ministers failed to see the humanness in the drivers. God is the God of both unity and love who challenges the subjects of His rule to love one another (John 15:12; 17:20-21). Politicians with moral integrity will not behave themselves in this way. Religions teach great values, and values such as hard work, responsibility, tolerance, respect and compassion for others are not just noble ideas or ideals, but constitute the embodiment of the aspirations of societies, and what makes societies peaceful, and progressive. To this end, what values do we Ghanaians want to transmit to our children? Do we have values that mirror our extreme adherence to prayer, as professed Christians, Muslims and/or practitioners of traditional religion? When Jesus Christ overturned the money-changers tables in the Temple in Jerusalem, it was because the misplaced values and actions of those men were undermining the purpose of God's Temple. Ghana like much of Africa is desperate for answers from God, but it may be that God has over-turned the tables of Ghanaians because we undermine the true purpose of God's Temples - our hearts, which dictate honest words of prayer that issue at our lips.

There is no doubt that, with all our trooping to churches, mosques and shrines, true morality has long been dead in Ghanaian politics, and is dying in the larger Ghanaian society. Our morality

and social conscience are replaced by diseased-hearts of greed, hate, and lack of compassion, which fuel our unreserved desires to be rich at the expense of the happiness of our communities. Compassion is the child of the heart (like faith), and until there is a compassionate change in our hearts, we are in for the long haul, because God will not change the condition of a people until they change what is in their hearts. We are ready to defend governments and politicians for various reasons even against the principles of our religious convictions, and even with the knowledge that their corruption has resulted in our communities not having drinking water, school buildings, food and clinics. Unfortunately, most of our religious leaders only flash their credentials as the best minds with the fear of God, they want to be listened to, yet remain silent on corrupt practices and other incredible atrocities of Governments. Given this situation, one can say that there is pessimism in regard to employing reform in religious thought as a way of enhancing good governance and promoting development.

3.7 Conclusion

African Traditional Religion, Christianity and Islam have impacted strongly on the political landscape of Ghana. Apart from their contributions to the social services, especially in areas of education, health and other socio-developmental activities and which have reduced the burden of Central Government, it is an open secret that politicians do not only use religious motifs and symbols in their campaigns but also consult priests and spiritualists for spiritual protection. Most of the military and civilians involved in *coups detat* in Ghana swore oaths before religious personages to invoke the supreme sanction for total secrecy. They also consulted oracles to determine the success or failure of their intended actions. Our research established that this practice and conduct still persists. We shall interrogate them in other chapters but let it be said

here that a politician who has no place for religious and ethical bases of society sooner or later comes to grief, for wherever choices are to be made, ethical standards informed by religious beliefs are at play. In support of this claim Pobee (1991: 42) quotes Cragg who put it this way: “Every issue, every situation returns to God and leads back to an obligation theologically constituted...Revelation Divinely given, law Divinely ordained, duty Divinely ordered, bring the sovereignty of heaven directly unto all human business.”

We are hopeful that by understanding religion’s basic tenets and practices, we will better navigate Ghanaian protocols and associated behaviour in government, politics, business, public life, family life, and social life. Religion and politics have a "shared purpose" of making a better world and they have a better chance of succeeding if they mutually reinforce, teach, and aid each other.

CHAPTER FOUR

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE POLITICAL SCENE OF GHANA

4.0 Introduction

Chapter four summarises the political history of Ghana. It also provides some specific instances of religiosity of some personalities in the executive, legislature and judicial arms of government as well as how the church relates to the state. We will also mention some instances where religion and politics converges.

Politics is defined variously by scholars. However, for our purpose, the definition of Okwudiba and Asante will be adopted. Okwudiba (1986: v) defines politics as “those activities that, in one way or another, are oriented toward the seizure, consolidation and use of state power.” It is clear from this definition that an understanding of politics hinges on an understanding of the concepts of state and power. Asante (2007:89) writes that politics may be defined as “Social response to the expression of demands and wants and the process of administering the goods of society among the various groups on whose behalf these demands and wants are made.” He explains that:

Politics is about the making of decisions that affect our everyday life. It deals with the management of the economy, the level of wages, the scope of social services, the organisation of education, the formulation of policies governing foreign relations and on other aspects of our everyday life. Politics is a mechanism by which society is controlled and managed for the good of all.

Asante (2007: 95) posits that politics determine who gets what, when and how. He explains that politics should be looked at in terms of power and authority which controls the behaviour of others in the context of the struggle for scarce resources like wealth, power and prestige. In his conclusion, Asante says that understood this way, politics should be seen as the reality at the centre of every human association.

It is the totality of the activities of the Executive, Legislature, Judiciary, the Media and civil society that constitute the politics of the nation. The exercise of power may be legitimate or illegitimate. Legitimate power is exercised when governance is exercised with the consent and goodwill of the governed. Political parties are very important in the development of democracies. This is because politics is about interests and political parties represent aggregation of interests. Political parties are therefore formed and individuals exercise their freedom to join a political party of their choice. The functionality or non-functionality of political parties impact on the temperature of governance. Elections are subsequently conducted where the people exercise their franchise to determine which political party should form the Government and administer power on their behalf. In this way, the popular expression that democracy is “Government of the people, by the people and for the people” is operationalised. Government is said to be illegitimate when a group of people force or impose themselves on the country and begin to exercise power. A case in point is where the military through the use of the barrel of the gun stages a coup, overthrows a constitutionally elected regime and imposes itself on the people.

4.1 The Political History of Ghana

Democracy is a form of political organisation of society and the state under which power legally belongs to the people and all citizens are equal before the law and enjoy political rights and freedoms, including the right to take part in managing the affairs of the state. Literally, it is a government of the people, by the people and for the people. The power structure bequeathed to the Nation by our Colonial Masters practicalises democratisation process through formation of Political Parties, and holding of elections where the citizenry exercise their franchise and in doing so, vests their mandate in a President and Parliamentarians to exercise power on their behalf. Article 1 (1) of the *1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana* states “The Sovereignty of Ghana resides in the people of Ghana in whose name and for whose welfare the powers of government are to be exercised in the manner and within the limits laid down in this Constitution.”

Since the attainment of Independence, Ghanaians have, apart from periods when the Military forcibly took power, continued to exercise this mandate in voting for a President and Parliamentarians to govern the Country. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah led the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) and assumed reins of Government as the first Ghanaian Prime Minister in 1951. The title was changed to President in 1960 when Ghana became a Republic. The Military led by General Kotoka overthrew the CPP regime in 1966 and established the National Liberation Council (N.L.C.). In 1969 following a successful election, Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia as leader of the Progress Party won the election and became Prime Minister. This election was lopsided because, the NLC proscribed the CPP and prohibited the generality of its functionaries from contesting for

presidential or parliamentary positions. In 1972, General I. K. Acheampong led the Military to overthrow the regime. He established the National Redemption Council (N.R.C.) and later, the Supreme Military Council (S.M.C.) as the ruling body. General Akuffo in 1978 removed General Acheampong in an in-house coup on charges that he had treated the state as his own personal property and assumed leadership of the country where he chaired the reconstituted Supreme Military Council. Following from agitations and pressure from civil society and particularly the religious bodies in the country, the SMC initiated a programme to return the country to democratic rule but before elections could be held, Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings led some junior officers of the Ghana Armed Forces to overthrow the General Akuffo Regime. His government, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (A.F.R.C.) undertook a three-month “house cleaning exercise” where some Military Officers who had been accused of corruption and other mismanagement were executed by firing squad. General Acheampong, General Akuffo, General Akwasi Amankwaa Afrifa and five other prominent people in the previous regimes were executed. The regime organised an election and Dr. Hilla Limann, flag bearer of the Peoples National Party (P.N.C.) emerged as the winner and became the President. The Limann administration was considered inept by some people including Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings. On December 31st 1981, Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, then retired from the Ghana Armed Forces, staged his second coup de-tat and overthrew the PNP government. He established the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) and ruled the country as the Chairman of the P.N.D.C. for eleven years. The Religious Bodies in Ghana and other civil societies started agitations for return to civilian rule. In 1992, Rawlings, organised an election after a Constitution had been formulated and approved by Ghanaians in a referendum. He contested the Presidency on the ticket of the National Democratic Congress (N.D.C.) and won the elections. His Excellency

(H.E.) Flt. Lt. Rawlings won another four year mandate in 1996 and handed over power to the New Patriotic Party (N.P.P.) in January 2001 after John Agyekum Kuffuor had led the New Patriotic Party to win the elections. H.E. John Agyekum Kuffuor became President. He led the NPP to win another four year term in 2004. In the year 2008, after a keenly contested elections which had a run-off and another bye-election in Tain (Brong Ahafo Region), the National Democratic Congress led by Professor John Evans Atta Mills won the elections. H.E. John Evans Atta Mills was sworn in as President of the Republic on January 7th 2001 and has since been governing the nation. (<http://Ghana.gov.gh>, assessed on 26th January 2009)

4.2 Political Leaders and Religion in Ghana

The President is the head of the Executive. He appoints Ministers for the Ministries, Regional Ministers for the Regions and Metropolitan, Municipal, and District Chief Executives to assist in governance. On February 12, 1951, the Convention Peoples Party (C.P.P.) won an election which was organised by the Colonial Administration and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who was then in prison was released on February 13, 1951 to form a Government. Dr. Nkrumah who had his first degree in Divinity became the Leader of Government. On March 10, 1952 the Constitution was amended to provide for a Prime Minister and Dr. Nkrumah was elected to the post by a secret ballot in the Assembly held on March 21st, 1952. He subsequently became the first Ghanaian President when Ghana was declared a Republic on July 1, 1960. Dr. Nkrumah declared that Socialism was the policy of his government (Interview with K. S. P. Jantuah). This thesis utilises the religiosity of our leaders in Ghana to illustrate the malleable nature of the relationship between religion and politics.

In an attempt to exert socialist influence and control, his government clashed with the church. Kwame Nkrumah wanted to take control of Education which was under the control of the churches. The church argued from the democratic standpoint that it was not enough to say that because the government provided the funds it should determine the educational priorities of the schools. The wish of the churches and the generality of Ghanaians was that the churches should continue to have a say in the management and administration of the schools, a belief which persists today. We have mentioned earlier on in this thesis that historically, the churches had invested much time and money in formal education, even before the colonial government became involved. The religious bodies, that is, Christianity and Islam have played developmental roles in the politics of Ghana and continue to do so today (Amamoo 2007: 4-22).

Nkrumah and Religion

The first President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, as has been said before had his first Degree in Divinity and was highly religious. Dr, Chris Hesse, the personal photographer of Dr. Nkrumah has in an interview on TV 3 programme “Kwaku One on One” (23rd August 2009 at 3pm) said that Nkrumah devoted Fridays to fasting, prayers and the reading and meditation of the Bible. It is even said that Dr. Nkrumah had spiritualists who prayed with him. Samwini (2006:72) writes that an itinerant *mallamai*, Shaikh Alhaj Ibrahim Niasse of Kaolack in Senegal used to visit Ghana in the 1950’s. He regularly visited Ghana as an official guest of Kwame Nkrumah and it is generally believed that from 1952 to 1965 Nkrumah sent annual presents to the Shaikh in exchange for *Baraka* (blessings).

Pobee (1991) recounts examples where Politicians aligned with Prophets, Mallams and Indigenous Priests for spiritual protection, and we need not recount them here. However, a few of them will have to be re-iterated here to elucidate our submission. Pobee (1991: 121) writes that in 1961, Mensah Dapaah, a researcher into African mysticism at Akonedi Shrine at Larteh, told Adamafo, Minister of Information and Broadcasting and Executive Secretary of the CPP that two ministers of state had gone to the shrine to ask for support to have both Nkrumah and Adamafo eliminated by means of “juju” (spiritual means). Dapaah claimed to have dissuaded Nana Akua Oparebea, the Priestess of the shrine, from executing the wish because Nkrumah was doing great things for the country. When it was revealed to Nkrumah, both he and Adamafo placed themselves under the spiritual protection of the Akonedi Shrine at Larteh. Several times they visited the shrine, albeit separately. In the evidence of Tawiah Adamafo at Apaloo Commission in Evening News of June 1, 1966, we learn that Nkrumah and Adamafo were given a beautiful whitish walking stick and herbs in which they washed. Adamafo, commenting on these flirtations with the shrine at Akonedi, said, “Anyway, if it could not protect me, it could not do me any harm either, but I believe it did something for me.”

Pobee (1991: 123) continues that according to Nkrumah’s will dated June 26, 1965, one Alhaji Iwa of Kankan, Guinea, was to be given £610,000.00. It is said about Nkrumah that he was advised for years by a Holy Man, a Marabout not only on personal but in political matters. It is even believed that this holy man was responsible for the marriage between Nkrumah and Madam Fatia. Since the Holy Man’s death, Nkrumah, visited his grave to meditate and to establish

contact with his spirit. The dead man's son Alhaji Iwa assisted him and Nkrumah had to leave that huge sum of money in his will to be given to him.

At the instance of the government of National Liberation Council which replaced the CPP following its overthrow, writes Pobee (1991: 93), a service of rededication was organised at the forecourt of Christiansborg Castle to give thanks to God on May 22, 1966. Pobee continues that Prof. C. G. Baeta, a Churchman of both national and international standing was sent abroad by the N.L.C. on numerous occasions to plead their cause. Perhaps, this was an acknowledgement that the sacred and the secular flow together.

Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia and Religion

Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia assumed the reigns of Government on September 3, 1969. He was a committed Christian and staunch member of the Methodist Church. He was educated at Methodist School, Wenchi, Mfantshipim School, Cape Coast, then at Wesley College, Kumasi. All these institutions are Methodist schools. At Wesley College, Busia in addition to his course as a teacher, also trained as a Local Preacher and served as a Catechist in the Methodist Church for a number of years. Bartels (1965: 280) writes that Kofi Busia was among a few in Parliament who had been known to have the courage of his convictions to be outspoken in matters within his official competence due to his Methodist training. His background as a Christian and Catechist impacted very much on his schedule as Prime Minister of Ghana between October 1969 and January 1972.

General Ignatius Kutu Acheampong and Religion

General I. K. Acheampong was a devout Catholic, born into a Catholic family. It is said that he attended the Roman Catholic School at Trabuom and St. Peter's in Kumasi. At the time that he staged his coup, he was a member of a mystical circle at Korle Gonno, Accra known as the Nazarite Healing Church. When Acheampong launched his Union Government idea, the Religious bodies in Ghana as well as other civil organisations demonstrated against it. Acheampong brought into the country Elizabeth Clare Prophet, who was introduced to the country as the Messenger of the Great White Brother. Her mission was to use religious interpretation to convince Ghanaians that the Union Government idea was God-sent. She came with a Trinitarian interpretation of UNIGOV. The Armed Forces equated to God the Father, the Professional and student Bodies to God the Son and the workers of Ghana as the Holy Spirit. She also added that Mary, mother of Jesus Christ represented the women of Ghana. Religion was now being used to support politics (Pobee 1991:96-97).

Ft. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings and Religion

When Ft. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, a Catholic by faith won elections and became President in 1992, he instituted a National Thanksgiving Day where Muslims and Christians as well as adherents of the indigenous religions met at different days and locations to offer thanksgiving to God and intercede for His continued blessings; an acknowledgement that it is God who appoints a President. There is even an instance where Kwaku Baako, owner and Editor of the *Crusading Guide* Newspaper accused Rawlings of siphoning huge sums of money and stashing it a secret

account in Switzerland. Kwaku Baako suggested that Flt. Lt. Rawlings should be subjected to chemical test to prove his innocence or guilt. Flt. Lt. Rawlings however in a rebuttal said that he will prefer to appear before Antoa Nyamaa, a highly respected and revered shrine in Ashanti since, according to him, the shrine has established reputation of meting instant justice to people who commit crimes (participant observation).

