

RELIGION AND THE POLITICS OF FOURTH REPUBLICAN ELECTIONS IN GHANA (1992, 1996)

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Abstract: Religion and Politics are inextricably linked in Ghana. Ghana's Fourth Republican presidential and parliamentary elections reveal how this relationship is heightened during the campaigns of political parties and politicians. This indicates recognition of the strong influence religion wields in the political lives and preferences of the people. The paper reviews the various religious issues that emerged in the first two elections of the Fourth Republican constitution held in 1992 and 1996. It proposes that the current confluence of religion and politics in Ghana is largely due to the role the Christian Council of Ghana and the National Catholic Secretariat played in setting the scene for the current democratic governance. Their calls for God-fearing leaders led to a host of "God-inspired" candidates seeking election. The phenomenon discussed range from controversies over utterances relating to religion and religious groups to the use of Christian choruses as campaign songs during these elections. The paper seeks to capture a continuing dialogue between two constituencies, the religious and the political, and two realms of power, the spiritual and the political. As the latter taps into the former to authenticate its practice and authority, the former is taking cognizance of its influence and gradually emphasizing the "prophetic" voice of religion in politics.

Introduction

Ghana in West Africa has gone through two presidential and parliamentary elections so far under its Fourth Republican Constitution. The first was in 1992 and the second in 1996. Subsequently two other elections were held in 2000 and 2004. During these elections the campaigns clearly revealed the strong influence religion wields in the political lives and preferences of the people. It also revealed how politicians use and manipulate religion to attaining political ends. This phenomenon is not new in Ghana. It has been a strong element of civil religion and has formed part of the post-Independence politics of Ghana.¹ This paper discusses issues that emerged in the 1992 and 1996 elections.

Various religious issues emerged during both the 1992 and 1996 elections. The prominent ones involve:

The involvement and message of religious bodies for the electorate (Calling the Tune);

The prominence given to the religious credentials of the presidential aspirants especially during the 1992 elections (Politicians for Christ);

The religious constituencies fought for (Sacred Zones);

Controversies over utterances relating to religion and religious groups (The Fear of God);

¹ For a detailed discussion of the use of religion in the post-Independence politics of Ghana, see J.S. Pobee, *Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana. 1949-1966* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1988); J.S. Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana: A Case Study of the Acheampong Era* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1992). Also Kwesi A. Dickson, "Religion and Society: A Study of Church and State Relations in the First Republic." In Kwame Arhin (ed.) *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah* (Accra: Sedco, 1991). pp.135-151.

The use of religious imagery and songs during the campaigns (Songs of Praise);
 Various ethical issues raised during the campaigns (Sex, Vengeance, Food and Mammon);
 Appeal to traditional, supernatural and cultural avenues to ensure loyalty and victory as well as to resolve conflicts that were the marks of the 1996 elections in particular (The Return of the Native).

Religion in this context covers the role beliefs, practices, religious bodies and the leadership played during the two elections. In the rest of the paper we will discuss each of the above items under the headings in parentheses. We will then conclude with reflections on the interplay between religion and politics during the elections.

Calling the Tune

One of the influential religious factors of the 1992 elections had to do with the various messages that the Orthodox Christian leadership had for the country. The Christian Council of Ghana and the National Catholic Secretariat represent these churches. In conjunction with other religious bodies such as the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission they actively encouraged the country's effort to return to a democratic constitutional civilian rule. As revealed by Dickson, the Christian Council even made an abortive attempt to work with chiefs (i.e. traditional rulers) to achieve this end.²

In December 1990 the Christian Council of Ghana and the Catholic Bishops Conference issued a memorandum to government calling for return to constitutional rule.³ As noted by Dickson, this was followed by seminars in which their congregations provided the forum for discussion on developing a democratic political system.⁴ Aboagye-Mensah explains that

What is striking about the step taken by the Christian Council was that the Government of Ghana, The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), wanted to make sure that no other platforms were created for the debate on the national issues except the one controlled and directed by the government. In this respect the Church went against the dictates of the government to create an alternative forum where the dictates of the government to create an alternative forum where people could feel free to speak their mind on the issue.⁵

Prior to the 1992 elections, The Christian Council of Ghana also published a couple of booklets on democracy to aid Christians reflect on making responsible contributions towards the process.⁶ Prominent Church leaders made public statements on the need to return to civilian rule and democracy. The Anglican Synod made a statement on 2nd September, 1992 declaring that it is only a democratic system that is compatible with Christianity. In a Pastoral Letter dated October 1992, the Christian Council and Catholic Secretariat called for peace during the elections and declared a special week of prayer for the nation, beginning on Sunday, October 25, 1992. All preachers were

2 Kwesi A. Dickson, "The Church and the Quest for Democracy in Ghana" in Paul Gifford (ed.) *The Christian Church and the Democratisation of Africa* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), p.263.

3 Ibid, p. 263.

4 Ibid, p. 263.

5 Aboagye-Mensah, Robert, K. *Mission and Democracy in Africa: The Role of the Church* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1994), p. 4.

6 These are the *Ecumenism and Democratic Culture Series comprising "Democratic Culture, Constitution and Free and Fair Elections" (Book 1) and "Human Rights." (Book 2)* The Catholic Bishops Conference also produced *The Catholic Church and Ghana's Search for a New Democratic System*.

advised to "... preach on peace, tolerance and forgiveness at all services" during the week.⁷ The Ghana Pentecostal Council re-echoed this concern by calling for a Day of Prayer and fasting on October 11, 1992, for peace in Ghana. On October 30, 1992 the religious bodies led by the Bahai organized a Peace March in Accra to urge a peaceful electioneering. The Muslims had earlier held special prayers for peace on September 11 of the same month.

However, it was the call by the Christian leadership for 'a God fearing man' to be elected as President that set the religious tone for the 1992 elections. Somehow, many of the candidates who came up in party presidential primaries and later as presidential candidates sought to present themselves as 'God-fearing men' or at least as Christians. Christian credentials therefore became an essential element of qualification for the presidency, which, of course, is housed at Christiansborg Castle. The result may be dubbed a phenomenon of 'Politicians or Presidential Candidates for God'.

Politicians for God

It seems that some of the presidential candidates felt the need to declare themselves as 'God fearing' so as to hopefully use the Church as a gateway to the Castle. Various candidates therefore re-packaged their Christian images for public consumption.

