AN ANALYSIS OF GHANA’S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE PNDC

BY

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THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEGON

JULY, 2012
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, this dissertation is my personal research work executed under the supervision of Dr. Iddi Ziblim and no part of it has been submitted anywhere else for any other purpose, except for references and quotations that have been duly acknowledged.

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AMEDOYROR GABRIEL ROCKSON DR. IDDI ZIBLIM
(STUDENT) (SUPERVISOR)

DATE........................................ DATE........................................
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to almighty God for his protection during the entire period of my study at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD). I again, dedicate this work to my parents of blessed memory; Mr. John Kwashie Amedoyror and Mad. Hellen Ashinu Vormawor all of Tegbi, in the Keta Municipality of Volta Region.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the first place, I would like to acknowledge Almighty God for his ability to protect me and enabled me complete my dissertation.

I would also like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Iddi Zibblim, for his patience and time for me in spite of many challenges. Without his love for me, this work would not have been completed. I remain profoundly indebted to him.

I would also like to express a great deal of thanks to all staff of LECIAD especially the Librarians for all their assistance.

I would also like to show appreciation to Noah Atsu Vormawor, Rejoice Afi Torbi and Grace Ahadzie for their support, both financially and materially, throughout my academic endeavour.

I would also like to acknowledge my wife, Mrs Fortune Amedoyror and my daughters; Caroline Johnfield-Amedoyror and Catherine Johnfield-Amedoyror for their prayers.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAPS</td>
<td>All African Peoples Conference</td>
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<tr>
<td>AATUFC</td>
<td>All African Trade Union Federation Conference</td>
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<tr>
<td>AFRC</td>
<td>Armed Forces Revolutionary Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligent Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIAS</td>
<td>Conference of Independent African States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOMOG</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
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<tr>
<td>ERP</td>
<td>Economic Recovery Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Products</td>
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<td>IFIs</td>
<td>International Financial Institutions</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>LECIAD</td>
<td>Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy</td>
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<td>NAM</td>
<td>Non- Alignment Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</td>
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<td>NLC</td>
<td>National Liberation Council</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>NRC</td>
<td>National Redemption Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAS</td>
<td>Organisation of American States</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organisation for African Unity</td>
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<tr>
<td>OFY</td>
<td>Operation Feed Yourself</td>
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<td>OFYI</td>
<td>Operation Feed Your Industries</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAMSCAD</td>
<td>Program to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment</td>
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<tr>
<td>PNDC</td>
<td>Provisional National Defence Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMC</td>
<td>Standing Mediation Committee</td>
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<td>SMC</td>
<td>Supreme Military Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>SWAPO</td>
<td>South West Africa Peoples Organisation</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNO</td>
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<tr>
<td>USA</td>
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<td>USSR</td>
<td>United Soviet Socialist Republic</td>
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CHAPTER FOUR: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS
ABSTRACT

Since Ghana’s independence, various governments have made foreign policies which determine Ghana’s interactions in the community of nations. This is because no state can develop without the help of the international community. It is in the light of this, that countries fashion out foreign policies towards the international community. However, the successes of the foreign policies which are made by countries depend on how members of the international community perceive them. The rise of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) to political power in Ghana through the 31st December, 1981, revolution provided the PNDC government with a platform to determine Ghana’s foreign policy towards the international system. Indeed, the PNDC government executed certain foreign policies which have conditioned this study. This study seeks to explore foreign policies that were formulated and executed by the PNDC regime. The study is based on the premise that, the posture of the Provisional National defence Council accounted for hostile relationships with its immediate neighbours in West Africa. The study concludes that, based on the research findings, the study has confirmed the hypothesis that, the posture of the PNDC regime accounted for hostile relationships with its immediate neighbours in West Africa.
CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Introduction:

The struggle against colonial rule by the people of the Gold Coast ended when the British government granted political independence in 1957, under a new name Ghana. This therefore, marked the genesis of Ghana’s effort to make policies to re-align with the international system. This was confirmed by the independence political declaration by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at the Old Polo Ground in Accra on the night of 5th March, 1957 that, “we are going to see that we create our own African personality and identity… We again re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle to emancipate other countries in Africa; for our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent”.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, in order to realize his independence declaration, made several efforts in getting rid of the remnants of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racism on the continent of Africa. He adopted progressive and militant outlooks which were based mainly on African unity, decolonization, policy of non-alignment and national development which became the driving force of the foreign policy of Ghana. Many measures were taken by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah such as spearheading the formation of the Union of African States, funding the independence war for African countries like Guinea, and strong commitment to


3 Ibid.
international bodies like the United Nations (UN), the Commonwealth of Nations and the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM).

After the overthrow of the Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, the successive regimes pursued foreign policies that were guided by traditional foreign policy concerns which were laid down by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. These concerns include support for liberation struggles, Non-alignment, opposition to racism and minority rule in Africa, and support for the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and other international organizations.4

The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), which rose to political power through military coup on the 31st December, 1981, was no exception, as it executed many foreign policies towards the external community. In fact, the regime’s external relations with its immediate neighbours, namely Togo, Cote d’Ivoire, Nigeria, and Burkina Faso (after the assassination of Captain Sakara) were all characterized with antagonistic relationship. The deteriorating state of the economy that the Provisional National Defence Council inherited created severe economic crisis immediately it took over the helm of affairs in the country. In order to revive the economy, the military junta took certain foreign policy decisions which had damming consequences on the nation.

This study looks at the foreign policies pursued by the PNDC regime in Africa especially its neighbours, and the effects of the policies on the nation as well as its citizens. The attempts made by the regime to resuscitate the economy through aggressive economic diplomacy by the regime and their general effects are also examined.

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1.2 Statement of the Problem

The formulation and execution of foreign policy of a nation which epitomizes national interests of a nation towards the international community is influenced by varying degree of factors. These may entail the desire to promote economic maturity, the living conditions of citizens, more evenly distribution of the national cake and the proficient harnessing and utilization of the human and material resources of the country. Achieving aforementioned goals depend on various factors, including the ideological orientation of the country’s leadership and their class base, as well as the economic wellbeing of the country.