John Agyekum Kuffuor and Religion

Former President Kuffuor, a devout Christian of the Catholic tradition, continued with this thanksgiving service throughout his period as President. Rev. Dr. Steve Asante, President of the Ghana Baptist Convention in an interview revealed that Ministers of the Christian faith had to attend to his invitation periodically, where they studied the word of God and prayed with him at the Castle. On May 9, 2001 a disaster occurred at the Accra Sports Stadium. It occurred during a match between Ghana's two most successful football teams, Accra Hearts of Oak Sporting Club and Kumasi Asante Kotoko. The home side scored two late goals to defeat Kotoko 2-1 which led to disappointed Kotoko fans throwing plastic seats and bottles onto the pitch. The response to this crowd disturbance from the police was to fire tear gas into the crowd. Panic ensued and a resulting stampede led to the death of 127 people. President Kuffuor joined the Chief Imam and some other Muslim clerics to the Sports Stadium to pray and perform some rituals aimed at driving away malevolent spirits from the place (<http://news.ghanaweb.com/news>, assessed on 14th July 2009).

Prof. Evans Atta Mills and Religion

In fact, political life in Ghana is lived both in the political arena and at the spiritual level and the incumbent President of Ghana, Professor Evans Atta Mills has made no secret of this assertion. He is said to have established a chapel at the Castle. He is a devout Christian and has not made secret his flirtations with Prophet T. B. Joshua of the Synagogue Church of All Nations, with headquarters in Nigeria. T.B. Joshua's Synagogue Church of all Nations has become a tourist attraction of a sort and most of its visitors are Presidents, heads of governments and kingdoms from various parts of Africa (<http://forum.newzimbabwe.com/index.php?/topic/3096-professor-john-evans-atta-mills>, assessed on 23rd January 2010)

When Professor John Evans Atta-Mills, the new Ghanaian President left Accra, Ghana, for Nigeria, January 10, 2009, his mission was to attend the meeting of the Presidents of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), in Abuja. It was his first official visit to Nigeria after his inauguration as the President of Ghana, on January 7, 2009. While other ECOWAS leaders headed back to their various countries after the meeting, President Atta-Mills flew straight to Lagos to meet with T.B. Joshua, General Overseer of The Synagogue Church of all Nations for a thanksgiving service which took place on Sunday, January 11, 2009. President Atta-Mills recalled that his relationship with Joshua dates back to the time he was Vice-President of Ghana more than 10 years ago. "I am no stranger to the Synagogue. Indeed, I have been here very regularly. And I have known the man of God for more than 10 years," he said (<http://forum.newzimbabwe.com/index.php?/topic/3096-professor-john-evans-atta-mills>, assessed on 23rd January 2010)

The new Ghanaian President, who is also a professor of law, gave testimony that Prophet Joshua predicted his electoral victory. According to him, Joshua had predicted that his election would be by three successive balloting as no definite winner would emerge in the first and second ballot and the winner will be announced in January 2009. He explained that Joshua's prophesy came to pass because when the presidential election was first held on December 7, there was no clear winner between him and Nana Akufo-Addo, presidential candidate of the New Patriotic Party, (NPP.) A Presidential run-off election was subsequently held on December 28, but the problems with polling in the Tain Constituency delayed results as fresh polls had to be held there on January 2, before the Electoral Commissioner declared Prof. Evans Atta-Mills the winner (<http://news.myjoyonline.com/news>, assessed on 10th February 2009).

Explaining the rationale behind his visit to the Synagogue, President Atta Mills said consistent prayers of the founder of the church, Prophet Temitope Joshua, sustained him during his campaign, adding that Joshua had prophesied his victory ahead of the elections. The new Ghanaian leader was grateful to Joshua for serving as the vessel through which God made his presidential dream a reality. He said,

Now, if there is anybody who does not believe in God, I would say our elections should change that person's mind. We prayed for peace, stability and unity for our dear native land before, during and after the election. We begged God because He is our Creator and He is the great provider. God gave us more than we asked for... Man of God (Joshua) I want to thank the Almighty for using you and many others.

His Excellency Atta-Mills said that his bond of friendship with Joshua was further strengthened because despite the mighty works he has been doing through the divine inspiration of the Holy Spirit, he has remained very humble. He described him as his mentor (<http://forum.newzimbabwe.com.index.php?topic/3096-professor-john-atta-mills>, assessed on 23rd January 2010).

President Atta-Mills is, however, not the first African leader who enjoys a robust relationship with the man in the Synagogue. Many other African leaders have been frequenting the place. They include, President Omar Bongo of the Republic of Gabon, Goodwill Zwelithini, King of the Zulu from South Africa, ex-President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia, Andre Kolimba, former President of the Central African Republic, ex-President Pascal Linssouba of Congo Brazzaville and Yormie Johnson, the former Liberian warlord who is now a Pastor (<http://forum.newzimbabwe.com.index.php?topic/3096-professor-john-atta-mills>, assessed on 23rd January 2010).

The Gabonese President, Omar Bongo, visited Joshua in January 2008. Bongo said he was thrilled by the way the prophet was touching the lives of people spiritually and materially whenever he watched Emmanuel TV, the satellite television arm of the church. He was also compelled to visit the church after listening to several testimonies by many highly placed citizens of his country who had experienced the prophet's ministration in the past. A few weeks after his spiritual sojourn in Nigeria, Bongo dispatched his presidential jet to bring Prophet Joshua to

Gabon to pray for him and his family as well as for divine intervention in the socio-political affairs of his country (<http://forum.emmanuelstv.com>, assessed on 23rd January 2010)

Earlier in 1999, Chiluba, who was then the President of Zambia, had paid a visit to the Synagogue where he spent a weekend. After the visit, he had promised to dedicate his post-presidential era to the service of God (<http://emmanuelstv.com>, assessed on 23rd January 2010).

Why would these respected statesmen visit the Synagogue church and join in worship if they do not recognise the sovereignty of God as well as the transcendence and immanence of God in the affairs of the world? The Apostle Paul says in Romans 13:1-2 that there is no authority except from God and the authorities that exist are appointed by God. Paul continues in verse 4 that rulers are God's ministers for the good of the society.

In recognition of this statement, the President of Ghana, Prof. John Evans Atta Mills has in consultation with the various religious bodies, instituted a National Day of Thanksgiving where the religious groups meet to give thanks to God. The maiden one which took place on 14th March, 2010 was preceded with a one week national prayer and fasting (<http://www.ghana.gov.gh>, assessed on 15th March 2010). A similar event by the Muslim Community took place on March 12, 2010. At the launch of the programme in Accra on February 22, 2010, the Most Reverend Charles Gabriel Palmer-Buckle, Metropolitan Archbishop of Accra, stressed the need for patriotism rather than unnecessary criticism and bickering to move the nation forward. He stressed that the public prayer week, which was proposed by

President John Evans Atta Mills, is now formalised and will be continued even with a change in Government (<http://www.ghana.gov.gh>, assessed on 15th March 2010).

The Archbishop stressed that a nation that prays together stays together and that the simultaneous offering of prayers by Christians and Muslims, as well as the pouring of libation by traditional religious worshipers at public events has promoted national unity. The Most Rev. Palmer-Buckle said the church and state should partner each other for the well-being of the people and that it is time that Ghanaians recognise that the land of Ghana belongs to God and give off their best to its progress. *Let's look at Ghana in the image of God*, he said (<http://news.myjoyonline.com.news>, assessed on 15th March 2010).

Search in the Ghanaian Newspapers abound with stories of involvement of religion in African Politics and Governance. In the front page of January 13, 2010 edition of *The Chronicle* is the headline “Juju @ Ellembele Assembly.” A certain Amos Kwoffie, a Revenue Collector of the Ellembele District Assembly, is reported to have attempted to use magical powers on the District Chief Executive, Mr. Daniel K. Eshun. Kwoffie is alleged to have gone to see a spiritual man at Azuleloana, a village next to Esiam, in the Western Region of Ghana, with the aim of casting a spell on the DCE to make him accede to all his requests. A sister of the District Chief Executive who happened to have also gone to the same medicine man (jujuman) for fortification witnessed what the Revenue Collector had come to do at the shrine so she called her brother on the phone. The District Chief Executive in the company of the Police Commander at Axim, DSP

Lovelace Tetefutor arrived at the shrine and upon interrogating the suspect as well as the traditional priest, Amos Kwoffie admitted that he had come there for charms which will enable the DCE subscribe to whatever he says or demands. On January 13, 2010, the case had been heard at the Axim Magistrate Court and had been adjourned to enable the Police conduct thorough investigations into the matter.

This researcher has been a victim several times when he served as District Chief Executive at Asante Akim, Adansi and Sekyere East Districts between 1982 and 2001. Following his tough stand against vices such as corruption and nepotism, he became a target of people who wanted to benefit undeservedly from his administration. On a number of occasions, such people consulted jujumen and oracles and invoked oracles against him. While some called for his death, others wished he was paralysed. But for his strong faith in God and commitment to prayer and worship, the worst would have happened. In some cases, what the people wished for the researcher happened to they themselves and they had to come to him to confess and ask for forgiveness. In other instances, the priests of the oracles came to confess to him and demanded to know his source of protection. Spiritual matters cannot be proven in the physical but this researcher can testify that the spiritual exist and people consult spirits, mallams, jujumen, occultists for fortification as well as malevolent purposes.

This researcher interviewed ten members of Parliament and four District Chief Executives who for ethical reasons called for anonymity. They all admitted that they have spiritual mentors who

protect them against the machinations of people who may seek their removal or cause their death. They admit that this world is not all that we see and posits that whoever thinks that the spiritual does not exist is only deluding him or herself.

Take the case of the late Kwadwo Baah Wiredu, Minister of Finance under Ex-President Kuffour's New Patriotic Party's regime. After his demise, the person who obviously was the preferred choice in the Agogo Constituency to contest on NPP ticket and fill the vacancy was one Andy Appiah Kubi. However, some of the party faithful accused him of being responsible for the death of the former Minister and Member of Parliament for Agogo Constituency. They claimed that the gentleman had used spiritual means (something that is popularly known in Ghana as "African Electronics") to eliminate the Minister. He was prevented from attending the burial and funeral rites of the late Minister and was further prevented from contesting the seat (interview with Andy Appiah Kubi and F.F. Anto)

Another incident worth mentioning involves the Minority Leader in Parliament. On January 8, 2009, when Parliament reconvened after the swearing in of the President on January 7, the Minority Leader in Parliament, Hon. Osei Kyei Mensah Bonsu, alleged to the house that he had strong suspicions that an unseen hand had planted a spiritual concoction in his chair. Parliament had to appoint a committee to investigate the matter. If the highest legislative body in Ghana did not wish away the complaint and established a committee to investigate the matter, then it stands to reason that one cannot discount the influence of religion our society as well as in politics (<http://news.myjoyonline.com>, assessed on 10th January 2009).

Prophet Victor Kusi Boateng is the Founder and Head Pastor of Power Chapel Worldwide in Kumasi. In an interview with him he explained that Saul was the first King of Israel (1 Samuel 9-10). This king was chosen by God himself, as the Scripture says. Yet, he had a spiritual mentor in the person of Samuel. Whenever he was in difficulty he approached the Prophet Samuel who prayed to God on his behalf and that of the nation. The Bible abounds with accounts of Kings who trusted in God and God blessed their kingdom. He mentioned that there are a lot of people, including politicians who come to him for prayers.

Most respondents, like many other Ghanaians believe that communal activities and social institutions are inextricably bound up with religion and the spirit-world. There is the belief that we (Africans and for that matter Ghanaians) are surrounded by hosts of spirit beings, some benevolent and some malevolent, and these spirits can and do influence the course of human life for good or for evil. The goodwill of the spirit world is therefore constantly sought thereby acknowledging the dependence of the living on the spirit world. This is supported by Peter Akwasi Sarpong, Arch-Bishop Emeritus of the Kumasi Diocese of Catholic Church who in an interview said that for the Ghanaian, every effect has a cause. He says that for the Ghanaian, no death appears to be natural, and the Ghanaian is at pains to find out the cause, usually mystical of every death. It is therefore not surprising when people resort to Priests in the Christian tradition, in Islam as well as Indigenous Religions for either prayers or charms which they believe secure their jobs as well as personal protection.

No wonder, Aboagye Mensah, immediate past Presiding Bishop of The Methodist Church Ghana in an interview on TV3 programme, “Time with David” on December 12, 2009, observed that separation of the physical from the spiritual is unrealistic. The two fuses into each other and this is what should happen between religion and politics. He stated that the church doing politics is not bad in itself. The church as an institution should not be partisan, but as the conscience of society, it should serve as check on politicians and guide them through the issuing of Pastoral Letters as well as offer close-door advice to ensure that they remain selfless. Aboagye Mensah in concluding said that if Ghanaians want their lives to be what they want it to be, there should be discipline in our moral lives. This stand is corroborated by Thomas Mensah, Archbishop of the Kumasi Catholic Diocese. He said that the religious and moral education he received in his formative years have shaped his life and led him to the position he occupies presently as an Archbishop of the Catholic Church. He added that it is in this respect that the Catholic Bishops Conference has been consistently making calls on Government to restore Religious and Moral Education as an examinable subject in schools.

Another emerging development in the body politics of Ghanaians that requires mention here relates to the Political Parties. In the last quarter of 2009 the ruling party, National Democratic Congress (N.D.C.) as well as the largest minority party, the New Patriotic Party (N.P.P.) organised various elections to elect constituency, regional as well as national executives. Contestants to the various positions criss-crossed the country to canvas for votes from the Electoral Colleges constituted. Political functionaries the researcher interviewed alleged that the members of the electoral colleges demanded various sums of money from contestants in return

for their votes. This is an aspect of corruption, in the highest order that has been introduced into Ghanaian politics, but what is of equal concern here is that from experience, people have collected various sums of monies and other material things from politicians and have failed to vote for them. With this as the background, the candidates this time round demanded that in return for payment of the monies, the recipients take an oath of particular shrines as a symbol of obedience. This researcher interviewed one hundred and thirteen members of the various parties and eighty-five confessed that they swore the oath. The implication of the oath is that if one collects the money and other material gifts and fails to cast the vote for the one who effected the payment, then the oracle should strike and inflict punishment on the recipient. This is a classical example of how religion affects politics and governance.

During the campaign which preceded the 2008 General Elections, there was a feud between the National Democratic Congress and the New Patriotic Party Regional Executives in Ashanti Region. The NPP had alleged that Mr. Ohene Agyekum, the Ashanti Regional Chairman of NDC had organised some people to beat up some leaders of the NPP. Mr. Ohene Agyekum, now Ghana's Ambassador to the United States of America invoked the oracle of the gods of Antoa Nyamaa, a very revered shrine in Ashanti Region to vindicate himself and at the same time visit calamity or punishment on whoever was spreading falsehood against the NDC (www.ghananewsagency.org, assessed on 16th October 2008).

4.3 The Church and the State

The question of religion and politics is not the same as the question of church and state. Failure to make this distinction results in confusion. The problem of church and state has to do with institutions and practices. Neither must trespass the boundaries that define their legitimate sphere of influence. The problem of religion and politics defines another set of issues. Church and state deals with the relationship of institutions that are independent of each other. Religion and politics has to do with two spheres of activities in the life of the same persons. Citizens who belong to religious groups are also members of the secular society, and this dual association generates complications. Religious beliefs have moral and social implications, and it is appropriate for people of faith to express these through their activities as citizens in the political order. The fact that ethical convictions are rooted in religious faith does not disqualify them from the political realm. However, they do not have secular validity merely because they are thought by their exponents to be religiously authorized. They must be argued for in appropriate social and political terms in harmony with national values. In both cases, we should be prepared to deal with complexities, ambiguities, and overlapping realms in which practical discernment must find workable principles to guide us since they are compatible with fundamental Constitutional imperatives as human reason can devise.

In the contemporary state, citizens participate in the government of the country by voting. Most of them belong to political parties, movements, unions, blocs and other suchlike organisations based on various political doctrines and views. These organisations, seeking to order social life according to the political convictions of their members, have as one of their goals to hold or

reform power in the state. Exercising powers given to them by popular vote during elections, political organisations can participate in the work of the legislative and executive power structures. The presence in society of different, sometimes opposing political convictions and discordant interests generate political struggle, a fight which involves both legitimate and morally justified methods which sometimes contradict the norms of public law and Christian and natural morality.