Kwesi Yankah commenting on this attitude in an article sub-titled "Building Castles in the Church" noted that:

Suddenly it has been realised that the shortest route to the castle is the church; and so, therefore, presidential aspirants (and doubtfuls) are building castles in the church, even when they are coming to embezzle funds. The whole trick has been to hold the Bible in one hand, the constitution in the other get the votes and throw the Bible away. They of-course know the psychology of the electorate.⁸

The psychology of the electorate is probably built on various religious traditions. African Traditional Religion, the resilient foundations of religious life in Ghana, deeply influences all aspects of life and the political is no exception. The Chief, the symbol of political life, is sacred and rules in the place of the ancestors and is responsible to them. Some of his functions are religious and priestly. The first alien faith to come to Ghana, Islam, historically linked up with traditional political authority. Traditional rulers granted the early Muslim traders rights of passage and employed them in their courts in various capacities including religio-magical ones that enabled them to consolidate their power. Christianity arrived with Western political power. Though it was not quite able to reconcile itself with the traditional political system, it still respected traditional political power.

Christianity in Ghana has for sometime been in a dilemma about active Christian participation in party politics. The normal attitude of most Christians especially Pentecostals and those belonging to the Independent African Churches is apolitical. Yet they normally supported the government of the day on the scriptural basis that all governments exist by divine authority. Political activity leading to the first Fourth Republican elections, however, revealed that Christianity in Ghana is becoming more inclined towards active involvement in politics than was previously the case.

7 "A Call to all Citizens of Ghana. The Election of President and Parliamentarians for the fourth Republic." A Pastoral Letter from the Christian Council of Ghana and the National Catholic Bishops' Conference of Ghana Accra-Ghana. October 1992.

8 This was in his regular column "Woes of A Kwatriot" in *The Mirror*, Saturday, 12 September, 1992.

This is probably because the Church is becoming more and more concerned with social and economic problems that arise due to the politics of undemocratic governance. Thus the notion is gradually gaining grounds that the Christian must (not can) get directly involved in politics to change the society. One of the reasons for this new attitude may also be the elite nature of contemporary Evangelical and Charismatic Renewal. Men of successful business and professional life belong to the movement. They find it difficult to sit down and simply acquiesce in whatever governance their nation is subjected to. They extend the notion of divine election to all spheres of life. As Arnold Bittlinger notes, there are different types of charismatics and "The politically engaged charismatics will look for charismatic contributions (gifts of prophecy, wisdom, discerning of spirit, leadership) in everyday democratic processes..."⁹

In the 1992 presidential elections, the candidature of Kwabena Darko set the tenor of the unprecedented religious focus of the elections. Kwabena Darko, the "flagbearer" of the National Independence Party (NIP), was one of those who introduced the Full Gospel Businessmen Fellowship International (FGBFI) to Ghana. He was President of the Fellowship in 1992 when he stood for elections. He is also an Elder of the Assemblies of God Church. He was one of the fresh faces on the Ghanaian political scene.

It was initially rumored that his decision to run was based on Divine revelation. He tried on various occasions to correct this impression. He explained that he decided to enter politics out of personal conviction after careful and prayerful consideration. This, however, did not dispel rumors that his decision to run was based on a vision. Indeed Darko tried hard to dispel such rumors of divine election. This reveals his awareness that in spite of the strong influence of religion on the people, such claims, unverifiable as they are, make people doubt rather than believe in a candidate.

Whatever brought about his decision to run, his Christian credentials became the benchmark for other candidates. Darko was presented as a successful business tycoon with friends of the same caliber in America. He was said to dine regularly with American President George Bush. On the same slate he was projected as Ghana's answer to Ross Perot who was then a thorn in the flesh of George Bush. But it was the Christian qualities of Darko and his wife that formed the pivot of his campaign. For if Ghana wanted a God-fearing man then there was no better candidate than a 'Born Again' Christian.

Within his party, the NIP, Prof. Abdallah Botchway, a Muslim who was expected to anchor the Muslim votes to the NIP, withdrew from the primaries and threw his support behind Darko. Muslim sources accuse him of exploiting his faith to raise funds for his candidature in the Arab world and Malasia. At his early rallies especially in Madina, a Muslim suburb of Accra, he presented himself as 'the Muslim Candidate' but ended up supporting the candidature of Kwabena Darko. These made the Muslim community angry with him and consider him a traitor.

The other most serious contender in the primaries was Dr. George Hagan, of the University of Ghana. He tried hard to match up to Darko's Christian credentials. Private advertisements sponsored by one Dr. Evans Amoateng in the dailies tried to establish his Christian credentials. One of them reads:

Indeed his motivation to run for the leadership of the NIP has been motivated largely by pressure put on him by his friends. They see him as not only as having provided earlier leadership to Catholic Christians, he is also well accepted by Islamic communities in view of exhibited closeness to the latter group...He has provided

⁹ Bittlinger, Arnold, *The Church is Charismatic* (Geneva: WCC., 1982), p.11.

active support and guidance to the Bishops of Ghana on secular matters. He once represented the Pope at an Accra UNESCO conference. He is a consultant to the national catholic secretariat and the Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference.¹⁰

Another advertisement in the *Daily Graphic* of Friday, September 11, 1992 reaffirmed the Christian credentials of the Hagan family. It proclaimed:

Dr. Hagan also holds a papal award for dedicated service to Church and Nation. His father was The Knight of St. Gregory. His 82 year old mother, Mrs. Catherine Hagan, a retired teacher and for many years headmistress of St. Joseph's Catholic School, Adabraka, Accra was also a Papal Award winner for outstanding service to Church and Country.¹¹

The *Catholic Standard* also gave him a positive front-page coverage.¹² However, apart from contesting Mr. Darko's Christian credentials, Dr. Hagan also had to contest with Darko's financial credentials. On this latter front, Hagan's Orthodox Christian and university lecturer's "silver and gold have I none"(Acts 3:6) was simply outweighed by Darko's Evangelical 'The Silver is mine and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts' (Haggai 2:8).

Outside the NIP there were other God-inspired candidates. The Rev. Kwaku Boateng aspired to be the presidential candidate of the National Convention Party (NCP). A minister during the first Republic, he vanished from the political scene for quite a long time. He re-emerged as member of the Consultative Assembly that drew up the Forth Republican Constitution. It was during this time that most Ghanaians became aware that during the period of absence from the public eye he had converted from Government Minister to Reverend Minister.