These considerations, since independence, continue to influence the foreign policies that are channeled to the international community by successive regimes. The PNDC regime which was led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings took several foreign policy decisions which shape the image of the in many ways The regime throughout its rule had its West African relation characterized with mistrust especially with its immediate neighbours namely, Togo, Cote d’ Ivoire, Burkina Faso (after the assassination of Captain Thomas Sakara) and Nigeria. This development undermined the political administration of the country as these countries are strategic to Ghana’s economic growth and development. Thus, the sub-regional hostility that the regime faced affected the economic wellbeing of Ghanaians.

The PNDC’s anti- capitalist posture in its early stage, to large extent determined the foreign policy choices made by the regime. In the regime’s desire to revive the economy which was deteriorating at an alarming rate, turned to the pro-socialist regimes in the world for financial assistance. This effort by the regime was not fruitful as they were also faced with severe economic problems during this period. This created severe economic hardship on Ghanaians as well as put the regime under intense pressure. The failure of the pro-socialist countries to assist the regime made the Rawlings led government to turn to the western
countries and their international financial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The PNDC accepted the financial and economic package called ‘The Economic Recovery Programme’ for economic reforms in the country.

Various degrees of studies have been conducted on Ghana’s foreign policy but not much has been done in the area of the PNDC foreign policy. The research seeks to find out foreign policies that were executed by the PNDC regime to West Africa, especially Ghana’s immediate neighbours, the rest of Africa and the world at large. Why did the administration pursue such foreign policies? What were the responses to the regime’s foreign policies in West Africa, the rest of Africa and the world? What were the impacts of the foreign policy decisions undertaken on the citizens as well as the international community?

1.3 Scope of the Research

The study is limited to Ghana’s foreign policy under the Provisional National Defence Council from the period of January, 1982 to December, 1992.

1.4 Objectives of the Research:

The study seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. To ascertain the degree to which the foreign policy pursued by the PNDC regime affected Ghana’s relation with other African countries, especially in West Africa, and the rest of the world.

2. To find out the effects of the foreign policy decisions on the country and its citizens.

3. To find out measures taken to resolve such effects by the Provisional National Defence Council.
4. To find out whether previous foreign policy choices since Ghana’s independence differed from or influenced the choices of the PNDC made.

1.5 Rationale of the Study:

This study is significant for the following reasons:

1. It will cover major issues in Ghana’s foreign policy with special attention to foreign policies under PNDC regime.
2. It will serve as an important guide to politicians, members of the academia as well as workers in the field of international affairs.
3. Finally the study will add to the existing literatures on Ghana’s foreign policy during the period under review.

1.6 Hypothesis:

The study will be guided by the following hypothesis:

That posture of the Provisional National Defence Council regime accounted for hostile relation with its immediate neighbours in West Africa.

1.7 Literature Review:

William Scott Thompson in his work “Ghana’s Foreign Policy, 1957-1966 Diplomacy, Ideology and The New State” focuses on Nkrumah’s foreign policy of diplomacy which ranges from conference diplomacy, Africa liberation and unity, decolonization, eradication of

racism and non-alignment towards the West and East blocs, as well as its relation with its neighbours. He also looks at the conflict between Nkrumah and other Africa leaders. Thompson states that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s excessive drive for political pre-eminence over his colleagues in Togo, Cote d’ Ivoire, Burkina Faso, and Nigeria resulted in the hostile relationship that existed between him and other West African leaders in the sub-region.

Thompson also observes that, Nkrumah’s militancy and different views on policies to be adopted in Africa resulted in stiff disapproval from his peers on the continent. I strongly support Thompson view that, Nkrumah’s personal ambition, superiority complex, among others contributed, immensely to his foreign policy failures. Thus, Nkrumah’s foreign policy choices partly, were responsible for his overthrow in a military coup d’ e’etat in 1966.

Thompson’s work is very useful to any study in the area of Ghana’s foreign policy because it covers major foreign policy decisions taken by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (the first president of Ghana) and no study on Ghana’s foreign policy can be undertaken without making reference to Thompson’s work. In a careful examination of Thompson’s work, you will realize that, it only focuses on Nkrumah’s foreign policy from 1957 to 1966. His work does not cover foreign policy of the PNDC regime. This study is influenced by the limited nature of Thompson’s work and therefore seeks to go beyond his work to examine PNDC’s foreign policy.

Olajide Aluko in his contribution “Ghana’s Foreign Policy” emphasizes that during the reign of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, political and ideological divergences existed between

Ghana and her neighbours namely Cote d’ Ivoire, Togo, and Burkina Faso (after the Kulungugu attack), and Nigeria. This development generated insecurity, lack of reliance, and fear between Ghana and her immediate neighbours. He stresses further that, this development was heightened when Ghana began to harbour political dissidents which were believed to engage in activities meant to destabilise the governments of neighbouring states. Aluko’s work is relevant to this study because it examines the relationship that existed between Nkrumah and other leaders in the sub-region and will serve as a useful guide in examining Ghana’s external relation under Nkrumah. It is important to note that, Aluko’s scope of study is limited and does not cover Ghana’s external relation under the PNDC regime. This therefore, informed the choice of this study. This study examines Ghana’s relation with other states especially in West Africa under the PNDC regime.

The contribution of Kwame Boafo-Arthur to the study of foreign policy in Ghanaian politics is very important. In his study entitled “Trends in Ghana’s Foreign Policy after Nkrumah”, he examines foreign policy of all successive governments since the overthrow of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The work explores foreign policy efforts of the successive governments in the area of African liberation struggle and non-alignment. He identifies differences in the foreign policies in the area of African liberation struggle and non-alignment and attributes such variation in foreign policy to changes in governments since independence. Boafo-Arthur asserts that, the state of the country’s economy influenced the choice of foreign policies that were made by various governments.