The Church, according to God's commandment, has a task to show concern for the unity of her children and peace and harmony in society and the involvement of all her members in common creative efforts. The Church is called to preach and build peace with outer society: "If it is possible, as far as it depends on you, live at peace with everyone" (Rom. 12:18, NIV); "Make every effort to live in peace with all men and to be holy; without holiness no one will see the Lord" (Heb. 12:14, NIV). It is even more important for her, however, to be internally united in faith and love: "I appeal to you, brothers, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree with one another so that there may be no divisions among you and that you may be perfectly united in mind and thought" (1 Cor. 1:10, NIV).

In face of political differences, contradictions and struggle, the Church preaches peace and co-operation among people holding various political views. She also acknowledges the presence of various political convictions among her episcopate, clergy and laity, except for such as to lead clearly to actions contradicting the faith and moral norms of the church tradition. It is impossible

for the Church's Supreme Authorities and for the clergy, hence for the plenitude of the Church to participate in such activities of political organisations and election processes as public support for running political organisations or particular candidates, election campaigns and so forth. The clergy are not allowed to be nominated for elections to any body of representative power at any level. At the same time, nothing should prevent bishops, clergy and laity from participation in the expression of the popular will by voting along with other citizens.

In church history there were not a few cases when the whole Church gave support to various political doctrines, views, organisations and leaders. In some cases, this support was linked with the need for the Church to defend her fundamental interests in the extreme conditions of anti-religious persecution and the destructive and restrictive actions of the non-Orthodox and non-Christian power.

“Separation of church and state” has become the customary way of describing the relationship between religion and state in the Ghanaian political system. Yet the phrase is too broad to accurately describe the whole system, because in many respects there clearly is no “separation.” How can a system that invokes the names of God in its pledge of allegiance, observes a national day of prayer, and offer Christian and Muslim prayers as well as offer libations at all public functions be said to have a commitment to the separation of church and state? Obviously, the Ghanaian tradition of separation of church and state does not mean that a separation of religion from government is required in all cases. So, while the phrase is too broad to embrace the whole

system, it nevertheless does accurately describe an important part of the system. In any case, the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana does not state anywhere that the church must be separate from the state.

A better way to think of “separation” is to see it as a term that describes an institutional separation of church and state. In other words, separation requires that the institutions of church (Christian and Muslim as well as African Indigenous Religion) and state should not be interconnected, dependent upon, or functionally related to each other. The purpose of this requirement is to achieve mutual independence and autonomy for these institutions, based on the belief that they will function best if neither has authority over the other. Affected are the institutional bodies of religion, that is, churches, mosques, temples, synagogues, and other bodies of organized religion, and the institutional bodies of governmental authority. Consequently, churches and other houses of worship receive no direct governmental funding, nor are they required to pay taxes. Government officials appoint no clergy; conversely, religious bodies appoint no government officials. Governments, even courts, are not allowed to settle church disputes that involve doctrinal issues.

4.4 Governance

Governance describes the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented) whereby, public institutions conduct public affairs, manage Public resources, and guarantee the realization of human rights. Good governance accomplishes this in a manner essentially free of abuse and corruption, and with due regard for the rule of law.

Ghana has travelled a long way since Dr. Kwame Nkrumah advised his fellow leaders in the African Nationalist Movements to seek first the political kingdom and everything else will be added unto it (Pobee 1991: 8). Yet, our politicians have not deviated from that system. Politics in Ghana have come to be seen as the surest route to make money. The economy of affection and patronage has become so engrained in the politics of Ghana to an extent that the “winner grabs all” policy seems to be the order of the day. Politicians have been able to command the diversion of public resources including projects to their clans and constituencies in spite of the cost of these activities to the economy. It is not uncommon in Ghana that a person who can demonstrate generosity to his political party at public expense is not only forgiven by his people but also seen as having acted correctly. When Dr. Richard Anane, member of Parliament for Nhyiaeso Constituency in Ashanti, as the Minister for Health under President Kuffour’s regime was sent to represent Ghana at an International HIV/AIDS conference and he caused a scandal by having extra-marital relations with another woman, which resulted in an issue with the woman, the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice investigated his conduct. The Commission established that he had transferred several million dollars to the said woman which he could not account for the source, an act which constitutes corruption, but what did the then ruling Government do? He rather became a hero and was given back his ministerial portfolio (www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/artikel.php?ID, assessed on 20th March 2007).

Another variable is the situation where the opposition parties see everything wrong with whatever the ruling party does and the ruling party also sees mischief in every suggestion offered by the minority parties. When the first NDC Government under former President Rawlings

passed the Value Added Tax Act 1998, Act 546, the then minority party organized public demonstrations against the passage of the bill into law. However, when New Patriotic Party, the then minority party won elections in 2000 and established a government in 2001, it did not only benefit from the VAT Act but went ahead to increase the threshold arguing that it was necessary to enable them raise enough revenue for development (www.mgiworld.com/get.php/pdfs, assessed on 16th August 2008). The Kuffour administration also introduced the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS). This was opposed by the National Democratic Congress which was then the largest minority party. Today, the President Attah Mills' NDC Government is not only enjoying the largess of the NHIS but is reported to have said that it will introduce a bill to Parliament aimed at improving the Act. This situation that exist in the Country is similar to what George Orwell (1983:28-31, 36) describes in his book *Animal Farm*. Napoleon and Snowball were two boars who had emerged as leaders among the animals. Each had a different political ideology even though the other animals seemed to prefer Snowball to Napoleon. These two disagreed at every point where disagreement was possible. Snowball had designed a windmill which could be made to operate a dynamo and supply the farm with electrical power. It was also going to light the stalls and warm them in winter, run a circular saw, a chaff-cutter, a mangel-slicer and an electric milking machine.

The day came for Snowball's design to be outdoored. All of the animals seemed appreciative of the work done by Snowball. However, Napoleon who had declared himself against the windmill from the start arrived unexpectedly to examine the plans subsequently. After examining the details of the plans he urinated over the plans, and walked out without uttering a word. He

devised a scheme and drove Snowball out of the farm. On the third Sunday after Snowball's expulsion, the animals were surprised to hear Napoleon announce that the windmill was to be built after all. He was even quick to add that the plan which Snowball had drawn on the floor of the incubator shed had actually been stolen from among his papers.

The situation we find in *Animal farm* is not different from what operates in Ghana's political landscape. This runs at variance with practice of good governance. One of the pillars of good governance is "Reliability" which requires that governance is free from distortionary incentives - through corruption, nepotism, patronage or capture by narrow private interest groups; guarantees property and personal rights; and achieves some sort of social stability.

Another pillar on which good governance hinges is "Participation". Participation can involve consultation in the development of policies and decision-making, elections and other democratic processes. Participation gives government access to important information about the needs and priorities of individuals, communities and private businesses. Governments that involve the public will be in a better position to make good decisions, and decisions will enjoy more support once taken. While there may not be direct links between democracy and every aspect of good governance, accountability, transparency and participation are reinforced by democracy, and themselves are factors in support of democratic quality. Governments will require the collaboration of religious groups to facilitate good governance. Thomas Mensah, the Catholic Arch-Bishop of Kumasi informed this researcher that when it comes to identification of the

needs of the people, the church cannot be matched since they know the local domain better and identify with the needs of the people better than any politician.

Michael Aidoo, Head Pastor of Triumphant Baptist Church in Kumasi shared in the views of the Archbishop when I interviewed him. He says that there is no place in Ghana where the church does not have presence. There are areas in Ghana where Government officials have never visited and yet the churches have their presence in those areas. The church then is in a better stead to determine the need of the people in the local areas. Accordingly, it will not be out of place if Governments make conscious effort to collaborate with the church and other religious groupings. He posits that God created human beings as physical and spiritual beings. It is therefore untenable for one to think that the physical can be separated from the spiritual. He says that it is because society has tried, though unsuccessfully, to separate the spiritual from the physical, the moral values of the society seem to have suffered. Religion teaches morality and therefore if Governments would want to find people to fill positions of responsibility, the best place to go should be the church.

4.5 Convergence of Religion and Politics

As indicated repeatedly, Ghanaians are very religious. The Country is a multi-faith, multi-cultural society which enjoys complete freedom of religion. Article 21 (1), (c) of the 1992 Constitution states that “All persons shall have the right to freedom to practice any religion and to manifest such practice”. Religion and politics converge beautifully in the preamble of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. It reads, “The Constitution of the Republic of

Ghana, In the name of the Almighty God, We the people of Ghana...do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution”. All the forms of oath of allegiance sworn by the President and his or her Vice, Judicial oath, oath of members of Council of State, members of Parliament, the Cabinet oath and oaths sworn by plaintiffs and defendants who appear in court are all sworn in the name of Almighty God. This is recognition and an acknowledgement of the Sovereignty of God. Most studies on religion and politics in Ghana adopt a mono-dimensional perspective on the subject. A review of the literature indicates a tendency to isolate the political appropriation of religion from the religious critique of politics. How religious ideas are manipulated by shrewd African politicians is the dominant concern. Pobee (1992: 50-115) writes extensively about the role of some clergy who manipulated past Presidents and politicians for their selfish motives. The book seemingly suggests how religion is a willing pawn in African political machinations. For our thesis, we prescribe a more assertive role the churches and other religious organisations have played as part of the nascent civil society. A critical study of the interactions between religious and political discourses show how there is constant mutual borrowing, adaptations and influences which illustrates the malleable nature of the relationship between religion and politics.

Religion is everywhere in Ghana. A cursory look at the inscriptions on commercial vehicles, kiosks and business enterprises will reveal the religiosity of Ghanaians. Quotations and slogans from the Bible and the Qur'an as well as other religious statements are written on the front and back of vehicles as well as kiosks and other business enterprises. Examples are, “God is King”; “Abide with me”; “God never Gives to Curse”; “Exodus 14:14”; “Talitha Kum”; “I will make it in Jesus’ name”; “Psalm 23”; “The Lord is my Shepherd”; “Let us Pray”; “Heaven gate no

bribe”; “Dr. Jesus”, are some of the inscriptions on vehicles. Kiosks and firms are given Christian and Islamic names such as “Jesus Way Upholstery”; “King of Kings Electrical”; “Bethel Chop Bar”; “Wonderful Jesus”; “*Allah Alakbar* Enterprises”; “Fire of Jesus Fast Food”; “God has done it Beauty Salon”; “God’s Way Rasta & Nails Studio”; “*Nyame Akwan* (God’s ways)” to name a few (See pictures as Appendix 4).

At national or state functions Christian and Muslim prayers are offered to invoke God or Allah’s blessings, and libation is offered to solicit peace from the ancestors. The Speaker of Parliament as a rule of Parliament reads a prayer each morning before Parliamentary proceedings commence. The 2000 Population census gave the breakdown of the citizens of Ghana according to religious affiliations as follows: 69.0% are Christians; 15.6% are Muslims; 8.5% profess Indigenous Religions; while 6.9% profess other faiths or no religion at all. It means that 93.1% of Ghanaians profess a religion of some sort. These people who profess one religious faith or another are the very people who form the Executive, Legislature and serve on the Judiciary. They go to church or mosque and hear sermons from Priests and Imams and cultivate value consciousness which is supposed to guide their public conduct.

Islam lends itself to a unification of religion and politics because it is a faith that seeks to regulate both the spiritual and temporal worlds. According to Alhaj Dr. Muhammed bin Ibrahim, Ashanti Regional Director of Health Services, interpretation of the Qur’an advise on not only the individual’s relationship with God (Allah) through worship in the mind, but also on social

conduct in the material world. Islam pervades all aspects of life. He adds that there are Islamic teachings and interpretations on how individuals should not only pray, but conduct commerce, marry, rear children, socialise and so on. Esposito (1984: 1) says that, Muslim belief that Islamic faith and politics are rooted in Islam's divinely revealed book, the Qur'an, and the example (*Sunnah*) of its founder or Prophet, Muhammed, and has thus been reflected in Islamic doctrine, history and politics. Esposito (1984: 1-2) continues that Muslims believe that throughout history, God sent Messenger-Prophets to warn and guide humankind: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus (Qur'an :40-43; 2:209; 7:155-158). Qur'an 2:136 reads, "We believe in God and the tribes, and that which Moses and Jesus received and (all) the Prophets were given. We make no distinction between any of them. And to God we submit ourselves." To the Muslim, God has given of creation as a trust to mankind (Qur'an 33:72; 31:20-29). Man, as bearer of this trust, is God's representative or vicegerent (Qur'an 2:30; 6:165) whose divinely mandated vocation is to be God's instrument in establishing and spreading an Islamic order, God's rule on earth. In the light of these disclosures, Governments in the past and present have regarded Muslims as a "special constituency". Holy Pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj) which Muslims undertake every year has become the business of the Ghana Government due to this special relationship it has with Muslims. During the 2009 Hajj preparation for instance, Government gave the Hajj planning Committee an amount of Two million US dollars (\$2 million) as a way to reduce flight charges of pilgrims. In addition, Zoom Lion Company was contracted to establish a special Hajj village at El-Wak Stadium in Accra to take care of the health and other social needs of the would-be pilgrims. Any Government that will ignore this special relationship does so at its own peril.

Among Christians, the Church is God's special signpost in the world, ever pointing sincere pilgrims to the fullness of Christ's coming reign. Insofar as the Church is on the frontier of the Kingdom it is God's agent for change. Nicholls (1986: 15) on the basis of this statement writes:

In this sense God call Nebuchadnezzar "my servant" and likewise Chairman Mao of China. The two dimensions of Christ's reign in heavens and on earth are held together by this eschatological hope that when Christ returns the Church and the Kingdom will be coterminous.

Christians believe that God has appointed the church as his appointed agent for proclamation, service and justice in the world. Social responsibility is equally important, genuinely distinct and inseparably related in the Church's life. According to Thomson (2007: 67), religion has long been established as a social cleavage generating political competition within, and between societies. He adds that ever since humans have been in existence, individuals have been mobilising politically by referring to spiritual beliefs. It is therefore difficult to determine at what level religion converges with politics, except to say that religion and politics will always mix in the Ghanaian context to ensure political and social harmony.

Stott (1984: 17) therefore writes;

All individual Christians should be politically active in the sense that, as conscientious citizens, they will vote in elections, inform themselves about contemporary issues, share in the public debate, and perhaps write to a newspaper, lobby their Member of Parliament or take part in a demonstration.

He adds that when God calls some individuals to give their lives to political service, in either local or national Government, they should respond to the call. He urges the church to teach both the law and the gospel of God and that when the church concludes that biblical faith or

righteousness requires it to take a public stand on some issues, then it must obey God's Word and trust him with the consequences. God is concerned that our community life be characterised by justice.

He upholds the cause of the oppressed and gives food to the hungry. The Lord sets prisoners free, the LORD gives sight to the blind, the LORD lifts up those who are bowed down, the LORD loves the righteous. The LORD watches over the alien and sustains the fatherless and the widow, but he frustrates the ways of the wicked (Psalm 146:7-8, NIV)

Convergence of religion and politics is at its best when it comes to provision of infrastructure. The churches were the first to establish schools and health delivery centres in the country. Thomas Mensah, Catholic Archbishop of Kumasi, in an interview recounted the numerous social interventions the church, especially the Catholic Church, has made in the society. The Catholic Church has long been involved in services of education and health, and increasingly in relief. The Ghana Catholic Relief Services has been one of the major players in relief service in the country. The Protestant Churches together with the Catholic Church have been crucial to the history of Ghana, and their contribution is well documented. Almost all the well-endowed Senior High Schools in Ghana were established by the churches. A few of such schools are Adisadel College, Mfantipim School, Wesley Girls, Aburi Girls, Wesley College of Education, Prempeh College, Opoku Ware Secondary, Arch-Bishop Porters School, Mount Mary Secondary, T. I. Ahmadiyya Senior High Schools and St. Roses Senior High School. If one selects the best ten schools using academic standards one will not be wrong to mention that all of them will be the mission or church established schools. Achimota School, a non-missionary but a Christian school has together with the other mission schools been largely instrumental in creating the Ghanaian

elite, which has and continues to influence the socio-political landscape of the country. Statesmen like Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia (Prime Minister, 1969-72), President Akuffo Addo (Chief Justice and later President, 1969-72), Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (Prime Minister and later President (1951-1966), Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings (Military Leader, 1982-1992 and later President, 1992-2001), Mr. John Agyekum Kuffour (President, 2001-2008) and Prof. John Evans Atta Mills (Vice President, 1996-2001, President, 2009 to date) are all products of church related schools. The churches have gone further by establishing private Universities all over the Country. Let us always remember that the Constitution places the primary responsibility for establishment and operation of schools on Government and yet Government has only five public universities in the country. Private universities established by the churches far exceed the number owned by Government. Central University College, Methodist University College, Presbyterian University College, Islamic University College, Valley View University, Christian Service University College, Christ Apostolic University College, Pentecost University College are some of the universities owned by the churches.