Rev. Boateng later resigned from the NCP. He accused the leadership of manipulating the presidential nomination in favor of Mr. K.N. Ackaah. The Secretary General of the party, Mr. Rowland Atta Kesson, responded to the allegation with a statement that queried the basis of Rev. Boateng's presidential ambitions. Part of the press statement he released observed that:

His (Boateng's) presidential ambitions are far-fetched, unrealistic and based on a spurious claim that it is mandated by God. Throughout his interim chairmanship, Comrade Kwaku Boateng, contrary to all reason, logic and scientific truth, sought perpetual cover under his much vaunted cloak of divine inspiration and informed everyone that all his decisions are God-directed because he was in direct contact with GOD.¹³

Thus the party that projected Kwaku Boateng back into the political limelight informed the nation that his claims to the presidency were spurious. They also reminded the nation that in spite of religious claims he was still a "comrade." A term wrongly associated with atheistic political ideology of socialism in popular imagination.

The National Patriotic Party (NPP) also had a God-inspired candidate in its presidential primaries. Mr. Kodua, a lawyer by profession, claimed divine revelation and vision as the basis for offering himself to the party and nation. His votes at the party convention were the least. It seems that God forgot to reveal His divine choice to the NPP Electoral College.

10 *Daily Graphic*, Saturday, 5 September 1992, p.4.

11 *Daily Graphic*, Friday, 11 September 1992, p.6.

12 *Standard*. 9-15 August 1992. p.1.

13 *The Ghanaian Times*, 26 September 1992, pp. 1&3.

Prof. A. Adu Boahen won the NPP's 1992 presidential candidacy. Throughout his distinguished scholarly career, he was known best by his last two names. As the campaign took off, he was increasingly called Albert to remind the nation that he is a Christian. The full name, rather than the initial A, was stuck in front of the popular duo. An interview in the *Christian Messenger* confirmed his Christian convictions. He did not only have Christian convictions. It seems that after his nomination he must have had a sense of divine election. For at the elite Ridge Church soon after his nomination, He read the 1st Lesson, which echoed the prophetic manifesto of Jesus Christ in Luke's Gospel. "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he has sent me to heal the broken hearted..." (Luke 4: 18). A special issue of *The Statesman* (a newspaper owned by a leading member of the NPP) gave ten reasons why the populace must vote for Adu Boahen. The tenth was "He is a God-fearing man, courageous, humble and easily approachable."¹⁴

The experience in 1996 with God-fearing men was however different. The Rev. Dr. Kwaku Lartey sought permission from his Church, the Ghana Presbyterian Church, to stand for the Presidency. However he was not able to make it to the primaries. A second aspirant was Mr. Ocansey of the Export Promotion Council. He much in tune with the spirit of the 1992 elections declared that he had a vision to lead the country. He offered himself as an independent candidate but was unable to gather enough nominations to file his independent candidature.

Generally, it seems that the Christian influence was stronger in the 1992 campaign than the 1996 campaign. One probable reason is that prior to the 1992 elections and indeed throughout the era of Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) rule, the Christian leadership played surrogate opposition party to the government. They constantly gave back to Caesar what is Caesar's by holding up a mirror for the government to see its image. Since political parties were banned after the PNDC coup they emerged prior to the elections at a disadvantage and struggled to find a footing in the race. This was not the case with the National Democratic Congress, which transformed and regrouped its well-organized revolutionary organs from the era of the military junta for the democratic campaign.

The voice of the Christian Council and Catholic Bishops Conference, often speaking in unison through pastoral letters, was therefore strong enough in 1992 to recommend that the country look for a 'God fearing man.' In 1996, the presence and growth of a vibrant political opposition more or less relieved the Christian leadership of its role as surrogate opposition.

Further, the outcome of the 1992 elections must have cautioned the leadership of the Orthodox religious bodies to be less brazen about whom they want to be president. The feeling in 1992 was that they wanted Rawlings out of power. Rawlings has commented on this on a number of occasions with the remark that God did not answer their prayers. In 1996, therefore, their message was more neutral. They called on the nation to pray for a peaceful election and reconciliation after the elections. There was no longer a direct call to elect a type of Christian leader.

Sacred Zones

Naturally the claims to religious, especially Christian candidacy, in 1992 were reflective of a strong belief in a Christian constituency that would vote for such candidates. The Ghana Evangelical Committee in its Church survey in 1989 put the Christian population at 60% of the total population of the country.¹⁵ In 1992 it was assumed that Darko would capture the Christian vote. Yet Darko had no assured or viable Christian vote from the very beginning of the campaign. This is because of the

¹⁴ *The Statesman*, 8 November 1992, p.1.

¹⁵ Ghana Evangelism Committee. *National Church Survey*, 1989, pp. 13 & 14.

supposedly large percentage of Christians in the country only 11 percent of them attended Church, according to the same survey.¹⁶ These may be counted on as committed Christians likely to hear the sermons and admonishing of the leadership. Out of this group of ardent Christians, the Evangelical and Charismatic wing to which Kwabena Darko belonged can be put at less than 3 percent.

Clearly there were also denominational preferences for the candidates. The *Catholic Standard's* feature of George Hagan and that of *Christian Messenger* of Adu Boahen may be interpreted as expressing the Catholic and Mainline Protestant preferences respectively. The Evangelical and Charismatic Christians, however, debated whether it was right for Darko to stand. The FGBFI disassociated itself from the political aspirations of its most prominent African member, founder and President. In an interview with the *Daily Graphic*, Mr. Godfried A. Bamfo, National Secretary, is quoted to have stated that:

As far as this platform is concerned, canvassing for a party or an individual during the current political campaign is out.... Politics is not our fellowship. As a religious fellowship, each member is free to choose his or her political affiliation. As soon as we allow politics in we will ruin the fellowship.¹⁷

The Women Aglow Fellowship founded by Darko's wife as the female counterpart to the FGBMI shared the same sentiment with Mr. Bamfo. Mrs. Esme Siriboe, the then National President, is also quoted as saying that 'We have our freedom to exercise individual rights. It is not true we are supporting or canvassing for any individual.'¹⁸

The Assemblies of God Church also distanced itself from the Darko Campaign. It even removed Mrs. Darko from her prominent position as coordinator of its Women Ministry. She was accused of distributing political fliers for her husband at their meetings. This was a clear indication that the Church did not wish to be officially or unofficially involved in the political aspirations of the Darkos.