7 Kulungugu attack was a bomb attack on Kwame Nkrumah’s life when he was returning from a visit to Burkina Faso. Nkrumah accused his Burkinabe’s counterpart as one of the brains behind the attack.
The brief account of successive governments’ foreign policy in the areas of African liberation struggle and non-alignment is of immense benefit to this study. This will serve as important source of reference in examining foreign policy decisions made by various governments. It is worthy of note that, even though Boafo-Arthur’s work covers PNDC regime’s foreign policy, its concentration is only in the areas of African liberation efforts and non-alignment by the regime. The limited nature of Boafo-Arthur’s work informed this study. The study will go beyond the African liberation struggle and non-alignment to cover other aspects of foreign policy executed by the PNDC regime.

K.B. Asante, in his work “Foreign Policy of Ghana since Independence”9 explores briefly various foreign policies executed by all governments since the attainment of political independence. Asante acknowledges Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and other past leaders of Ghana’s role in promoting the image of the country internationally. He also outlines traditional foreign policy elements such as African unity, regional co-operation, integration in West Africa, and support for the United Nations Organization, and other international bodies have influenced foreign policy choices made by all governments. He again stresses that, most of the foreign policy choices made, were influenced by ideological orientation of the ruling class. It is important to note that, any foreign policy study cannot overlook this great work by Asante, as it will serve as a guide to this study in the area of foreign policy. Asante’s work does not cover into details the foreign policy of the PNDC regime. The scanty nature of Asante’s work has informed the choice of this study as it will make in-depth analysis of the PNDC regime.

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Zartman in his work entitled “International Relations in the New Africa”\textsuperscript{10} holds the opinion that, ideological disparities among African leaders were solely responsible for the emergence of groupings on the African continent in the early 1960. Thus formation of the Casablanca group\textsuperscript{11} which was made of radical African states and the non-radical group called the Brazzaville group\textsuperscript{12} confirmed Zartman’s held view. It is important to note that, the views espoused by Zartman were indeed the cause of lack of harmony that existed among African leaders that made it impossible to take a common stand on issues that faced the continent during the author’s reviewed period. The outcome of this situation was political instability that characterized the continent. The choice of Zartman’s work is of great important as it provides the kind of relationship that existed among African leaders in the 1960s. A careful review of Zartman’s work reveals that, he does not explore the relationships that prevailed between Ghana under the PNDC regime and other states especially in the West Africa. This study will add to Zartman’s work by exploring the relationships that Ghana had with her neighbouring states during the PNDC regime.


\textsuperscript{11} Casablanca Group was a group of newly independent African States which took part in Casablanca Conference held in Casablanca in 1961 where they resolved to support Morocco’s claim on Mauritania. They also called for breaking of bilateral ties with France as well as support for Patrice Lumumba (Prime Minister of Congo).

\textsuperscript{12} The Brazzaville Group on the other hand was made up of newly independent French speaking African States which met in Brazzaville and opposed the views held by the Casablanca Group whereby calling for the admission of Mauritania to the UN as well as its recognition as sovereign and independent state. The Group also called for bilateral negotiation between France and Algeria and declared its support for Joseph Kasavubu (President of Congo).
Another work of Kwame Boafo-Arthur which is relevant to this study is entitled “Ghana’s Politics of International Economic Reaction under the PNDC, 1982-1992”\(^\text{13}\). In this work, Boafo-Arthur conducts a historical overview of foreign economic policy actions of all Ghanaian governments. Boafo-Arthur later focuses on examining the foreign economic policy of the PNDC regime. He states that, the failure of other socialist states to help the PNDC regime to salvage the economy which was in a deteriorating state made the regime to seek assistance from the West and its international financial institutions. It is important to note that, the writer states that, the financial package and its attached conditions were able to revive the economy during the period under the writer’s review.

I do share Boafo-Arthur’s view that, had it not been the quick response of the West in spite of the regime’s initial anti-capitalist outlook, the Ghana’s economy would have gone beyond revival. The review of this work is of great important as the author partly explores foreign economic policy dimensions of the PNDC regime. The study will examine the foreign policy decisions taken and executed by the PNDC regime.

Hackman Owusu-Agyeman in his contribution entitled “Ghana’s Foreign Policy under the Kuffuor Administration,”\(^\text{14}\) outlines the foreign policy successes of the Kuffour administration, especially in the area of sub-regional peace where policy of good neighbourliness was pursued with its immediate neighbours namely Togo, Cote d’ Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Nigeria and the dividends that the policy yielded. He also stresses the


\(^{14}\) Owusu-Agyeman, Hackman, “Ghana’s Foreign Policy under Kuffour Administration” in Ghana’s Foreign Policy Options, University of Ghana: Legon Centre For International Affairs, 2002).
central roles played by the administration in the promotion of peace and security in Africa. Achievements in the area of economic diplomacy were also captured. According to Hackman, the economic diplomacy of the administration yielded significant financial assistance from UK, Canada, China, France USA, and Japan, just to mention few.

Kuffour administration’s foreign policy achievements have been remarkable in the political history of Ghana. Thus, these foreign policy achievements as highlighted by Owusu-Agyeman, especially in the area of policy of good neighbourliness and economic diplomacy have elevated Ghana’s image in the international setting. In the view of Owusu-Agyeman, Kuffour’s good neighbourliness policy had “considerably warmed up relations with our neighbours which were frosty at the inception of this administration”.15

It is true that, prior to Kuffour administration, Ghana’s relations with her neighbours were characterized with hostility which severely undermined inter-states cooperation. It is worthy of note that, Owusu-Agyeman work on the Kuffour’s foreign policy achievements has influenced this study on PDNC’s foreign policy in order to explore what the PNDC regime had achieved.