On the health front, the churches have established hospitals and health centres across the country, especially in very remote areas where but for them, millions of people would not have received health care services. It is instructive to mention that health institutions such as Agogo Hospital, SDA Hospital in Kumasi, St. Martins Hospital at Agormanya and Agroyesum and Jachie-Pramso Hospital as well as St. Patrick Hospital at Offinso were all established by churches. The Ahmadiyya Mission has also established hospitals as well as Senior High Schools at several places in the country. They have therefore supported the Governments in the discharge of its

primary responsibility of providing education and health services to the people. What is significant is that, in this era where the Ghana Medical and Nurses Councils have thrown their Hippocratic oaths to the wind and embark on strike action anytime they have a misunderstanding with the Government over salaries issues and other allowances, the hospital and health centres owned by the churches do not join such strike actions but stay to render services to society. It must be acknowledged that in the spheres of health care, psychological therapy, morality and spiritual development, African primal religions have also contributed their share of human development. Nana Kwaku Bonsam, a popular priest of an indigenous shrine in Ashanti in an interview told this researcher that, God has given him spiritual insight to determine what type of herb heals what disease or sickness and he has been helping several people who come to him with all kinds of ailments. He also mentioned that there are politicians (names withheld for ethical reasons) who come to him for spiritual protection. He says that in the run-off to the 2009 Elections, several politicians came to him where he prepared various charms to fortify and protect them against their detractors.

Apostle Kwadwo Sarfo's Kristo Asafo Church has on yearly basis provided food and monetary support to hospitals, the universities and other Government institutions. There are other churches who are on record for consistently providing relief for the poor and vulnerable in the society. The Methodist Church, Ghana has established an insurance company, the Dunwell Insurance Company which is one of the best run insurance companies in Ghana. All these interventions provide a respite to Government to enable it concentrate its resources on other areas of the economy.

The National Peace Council which until recently was chaired by Cardinal Appiah Turkson has supported Government in resolving political and ethnic disputes in the country. There is a long-standing political feud which exists between the two former Presidents, Flt. Lt. Rawlings and John Agyekum Kuffuor. Sometimes, the feud reaches its head and had it not been the resolution skills employed by the Peace Council in meeting with them and calming nerves, followers of the two personalities would have clashed.

It is instructive to mention that during the 2001, 2004 and 2008 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, this researcher observed that the Christian Council, Catholic Secretariat, and the Pentecostal/Charismatic Church Councils trained election monitors who were deployed to most electoral areas to monitor the elections. This bid was to facilitate fair and transparent elections and provide credibility to the election results. Prior to the elections, the churches provided platforms for the Electoral Commission to educate church members on voting procedures. This is a remarkable demonstration of interface between religion and politics.

Gifford (1998: 57) writes that the churches, especially, the Protestant missions were very instrumental in the creation of Ghana. Mission graduates became prominent in the politics of the Country. In the 1970's, some of them were in the Legislative Council. Before the turn of the century, these elites had formed the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society to advance their interests. Some of the organs through which they articulated their criticism of the British

administration were those provided by Christian Institutions and Gifford mentions the Gold Coast Methodist Times as one of such institutions.

In reconciliation and conflict resolution, the churches have played leading role to resolve potentially dangerous national and ethnic disputes. Take for instance the feud existing between ex-President Rawlings and the immediate past President, ex-President Kuffour. From the body language and the vituperation by the two first Statesmen, there is no denying the fact that Ghanaians are sitting on a time bomb, which if allowed to detonate could throw the whole nation into anarchy. In an interview with Cardinal Appiah Turkson he revealed that the religious bodies through the Peace Council which was under his leadership met the two gentlemen separately on several occasions to mediate in the matter and we can say without any fear of contradiction that it is these mediations that have watered down the feud. Again, he disclosed that the religious bodies have played mediatorial role in the Bawku as well as the Tamale disturbances and more importantly, the Dagbon chieftaincy crisis which caused several deaths in Yendi.

The state has also helped in the growth of churches throughout the country. Most of the Pentecostal and Charismatic churches are using school buildings built by the state as places of worship. This cooperation between the state and the churches has given most of the churches some breathing space as they strive to build their own chapels. Laws have also been passed by the state which has set the stage for churches to function. Among them are tax-exempt laws which exempt churches from paying taxes on tithes and offerings as well as Harvests.

Churches have also played roles as pressure groups and have ensured that laws that are passed by Parliament as well as policies of Government are seen to be in the interest of the country. Recently, the Ministry of Education decided to remove Religion and Moral Studies from its curriculum. The Churches sent a delegation to then President Kuffour and mounted pressure through the media and other fora. The Government succumbed and directed for its reinstatement. There is ample evidence in “Ghana Bishops Speak” (1999), a collection of communiqués, memoranda and Pastoral letters of the Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference to support our claim.

Finally, when it comes to formulation of laws, there is a convergence of religion and politics. Religious bodies have always made input in respect of bills that are in the process of becoming law. This arrangement ensures that the religious bodies make input to the laws of the land on the basis of religious principles.

4.6 Conclusion

We believe that the evidence already adduced will have been enough to convince any candid thinker that religion is everywhere, embedded in every aspect of culture. Sporting events begin with prayers by the players. Public life, from politics to trade is permeated by at least nominal devotion to God and the deities. Private religion involves devotion to the gods and ancestors of the household, as well as more esoteric cults. Worship of God, the deities and astrology dominates the lives of many people as they strive to overcome the general feeling of helplessness

that has characterised the society. We do not have to look deeply to find that most politicians in Ghana recognise that behind the events which take place on earth are the operations of supernatural powers.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLITICAL CORRUPTION AND POVERTY

5.0 Introduction

This chapter examines corruption, the causes and its effects on the society. It then looks at religion, morality and nation building as well as religion's response to public life.

5.1 Corruption in Ghana, causes and effects and counter-measures

Gyekye (1997:2) defines political corruption as “the illegal, unethical, and unauthorised exploitation of one's official position for personal gain or advantage.” Even though political corruption is usually associated with the acceptance of bribe, Gyekye says, it does not end there. Graft, fraud, nepotism, kickbacks, favouritism, and misappropriation of public funds are all acts of political corruption when they are committed by public officials exploiting their official positions for their own advantage.

Belshaw and Calderisi (2001: 79) quotes Christopher Kolade who says “Corruption can be said to be the abuse of an influential position for private gain as well as the exploitation of a system for securing unmerited favour or advantage.” The first part of the definition relates to holders of influential positions in the public and private sector who have access to the people's shared resources because they are custodians and stewards of those resources. The second part of the definition relates to people who lobby such office holders for access to preferential or undue

advantage. In Ghana, some of the basic essentials of life are in short supply; particularly opportunities for securing education, employment, medical treatment and financial loans. For this reason, distribution of resources is managed mainly by allocation, and this confers enormous power on those who hold management positions, especially our politicians. Unless they are conscientious and faithful in carrying out their responsibilities, there is an almost inescapable tendency for corruption to creep in and take hold within the system. There seem to be a general consensus that corruption has become endemic in Ghana largely because of the breakdown of moral values in the society. Corruption is decried daily in the Ghanaian newspapers, as well as radio and on television. Bribe-taking has become “normal” by most public officials. Potential job-seekers have to put “weight” on their application letters to assure right consideration. Morality is clearly on the decline as instances of rape, child abuse and incest are regularly reported in the national dailies.

Advocates of virtues are vilified and branded as people who are living in the past. Individualism (each for him/herself and God for us all) seem to be the order of the day. The Qur’an has this to say about good deeds,

Surely those who have believed in Muhammed as a Messenger of God,
and the Jews, and the Sabians, and the Christians – whoso believes in
Allah and the Last day and does good deeds, on them shall come no fear,
nor shall they grieve (Ch. 5: Al-Ma’idah: 70).

The Bible says in Proverbs 14:34 that “righteousness exalts a nation, but sin is a disgrace to any people”. This is similar to what has been quoted from the Qur’an.

Gyekye (1997: 1,4-18) identifies corruption as the most serious disease of governments in Africa. He says,

For it cannot be denied that the most outstanding and resilient problem that has beset and blighted the politics of the new nations (or, nation-states) of postcolonial Africa is political corruption...It is undoubtedly the most common cause of the military overthrow of civilian governments in Africa, with the consequent disruption of the democratic political process

He discusses conditions or factors that explain the widespread incidence of corruption in Ghana. These include weak political leadership, the nature of a political or social system, economic conditions, and inadequacies of legal or institutional frameworks, as well as the extended family system. He however finds it puzzling that in most attempts to provide a causal explanation for the rampant incidence of political corruption, the moral circumstances are generally ignored or are mentioned only in passing, regarding it as peripheral to the phenomenon. He posits that corruption stems from the moral incapacity to make the appropriate or desirable moral choice required by a situation in favour of the common welfare. Gyekye (1997:19) concludes by saying that corruption is crucially a moral problem and should be grappled with from that standpoint. His argument lends support to what this thesis seeks to achieve – that there should be a relevant interface between religion and politics, if we really as a nation would want to grow in a healthy way. Corruption is essentially or fundamentally a moral problem and serious and profound commitment to our moral beliefs and principles will be the most adequate therapeutic response to the phenomenon of political corruption.

There is a general perception that politicians compete for public office not so much to serve all the people as to win positions of power and privilege. It is important to stress that the leader's authority is conferred upon him or her to empower him or her to fulfil the responsibilities of the office, and not to create private gain for himself or herself and his relations and friends. Our present Parliamentarians assumed office on January 7, 2009. Government has facilitated the grant of US\$50,000 loan to each Member of Parliament to enable them purchase vehicles for their operational use (theghanaiareactor.blogspot.com/2009/06/50000-car-loans-for-mps.html, assessed on 19th June 2009). This is a privilege that the Honourable members of Parliament have received since under normal circumstances, it is almost impossible to secure a loan of even US\$5,000 as an individual from a Bank, except those with huge business concerns. After securing the loans, the members of Parliament who belong to the majority party (NDC) met with President Atta Mills and made further demands for allocation of four-wheel vehicles to be maintained by the state. They explained that since District Chief Executives and Ministers of State are allocated official vehicles which are maintained by the state, they equally deserve the right to be offered such privilege. This is selfishness and amounts to use of office for privilege which is corruption in the highest order. The Bible has this to say; "They plot injustice and say "we have devised a perfect plan!" Surely the mind and heart of man are cunning. But God will shoot them with arrows; suddenly they will be struck down" (Psalm 64:6-7, NIV).

Corruption contributes to the perpetuation of poverty in a significant way mainly because it weakens the performance of both leaders and followers. Funds which are meant for construction of school buildings, roads, health facilities as well as drilling of bore holes to provide good and

adequate drinking water is diverted, misappropriated and virtually stolen. The end effect is that poverty will be deepened. The gap between the rich and the poor is widened. The rich get richer, often in indecent way, while the poor become progressively less able to fend for themselves.

In an interview with Kwasi Amakye, a Christian and Political Science Lecturer at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, he seemed to agree with corruption as being a moral issue and said that even though economic factors partly account for corruption in our society, he concedes that the seeming absence of a group that speaks for public morality and ethics has accounted for the indiscipline and corruption in our society. Amakye advocated that religious groups, who traditionally serve as the conscience of society should rise up and play advocacy role. He concluded that, the moral and religious education and upbringing he received at the basic and secondary school has helped him a great deal and continues to help him in making choices between wrong and right.

Kwaku Gyan, a High Court Judge in Sekondi, in the Western Region says that Islam has shaped his life and has had a positive impact in the way he discharges his duties as a Judge. Religion, he said, had developed his character, such that he is above corruption. He suggested that in our efforts to restructure the society, religion should be used to educate, to enforce and above all, to reform the individual.

Another respondent Olu Lutherking, an Industrialist and Co-ordinator of Fine Print (IND) Limited in Accra said that even though he disputed the existence of heaven, hell and God, he accepted that religion is helpful because it shapes the behaviour of the human person for the better. He claims that he has several people in his employment. Whenever an annual assessment report is submitted to him, he realises that the workers who are seen to be highly religious are most often the ones who win awards. He is therefore not afraid to place such people in helping in the management of his financial resources because he has trust and confidence in them and knows that they will not misappropriate or misapply the monies. He concluded by saying that, this is not to say that all persons who are religious are incorruptible. The incorruptible however, out numbers the corruptible.

Not surprisingly, corruption and economic governance have assumed prominence in current discourse on the agenda for renewal and sustained development in Africa. It is now recognized widely that the persistence of corruption and its product, poverty, could spell dire consequences for the new democracy. If, indeed, the entry point for curbing corruption is “an awareness of prevalence,” recognition of its seriousness as a problem and the expressed commitment to control it, then Ghana could have been said to be on track. Not only has the problem been officially acknowledged by government, but also public institutions and civil society advocacy groups have been established purposely to combat the menace. By Article 218(e) of the Constitution, the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), for instance, has the duty to “investigate all instances of alleged or suspected corruption and the misappropriation of public moneys by officials”.... The Serious Fraud Office (SFO) Act, 1993, was designed similarly to detect certain types of corruption and economic crime, such as

procurement fraud. The SFO is a specialized agency to monitor, investigate and, on the authority of the Attorney General, prosecute any offence involving serious financial loss to the state. Indeed, the 1992 Constitution makes better management of the Ghanaian economy a political imperative. According to Article 36(1), the state must “take all necessary action to ensure that the national economy is managed in such a manner as to maximize the rate of economic development and to secure the maximum welfare of the people.” Perhaps, the key arrangement for fulfilling this directive is a national budget process that is participatory, transparent, and accountable and that would lead to effective management of resources and sustainable economic growth. Several provisions for example, Chapter 13, Art. 178, 179, 181, 184, 187) seek to impose fiscal discipline and accountability on the management of the economy and yet the rate of corruption has assumed alarming proportions.

On August 21st, 2008, the Ghana News Agency report published at its website (http://www.ghananewsagency.org/s_politics/r_5064/ assessed on July 3, 2009 at 15.39 hours) said that the Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII), the local chapter of Transparency International, had raised the alarm about political corruption, saying Ghana cannot allow political corruption to destroy the fledgling democracy, especially the degree and pervasiveness that it assumed during the limited voters registration exercise. In a statement signed by Vitus Azeem, its Executive Secretary, the GII said it had followed, with trepidation and worry, the conduct of party congresses which elected party flag bearers and parliamentary candidates for the 2009 elections as well as the recent voter registration exercise. Monies were paid to party members to entice them to vote in a certain direction while in the registration exercise some people registered more than once, apart from minors who were paid monies to misrepresent facts about their age to enable them register. It said it was concerned about these allegations because they bordered on

political corruption and abuse of power, where political parties and candidates were using money, power and influence to tilt the political scale in their favour in expectation of power, potential riches and other benefits. The Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII), the Ghanaian chapter of Transparency International (TI), held a press conference on September 23, 2008 to launch the TI's 2008 Corruption Perception Index (CPI). Ghana scored 3.9 out of the maximum possible score of 10, which ranked Ghana number 67 out of the 180 countries included in the 2008 index. This is very embarrassing and does not speak well of a country that professes to be the gateway to Africa. The cause of this abysmal situation is not far-fetched. In our attempts to fight corruption, we have ignored the religious dimension.

The sordid revelations of financial improprieties at the “Ghana at 50 Commission of inquiry”; audit reports of the National Health Insurance Scheme as well as the revelations of misapplication of huge sums of funds by public officials contained in the Auditor General's report which has been laid before the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament leaves much to be desired. Millions of Ghana cedis have been misappropriated and misapplied by Government Officials (Politicians) as well as other public officers. Some Customs, Excise and Preventive Service, Internal Revenue Service, Immigration Service Officials and the Police Service extort monies at the least opportunity and allow people to evade tax, smuggle goods or escape the law with impunity. Monies that are alleged to have been misappropriated and those collected and pocketed by officials could have been used to improve health facilities, build new ones, build school infrastructure, develop small water systems for some rural communities or used to improve sanitation.