Thus though the leadership of the Church were praying for a "God-fearing man," they were not prepared to support their prayers with an open choice. They were caught by the need to remain neutral as religious bodies whose membership was of various political persuasions.

Moreover, even though orthodox or mainline Church leaders called on Christians to vote for persons of sound moral qualities, most of the membership of their churches had old political allegiances. Many Orthodox Christians are also wary of the Evangelical and Charismatic phenomenon and would not entrust leadership to a representative of the phenomenon. Kwabena Darko visited and even made donations to the Synod of the Ghana Presbyterian Church then meeting at Agona Nsaba. He did not make much impact. He was even clapped out when he exceeded the time allotted to him. Rev. Kwaku Boateng who also called at the Synod, received the same treatment when he lapsed into spirit-filled sermonization. When Albert Adu Boahen called at Agona Nsaba he received better treatment, clearly showing preference for him.

Whilst Darko was being prematurely declared the winner of the Christian vote, Flt Lt Rawling's and his wife took to the Christian circuit seriously. Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, the wife of the Head of State, attended various church gatherings of women and other groups in the Orthodox Churches. J.J. Rawlings himself preferred the Independent and Pentecostal Church trail. He began with a

16* Ibid.

17 The report appeared in an item captioned "2 Religious Bodies deny canvassing for Darko." In *Daily Graphic*, 1 September 1992. p. 9.

18 Ibid.

In 1912, the Government and Heads of the Principal Missions in the Gold Coast in their endeavor to safeguard the interest of the native Christians who were supposed to be suffering under the imposition of heathen rites, resolved among other things in Kumasi on 2nd March, 1912, as follows: That in future no Christian should be obliged to 'swear back' on 'Oath'.²⁹

In August 1996, the Ashanti Regional Minister, Mr. Ohene Agyekum, voluntarily decided to forgo this exemption. Prior to the elections there were various attempts to make some politicians fall foul of traditional authority and peoples. This was the case of the Ashanti Regional Minister, Mr. Ohene Agyekum. He was accused of disrespect to the Asantehene Otumfuo Opoku Ware II. He was accused of declaring that he did 'not fear the Asantehene but respects him'. He is alleged to have made the remark in April 1996 while settling a quarrel between two rival groups of butchers in Kumasi. Four months after the meeting, *The Pioneer* later joined by *The Ghanaian Voice* tried to end his political career with the allegation.³⁰ He was promptly accused of re-echoing Rawlings' 1992 blunder of not fearing God, on a smaller and traditional scale.

Yet unlike the previous case where there were no supernatural sanctions or fast retribution, the Kumasi Traditional Council proved that the Asantehene must be feared. Without giving the minister a hearing, they slaughtered a sheep to appease the gods for the taboo of disrespect to the king. They then asked the President to remove the Minister from the region within one week. In his defence, the Minister revealed that as an Ashanti royal (of the *Oyoko* Clan), he could not have said such things against the Asantehene. He sued the newspapers involved in the allegation. However, knowing that it would not solve the problem he offered to take the Great Oath (*Ntam Kesie*) of the Ashanti. He stated that he was ready to swear by the great oath of the Ashanti, even though he was a Christian. This oath would invoke the customary right to a hearing and adjudicating of the case to prove his innocence. It would have forced the King to sit over the case and judge who was right or wrong. The case was latter resolved amicably as his challenge was not taken up.

The Ashanti Regional Minister was not the only person to seek the avenue of the traditional oath. Dr. Alex Ababio, the NDC Member of Parliament for West Dayi Constituency actually swore the great oath of Peki, *Agbenoagbe*, before the paramount chief of the Peki traditional area. During the party primaries a number of allegations were leveled against him by executive of the Eagle Party, which is in alliance with the NDC. He was, for instance, alleged to have accused the people of the Peki traditional area of disliking President Rawlings. He was also accused of not accounting for an amount of 7.2 million Cedis collected for the Peki Disaster Relief fund and 15 million Cedis given to all parliamentarians for development projects in their constituencies. Upon swearing the oath, the paramount chief summoned the Traditional Council to settle the case. The executive of the Eagle Party was made to apologise to Dr. Ababio, to pacify him and settle all his expenses.³¹

At Berekum, the Majority Leader of the House, and Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. Owusu Acheampong, it is rumored, also swore a number of oaths. In the first, it is alleged that his support was undermined by a rumour that he was instrumental in the dismissal of a senior police officer (an influential son of the area) from the Ghana Police Service. In order to dispel the damaging rumour he is alleged to have sworn an oath to the man, to the effect that he had nothing to do with his dismissal.

29. Oseadeeyo Addo Dankwa III. 'Libation and Oath' Open Lecture at Trinity College, Legon, 30 November 1987, p.7.

30. *The Pioneer*, Thursday, 25 July 1996, p.1.

31. Cf. *The Ghanaian Times*, 11 October 1996, p.3.

Muslim feasts of Id al Fitr and Adha public holidays like Christmas and Easter. This would not have raised an eyebrow if it had come from any other party. Many Christians would have no quarrel with it. However, the Evangelical Christianity of which Mr. Darko is a prominent leader, is not known for being inclusivist. It was not one to grant parity with the Christian faith. This episode of the Darko campaign revealed how difficult it is to proffer a candidacy based on religious credentials in a religiously plural society like Ghana. It was clear that out of fear of alienating the Muslim vote the NIP had to make a move to reassure Muslims through the promise of national holidays. Darko already had problems with the Muslim vote especially at his home base of Kumasi where he is suspected of supporting the Converted Muslim Christian Mission (CMCM) which is actively propagating Christ to Muslims. His move was therefore inconsistent with Darko's Christian image. It queried the consistency of his candidacy, as did many of the issues raised above. It exposed the problems of religious candidature in a religiously plural society.

The 1996 elections suffered less from such moral issues. Two issues attracted public attention during the period before the elections. The first and the most serious dealt with threats issued by some politicians and political activists that if the incumbent won the elections then Ghana would be reduced to Liberia and Rwanda. Ghana is host to many Liberian refugees and the people are keenly aware of the atrocities that occurred in that country. Improvement in telecommunication had brought the horrors of Rwanda into many Ghanaian homes. There was also the fear that if the government lost it would not go quietly and since it had para-military support that could result in war.