15 Hackman Owusu-Agyeman, “Ghana’s Foreign Policy under Kuffour Administration” in Ghana’s Foreign Policy Options, (University of Ghana: Legon Centre for International Affairs, 2002) p.15.
1.8 Theoretical Framework:

In order to conduct study on the field of foreign policy, theories are employed to serve as a guide in the analysis. This research which is on an analysis of Ghana’s foreign policy under the PNDC will be examined within the framework of decision making model. The conceptual decision making model is known to have been pioneered by Richards C. Snyder and his associates in the study of foreign policy in the 1950s. There are various types of decision making model. These are; the Rational Actor decision making model which sees state as the central rational player in foreign policy making; the governmental politics model which sees competition among the various agencies tasked with foreign policy making in a state; the organizational-process model which focuses on various standard operating procedures adopted by the agencies concerned in foreign policy decision making; and the individual model which deals with the behaviours of the individual foreign policy decision makers. It is important to note that, these models are not mutually exclusive in foreign policy making. They must be combined to formulate a comprehensive foreign policy of a state. Attributes of all these models will be used in the study on PNDC’s foreign policy.

The fundamental assumption of the model is that foreign policies are formulated and executed by individuals in government who do so on behalf of states. Under this model, the decision makers are able to reach their final decision by applying their personal values to the image of the environment. The model therefore uses both internal and external variables as they influence decision. In the context of the foreign policy of Provisional National Defence Council, the model will help identify the variables that influenced the course of foreign policy.

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policy decisions of the regime. The model is significant in the sense that, it provides a focus of interest that replaced and builds on the traditional approach which is based on historical experiences, time, place etc. Within the decision making model, roles, goals, norms, functions, perception of governmental organization, specific decision making unit and government functionaries are used for analysis.

The model is relevant to the study because it will help identify key individuals whose decisions, values, perceptions etc determined the course of foreign policy actions that were taken during the regime under review.

In spite of the aforementioned merits, the model has been faced with few limitations namely: It focuses mainly on the images and perceptions of the decision makers and therefore ignores the objective reality that these images and perceptions reveal in the realm of international relations.

1.9 Sources of Data and Methodology:

The research work relied mainly on secondary sources such as textbooks on international relations, magazines and journal articles. The Balme Library, the Institute of African Studies Library as well as LECD Library were of immense benefit to the study. Internet explorations were also utilized. The study used content analysis to review the literature as well as a historical analysis of the regime’s foreign policy.

17 Ibid., p. 205
18 Ibid.
1.10 Arrangement of Chapters:

The study comprises four main chapters. Chapter one which is the research design presents the subject matter and gives background to the problem, objectives of the study, its rationale, hypothesis, scope of study, literature review, methodology, chapter design and the theoretical framework that guides the study.

Chapter two gives a brief historical background of Ghana’s foreign policy prior to the 31st December, 1981.

Chapter three focuses on the foreign policy of the Provisional National Defence, especially its relationships with Ghana’s neighbours, African policy, non-alignment policy, economic diplomacy, and support for the UN, the Commonwealth, and the ECOWAS.

The fourth chapter comprises the summary of findings, conclusions, and recommendations.
CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF GHANA’S FOREIGN POLICY

2.1 Introduction

Foreign policy of any country shows its views, and position on developments within the international system. It is seen as an aggregate of decisions, practices, and actions which a country pursues in its relations with other countries. The concept of foreign policy like many other concepts in international relations is subject to various definitions by different scholars and authorities. It therefore, does not have any single accepted definitions.

However, the most comprehensive definitions of the term “foreign policy” is given by Charles Lerche\(^\text{19}\) as “all those courses of actions and the decisions relating to those courses of actions that states undertake in their relations with others for the purpose of achieving the desired national interest”.\(^\text{20}\)

It is important to note that, it is the kind of foreign policy that a state makes that determines the kind of relationships that exist between that state and entities outside foreign policy initiating state. This amply explains the kinds of relationships that exist between Ghana and her neighbouring countries during the reign of President Kwame Nkrumah and President Rawlings. That is, whether a country maintains friendly or hostile relationships with other countries or whether its relations with others should be based on mutual co-operation and understanding or confrontation.

\(^{19}\) Charles Leche, Foreign Policy of the American People, (New York, Prentice Hall, 1958)

\(^{20}\) Ibid., p.1
The formulation and the implementation of foreign policy choices by state is influenced or determined by various factors that are not only within the foreign policy initiating states, but also by pressures from sources that are external to it. In other words, these are conditions which prevail both within and outside the initiating states which help governments to faction and conduct a successful foreign policy. According to Boafo-Arthur, these internal conditions are nation’s attributes which greatly influence its behaviour in the international system. Sullivan therefore describes these national attributes as “anything that describes the makeup of a nation, differentiating one state from another in terms of political, social, economic or as might argue psychological characteristics”.

They have also identified many internal variables that tend to influence foreign policy decision making. These domestic variables entail “the size of the nation, level of economic or political development, type of governmental system, type of leadership structure, political or social unrest or strain are all unquestionable examples of domestic variables”. Among the above foreign policy shaping variables, the state of economic capability of a state is more influential. This is because, an economic independent state is likely to formulate effective foreign policy or vice versa. Thus, it will be able to use its abundant economic resources to pursue effective and dynamic foreign policy decisions towards the external environment.

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22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., pp. 138-139

24 Ibid., pp.39-40
Apart from the internal factors, elements within the international system also exert great level of influences on foreign policy initiating states. The external environment is constituted by other states, international institutions and events that happen outside the foreign policy making states’ territories. Other external factors include the perceived reactions of other states, the power of other states, international public opinion, membership of international organizations like UNO, OAS, AU, ECOWAS, etc, external commitments of a state, as well as, the welfare of its citizens abroad. Thus, the aforementioned factors, namely the internal and the external factors, put substantial level of influence in deciding the sorts of policies that states make in the course of their interactions with actors in the international system.