Emmanuel Asante is a Professor and the Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, Ghana. In an interaction with him, he touched on Africa's immense resources which are in direct contrast to the misery of its poor. He explains that the situation becomes even more scandalous if consideration is given to the wealth amassed in the hands of a privileged few. In decrying this unacceptable situation, he referred to "the dishonesty of corrupt government leaders who, in connivance with domestic or foreign private interests, divert national resources for their own profit and transfer public funds to private accounts in foreign banks." Given this state of affairs, ways and means must be urgently devised to encourage honest politicians who are determined to protect the common patrimony from all forms of waste and embezzlement. In conclusion, he said that the exponential rise in corruption should be a cause of concern to all well meaning Ghanaians. Corruption has reached unbearable proportions due to the breakdown of the moral fibre of the people. Throughout human history, the quest for God has inspired the art, poetry, music, literature and morality and that has enriched human civilizations and still does.

Religion has a primacy place when we talk of morality. Kudadjie et al (2002: 43) writes:

When people have truly encountered God, what is referred to as religious experience, they gain a new insight into the way things are; their outlook on life changes for the better, their life is ennobled, their conscience is sharpened, a fundamental change in the disposition of their heart occurs, and their sensitivity to abhor evil is heightened. Such persons have the capacity to tell right from wrong, their one great desire to be good, and they are irresistibly urged to do the right and avoid the wrong. If they default morally, their conscience gives them no rest until they repent and change their ways.

Religious devotion makes one hunger and thirst after righteousness. It has tremendous socializing influence and can make valuable contribution to the development of a nation.

Religious bodies provide their members a lot of moral teaching, all emphasizing a life of love, righteousness, justice, kindness and fairness to one another. Religion prepares its adherents' through Scripture studies, sermons, talks, meditation and prayer life to help them live the morally good life. Religion can keep a nation on the right path as it seeks to attain development.

From the above narratives, it can be said that religion really plays an important role in the body politics of Ghana and cannot be wished away.

Steve Asante, President of the Ghana Baptist Convention agrees that corruption is a moral issue. Our belief impacts on our moral behaviour. Our behaviour is defined by our belief system. Asante said that in the past pastoral letters were very common but these days, it has become very infrequent. The pastoral letters challenged immorality and things which were seen to be an affront on society. He explained that Christianity seems to be losing its saltiness due to the fact of some Pastors who openly align themselves to one political party or the other. The power of God is the key thing that transforms society. He said that he is not corrupt because of the religious and moral education he received from the Methodist primary and secondary school he attended. In Secondary School, the Scripture Union is allowed to operate unhindered and students who become members receive moral training that helps when they move into public life.

Gyekye (1997: 44-45) in drawing conclusion to his book on corruption re-emphasises his stand that morality clearly lies at the core of the phenomenon of political corruption. He argues that the effective enforcement of the law will ultimately depend on the probity or moral uprightness of the law enforcement agents, who as individual persons, are expected to display high standards of moral character and behaviour. We share in the conclusive statement of Gyekye. We submit that

the only panacea to this canker is to change the attitudes and responses of people, including public officials, to accepted moral and legal rules and this is where the religious bodies come in.

5.2 Religion and Public Life

A new era of democratisation and political maturation is slowly emerging in Ghana, with much stress laid on good governance which is a pre-requisite for sustainable development. In our effort to achieve good governance through responsible leadership and public accountability, a factor which is worth considering and which could be an important driving force is religion. The values of religion are recognised as important in training the conscience and moulding or forming the characters of people.

Steve Asante agrees that the church has a social mandate. The church will have to provide its prophetic role by guiding society to do the right thing. He mentions Father Campbell, a Catholic Priest and explains that the advocacy role he plays at the Leprosarium is as a result of the social mandate of the church. Steve Asante says that the church has a definitive calling and that is to make disciples of all nations (Matthew 28:19f), to be the salt of the earth and light of all nations (Matthew 5:13-16). Emmanuel Asante (2007:98) makes similar observations and says that ministering to the needs of people is continuing the work of the Lord.

He said the following about the social mandate of the church;

The ministry of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, which is the one essential ministry of the Church, has a “positive bearing upon the

transformation of human society not only in the private domain of thought and feeling but also in the public domain of law, government and economics”. The involvement of the church in the social, cultural, political and economic development of society has shown clearly that, while the church seeks to avoid any kind of political reduction of the Christian faith, the Church is increasingly aware that the Christian faith has a concrete dimension involving certain socio-political attitudes and commitments.

Scripture says that “The earth is the LORD’s and all that is in it” (Psalm 24:1, NIV) and “The land must not be sold permanently, because the land is mine and you are but aliens and my tenants” (Lev. 25:23, NIV). All human beings are God’s creatures. Made in His image, they are His representatives, given the responsibility of caring wisely for His creation. As His stewards, we do not own the earth but we manage and enhance it in anticipation of Christ’s return. God’s purpose for humanity is that men and women be the *imago Dei* – that they live as His image in the world, His co-creators and stewards, rather than as predators of creation. God intends that social structures reflect and promote justice, peace, sharing and free participation for the well-being of all. The Old Testament establishes God’s desire to meet our basic needs: “Is not this what I require of you as a fast: to...set free those who have been crushed? Is it not sharing your food with the hungry, taking the homeless poor into your house, clothing the naked...? (Isaiah 58:6-7, NIV). Jesus Christ said that the struggle to meet the needs of the poor – for food, water, shelter, clothing, health care and spiritual maintenance would be seen as an indication of true salvation on judgment day (Matthew 25:31-46). According to James, religious life is defined by social responsibility rather than by confessions of spiritual purity: true faith is works, evangelism is obedience to the law of love, simply because God makes his purposes clear through a life which transmits his mercy to those in need. The Bible is full of teachings about social justice,

freedom and transformation. The mission of the church is three-fold. First of all, we are to plead the cause of the poor, defending the weak and helping the helpless (Proverbs 22:22; Psalm 12:5; 10:17-18). The second is to stand for equality and social justice (Proverbs 14:21; Psalm 41:1) and third, to institute structures that will create a just and more equitable distribution of wealth (Lev. 25:28).

In the light of the above observations, missionary services – medical, agricultural, orphanages, and other development projects become something done for the sake of Christ. We cannot but agree with Nicholls (1986: 171) when he posits that “One can say that the ultimate measure of a church is not where it stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where it stands at times of challenge and crisis”. Even though the church has been called to worship the Lord; it has also been sent to serve the world. Jesus says, “As the Father sent me into the world, even so I send you into the world” (John 17:18; 20:21). The church’s social responsibility derives from and fulfils that for which Christ was sent. The church’s social service is highly commendable. It has established social intervention organizations to help fight poverty. The Catholic Relief Agency, World Vision International and other relief services of the main line churches as well as Islamic relief agencies have provided various interventions to support Government in her fight against poverty. On January 29, 2010, the Church of Pentecost donated two ambulance vehicles valued at GH¢50,000.00 each to the Ghana Police Service. This is just one of the several contributions the church has made to support state institutions. This provides justification for the religious bodies to engage the Government in discussions and serve as checks on abuses.

In an interview with Yinka Sarfo, the Anglican Bishop of Kumasi, he bemoaned the economic systems and new technologies of globalization which instead of coming to create equity in the

system rather carry with them a culture of dominating values. He mentioned that those who do not conform to these dominant values are excluded from the global society, as of no worth or value. Such people are not only made financially poor but are alienated and demeaned spiritually, intellectually and emotionally. Yinka Sarfo explained that the church had a social mandate to engage politicians and the civil society in order to create the political will in governments and civil society to see significant change in policy and practice.

Asante (2007:111) drawing from Waldo Beach observes as follows:

The double standards approach, where we do politics according to its rules without any religious considerations and practice our religion without any political considerations, also do not hold water. To accept it is “to violate the integrity of the Christian life, which ought to be single in obedience to God in Christ, faithful in its love both at the polls and at the altar.

It is hoped that all politicians as well as all persons in public life will be mindful of what their religious faith says about stewardship and strive to work honestly and conscientiously to uphold democracy.

5.3 Religion, Morality and Nation Building

Religion deals with the spiritual, moral and ethical behaviour of the human person, along with the acts of faith and with the reckoning of the Day of Judgment. Its primary concern is placed on how the spiritual link and relationship is to be established between a man and his Creator. Religion prescribes rules of conduct and in so doing, tends to identify these with moral conduct.

There is no religion without its own norms or mores of the society or how its adherents should live a holy and acceptable life. Religion in Ghana frowns upon wrong behaviour such as corruption, cheating, killing of human beings, armed robbery, dishonesty, and trade in as well as use of narcotics.

Islam for instance is concerned with the entire conduct of life whether spiritual or temporal, religious or secular, domestic or societal, moral or material, social or cultural, economic or political, individual or collective, national or international. In non-Islamic societies, there are different sources for Law, different sources for Morality and different sources for Religion. But as far as Islam is concerned, its morality, laws, culture, politics, economic affairs, domestic affairs, civil affairs, social matters, matrimonial matters, all originate from the same source, the Qur'an. Today, there is the general belief that character formation and morality have suffered due to the takeover of schools by government. Religious and Moral Education has become an optional subject on the time table and it is not even an examinable subject. It is not surprising that there is so much moral decadence in the society.

Saeed Kwaku Gyan is a High Court Judge in Sekondi. In an interview with him, he made very profound statements that go to buttress the fact that religion really has a role to play in politics. He says that his religion has built moral virtues in his life and serves as his conscience. According to him, as a Judge, his attitude towards justice is not just interpreting what the law says or defines since that will not achieve justice because the human experience encompasses a whole spectrum of sometimes imponderable events and co-incidences which go beyond the ability of the best computer to delicately evaluate or determine. To him, justice is about

compassion beyond the imperative of punishment for doing wrong. Above all, he sees justice as divine, being a factor deriving from ordinary human determination. Gyan posits that justice is about accountability beyond the need to serve or please a human being or human entity. This is where religion makes meaning in the life of religious faithfuls. He says that “If you believe in a power higher than man, as we believers do in God the Almighty, then you will know that ultimately in all you do, you will be accountable for your deeds, misdeeds or even omissions to that Ultimate Power-God who as we believe is All Knowing, All Seeing, All Aware, not mocked nor can be deceived”. It is what we do consciously to achieve personal narrow ends at the expense of others that destroy. It therefore translates into selfishness. He further said that, true religion should make man think less of self and more of service to neighbour in doing good and keeping away from evil. When religion interfaces with politics, it makes it possible for people to develop values and character, a panacea against corruption and greed in the society.

This stand is corroborated by Thomas K. Mensah, Catholic Archbishop of Kumasi. In his contribution, he explained that politicians should see themselves as stewards who will account for their stewardship to the Master or owner who in this case is God. Good governance entails acting rightly and justly in dispensing public goods equitably and for the welfare and benefit of all. The religious principles of justice, equity, accountability, uprightness, fairness to all are indispensable in this regard. The social teachings of the church emphasize on these very clearly. Leaders of the religions train their adherents adequately on sound and solid moral principles to equip them to act responsibly in the public domain, and this is the legacy religion can bring into politics.

The Archbishop further said that religion stands for service to man. Politics also provides service to man. The church will however not allow politicians to interfere in activities of the church, but

the church has the right to speak on matters affecting the politics of the country because, the church is concerned with the total welfare of the person. He says that Christ was hated because he criticized the rulers and the religious heads of his time and Christians cannot do otherwise. He added that the Pope (Head of the Catholic Church) gives a message of peace on every first day of the year. In January 2010 the message was on the environment. Man requires the serenity of the environment to live and therefore the Pope had to focus his address on actions and inactions which affect the ecology of the planet. Thomas Mensah said that when some people get political power, they think that there is no power above them. In his view that is politics without morality.

Man is at the centre of religion and politics is at the centre of man. It is therefore not possible to separate the body from the needs of the spirit. Therefore, the perception that religion and politics do not mix cannot hold water. If people do not follow what is true about life they are bound to suffer the consequence.

At a preparatory meeting with leaders of church groups at the Osu Castle in Accra, ahead of the National Prayer and Thanksgiving Day, President Mills said the superstructures of the state can only succeed if they are based on a strong spiritual infrastructure. He observed that all the prosperous nations have very firm spiritual foundations and the benefits that Ghana continue to derive are by the grace of God and urged the clergy and the nation not to relent in their prayers for the nation. Among the clergy were The Rt. Rev. Yaw Frimpong Manso, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana; Most Rev. Prof Emmanuel Asante, Presiding Bishop of The Methodist Church, Ghana, The Rev. Dr. Steve Asante, President of the Ghana Baptist Convention and Apostle John Adotey, President of Ghana Pentecostal Council. Others were Bishop Charles Agyin Asare, Head Pastor of the Word Miracle Bible Church, who at the

instance of the President prayed for the victory of the Ghana's national senior football team, the Black Stars to lift the gold trophy in Angola 2010; The Rev. Steve Mensah, General Overseer of Charismatic Evangelistic Ministries. Other pastors present were The Rev. Dr. Robert Ampiah-Kwofie, of the Global Revival Ministries, The Rev. Moses Sumaila of the Assemblies of God Church and Apostle Opoku Onyina, Head of the Church of Pentecost, as well as Rev. Nii Amo Darko, a member of the Council of State.

(www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id+1490:a-nation-that-prays-together-stays-together-archbishop&catid_96:top-headlines, assessed on 23rd Feb. 2010).

Religions teach great values, and values such as hard work, accountability, responsibility, tolerance, respect and compassion for others are not just noble ideas or ideals, but constitute the embodiment of the aspirations of societies, and what makes societies peaceful, and progressive.

The Qur'an has this to say about accountability;

Everything which you find in the heavens and in the earth belongs to God. He is the Master. He has the right to shape your destinies and your social behavior. Whether you conceal what is in your hearts or declare it, He would bring you to book and question you regarding your evil thoughts and evil doings, then will He forgive whosoever He considers fit to be forgiven and punish whomsoever He considers fit to be punished and Allah has the power to do all that He wills (Ch. 2: Al-Baqarah; 285).

We are all stewards in whatever job we are engaged in, whether in politics, industry, priesthood, agriculture, teaching or the security services and will render accounts of our stewardship to the Owner, who in this case is God. The Apostle Paul writes in 2 Corinthians 5:10 (NIV) that we will all appear before the Judgment seat of Christ, that each may receive what is due him or her for the things done while in the body, whether good or bad. Even as mortals, we have structures

that seek to ensure that people are held accountable for what they do; how much God who is the owner of this world? We may escape the scrutiny of the human institutions established to ensure that we are accountable. However, we cannot escape the judgment of God.

At a church convention organized by the Assemblies of God in Koforidua on Sunday April 4, 2010 to commemorate the resurrection of Jesus Christ, Samuel Ofosu Ampofo, the Eastern Regional Minister in a speech, expressed concern about the moral breakdown in the lives of the people and urged the Church to redouble its efforts in instilling character formation in people. In a subsequent interview this researcher had with him, the Regional Minister bemoaned the breakdown in moral values and added that the removal of Religious and Moral Education from schools time table by the Ghana Education Service has not been helpful. The call by religious bodies to Government to restore Religious and Moral Education on the academic time table should therefore be heeded, since “a stitch in time saves nine.”

Tahir (1992: 17) observes,

On the moral side, religion is on the retreat; crime is rampant; truth is disappearing fast; equity and the deliverance of justice are on the verge of extinction; social responsibilities to the society are being ignored, and a selfish individualism is gaining strength in its stead even in such countries of the world as would otherwise claim to be religious...If moral values in any religion form the life and soul of religion itself, then a progressive strangulation of these values can lead us to the inevitable conclusion that while the body of religion is being resurrected, the soul is fast ebbing out of the body.

It is not far-fetched to identify the cause or causes for the devaluation of moral values in our society. Science and industrialisation has brought to the fore something called “human rights”.

These human rights have been overstretched to a level that people now claim that their body is theirs and they deserve the right to use it as they deem fit. This is the crux of the matter. Whenever, an individual or a group of people perpetuate vices and elders of the society or Religious leaders point them out, human rights activists rise up and defend those who are wrong; offering explanations that such people have the freedom to act and nobody has the right to “trample” on such rights.