It was this fear that held the attention and concern of various religious bodies in the country so that the call for prayers was for a peaceful election, reconciliation and tolerance.

The other issue focused on the estranged Vice-President, Mr. Kow Aekah, who was accused of having an affair with a Jemima Yalley. It was clear that the Vice-President was the victim of political propaganda. However, this affected his moral credibility and made him a liability to the NCP-NPP alliance.

We cannot, however, conclude this paper without referring to the main religious feature of the 1996 elections. It has to do with determining the truth, securing loyalty and ensuring victory. It also has to do with the resurgence of traditional religion in the politics of the Fourth Republican elections. This was mainly manifested in the swearing of oaths, and accusation of ritual sacrifices to ensure victory. After the overwhelming Christian influence of 1992, this phenomenon in 1996 can be dubbed 'the return of the native.'

The Return of the Native

Whereas in the 1992 elections Christianity dominated the religious issues, in 1996 traditional religion and culture were paramount. It emerged to assert itself as the unvanquished faith of many that could still wield its influence even on self-proclaimed Christians. This assumed various forms, the most prominent being the use of traditional oaths.

Oaths normally refer to some tragic events involving some important ancestors. There are various types of oath taking. The type involved in our discussion is a traditional form of prerogative writ in which a person accused of an offence, desires to impress upon others his innocence by swearing an oath. This oath obliges the traditional ruler to hear the case to determine his or her innocence. According to Oseadeeyo Addo Dankwa III, Omanhene (Paramount Chief) of Akwapim Traditional area,

support to the NIP. However, the NIP's presidential running mate was Prof. Naa Afarley Sackeyfio. She was dismissed from the University of Cape Coast and denied the right to redress in the courts because a decree indemnified the Interim Management Committee of the University. Would she also have an axe to grind?

Apart from this, the NIP, which as we have stated set the religious tone of the campaign, raised certain moral questions about the way it packaged its candidate. The Darko candidacy, as already noted, posed moral questions to some Christians. They wondered whether it was right for a Christian to be deeply involved in party politics. His choice of party was the NIP with deep CPP roots. The Convention People's Party was formed by Kwame Nkrumah and led the country to independence and the First Republic. It was socialist in ideology and therefore associated with atheistic lore that was not quite reconcilable with the image of Darko. Could brother Darko also be Comrade Darko at the same time? In jest some even said his choice of NIP was based on revelation. The Party symbol, a cock, aptly captured his business as a chicken magnate.

However, the major moral problem with the Darko campaign centered on the perennial question of the struggle between God and Mammon. The spread of the Gospel of Prosperity proffered by many charismatic Christians reconciled Wealth and God. However, the Darko campaign fell victim to a moral controversy over the display of wealth by Christians. The impression was created during the Darko campaign that he was flaunting his wealth. The very first picture of the Darko campaign introduced the tuxedo clad family into the Ghanaian politics of Batakari and T - shirts. The picture of affluence reflected the Prosperity Gospel associated with contemporary charismatic renewal in Ghana. It was a positive picture but it could not supplant the traditional picture of Ghanaian political attire that sought to identify with the common man.

Darko's appearance tied in with his utterances. In his campaign speeches he promised Ghanaians paradise. Mainline Christians saw this message as deceptive and unappreciative of the full value of the cross of Christ. Further, it is believed that Darko's affluence and the hope of further finance for the party propelled him into the leadership of the party.

The Darko campaign was further damaged in an advertisement that appeared very briefly on Ghana Television. The advert carried the nation into the Darko's dining room. The sumptuous spread on the table must have caused a spate of salivation across the nation. From table, Kwabena Darko walked out to enter one of two plush Mercedes Benz cars. The door was closed to seal his doom. The advert appeared only briefly for a couple of days. It was seen as grossly flaunting his wealth in public view. It was edited later in the week to remove the offensive parts mentioned above. The editing reveals that some sober mind alerted the Darko campaign about its negative impact.

However, it was too late. The advert coupled with Mr. Darko's fondness during the campaign for the proverb "If a naked man offers you cloth be mindful of him" was interpreted negatively. The proverb according to an NIP insider emerged in an attempt to parcel Darko as Ghana's answer to Ross Perot, a wealthy businessman and industrious person who can fulfill the promise of bringing the nation to greener pastures much more than the other candidates do. The proverb was, however, interpreted by many conservative Christians as a boast unbecoming of a Christian. His generous gifts of chicken and eggs to the clergy in Kumasi during the period were also interpreted as vote buying. Mammon triumphed, whether Darko intended it or not in his campaign.

Then Prof. Naa Afarley Sackeyfio, his presidential running mate, denied him the chance of a possible resurrection as a credible Christian candidate. She promised a meeting of Muslims that the NIP if voted into power would declare the two major

Sex, Vengeance, Food and Mammon

Ethics is an important element in contemporary politics. Scandals especially sexual and financial ones currently haunt world politicians. During the 1992 presidential campaign, economic and ethical issues overshadowed policy issues. These issues centered on human rights, and the moral probity of candidates. The human rights records of the PNDC government were the main focus of attention. The memory of the three judges and an army officer, assassinated on 20th June, 1982 were regularly recalled to drive the point home. Opposition stalwarts like Ray Kakraba-Quarshie wrote articles on human rights in the Ghanaian papers.²⁷

However, the issues bordering on principles were soon relinquished for matters of personal morals. These were raised much more in the form of trading insults. The mode naturally deprived them of any moral value. The battle of smear campaign was fought mainly between the supporters of Prof. Adu Boahen and Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings. While the former was accused of impregnating a maidservant, the latter was in the same breath accused of homosexual tendencies and heterosexual hyperactivity. This unsubstantiated, vitriolic, and disgusting side of the campaign by the supporters of both sides did not however have the desired effects.

Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings as some people polled at the time indicated looked too virile to be 'gay'. Moreover, stories about heterosexual affairs including the very story of his affair with a German woman were seen as contradicting the homosexual label. In the popular Ghanaian mind such affairs are no big deals, however morally wrong they are. After all, as someone put it, military personnel are associated with the amorous life in popular imagination. Indeed, one recalls that before General I.K. Acheampong was executed by the Rawlings regime in 1979 he was publicly accused of moral turpitude. His famous reply was "Which of you flirt only with your wife?" It is also clear that people did not believe the vitriolic allegations against Prof. Adu Boahen.