Ghana like many other states in the international system, since her independence, has pursued various foreign policies in their quest to implement her international agenda. Ghana’s foreign policy since her independence has been shaped by many considerations like total liberation and decolonization, political and economic unity, Non-alignment, her membership in UN and Commonwealth, search for foreign investment and oversea markets. Under this study, Ghana’s foreign policy choices made by various governments prior to 31st December, 1981 since independence, will be examined under the following themes; policy of good neighbourliness, economic diplomacy, African policy, Non-Alignment policy, and support for international organizations. The aim of this chapter is to ascertain whether or not foreign policies made by various governments before the emergence of PNDC on Ghana’s political scene differed from or influenced the foreign policy choices made by the PNDC in the subsequent chapters.

2.2 Ghana’s Relations with her immediate Neighbours

Geographically, Ghana shares her international boundaries with Togo in the East, Cote d’ Ivoire in the West, Burkina Faso in the North and the gulf of Guinea in the South.
Ghana’s proximity to her immediate neighbours has made her to be concerned with any development within the territories of these countries. Therefore, there is a need for Ghana to forge good relationships with her immediate neighbours. This section will examine how Ghana’s relationships with her immediate neighbours have been since Ghana’s independence in 1957. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah with its Convention People’s Party led Ghana to independence and was faced with the task of promoting friendship and cooperation with our immediate neighbours. However, Ghana’s relationships with her neighbours under Nkrumah were not the best, as lack of trust existed between her and her immediate neighbours. According to Aluko, ideological and political divergence that prevailed between Ghana and her neighbours created an atmosphere of mistrust, fear and suspicion where each decided on how to destabilize the other’s administration.\(^{25}\) Thompson also asserts that, the inordinate desire of Nkrumah to gain political dominance over his fellow African leaders, as well as his radicalism and his different stands on policies to be adopted caused the strained relationships between Ghana and her neighbouring countries.\(^{26}\) Despite these unfavourable assertions by these scholars, there were some few instances where Nkrumah and her neighbouring counterparts made efforts to improve the relationship between them. In case of Burkina Faso, President Kwame Nkrumah and his Burkinabe counterpart, Maurice Yameogo met in Paga on 16 June, 1961 where they knocked down a wall to emblematically demonstrate the establishment of a custom union between the two countries\(^ {27}\).

\(^{25}\) Op. cit., Aluko, p. 74  
\(^{26}\) Op. cit., Thompson, p. 16  
As a step further to strengthen bilateral relationship between the two countries, Nkrumah also paid a five-day official state visit to Burkina Faso. Ghana gave £2, 000,000 to support Burkinabe’s budget which Burkina Faso would have generated from custom duty if the custom union had not been established.  

However, relationships between the two countries became unfriendly as result of border disputes and bomb attack on Nkrumah’s life at Kuluungugu in August 1962, when he was on his way from Burkina Faso to Ghana.

Cote d’Ivoire which is Ghana’s eastern neighbour became independent in 7th August, 1960. At this time, Kwame Nkrumah took bold step in establishing bilateral relationships with his Ivoirian counterpart, Félix Houphouet-Boigny by dispatching large Ghanaian delegation to Ivoirian independence commemoration. At the end of the commemoration, Houphouet-Boigny was invited to Accra.  

Later, Houphouet-Boigny also sent delegation to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to see whether he was ready to discuss issues bordering on cooperation and that he (Houphouet-Boigny) agreed to meet Nkrumah not in Accra but rather in Half-Assini. The two leaders met on September 16, 1960 where issues bordering on political and economic cooperation were deliberated on. The Ghana’s relations with Cote d’Ivoire took a downturn when Houphouet-Boigny began to criticize Nkrumah’s radical and militant policies at international conferences. Ghana - Cote d’Ivoire relations took a downturn till Nkrumah’s overthrow.

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28 AFSP Sp, No.4480, 4-8 June,1961

29 Op. cit., Thompson, p.147

30 Ibid., p. 148
Ghana shares her eastern border with Togo. The later gained her political independence from France in April 16, 1960, led by Sylvanus Olympio who stood on the Togolese National Union Party. Before Togo’s independence, Olympio turned down Kwame Nkrumah’s unity proposal between the two countries. To cool tempers down, Kwame Nkrumah sent powerful delegation, led by the Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister to Lome to participate in the independence commemoration. Later in June 1960, the two leaders met to discuss bilateral issues. However, the relations between Togo and Ghana deteriorated further as result of political differences and smuggling across their common border. Sylvia Olympio accused President Kwame Nkrumah of providing support to activities of Togolese dissidents against his administration. However, the overthrow of President Sylvanus Olympio in January 1963, by Togolese army warmed Ghana’s relations with Togo as the two countries made moves to exchange ambassadors. From this time, Ghana’s relation with Togo under regime led by Nicolas Grunitsky witnessed great improvement till President Nkrumah was ousted in 1966.

When National Liberation Council took over, the task that the regime was faced with was to improve Ghana’s image in the face of her neighbours. In order to improve Ghana’s relations with her immediate neighbours the NLC, sent delegation to Togo, Dahomey (now Benin), Cote d’ Ivoire, Burkina Faso, and Niger to assure them of the new government’s


supports. Political dissidents were exchanged by the NLC and these countries.\textsuperscript{33} Thus, there was an improved relationship between the NLC and Ghana’s immediate neighbours.

Following the outcome of 1969 general election, the NLC handed over the administration of the affairs of Ghana to Dr. E.K Busia whose political party had majority in the National Legislative Assembly. His policy of good neighbourliness did not see any departure from what his predecessor (NLC) started in the West African sub-region. As part of the new administration effort in promoting cooperation in the sub-region, Dr. Busia embarked on a week-long visit to Cote d’Ivoire and other neighbouring states namely, Togo, Upper Volta, and Nigeria to assure them of his government support for cooperation in the area of sub-regional peace.\textsuperscript{34}

In 1972, Dr. Busia’s government was overthrown by National Redemption Council headed by Colonel I.K. Acheampong. The government of Col. Acheampong continued with its predecessor’s policy of good neighbourliness by maintaining the good relationships that the Dr. Busia’s government had forged. This was demonstrated when Col. Acheampong agreed with President Étienne Eyadema of Togo to extend electricity from Akosombo Dam to Lome which was completed in 1972. Again in 1973, the two leaders met in Accra where a Permanent Cooperation Commission was established to improve movements of people and goods between the two countries and eradicate smuggling between their common borders.\textsuperscript{35} Ghana’s policy of good neighbourliness did not change when Col. Acheampong was ousted