Steve Asante, again shared some views with this researcher. He says that the lightness and saltiness of the Christian makes it imperative for us to involve ourselves in the politics of the country. He says that since all human beings are political animals, once we exercise franchise, we cannot say that we are not political. To be political however does not make one a politician. If the church does not take care and meddles in the political life of the state, objectivity will be missing. On the other hand if separation of the church is because politics is dirty, then where is our saltiness? The church should not meddle in politics to such an extent that it positions itself for a particular party. However, the church should contribute to the moral development of the people in the society. For him, spirituality is the total life of the church. Spirituality is the life of Christ. The church contributes moral quality, competence and skills.

5.4 Conclusion

We have demonstrated that religion has made and continues to make valuable contribution to development. We have also argued and shown that religion develops morality and moral values can help a great deal in reducing, albeit eliminating corruption from the society. The church alongside the poor and those of good-will, must stand for an alternative mindset, learnt from its

own traditions, which illuminates and where necessary challenges the powers and dynamics which we have described in this thesis.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY

6.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to review what we have discussed so far, and on that basis provide some recommendations which in our opinion will enhance the collaborative efforts of religious bodies and our politicians. Some concluding remarks will then be made.

6.1 Analysis

It has been the case that in Africa as in Ghana, people are always quick to respond to whatever they perceive to bring them supernatural succour and hope for the future, which includes material and spiritual well-being. The evidence is that the religious nature of the Ghanaian virtually permeates everything he or she does. This thesis has explored the involvement of religion in the Ghanaian political arena in an attempt to demonstrate that religious bodies and for that matter religious practitioners cannot stay out of politics since as Asante (2007: 113) puts it, “the members of the various religious bodies are already in it by virtue of their being human beings and citizen of the human community”.

Several personalities were interviewed while others responded to administered questionnaire. Those interviewed include, ten members of Parliament, four District Chief Executives, two Regional Ministers, fifty Assembly members, One hundred and fourteen political party activists, ten Christian clerics, six Muslims and two priests of the Indigenous African Religion. Four chiefs were also interviewed. A Justice at the High Court and some academics from Tertiary

Institutions were also interviewed. Thirty people were also picked at random and interviewed to solicit their views on the subject matter while various books were also consulted. Speeches of some personalities were also captured in the National dailies and on television programmes.

All the respondents except one recognised the sovereignty of God and the fact that we are stewards and will have to account for our stewardship, both to a superior officer in this life or to God as the ultimate.

Seventy percent (70%) of respondents said that it is impossible to separate the temporal from the spiritual. They contend that religions (Christianity and Islam) with their universal message are often in a better position to bridge the limitations and polarisations inherent in politics. The religious bodies are likely to be a stronger candidate than the political parties in terms of assisting African societies and for that matter Ghana to transcend the boundaries of the economy of affection. It will therefore be wrong for politicians to ignore their voice.

All the respondents were very critical about the prevalence of corruption in the society and were in agreement that it is as a result of the current degree of moral decadence in the society. They were unanimous that religion builds character in people and therefore if religion is allowed to interface with politics, it could help curtail incidence of corruption.

Respondents were however not satisfied with the level of collaboration between religious bodies and political leaders when it comes to initiation and implementation of projects and posits that when religious bodies are made to serve on various committees at the District level, incidence of corruption will be brought down to its barest minimum.

6.2 Recommendations

The following recommendations are offered, which in the view of this researcher will not only facilitate the continued collaboration of religious bodies and Government but also deepen the interface.

Stott (1999: 18) has said that when the house is on fire there is no point of hanging new curtains or re-arranging the furniture. The only thing that matters is to rescue the perishing. The moral breakdown in the society and its consequent repercussions has reached alarming proportions. The research established that politics of affection and patronage which have become pervasive in the society are partly to blame for the moral breakdown. In a situation where Government officials will want to use their privileged position to bulldoze their way and enrich themselves at the expense of society, empowering the people to fight corruption must be the main focus of activity of religious bodies if the present situations are to be effectively corrected. The religious bodies must encourage people to exercise their rights and meet their obligations within the rule of law, while ethical values like justice, honour and integrity and standards that have fallen into disuse must be re-established and communicated forcefully. It should therefore not shy away from its engagement in politics but rather re-double its efforts in speaking against evil in the society.

Separation of powers between the three arms of government is emphasised in the 1992 *Constitution*. Executive powers are subject to checks by Parliament, the Judiciary, and to a limited extent the Council of State, as well as by constitutional oversight institutions such as CHRAJ. The constitutional separation of powers in Ghana is however compromised by the fact that the Attorney General is both the head of the prosecution service and also a minister and the

chief legal adviser to the government. This places an obvious strain on the independence of prosecutorial decisions in high-profile cases. Indeed, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) which was in opposition between 2001 and 2008 alleged that prosecutions of its former ministers from the NDC administration in office up to 2000 were politically motivated. Today, the same call is being echoed by the New Patriotic Party (NPP) following the haul of some of its operatives before the law courts. Ministers are appointed from Parliament to serve in the Executive arm of Government. Such Ministers retain their positions as members of Parliament. Parliamentary oversight responsibility is therefore compromised. The attitude Parliamentarians project against a Member of Parliament who has been nominated for Ministerial position and is appearing before the Appointments Committee is different from the posture Committee members adopt towards a nominee who is not an MP. This situation weakens the stand of both the Executive and the Legislature in fighting corruption. We urge the Religious bodies to lobby the Constitution Review Commission to review the portions of the Constitution which deals with the subject matter and ensure that the policy of separation of powers operate unhindered.

Projects which have been initiated and implemented by the Religious bodies are living examples of what the churches have done to support Government in its quest to develop the country. Yet, Governments have not involved Religious Bodies in policy initiations and implementations. The church brings local relevance. It has a long history of presence and local incorporation in the community, proclamation and persuasion. It cuts across geographical, ethnic, national, gender and other barriers and has grassroots support as well as understands the language at the grassroots level. When a Government is unable to build a clinic, a school or bore hole in a village, the people's tendency is to turn to a church for help. The proximity of the churches to the

people makes it difficult for them to turn a cold shoulder to these requests. In fact, the church is the one forum where leaders and followers in society can dialogue in a mutual exchange of information and support. Religious bodies should therefore seek to strengthen our legitimacy and demonstrate to our politicians through debate and mutual consultations that religious organizations and in particular, the Church brings something substantive and that our commitment is driven by different motives. When the religious organizations insist on its involvement in development work – when the bodies remind Government and other development workers that the Church has been with the communities and will remain with them long after a particular government’s policy has changed or it has left the scene entirely – it is making a valid point.

We recommend that religious bodies should be pro-active and prepare well thought out alternative development plans based on positive religious values and hand them to the appropriate bodies. By inviting themselves into the decision-making platform, religious bodies can profoundly influence national policies for the overall development of the country.

We have argued and shown that religion, morality and development are closely related. Government must therefore heed the call of the Christian and other religious bodies and restore Religious and Moral Education on the education time table and make it an examinable subject. Jesus Christ makes this statement in the New Testament:

No good tree bears bad fruit, nor does a bad tree bear good fruit. Each tree is recognized by its own fruit. People do not pick figs from thorn-bushes, or grapes from briars. The good man brings good things out of the good stored up in his heart, and the evil man brings evil things out of

the evil stored up in his heart. For out of the overflow of his heart his mouth speaks.(Luke 6:43-45, NIV)

If the nation requires people who are morally upright and can stand the pressure of society, then Governments have no alternative than to collaborate more closely with Religious Bodies.

The observation that prayers are offered at almost all public programmes is an area we should work to strengthen. Parliament opens each day with a written prayer read by the Honourable Speaker of Parliament. Does the Speaker of Parliament read the prayer as a constitutional duty or does he or she believe in the power of prayer? At the second cycle and Tertiary Institutions, there are Chaplaincy Boards that oversees religious matters. We recommend for the extension of this facility to cover the Executive, Parliament as well as the Judiciary. We consider that it will not be out of place for a Chaplaincy Board to be established for the three arms of Government. Clergy from the Christian, Islamic and Indigenous Religious faiths could be recruited to form the Board so that they can adequately take care of the religious needs of the members.

Civic education and election monitoring are recent additions to the work of the Church in Ghana and they have been proving so effective that unpopular political leaders have realized that they can no longer mislead and exploit the populace. The religious bodies should work to enhance this new phenomenon by ensuring that their presence is established at all polling centres in subsequent elections.

It is our observation that the church is the one forum where leaders and followers in society can dialogue in a mutual exchange of information and support. We therefore recommend that our

political leaders should work together with the church to demand an end to corruption and help develop a public political life based on transparency, accountability and equal opportunities as well as empower citizens to develop skills to recognize and acknowledge their rights and thus fight corruption.

Guiding governance, in addition to the written constitution, should be the expressed will of the people. We submit that the church should convene, particularly at the district level, workshops involving political party leaders across the political spectrum, with local and traditional religious leaders in attendance, as forums where principles and procedures for good governance would be discussed. By this arrangement, the church will help bridge the limitations and polarizations inherent in politics.

People have resorted to shrines and other powers for protection and fortification. It is our submission that all should depend on the Sovereign God and his son Jesus Christ since his protection is complete. With Jesus as our banner, no evil can overcome us. Some readers may disagree with us, but we express our faith and it is without malice or ill-feeling. It is our hope and expectation that one day, the sons and daughters of Ishmael and Isaac will embrace one another with humility and love.

Religion is given expression in the totality of living. Every member of the society or community is obligated to live in such a way as to protect the peace and tranquility of the society. John Mbiti's (1979: 108-9) statement "I am because we are; and since we are therefore I am", reiterates the point that behaviour patterns, social life and patterns of morality are to be

conducted in such a way as to include the welfare of all in the community. If our politicians and others who are in the public service will make Mbiti's philosophy a part of their life, we will enjoy a society where the national cake is shared equitably and where each will be his or her brother's or sister's keeper.

For the church to be seen to be playing its vanguard role, it must also set its house in order. We have had situations where Pastors, Imams and other leaders of the church have misconducted themselves by engaging in all manner of immoral acts. In Isaiah 29:13, we read, "These people come near to me with their mouth and honour me with their lips, but their hearts are far away from me. Their worship of me is made up only of rules taught by men" (NIV). If the church is to make any lasting mark in the political discourse of the country, the practice of religion must undergo purification to make it cater for the moral needs in much the same way as the moral practices cater for the religions. The various professional bodies in Ghana, like the Ghana Bar Association, Ghana Medical and Dental Practitioners Association, to mention a few, have strict codes which members follow to ensure their admission into the fraternity. These codes are supported by Acts of Parliament. We recommend that the various religious bodies should explore the possibility of operating in the likes of the professional bodies. In this way, they can discipline and sanction wayward Pastors and Church leaders whose conduct bring shame and disgrace to the church.

It is our observation that in the past, the churches frequently spoke out in memoranda, communiqués and pastoral letters to draw Government and the citizenry's attention to certain infractions of the law and other lawlessness of our nation. The Catholic Church has compiled a

collection of these communiqués, memoranda and pastoral letters into a book captioned *Ghana Bishops Speak* (1999). It is a matter of concern to mention that the intensity and consistency of the issuance of pastoral letter have waned in the recent past. The church seems to have reneged in this responsibility which made them the “watch-dog” of the society. Today, there is depredation of natural resources, ethnic conflicts, smuggling, and gross disrespect by the youth of our social norms, corruption and social injustice to mention a few. The church must gird its loins and re-establish its voice in the society. It must intervene in politics with its message of prophecy, justice, peace and righteousness, to challenge social ills and call political leaders to face up to their own failures and those of their governments. Wisdom is however needed so that the church will neither speak rashly and make its witness ineffective nor remain silent when to do so would deny its prophetic calling (1 Peter 3:13-17). According to the biblical view of human life, transformation is the change from a condition of human existence contrary to God’s purposes to one in which people are able to enjoy fullness of life in harmony with God (John 10:10; Col. 3:8-15; Eph. 4:13)

6.3 Conclusions

The discussion thus far assumes that there can be engagement between religion and politics. But time and again, it is said “keep religion out of politics”. John Pobee, Vicar General of Accra Diocese of Anglican Church had this to say at a Lecture he delivered on 23rd October 2009, as part of the 80 years commemoration of the Christian Council’s existence. “Africa has become almost synonymous with conflict, famine, corruption, displaced peoples, violence, instability, wars, disease and hunger. These are often sponsored by unfortunate political and economic choices”. The other side of the foregoing picture is the fact that time and again, church and other

religious institutions have picked up to nurture the casualties of this situation. The contributions of Catholic Relief Services and Christian Council are sterling illustrations of this ministry of the church. The church apart from the food aid and medicine they provide also concern themselves with emotional and ethical issues. It is in these areas where many of today's conflicts have devastating impacts and where transformation and healing need to occur and where injustice and insecurity are often manifested most strongly. The church finds ways to speak about forgiveness and reconciliation as a precondition for breaking the cycle of violence. We submit that if the churches are going to continue do that, then they have to be part of the equation of religion and politics.

In this thesis, we have explored the mutual influences that characterises religious and political discourses in Africa with particular reference to Ghana. We have illustrated the extent to which slogans, songs and mythologies are freely transported between the religious and political terrains. We have also provided some instances where politicians and religious specialists often found themselves engaged in closely related discourses. We live in an increasingly religious world in which faith and belief affect every dimension of our existence. People are judged by moral values formulated by religion and it so happens that most of the laws of Ghana have been influenced by religious values of the people.

The collapse in the moral standards of our people and loss of moral conscience is therefore a matter of grave concern. If peace and prosperity can receive a stronger foundation and support in this country, the cooperation of the Church and State in the promotion of the common good should have to be seen as a cardinal principle. Museveni, President of Uganda made a statement

when he addressed Catholic Church leaders in 1989. His statement which is cited by Thomson best describes the situation in Ghana.

He says:

In our pursuit of material goals, we have tended to neglect the spiritual development of our young people, with the consequence that a vacuum has been created in the minds and souls of these youth – a crying need for a sense of direction. If the Christian Church does not quickly meet this need, someone else will. There will be no accounting for the consequences. We will have sown the wind, and we will have to reap the whirlwind (Thomson 2007: 248).

Religion and for that matter the churches have the primary responsibility for enacting moral rehabilitation within a broader unity of interest. The church has a moral and spiritual authority and can rely on its magisterial, or teaching, authority on moral and social issues to heal the Ghanaian society. Moral rehabilitation is presented as the Church's unique contribution to civil society, given its prophetic role as the moral conscience of the nation. It is in this respect that religion must interface with politics to facilitate this moral rehabilitation. In spite of the latent and sometimes manifest tensions between political leaders and the main representatives of the church, the churches have maintained their credibility in the eyes of the people. Their followings have continued to grow and as they have taken more activist role in recent years in matters like human rights violations, their standing has improved. The church is no longer concerned with the soul alone but with the whole human being. The church has expanded its activities to include not only education and health care, but also support of women's groups, environmental protection, agricultural productivity, HIV and AIDS advocacy and a whole range of related development

issues affecting the rank and file of the people. In the rural and semi-urban areas, people have turned to the churches for leadership and guidance. It is no exaggeration to mention that the church is the only formal organisation or body besides the political parties that can claim any mass following in Ghana. Religion is likely to be a stronger candidate than the political parties to assist in transcending the boundaries of the economy of affection and patronage. Again, it is one organisation that bridge ethnic and other tensions in a manner that helps society to move ahead.

Finally, let us observe the following moot texts from the Bible:

When a nation sins, it will have one ruler after another. But a nation will be strong and endure when it has intelligent, sensible leaders. When good men come to power, everybody celebrates, but when bad men rule, people stay in hiding....Poor people are helpless against a wicked ruler; he is as dangerous as a growling lion or a prowling bear....A ruler without good sense will be a cruel tyrant. One who hates dishonesty will rule a long time (Prov. 18:2. 12. 15, 16, NIV).