Another moral concern that led to appeals for peace and a peace march led by a number of religious bodies was the fear of vengeance if the opposition won. Two presidential candidates in particular, Prof. Adu Boahen and Dr. Hilla Limman were feared to harbour vengeance in their hearts against Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings. In addition, the NPP, it was feared, would exact vengeance that would stretch beyond the PNDC to the entire Ewe people. The two candidates were aware of this problem and repeatedly declared during the campaigns that they would not exact vengeance. Dr. Limann made the declaration at a rally at Ho on September 10, 1992. Professor Adu Boahen made it several times. For example, at a rally at Mampong on 16th October, he stated that "We will not probe or try Rawlings. We will leave him to his own conscience. I am a Christian and I believe that vengeance is for the Lord."²⁸

Nevertheless, the human element of vengeance still lurked glaringly as insults were cast at Rawlings. The NPP provided the most qualitatively good advertisement of the campaign. Some of the people who were most offended or felt offended by the Rawlings regime appeared on such adverts. They included Major Courage Quarshigah, a friend turned foe. Another was Kwabena Agyepong the son of Justice K.A. Agyepong, one of the judges killed during the Rawlings regime on 30th June 1982. They all silently re-affirmed that though Prof. Adu Boahen had renounced vengeance, this was not fully reflected in the campaign at the popular level. Too many threats flew about with regard to what would happen (win or lose) among supporters of various parties.

Part of the calculation of the NIP was that for fear of vengeance the PNDC, if it could not win the presidential election at the first round of voting would give

27 'How do we identify Human Rights?' by Ray Kakraba-Quarshie, *Standard*, 9-15 August 1992, p.5.

28 *Ghanaian Times*, Saturday, 17 October 1992, p.3.

fabricating the accusation.²⁵ In spite of the campaign, the NPP was able to secure its traditional seats in the northern sector of the country which is predominantly Muslim.

However, the National Democratic Congress is said to have faced a Muslim debacle as well during the 1996 elections which involved the Tijanniya movement. According to sources, in 1992 Shayk Abdallah Maikano of Prang, in Brong Ahafo Region, leader of the movement, gave support to President Rawlings. However, in 1996 he refused to do so on the grounds that the president made certain promises in 1992 which he did not fulfil. One was to build the biggest mosque at Prang and offer concessions for the annual pilgrimage. Matters worsened when on a Friday whilst he was delivering his sermon there was a gun shot which he is said to have attributed to government attempts to get rid of him. It is said that attempts by the head of state to meet him proved futile. Not even the Dagomba chief in Accra, Abdul Qadir, nor a respected friend, Abdul Razak Tahir, a Ghanaian lecturer in Amadu Bello University, Zaria nor the Chief Imam could resolve the problem. He is alleged to have proclaimed that in 1992 he was behind the president and the latter won because of his prayers, but he would not support him 1996. The Tijanniya group did not, however, remain completely loyal to their leader. In Tamale some declared that he was not God and followed their old political allegiance.²⁶

The various attempts to discredit candidates before religious constituencies shows the strong belief that votes can be influenced along religious lines and hence re-affirm the importance of religion in contemporary Ghanaian politics. The attraction of religion in the political campaign is also reflected in the choice of songs during these campaigns. Some may be called 'songs of praise'.

Songs of Praise

The major campaign songs of the NDC and NPP were Christian songs. The NDC used the tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers" with emphasis on the refrain "From Victory unto Victory his army he shall lead." A second song used was a song popular among the Charismatic Churches entitled "*Wo ke Yesu baya.*" The song literally translated means "we do not know any one but Jesus, and we will go with him alone." The name Jesus was replaced with J.J., the initials of President Rawlings.

In 1992 the NPP used the tune of a popular chorus of the Charismatic Churches. The original lyrics are about 'Satan crying in defeat'. They substituted the word "It is shaking" to emphasis their campaign slogan that they were going to shake the nation with an earthquake. In 1996 they introduced a new chorus associated with the Independent African Churches. Its original words were substituted with words exhorting Ghanaians to review their lives to see if there have been any improvements so as to know how to cast their votes. The catchy tune swept across the nation in the manner in which the African Independent Churches from which it was borrowed proliferated.

The choice of Christian songs is not incidental. After all, Christian choruses dominate the current music scene in Ghana. This has even recently stimulated the emergence of Muslim popular music especially by Sidiku Buari. It must also be noted that lyrics of Christian songs are either manifestos about the kingdom of God or canvass for Christ. Their ethos is naturally political, even if in a spiritual way.

However, spirituality and religion also call for morality. This is the reason why it is important to touch on some moral issues that emerged during the elections.

25 *Daily Graphic*, 11 October 1996, p.3.

26 I am grateful to Hajj Mumuni Sulemana of the Department for the Study of Religions, Legon for this information.

previous week. In an opening speech to the Synod of his Church, this leader prayed for a God-fearing man to emerge from the elections to lead the nation.

Rawling's statement led to the most public exegesis of scriptures the nation has experienced in recent times. The country was transformed into a theological forum to debate 'the fear of God and the Love of God'. In other words, could Rawlings accept Rudolf Otto's *et fascinans* without the feeling of *Mysterium Tremendum*. Would his witness to God be complete? *The Chronicle* a Ghanaian Newspaper in an editorial based on Proverbs 9:10 declared "Let J.J. be told that Ghana needs a God-fearing leader and we are grateful that he has disqualified himself."²⁰

During the 1996 election campaign the opposition media tried at various times to make religion an issue. *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, for instance, reported Rawlings' speech when he opened the E. P. Church Synod at Ho under the headline "Rawlings Justifies Flogging of Naked women at church Function". It noted that the President as usual deviated from his prepared speech to condemn the Christian doctrine of turning the other cheek:

He said that unlike Nigerians, Ghanaians like turning other cheek too readily. Then justifying some of the harsh measures taken during the early PNDC days, especially stripping women traders naked in public and beating them, he said that even Jesus himself took the cane to whip traders in the temple.²¹

The *Free Press* echoed the *Chronicle's* concern in a special feature article entitled "Utterances against the Most High, shall we blame the President?" The article claimed that:

Ever since his infamous I-Don't-fear-God statement brought to us by GTV, President Rawlings is alleged to have made five other statements against the Most High. These are: Mocking Christ for not assembling an army like Mohammed did to fight his enemies. Claiming that God is not democratic, Being very amused that Christians in Ghana prayed to God for a change of government but God did not listen to them, Being very emphatic that Christ exudes violence by driving traders out of the temple and chiding Ghanaians for turning the other cheek.²²

The same paper also carried an article with the headline "Rawlings Insults Church Leaders As 'False Prophets suffering from Mental Disorder.'" The insult was dated back to 1990.²³

Their campaign did not, however, attract as much attention as was the case in 1992, probably because religious credential was not an issue in the 1996 elections.