\textsuperscript{34} Op. cit., Boafo-Arthur, p.143

in what they called “Palace coup” by the Supreme Military Council II (SMC II) headed by Major-General Frederick William Kwasi Akuffo. The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) did not make any positive contribution to Ghana’s policy being at peace with her neighbours. This was because; Ghana’s neighbours were not in support of the coup. This was confirmed when Nigeria under General Olusegun Obasanjo cut off 80% of Ghana’s crude oil demands on ground that, General Akuffo was his brother.36

The Dr. Hilla Limann became the President of Ghana after winning the 1979 Presidential elections. On foreign policy front, President Limann stated that, “our foreign policy draws much inspiration and guidance from some of the ideals of our past history, particularly as broadly outlined by the President of the first Republic.” 37 The government showed strong commitment to regional cooperation by taking part actively in ECOWAS and OAU affairs. In line with government regional cooperation policy, President Limann paid visits to number of West African countries including Ghana’s neighbours.38

2.3 Economic Diplomacy

The level of a country’s economic growth and development determines the nature of foreign policy choices that are formulated and implemented towards the international system. Lentner asserts that “wealth is a precondition for undertaking certain kinds of foreign policies; its conditions, attitudes, and behaviour...”39 The state of the Ghanaian economy at

37 Ibid., p.44
independences was in a solid shape. This was because British colonial authority left foreign reserve which amounted to £200 million resulting from the sale of cocoa which was enjoying good price on the world market\textsuperscript{40} as well as total foreign investments which amounted to $151 million owned by companies mostly from western world.\textsuperscript{41} This state of the economy served as the fulcrum around which most of President Nkrumah’s foreign policy especially his African affairs revolved. He supported independence struggles in Africa, especially Guinea and Mali with $10million and $2million dollars respectively.\textsuperscript{42} President Nkrumah’s desire to free the continent from foreign rule made him to commit colossal amount of Ghana’s resources to this struggle. This eventually depleted the country’s external reserves. In order to arrest ailing state of economy, International Monetary Fund (IMF) in August 1962, granted Ghana, a loan facility of $14.25 million to correct her balance of payments deficit\textsuperscript{43}. The government could not use this facility to revive the ailing economy. President Nkrumah rather began to seek assistance from Eastern Europe and other centrally planned economy like China in forms of increased trade relations to solve the country’s economic problem\textsuperscript{44}. It is important to note that, President Nkrumah was able to secure financial assistance from the United States of America to build Akosombo Dam to solve energy shortfalls in the country as well as Tema Harbour to facilities Ghana’s external trade.\textsuperscript{45} All these moves by President could not solve the economic woes of the country, the economy continued to deteriorate further leading to his overthrow by the NLC led by Lieutenant-General J.A Ankrah.

\textsuperscript{40} Op.cit., Amenumey, p.217


\textsuperscript{42} Op. cit., Asante, p. 30

\textsuperscript{43} Op. cit., Jonah, p.97

\textsuperscript{44} Op. cit., Armah, p.113

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., p.182
The NLC cited, economic mismanagement, shortage of essential goods, as some of the reasons for President Nkrumah’s overthrow. At the time that the NLC took office, Ghana’s foreign reserve stood at N₵80 million while total national indebtedness stood at N₵800 million.\textsuperscript{46} In order to address the economic problem that the country was faced with, the NLC decided to appeal to international community for any forms of assistance. In response to the NLC’s appeal, individuals and other states namely; United States, Britain, West Germany, and Canada came to the aid of the new government by providing aids in the forms of food, drugs, and physical cash.\textsuperscript{47} The new government appeal also touched the heart of International Financial Institutions (IFIs), namely the IMF and World Bank where they sent officials to Ghana to examine the economic difficulties that the country was going through. After examining the problems, the IMF granted 16.5 million to Ghana which was to be used to finance the short-term trade deficits which accumulated during the reign of President Nkrumah.\textsuperscript{48} According to Adu Boahen, in 1966 and 1967, the NLC completed negotiations with the Western and Eastern creditor countries respectively to reschedule Ghana’s medium term loans.\textsuperscript{49}

\begin{footnotes}

\item[47] Ibid., p.227

\item[48] Ibid.

\item[49] Ibid.
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In 1969, the NLC handed over to democratically elected government led by Dr. E.K. Busia at the time the economy was in bad shape. In order to stem ailing economy inherited, Dr. Busia in his party manifesto stated measures to be taken to arrest Ghana fast deteriorating economy. The new administration seeks to liberalize trade to improve and in the near future correct balance of payment difficulties.\textsuperscript{50} In 1970, the Busia’s administration requested credit facility from the IFIs (the IMF and the Bank) and their financier creditor countries to stem the ailing economy. But this facility could only be granted upon implementation of the IFIs’ recommendations. These recommendations included repayment of loans contracted by previous government, devaluation of the cedi, higher import tax, and huge cuts in the development budget.\textsuperscript{51} After the Busia had agreed to loan repayment, £3.5 million debt-refinancing loan facility was granted in July 1971.\textsuperscript{52} On 27 December, 1971, Prime Minister Busia announced the devaluation of the cedi by 82\% with its resultant increase in cost of living in the country.\textsuperscript{53} This led to increase in the cost of imports, suspension of sales of tickets by airlines, hoarding of essential goods by traders and finally his overthrow January 1972, through military upheaval led by Col. Acheampong.\textsuperscript{54}

The NRC government led by Acheampong, made it known that, economic stagnation coupled with high cost of living in the country was one of the causes of their intervention.