One person's conduct could have profound consequences for others. From both African traditional experience and biblical experience, we learn that evil conduct can affect even the economic order and the natural world. It is also a truism that if wrong doers turn from their evil ways and do what is right, the equilibrium will be restored and society will experience well-being and prosperity. For these and many other reasons, the church is worth particular attention in any consideration of how development will be promoted in Ghana since the likelihood that it will facilitate rather than undermine political governance is great.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Interview with Most Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Asante, Presiding Bishop of Methodist Church of Ghana on 19th March 2009 at 3.00pm

Interview with Nana Dr. Otuo Serebour, Paramount Chief of Juaben on 10th December 2009

Interview with Alhaji Dr. Muhammed bin Ibrahim, Regional Director of Health Services, Ashanti on 16th December 2009 at 4.30pm

Interview with Nana Owusu Ansah Sikatuo, Chief of Morso on 4th January 2010

Interview with Nana Kwaku Bonsam, Fetish Priest of “Kofi-Kofi” Shrine at Akomadan Afrancho on 14th January 2010

Interview with Mr. Kwasi Amakye, Lecturer, Political Science Department, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology on 20th February 2010 at 3.00pm

Interview with Alhaj Justice Kwaku Saeed Gyan, High Court Judge, Sekondi on 7th March 2010 at 6.00pm

Interview with Mr. Olu Lutherking, Industrialist and Coordinator, Fine Print (IND) Ltd. Accra on 7th March 2010 at 7.00pm

Interview with Rev. Michael Aidoo, Head Pastor, Triumphant Baptist Church, Kumasi on 16th March 2010 at 10.00am

Interview with Rev. Dr. Steve Asante, Head Pastor, Asokwa Baptist Church, President of Ghana Baptist Convention, Chancellor of Ghana Baptist University College and Vice Chairman, Christian Council of Ghana on 17th March 2010 at 11.00am

Interview with Most Rev. Thomas Mensah, Catholic Archbishop of Kumasi on 23rd March 2010 at 10.30am

Interview with Prophet Victor Kusi Boateng, Head Pastor, Power Chapel Worldwide, Kumasi on 18th March 2010 at 4.00pm

Interview with Most Rev. Thomas Mensah, catholic Archbishop of Kumasi on 23rd March 2010 at 10.30am

Interview with Rt. Rev. Dr. Daniel Yinka Sarfo, Anglican Bishop of Kumasi on 27th March 2010 at 5.00pm

Interview with Hon. Samuel Ofose Ampofo, Regional Minister, Eastern Region, Koforidua on 4th April 2010 at 5.00pm

Interview with Cardinal Appiah Turkson, President of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace on 7th June 2010

Interview with K. S. P. Jantuah on 9th June 2010

Interview with ten Members of Parliament; two Regional Ministers; four District Chief Executives and One hundred and thirteen Political Party Activists across the Political divide (names anonymous)

Secondary Sources:

Aboagye-Mensah, Robert, (2005), *A Call to Servant Leadership, Perspectives of the Bible*, Accra, Advocate Publishing Ltd.

Addo Dankwa III, Oseadeeyo, (2004), *The Institution of Chieftaincy in Ghana: The Future*, Accra, Konrad Adenauer Foundation

Ahmed, Mirza Tahir, (1992), *Islam's Response to Contemporary Issues*, Islamabad, Islam International Publications Ltd.

Ahmed, Mirza Tahir, (1989), *Murder in the Name of Allah*, Cambridge, Lutterworth Press

Amamoo, Joseph Godson, (2007), *Ghana, 50 Years of Independence*, Accra, G-Pak Limited

Asante, Emmanuel, (1995), *Towards an African Christian Theology of the Kingdom of God: The Kingship of Onyame*, Lewiston, New York, The Edwin Mellen Press

Asante, Emmanuel, (2007), *Culture, Politics & Development*, Accra, Challenge Enterprise

Augsburger, David W., (1986), *Pastoral Counselling Across Cultures*, Philadelphia, The Westminster Press

Ball, Terence, Richard Dagger, (2006), *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*, London, Pearson Longman

Bartels, F. L., (1965), *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, London and Colchester, Spottiswoode, Ballantyne and Co. Ltd.

Bediako, Kwame, (2000), *Jesus in Africa*, Glasgow, Bell & Bain Ltd.

Bedu-Addo, Henry, (1990), *Ghana, A Traveller's Guide*, Leipzigerstr, 65, Frankfurt/M, Offset Becke

Bell, Judith, (1999), *Doing Your Research Project*, Glasgow, Open University Press

Belshaw, Deryke, Robert Calderisi, Chris Sugden, (2001), *Faith in Development*, Glasgow, Bell & Bain Ltd.

Berkhof, Louis, (1960), *A Summary of Christian Doctrine*, Finland, WS Bookwell.

Bryant, Arton, (1967), *The Compact Bible Dictionary*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Zondervan Publishing House.

Busia, K. A., (1962), *The Challenges of Africa*, New York, Frederick Praeger

Busia, K. A., (1968), *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti*, London, CASS

Clarke, Peter, B., (1982), *West Africa and Islam*, East Kilbride, Scotland, Thomson Litho Ltd.

Clarke, Peter, B., (1986), *West Africa and Christianity*, Whitstable, Kent, Whitstable Litho Ltd.

Debrunner, Hans W., (1967), *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, Accra, Waterville Publishing House

Engstrom, Ted W., (1976), *The Making Of A Christian Leader*, Grand Rapids, Zondervan Publishing House

Esposito, John L., (1987), *Islam and Politics*, revised Ed. Syracuse, New York, Syracuse University Press

Gadzekpo, Seth Kordzo, (1998), *History of Ghana Since Pre-History*, Accra, Royal Gold Publishers Ltd.

Gyekye, Kwame, (1997), *Political Corruption: A Philosophical Inquiry into a Moral Problem*, Accra, Sankofa Publishing Co. Ltd.

Gyekye, Kwame, (1995), *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought: The Akan Conceptual Scheme*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press

Gifford, Paul, (1998), *African Christianity, Its Public Role*, London, Hurst & Company

Haralambos, Michael, Martin Holborn and Robin Heald, (2004), *Sociology. Themes and Perspectives*, sixth ed., London, HarperCollins Publishers Ltd.

Hyden, Coran, (1983), *No Shortcuts to Progress*, London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.

Koduah, Alfred, (2008), *Who Is Disturbing The Nation*, Accra, Advocate Publishing Limited.

Kudadjie, Joshua N., Rebecca Y. Ganusah and Adenkule Alalade, (2002), *Religion Morality and West African Society*, Accra, Wesley Printing Press

Kudadjie, Joshua N., (1978), *Moral Renewal in Ghana; Ideals, Realities and Possibilities*, Accra, Asempa Publishers

Lindbeck, A. George, (1984), *Nature of Doctrine*, Louisville, Westminster, John Knox Press,

Marbell, Bernard, "Politics in the Bible and Africa: An Evaluation of the Ghanaian Experience"
In "*Jabs Journal of African Biblical Studies*, Vol. 2", (Feb. 2009), Cape Coast, Hampton Press:
75-94

Mazrui, A., (1978), *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa*, London, Heinemann

Mbiti, S. John, (1975), *Introduction to African Religion*, second Ed., Oxford, Heinemann Educational Publishers

Myers, Bryant L., (1999), *Walking with the Poor*, Maryknoll, New York, Orbis Books

National Catholic Secretariat, *Ghana Bishops Speak*, (1999), Takoradi, St. Francis Press Ltd.

Nault, H. William, (1994), *The World Book Encyclopedia*, A, Vol. 1, Chicago, World Book, Inc.

Nicholls, Bruce J., (1986), *The Church, God's Agent for Change*, Exeter, Wheaton & Co. Ltd

Nukunya G. K., (1992), *Tradition and Change in Ghana, An Introduction to Sociology*, Accra, Ghana Universities Press

O'Donovan, Wilbur, (2000), *Biblical Christianity in Modern Africa*, Cornwall, Biddles Ltd.

Odotei, Irene, K., Albert K. Awedoba, (2006), *Chieftaincy in Ghana, Culture, Governance and Development*, Accra, Sub-Saharan Publishers

Okyere, Vincent N., (2000), *Ghana: A Historical Survey*, Accra, Vinojab Publications

Okwudiba, Nnoli, (1986), *Introduction to Politics*, Ibadan, Longman Nigeria Limited

Orwell, George, (1983), *Animal Farm*, Hong Kong, Longman Group (FE) Ltd.

Osei, Kwadwo, (1994), *An Outline of Asante History, Part 1-* second edition, KNUST, Kumasi, Design Press

Osei, Kwadwo, (2000), *An Outline of Asante History, Part 2*, Vol. 1, Buokrom, Kumasi, Cita Press

Osepetetrekku, Kwame Osei, (2001), *The Ancient Egyptians Are Here*, 2nd ed., Kumasi, Vytall Printing Co. Ltd.

Otto, Rudolf, (1923), *The Idea of the Holy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press

Pobee, John S., (1991), *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, Accra, Asempa Publishers

Ray, I. Donald, (1986), *Ghana, Politics, Economics and Society*, London, Frances Pinter

Renwick, A. M., Harman A. M, (1958), *The Story of the Church*, Leicester, Parker Typesetting Service.

Samwini, Nathan, (2006), *The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950*, Piscataway, Transaction Publishers

Stott, John, (1984), *New Issues Facing Christians Today*, Ebbw Vale, Creative Print and Design

Sarpong, Peter, (1974), *Ghana in Retrospect, Some Aspects of Ghanaian Culture*, Accra, Ghana Publishing Corporation

The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, (1992), Tema, Ghana Publishing Corporation

Thomson, Alex, (2007), *An Introduction to African Politics*, second ed., London, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group

Vinay, Samuel, Christopher Sugden, (1987), *The Church in Response to Human Need*, Grand Rapids, Bell & Bain Ltd.

Walls, F. Andrew, (2002), *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, Maryknoll, New York, Orbis Books

Holy Bible (NIV)

Holy Qur'an

Newspapers News Items and Journals

Daily Graphic, Thursday (Sept. 3, 2009), No. 18011, *Politicians & Media Blamed for Nation's Woes* by Most Rev. Palmer-Buckle, P. 1, 3, Accra, Graphic Communications Group

West Africa, November – December, (1999), Issue No. 4204, *Abacha's Legacy of Woes*, P. 22-23, London, Afrimedia International Ltd

TV 3 Newsfile on 8th January 2009, Minority cries foul

TV 3 Kwaku One-on-One on 23rd Aug. 2009, Interview with Dr. Chris Hesse, Dr. Nkrumah's private photographer

Daily Graphic on 7th Sept. 2009, Vice President advises Media Practitioners

TV 3 on 12th Dec. 2009, Time with David, Interview with Most Rev. Dr. Aboagye Mensah, Immediate Past Presiding Bishop, Methodist Church of Ghana

The Chronicle on 13th January 2010, Page 1, Juju @ Ellebelle Assembly

TV 3 7pm News on 29th Jan. 2010, Church of Pentecost donates 2 Ambulance vehicles

Internet Search

<http://news.myjoyonline.com/news/200908/33945.asp>, assessed on 11th January 2009

www.newafrica.com/maps (accessed on 6th Nov. 2009 at 10.00pm)

www.un.org?News/dh/sudan/com_inq_darfur.pdf, 25th January 2005, UN Commission of Enquiry on Darfur, P. 3 (accessed on 10th December 2009 at 8.00pm)

www.ghananweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/artikel.php?ID, assessed on 20th March 2007

<http://peacefmonline.com/news>, assessed on 6th July 2008

www.mgiworld.com/get.php/pdfs/doing_business/dbighana2007.pdf, assessed on 16th August 2008

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/map.php> (Accessed on 24th August 2009 at 19:55)

www.theghanaiareactor.blogspot.com/2009/06/50000-car-loans-for-mps.html, assessed on 19th June 2009

<http://forum.newzimbabwe.com.index.php?topic/3096-professor-john-atta-mills>, assessed on 23rd January 2010

<http://forum.emmanuelstv.com>, assessed on 23rd January 2010

www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php?option=com_content&view=article@ID=1490:a-nation-that-prays-together-archbishop&catid=96:top-headlines, assessed on 23rd Feb. 2010

<http://news.myjoyonline.com/news/201002/42565.asp>: Wednesday, 24th February 2010, Audit Report on Tema Oil Refinery (TOR) Recovery Levy (accessed on 24th Feb. 2010 , 12:51pm).

<http://news.myjoyonline.com/news/201002/42565.asp>: Use of Tema Oil Refinery Recovery levy, (accessed on 24th Feb. 2010 , 12:51pm).

<http://www.ghana.gov.gh>, National Thanksgiving Service (accessed on 15th March 2010 at 12:17pm

myjoyonline.com.news, assessed on 15th March 2010

<http://www.marshall.edu/akanart/akancosmology.html> (accessed on 25th April 2010 at 18.00 hours)

http://www.ghananewsagency.org/s_politics/r_5064/ Ghana Integrity Initiative on political Corruption, 12st Aug. 2008. (accessed on 3rd July 2009 at 15.39 hours)

<http://news.peacefmonline.com/social/201005/43125.php>, Asantehene in Church, (accessed on 11th May 2010 at 09:04am)

APPENDIX 1 A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POLITICIANS

1. The role of religion has been particularly significant in the development of Ghana. In what ways can you say that the church has promoted or retarded the development of the country?
2. There is the general perception that religion and politics do not mix. What is your opinion on this?
3. People talk of separation of the church and the state. Is there a provision in the Ghana Constitution to support this statement?
4. Religion belongs to "comprehensive development", and "religion and development are inseparable in the global mission. Does a partnership of religion and science hold promise for the integrity of the biosphere?
5. Religion is said to be an integral part of the African culture. Religion in Africa has quite a different meaning for the lives of the people and for the development of their societies from what religion means in Europe. The role of religion and the churches in developing societies have continued to be significant. Do you consider that politicians should have to develop a close collaborative framework with the churches?
6. People mostly follow church leaders and will expect them to show them a direction particularly in moral issues. During financial crisis, people will look for security and

purpose in life beyond the material matters. As a politician, do you believe that religion provides spiritual protection for its adherents?

7. There is a perception that politicians have spiritual gurus they consult for personal as well as corporate protection. Please, share your views on this matter with me.
8. The Ghana Parliament has Christian Parliamentarians Fellowship. How relevant is the fellowship in the workings of member Parliamentarians?
9. Most often, faith leads people to do good and to promote development. This seems to be true for the Christians, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists and Hindus alike, at least for the most of them. In the light of this, will you suggest that there should be close collaboration between Government and the various religious groupings in the Country?
10. What is the relationship between religion (and religious ideas) and the natural world?
11. What role, if any, can religious ethics play in fostering appropriate attitudes and behaviours toward nature?
12. What is the proper relationship between science, religion, and ecology?
13. Can such religious earth ethics be integrated with environmental politics?
14. Do you think Spirituality has a role to play in politics?
15. From day to day occurrences on social life – politics, sports entertainment etc. It looks as if whatever we do has religious underpinnings. Share your views on this assertion with me.
16. Ghana is said to be an ocean of peace. People have said that this is because Ghanaians are God-fearing. Do you believe in this assertion?

17. It is said that democracy thrives on the pillars of consultation and consensus building. However, some social commentators have said that the democracy being practised in Ghana is an oligarchy. Share your views with me.
18. Some people have said that there is a seeming absence of a group that speaks for public morality and ethics and this has accounted for the irresponsible way people speak and conduct themselves as well as carry themselves about. Do you believe in this assertion and if yes, which group of people do you expect to play the role of speaking for public morality and ethics?

APPENDIX 1 B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ALL RELIGIOUS FAITHS

1. The role of religion has been particularly significant in the development of Ghana. The churches have promoted development of the society in many ways. Many of the historic schools and hospitals in Ghana were founded by the churches. It continues to play lead roles in establishment of Universities. However, there is the general perception that religion and politics do not mix. What is your opinion on this?
2. People talk of separation of the church and the state. Mbiti, Peter Akwasi Sarpong and other scholars have said that the African is notoriously religious. From your own experience, do you agree to the assertion of separation of the church and the state?
3. How can we use African religiosity in the process of emancipation of African mind?
4. Do you think spirituality has a role to play in politics?
5. Most Rev. Aboagye Mensah, the immediate past Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, Ghana has said that separation of Physical (State) from the Spiritual (Church) is not realistic. Do you agree or disagree with him and what are your reasons?
6. Views have been expressed that corruption in the body politic of the nation is essentially or fundamentally a moral problem and that serious and profound commitment to our moral beliefs and principles will be the most adequate therapeutic response to the phenomenon of political corruption. What are your views on this matter?
7. Some people have said that there is seeming absence of a group that speaks for public morality and ethics and this has accounted for the irresponsible way people speak and conduct themselves as well as carry themselves about. Do you believe in this assertion, and if yes, which group of people will you suggest should have to play the role of speaking for public morality and ethics?
8. Scripture says we should train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not turn from it (Proverbs 22:6). Has the religious and moral education you had as a

child in the basic school any effect (positive or negative) in the way you conduct your life today?