Whereas the NDC did not face the problem of deflecting the fall-off of religious utterances in the 1996 elections, its main rival, the NPP, faced this problem. It was alleged in *The Guide* newspaper that its General Secretary, Mr. Agyenim Boateng, described Muslims as "low grade people."²⁴ This was supposed to be in reference to the large Muslim community in the Ayawaso West Constituency. Muslims in the constituency demonstrated in anger and the NPP promptly accused the NDC, especially the Minister of Information, Mr. Totobi Quakye, of engineering and

20 *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, 7-13 September 1992.

21 *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, Monday, 9 September to Wednesday, 11 September 1996, page 7.

22 *Free Press*, Friday, 20 September to Thursday, September 26, 1996, pp.6-7.

23 *Free Press*, Wednesday, 9 October to Tuesday, 15 October 15, p.12.

24 *The Guide*, 1-7 October 1996, p.1.

speech of Repentance over the excesses of the Revolution. This was delivered to the Church of Pentecost meeting at the Trade Fair Site, Accra at the end of August 1992. Then he went on pilgrimage to Mozano, the sacred town of the Mozama Disco Christo Church, one of the oldest and populous Ghanaian Independent Churches on 27th August, 1992. There he mused about earlier dreams of becoming a missionary.

He proceeded to Cape Coast to attend the National Witness Convention of the Apostolic Church in September 1992. At Cape Coast, he declared he loved God in words that were the most controversial of the whole campaign and probably the year 1992. He ended up at a Pentecostal Healing Center at Sefwi Asafo. He presented them with a television set and cautioned spiritual healers to turn to scientific healing whenever the need arises.

Thus Rawlings made a conscious effort to secure votes from the Independent Spiritual Churches. The latter churches it must be noted are also wary of contemporary Evangelical and Charismatic renewal movement to which Darko belongs. This is because the Evangelicals and Charismatics accuse Independent/spiritual churches of harnessing spirits other than the Holy Spirit in their work. They therefore do not regard them as genuinely Christian.¹⁹

In 1996 the election issues differed from 1992. The Christian circuit was therefore not stomped as much as in the 1992 elections. The notable appearances were those of President Rawlings at the Synods of the two factions of the EP Church. He attended the Synod held in Accra and at Ho. At both Synods he called on the split church to reconcile. This message had important political bearing. The Church is the main Protestant Church in the Volta Region. The controversy between the two factions of the church had equally divided the Volta Region. The Volta region had in both elections rendered total support to Rawlings and the NDC. Apart from genuine concern for reconciliation, there had always been the fear that the division may create room for political inroads by the opposition.

At Ho the President made some controversial utterances though they did not spark off the public debate his utterances provoked in 1992. For one particular issue that brought religion to the forefront in 1992 were utterances on religion or religious people, especially that by President Rawlings that he did not fear God.

The Fear of God

All party manifestos, especially those presented in the first party political broadcasts on television in 1992 promised religious freedom and the development of the spiritual life of citizens. The Eagle Party made the most religious of all presentations frequently punctuating it with appeals to God. Even the shadowy Democratic Peoples Party, which did not feature much in the elections, had the motto "GOD IS GREAT" which captures the Takbeer of Islam.

However, what really stimulated religious debate in the 1992 elections was without doubt the utterance of Ft. Lt. Rawlings that "I am not a God Fearing man, I am a God Loving man." The declaration was made at the National Witness Conference of the Apostolic Church of Ghana held at Cape Coast. On the spot, a rather placid congregation clapped for him. The logic of his argument was well built up even though it lacked exegesis of Scriptures. Ft. Lt Rawlings claimed he loved God and would want that love to show in his family and other relationships. He even defined what he meant by the fear of God. He explained that priests in intermediary positions often create unnecessary fear of God to serve their own purposes. He implied that he was responding to remarks made by a Church leader during the

19 Cf. Elom Dovlo, 'A Comparative Overview of Independent Churches and Charismatic Ministries in Ghana' *Trinity Journal of Church and Theology*, 2 (1992), p.71.

...prevail upon Togbui Adzaklo, to cancel the voodoo curses Mr. Ahiabile forced him to put on Prof. Awoonor and the entire Weta through secret nocturnal rites when a pig was sacrificed.³²

Reacting to the letter, the chiefs of Afife with Togbui Adzaklo II as one of the signatories stated that:

We take a serious view of the statement made by Togbui Ashiakpor that the regional minister forced Togbui Adzaklo to put voodoo on Prof. Awoonor and the entire Weta through secret nocturnal rites when a pig was sacrificed... We seize this opportunity to assure Togbui Ashiakpor that Torgbui Adzaklo did not perform any nocturnal rites on Prof. Awoonor and the people of Weta. Rather on May 4, 1996, the day of the primaries, Prof Awoonor invoked the spirit of Torgbui Nyigbla the war god of Afife and performed on ritual days of the god with a white band on his right wrist to help him win the election.³³

President Rawlings set the scene for the taking of oaths. In his usual barrage against Christianity he stated that oaths sworn by gods such as the famous Antoa Nyama of the Ashanti were bound to produce faster results than swearing on the Bible. It seems many of his party stalwarts took his advice very seriously.

More sinister were accusations of sacrifices including those of human beings in order to win the elections. There are indications that in some rural areas parents kept an eye on their children for fear that they may be used to underpin the spiritual process to electoral victory of some MPs.