\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., p.85

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., pp.5-86
This was revealed in his national broadcast to the nation on 5th February 1972.\textsuperscript{55} In order to get true picture of the economy, the new government set up commissions of enquiry to look into Ghana’s national debts, particularly the foreign debts. The findings of the commissions revealed that, most of the loans acquired were characterised with fraud. On the bases of the findings, the Acheampong government decided to defer the repayment of Ghana’s external debts.\textsuperscript{56} This announcement did not go down with her creditor countries; the World and Bank and IMF. Increased in production of cocoa, timber, minerals coupled with high prices of these products on the international market made it possible for Col. Acheampong and her team to take a stand on Ghana’s loan repayment.\textsuperscript{57} In order to minimize Ghana’s reliance on external supports, the Acheampong and his team introduced Operation Feed Yourself (OFY) and Operation feed Your Industries (OFYI) in 1972 and 1975 respectively which resulted in high domestic food production.\textsuperscript{58}

However, these favourable developments did not last, as the prices of these products began to fall and price of crude oil began to increase. These fluctuations in prices reduced Ghana’s export revenue as well as high import bills.\textsuperscript{59} These developments forced the government to go and renegotiate with the creditor countries in 1974. Eventually, the government had favourable negotiation as the creditor countries gave the government a grace period of 10 years, repayment period of 18 years from 1\textsuperscript{st} January 1982, at 2.5% interest


\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p.25

\textsuperscript{57} Op.cit., Boafo-Arthur, p.151

\textsuperscript{58} Op. cit., Amenumey, p. 251

rate.\textsuperscript{60} In 1972, the Acheampong government began to take steps to own parts of the mining and timber companies operating in Ghana. The government passed Mining and Timber Operation Degrees which permitted government to take 55\% of the total shares of such companies. Mostly foreign mining and timber companies were affected.\textsuperscript{61}

It is important to note that, in spite of all these measures taken by the government, the economic stagnation of the country could not be arrested. The sharp decrease in Ghana’s export revenue and hike in crude oil prices resulting from fluctuation in the world market prices. All these unfavourable external developments led to high cost of imports, high inflation leading to another military intervention called in political circle “a palace coup” led Lt. - Gen. Frederick Akuffo on 5\(^{th}\) July 1978. The new leadership accepted an economic revival programme prescribed by the IMF called “a short term stabilization programme” for which US$53.0 million was granted. Among measures to be implemented by the government according to Jonah include: “a 58\% devaluation of the cedi; drastic reduction of budgetary deficits; reduced borrowing from abroad; prompt repayment of external debt and a big increase in the producer price of cocoa.”\textsuperscript{62} The conditionalities implemented by the government affected the plights of Ghanaians as the cost of living increased sharply. The continuous economic decline and other factors were among reasons announced by AFRC led by Flt. J.J. Rawlings as the cause for their intervention on 4\(^{th}\) June, 1979.\textsuperscript{63}


\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., pp. 105-106

\textsuperscript{63} Amamoo, J. G., Ghana: 50 Years of Independence, (Accra: Jafint Enterprise, 2007), pp.198-199
The AFRC could not do anything to rescue the economy before handing over to a civilian government led by Dr. Hilla Limann on the 24th September, 1979.\textsuperscript{64} The AFRC only directed its energy on pursuing certain domestic policies that it thought were partly responsible for the country’s economic woes. Among these measures were confiscation of assets of tax invaders, traders were forced to reduce their prices, foreigners who engaged in currency trafficking were rounded up and deported.\textsuperscript{65}

The performance of Ghana’s economy under President Limann was poor as the economy did not witness any sign of improvement.\textsuperscript{66} High inflation and exchange rates low per capital income, low foreign development assistance, low cocoa production, cross border smuggling of cocoa, factories operating under capacity as result of unavailable raw material were some of the conditions that characterised Ghana’s economy led by President Limann.\textsuperscript{67} The government was approached by the IMF to offer assistance to stem the economy from further deterioration. It is important to know that the adverse effects of the IFIs’ conditionalities on citizens’ lives could not allow the President Limann to take facility. Again, his predecessors were overthrown partly because of the harsh economic conditions that the IMF’s prescribed conditions brought on their lives.\textsuperscript{68} The continuous deterioration in the economy culminated to the overthrow of President Limann’s administration on 31st December 1981 by Flt. Lt. Rawlings. We will find out in the next chapter whether economic

\textsuperscript{64} Op.cit., Avenumey, p. 261

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., p. 259


\textsuperscript{67} Ibid.

policy choices made by the PNDC differed from or influenced by the economic policy choices made by the regimes prior to the PNDC.

2.4 African Policy

Ghana’s policy towards the African continent was first made known by Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah during his independence declaration. He stated that “we are going to see that we create our own African personality and identity… We again re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle to emancipate other countries in Africa; for our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent.”69 This declaration influenced President Nkrumah in his efforts to eliminate colonialism and neo-colonialism, promote unity among African states. Thus, at the time of political independence, Ghana’s total foreign reserve was £200 million which resulted from the sale of cocoa which was enjoying good price on the world market70. This therefore enabled Dr Kwame Nkrumah to independently pursue foreign policies devoid of external influences.

In order for the President to go by his declaration, he established certain institutions and structures that will help in the formulation, execution and realization of his foreign policy decisions. These institutional structures were the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which handled the formulation and execution of policies directed at the external community, African Affairs Centre which was constituted by senior freedom fighters that were housed by President Nkrumah, African Affairs Secretariat which also handled activities related solely to African countries comprising seven independent states as well as those still under colonial rule, and


Bureau of African Affairs which also handled mainly contacts with freedom fighters in dependent territories - those areas still under foreign domination. On the African continental unity, Nkrumah’s contributions towards African decolonization efforts remained indelible in the people’s minds. One of these was numbers of conferences that were organized in Accra and funded by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah from which various people of African descents benefited between 1958 and 1960. These conferences included Conference of Independent African States (CIAS), All African Peoples Conference (AAPC), and All- African Trade Union Federation Conference (AATUFC). These were held in Accra deliberate how to free the continent from colonial rule.