9. There is a school of thought that the removal of religious and moral education from the school time table has been a contributory factor to the moral breakdown we are experiencing in the country. Can you share your observations on this matter?
10. Some people have complained that the President, Prof. Atta Mills seem to be over spiritualising matters of governance in this country. Do you share in this or you disagree? Expatiate on your answer.
11. From day to day occurrences on social life – politics, sports, entertainment etc. It looks as if whatever we do have religious underpinnings. Share your views on this assertion with me.
12. The church is said to have a social mandate of rescuing people out of a fallen society. Will it be wrong therefore, if the church makes political statements when it realises that our politicians have become self centred?
13. History informs us that but for the watchfulness of the church (Christianity and Islam) through issuance of pastoral letters as well as engaging various governments in discussions on matters of corporate governance; some governments would have overridden the fundamental human rights of Ghanaians. With this background, will you fault the church if it is seen to be playing advocacy role in the politics of the Nation?
14. What role, if any, can religious ethics play in fostering appropriate attitudes and behaviours in the preservation of the eco-system?
15. Ghana is said to be an ocean of peace. This relative peace is attributed to the fact that Ghanaians are God-fearing people. Do you believe in this assertion? Expand your answer.
16. Apostle Alfred Koduah in his book “Who is disturbing the Nation” says that he is bent on seeing his nation grow in socio-economic development, taking into consideration the human and natural resources that the country possesses. Yet he sees disturbances everywhere. What can religion do to help remedy the situation?
17. In most developing nations, as it is in Ghana, religious leaders are close to the poor and among their most trusted representatives. At a conference on alleviating poverty in Africa, which took place in Nairobi in March 2000 and sponsored by the Council of Anglican Provinces of Africa, with the World Bank and Churches in Africa as participants, there was the general consensus that Governments have not been very successful in prosecuting development programmes, largely because they have not involved the churches in policy formulations and implementations. What do you think can be done in Ghana to foster church and state collaborations?
18. Please, provide any general comments that in your view can ensure that the church and governments collaborate positively to ensure that the masses of the people derive the best from governments.

19. Political society is created for the public good and order. Laws of nature lays down that no one ought to harm another in life, health, liberty or possessions. Here the law is clearly a moral obligation which may or may not be fulfilled in the exercise of human freedom. Will the church as vicegerent of God on earth be said to be meddling in politics if it collaborates with government to ensure that this mandate is respected by governments?
20. The ministry of Jesus Christ, which is the one essential ministry of the church, has a positive bearing upon the transformation of human society not only in the private domain of thought and feeling but also in the public domain of law, government and economics. Should the prophetic role of the church, to present constructive, social, economic, political and religious criticism in view of justice which is central to the very being of God, be considered by some people as interference in politics?

APPENDIX 1 C

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MUSLIMS

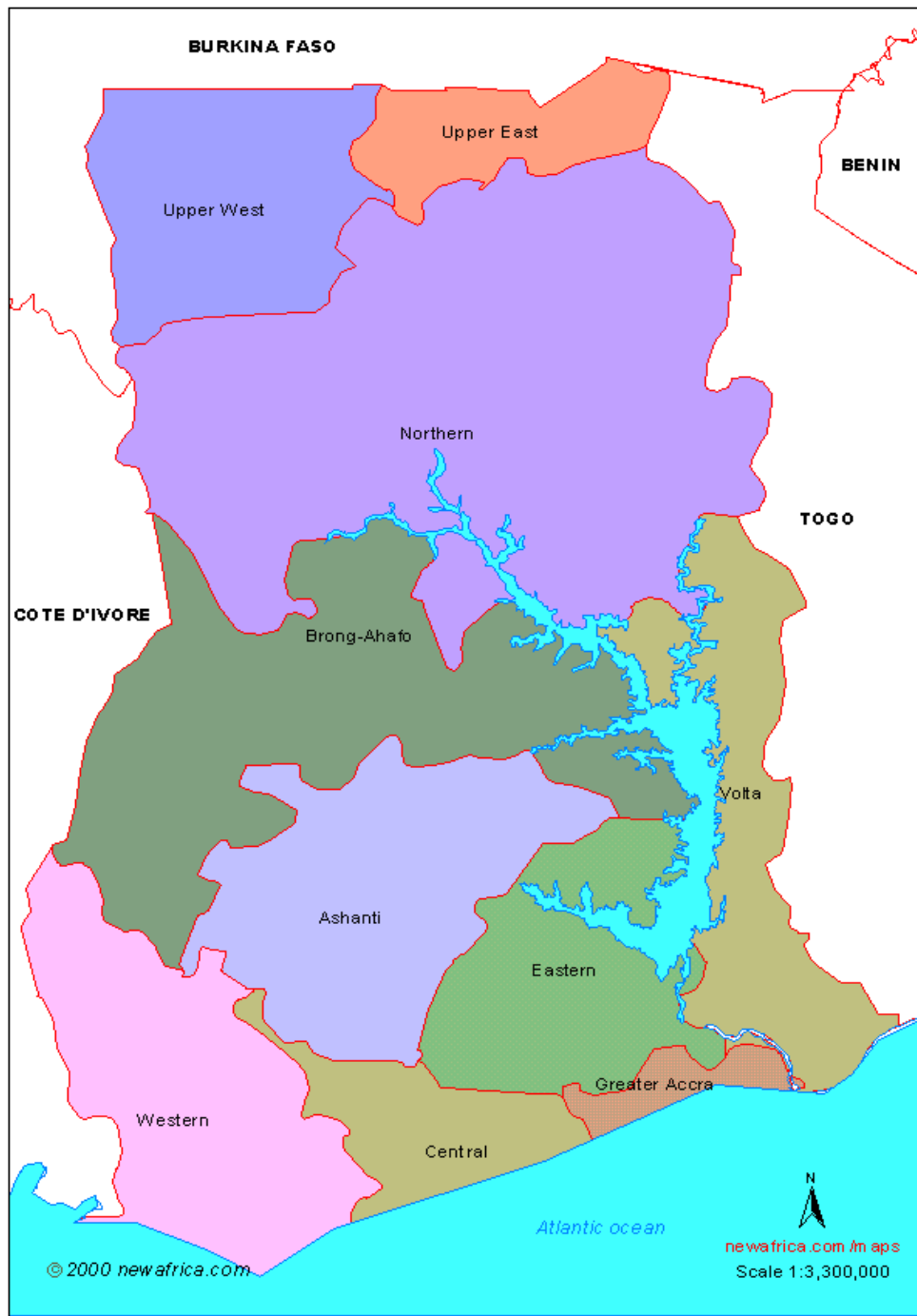
1. Mbiti and other scholars have said that the African is notoriously religious. From your own experience, do you agree to the assertion of separation of the church and the state?
2. The single most important malady of the world today is the absence of peace. What is the contribution of Islam in the promotion of peace?
3. It is said that moral values in any religion form the life and soul of religion itself. Yet crime has become rampant; truth is disappearing fast; equity and the deliverance of justice are on the verge of extinction; social responsibilities to the society are being ignored; and a selfish individualism is gaining strength in even countries of the world as would otherwise claim to be religious. What do you think account for the strangulation of these moral values and what has Islam got to offer to correct this malaise?
4. Muslim belief that Islam embraces faith and politics is rooted in its divinely revealed book, the Qur'an, and the example (*Sunnah*) of its founder/prophet, Muhammed, and thus has been reflected in Islamic doctrine, history and politics. Provide an explanation of this statement to the clear understanding of the Muslim and non-Muslim alike.
5. It is said that God has given all of creation as a trust to mankind (Qur'an 33:72, 31:20-29). Man, as bearer of this trust, is God's representative or vicegerent (Qur'an 2:30; 6:165) whose divinely mandated vocation is to be God's instrument in establishing and spreading an Islamic order, God's rule on earth. In what ways can this mandate be executed?
6. Do you think Spirituality has a role to play in politics? Provide examples to support your answer.

7. What role, if any, can religious ethics play in fostering appropriate attitudes and behaviours in the preservation of the eco-system?
8. In your opinion, what role can religion play to promote good governance of the Country?
9. Has Islam done enough to promote the development of this Country? Provide evidence to support your answer.
10. The church (Christianity and Islam) is said to have a social mandate of rescuing people out of a fallen society. Will it be wrong therefore, if the church makes political statements when it realises that our politicians have become self conceited and have corrupted themselves? Elucidate.

APPENDIX 2

MAP OF GHANA

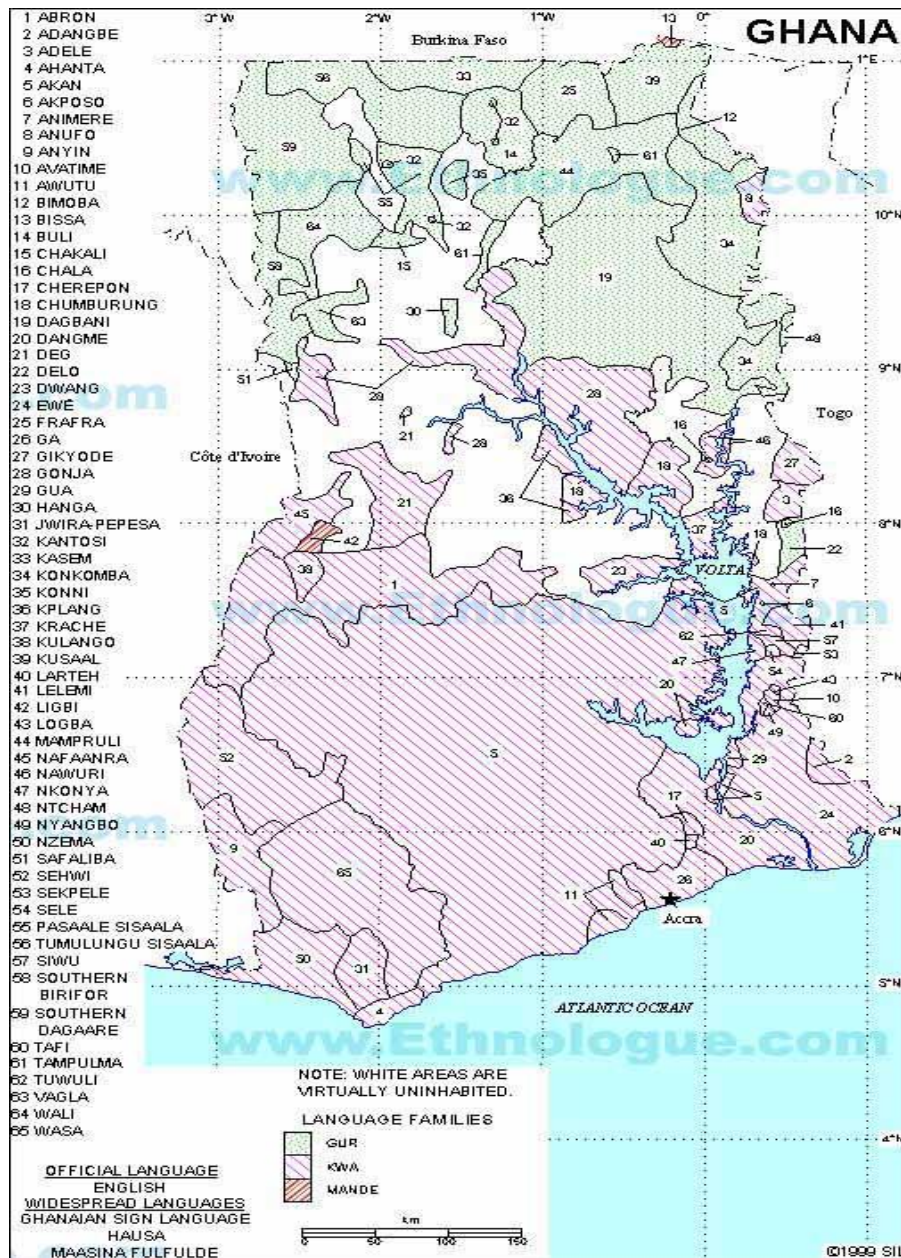
GHANA ADMINISTRATIVE MAP



Source: www.newafrica.com/maps

APPENDIX 3

Ethnologic Map of Ghana



<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/map.php>: 24th August 2009:19.55

APPENDIX 4

Religious Inscriptions on vehicles and buildings





APPENDIX 5

Pictures of some Heads of State of Ghana



Dr. Kwame Nkrumah



Lt. Gen. Ankrah



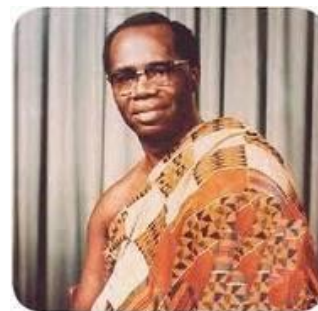
E. K. Kotoka



Lt. Gen. A. A. Afrifa



Edward Akufo Addo



Dr. K. A. Busia



Gen. I. K Acheampong



Lt. Gen. Fred Akuffo



Flt. Lt. Rawlings



Dr. Hilla Limann



Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings



Mr. J. A. Kuffuor



Prof. Evans John Atta-Mills

APPENDIX 6

Pictures of Personalities Interviewed or quoted



Researcher with Most Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Asante



Researcher with Most Rev. Thomas Mensah



Picture with Alhaj Justice Gyan



Picture with Mr. Kwasi Amakye



Picture with Rev. Dr. Steve Asante



Researcher with Rev. Aidoo



Researcher with Alhaj M. B. Alhassan



Researcher in a chat with some colleagues

In the picture is Most Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Asante



Hon. Samuel Ofofu Ampofo



Researcher with Alhaj. Dr. Bin Ibrahim



Researcher with Nana Addae



Researcher interviewed these political party activists



Researcher poses with Bishop Yinka Sarfo after the interview

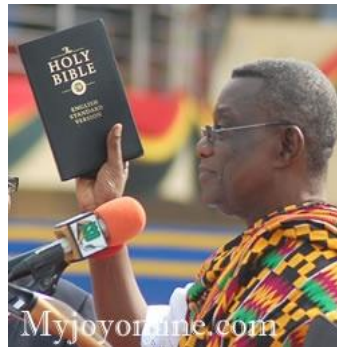


Researcher interviewing Nana Owusu Ansah Sikatuo



Cardinal Appiah Turkson

Researcher interviewed him via Internet



President John Evans Atta-Mills swearing

the oath of Office holding the Bible
<http://news.myjoyonline.com/news/200908/33945.asp>



The Emmanuel Methodist Church at Labadi, Accra has arranged a number of adinkra symbols, to give meaning to the religiosity of the Ghanaian. <http://www.marshall.edu/akanart/akancosmology.html> (Assessed on 25th April 2010 at 18:00)



Otumfour Osei Tutu II, Asantehene

Source: <http://news.peacefmonline.com/social/201005/43125.php>



The President of Ghana, John Evans Atta Mills, with Pastor TB Joshua, at The Synagogue, Church Of All Nations in

Lagos, Nigeria, 14th January 2009

Credit story and pictures: [http://forum.newzimbabwe.com/index.php?/topic/3096-professor-john-evans-atta-mills/23rd January 2010, 11:00am](http://forum.newzimbabwe.com/index.php?/topic/3096-professor-john-evans-atta-mills/23rd%20January%202010,11:00am)

Picture below are some worshippers at the Thanksgiving Service held on 14th March 2010 as well as Picture of President Atta Mills waving handkerchief during praise and worship at the thanksgiving service held at the Independence Square on Sunday 14th March 2010

Pictures credit: <http://www.ghana.gov.gh>, 15th March 2010 at 12:17pm