The most stunning of all were insinuations that the Mr. Joseph K. Baidoo, the driver of the Central Regional Minister Mr. Valis Akyianu, was ritually sacrificed to assure his victory in the elections.³⁴

The trend towards traditional religion in the 1996 elections shows the continuing strength of traditional belief in spirit beings and their capabilities, powers and functions and their ability to influence the affairs of men.

Conclusion

The above discussions do not exhaust the issues or examples of the use of religion in the two presidential elections held under the Fourth Republican Constitution so far. What, however, clearly emerges from the foregoing discussion is that religion remains an important element of political life so long as it influences the lives of individuals in the country. Even though some of such issues emerged as rumours this does not detract from the influence. It rather reinforces how strong beliefs are such that certain rumours with religious intonations are meant to influence voters either positively or negatively.

It is noteworthy that in the absence of multi-party democracy religious bodies assumed the role of surrogate opposition and were able to call the tune for a type of leadership Ghana needed during the transition to democratic rule in 1992. However, their influence must not be overestimated for it seems that the desires of the religious leaders were not reflected in the voting that took place, meaning that voting choices do not necessarily depend on religious allegiance. Or that even if they do,

32 *Daily Graphic*, 3 June 1996, p. 6. A pig is a tabooed animal to the gods and to sacrifice one invoked their wrath. Among the Ewe it is believed that it was such a sacrifice that led to the death of General Kotoka architect of the first coup in Ghana.

33 *Daily Graphic*, Saturday, 15 June 1996, p. 5.

34 *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, Monday, 4 November to Wednesday, 6 November 1996, p. 1. Etc.

His second foray into the world of traditional oaths occurs within the broader context of a phenomenon reported from the Eastern, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions in particular. This type of oath unlike the first is often referred to as '**eating fetish**' as it involves asking a god or ancestors to punish one if one goes against the oath.

It is alleged that prospective NDC candidates passed gifts especially money to prospective voters in a bid to secure their votes. This was because of the support in these Regions for the NPP. Since the vote is secret, they sought to guarantee the loyalty of such people by making them swear oaths. Some were therefore made to invoke the god Antoa Nyama to punish them if they did not vote for the candidates they took money from.

It is said that Mr. Owusu Acheampong later joined the practice. In a retrospective oath, he called on his ancestors to punish all those who took his money and would not vote for him. In response, it is rumoured that one such person also took a counter oath that if the money distributed to buy votes was genuinely for Mr. Owusu Acheampong then his oath should work. On the other hand, if the money was taken from government coffers then he rather should suffer punishment from the ancestors. When Mr. Acheampong collapsed the next day on the campaign trail it was taken as an indication of the swift working of traditional oaths.

A similar incident was reported in Sunyani where it is alleged that A. A. Munufie the co-chairman of the NDC invoked the god Asrifi. The god who was popular in the 19th century lost its popularity when a Christian convert fetched firewood from the sacred grove. The chief priest sanctioned him. This invoked the wrath of the Christians in town who burnt down the sacred grove. Nothing happened to them after the incident, which made the people loose confidence in the god. The shrine became a rubbish dump.

During the 1996 elections Mr. Munufie threatened that the spirit of Asrifi would kill those who had collected monies from the NDC but did not vote for the NDC. The people, according to the report, burst out laughing knowing the diminished image and power of Asrifi. Similar incidents were reported in Kumasi where the Metropolitan Assembly chairman, Akwasi Agyeman, is said to have invoked the god Antoa Nyama on such persons both in the 1992 and 1996 elections.

The Volta Regional Minister, Mr. Modestus Ahiable, was also caught up in the oath-swearing binge. Mr. Ahiable, the incumbent, contested the Ketu South Constituency with Prof. Kofi Awoonor in the NDC primaries. The latter, a former university professor, distinguished poet and Diplomat, lost to Mr. Ahiable. Awoonor's failure to secure the vote was seen as mysterious, for the guaranteed votes from his own village Weta seemed to have mysteriously vanished into thin air. This mystery was unraveled by further mysteries that may have aroused the muse of the famous poet.

The story is that one member from his hometown, Weta, confessed that the day before the primaries, the eligible voters from the area were invited to party with the incumbent. Food and drinks were served. After this, they were duly informed that the drinks had been dedicated to the war god Togbi Nyigblah. They were admonished that they had earlier on pledged their loyalty to the incumbent. However, with the emergence of Awoonor as a challenger their vote seemed to be wavering. The drinks were supposed to spiritually bind them to their original vow. It was a peculiar case of retrospective oath-taking. They were simply reminded about what they already believed. They knew the woes of defying a vow to Togbi Nyigblah the principal deity of the area.

The battle between the people of Weta and Afiɛ was carried out in full view of the nation through accusations and counter-accusations. In a widely publicised open letter to the President, the paramount chief of Weta called on Mr. Ahiable to:

denominational preferences may at times detract from a common religious goal as happened in the case of Kwamena Darko.

Another lesson is that excessive mud slinging may not produce the desired effects. It may rather backfire, as was the case especially in the 1992 elections when there was much mud slinging between the NDC and the NPP relating to their presidential candidates. Where it is linked with ethnicity, each ethnic group may have to assess its future prospects in the country on the basis of its ethnic colouring.

The ethical issues raised also pose the question of whether the country is ready to use morality as a measure of viable candidature. The desertion of Kwabena Darko by the Full Gospel Businessmen Fellowship International raises the question of whether success in religious leadership guarantees support for secular leadership. It also questions the will of charismatics to get directly involved in politics.

Then, of course, there is the issue of the place and strength of the traditional religion. It does not have spokesmen like other religions in Ghanaian politics but continues to play a fail-safe role for politicians.

Generally it appears that politicians use religion in an exploitative way due to the perceived influence it wields on the electorate, in order to attract an entire group without reaching out to them individually and where the religious leadership is influential to exploit their influence on adherents. Thus, as noted by Ellis and Ter Haar, "It is clear that, all over the continent, political elites make use of religious communities for purposes of mobilising voters, creating clienteles or organising constituencies."³⁵ As they further note, this is not peculiar to Africa. However, in Africa politicians go further and "...believe that access to the spiritual world is a vital resource in the constant struggle to secure advantage over their rivals in political infighting."³⁶



35 Stephen Ellis & Gerrie Ter Haar, 'Religion and politics in Sub-Saharan Africa', *The Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 36,2 (1998), p. 188.

36 *Ibid.*, p.188.