Another effort made by Nkrumah to prosecute his foreign agenda in Africa was the creation of African Affairs Centre which was manned by senior freedom fighters such as S.G. Ikoku from Nigeria, T.R Makonenn from Ethiopia, Harry Basner from South Africa, Habib Ntiang from Senegal, Djibo Bakari from Niger and King of Sanwid. All these people of African descent were employed, paid, housed and fed with tax payers’ money. All these people were nationalists in African dependent territories who were leading the campaign against colonialism. The government of Nkrumah was also instrumental in finding solutions to the Congo crisis in 1960. As part of his foreign policy desire to ensure that peace and unity prevail on the continent, he dispatched a contingent of soldiers to Congo to assist the United Nations mission to restore peace and stability upon the request of Patrice Lumumba (the then Prime Minister of Congo) when he visited Ghana.

71 Op. cit., Armah, pp. 16-23

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid.
However, his effort turned to be a failure when his close friend, Patrice Lumumba, was assassinated under the full glare of Nkrumah’s forces. Nkrumah demonstrated his commitment to the emancipation of the African continent when he decided to intervene in the then Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) when a white minority group led by Ian Smith unilaterally declared independence in 1961 against the desire of the African majority. His desire to intervene to help the black majority to regain political independence led United Nations to response quickly.

President Nkrumah was also committed to African unity. In the light of this, he proposed the formation of the Union of African States in the early 1960s. Indeed, Nkrumah was instrumental in the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Thus, he was a founding member of the OAU in 1963. He continued to remind the people of Africa that, regional groupings would only be a form of balkanization of the continent which would open the continent for foreign penetration. It is important to know that, President Nkrumah’s unquenchable commitment to free African continent of colonialism, and unity resulted to his overthrow by military juntas.

The NLC demonstrated firm commitment African liberation struggle and promotion of African unity in its African policy. The new government employed non-interference in the internal affairs of other African countries, collaboration, cooperation and understanding in its pursuit of African affairs. However, President Nkrumah’s overthrow made the NLC to incur displeasure of other progressive African states that supported President Kwame Nkrumah. These included countries like Zambia, the Congo (Brazzaville), Sudan, Mali, Mauritania.

75 Op. cit., Asante, p. 32
Somalia, and, to a lesser extent, Tanzania, Guinea. However, the new regime was welcomed by states (Togo, Cot d’ Ivoire, Nigeria, Burkina Faso etc) that had a strain relations with Dr. Nkrumah’s government. In response to this, a delegation was sent to these countries assuring them of government support and political dissidents were exchanged.

The Civilian administration of Dr. Busia took measures in ending minority rule in Africa. The government of Busia fully paid the arrears due to Liberation Committee of OAU which was established to facilitate the anti-colonial struggle to gain African’s freedom. The arrears covered 1964 to 1968 totaling £53,875. It is important to note that, the government of Dr. Nkrumah refused to pay these dues, on the ground of Ghana’s exclusion from the Committee.

Another foreign policy decision made by the government of Busia was the passage of the Aliens Compliance Order in 1969 under which foreign nationals residing in the country illegally would be expelled. In the view of the administration, it was meant to protect businesses of the citizens against foreign nationals who entered the country without going through due process during the reign of Nkrumah. At the end, mostly West African nationals particularly Nigerians became victims of this indigenization decree. This foreign policy decision angered the Nigerian government and in revenge, President Shehu Shagari expelled many Ghanaians from Nigerian in 1983, at the time that, the economy of Ghana was in a bad


78 Ibid.


This resulted in a strained relationship between the two countries. The government of Busia, as part of its African decolonization agenda, advocated for dialogue with the then Apartheid South Africa, as against armed struggle positions of the majority of the African states. This foreign political decision on the part of government undermined the good image of the country as well as the government itself.

The NRC regime led by Col. Acheampong which ousted Dr. Busia’s administration strengthened Ghana’s commitment to African freedom and unity. On assuming power, the regime as part of its foreign policy in promoting peace in the West African sub-region, toured some of the West African states particularly Ghana’s immediate neighbours to reassure them of Government of Ghana’s support and her people willingness to work with them. The regime seized the opportunity to make public announcement inviting foreign nationals whose businesses had been affected by the Busia’s Aliens Compliance Oder. The NRC, in its demonstration of its commitment to Africa liberation movement, decided to pay £60,000 owned by Ghana to the African Liberation Committee set up by the OAU to spearhead the liberation drive in Africa. Again, the government of Acheampong established Africa Liberation Information Centre in Accra to disseminate opinions in Ghana on burning Africa issues. This attracted numerous freedom fighters especially from South Africa who came to make full use of the facility to boost their liberation struggle in their respective countries. It is also important to note that, the government reaffirmed Ghana’s commitment to liberation

81 Ibid.
82 Ibid., pp.145-146
movement by rejecting dialogue with the apartheid South Africa which had preoccupied Busia’s foreign policy agenda.\textsuperscript{84}

In recognition of Acheampong’s government firm commitment to liberation struggle, Ghana was appointed as a member of the African Liberation Committee.\textsuperscript{85} The regime also fostered close relations with other African countries namely, Libya, Algeria, Zaire, Zambia, and particularly Uganda. The government came to the aid of Idi Amin when foreigners who were mainly in the teaching sector were deported by sending trained teachers to Uganda to fill up the vacancies and above all, were paid by the government of Ghana.\textsuperscript{86} The Acheampong government again, extended financial assistance to Guinea-Bissau to aid her decolonisation struggle with sum of $50,000 at the time that, the country was going through economic difficulties.\textsuperscript{87}

Dr. Hilla Limann became the President of Ghana after winning the 1979 Presidential elections. His regime continued the progressive policies of Dr. Nkrumah as well as pursued disciplined leadership. On African policy, President Limann stated that, “our foreign policy draws much inspiration and guidance from some of the ideals of our past history, particularly as broadly outlined by the President of the first Republic.”\textsuperscript{88} The government showed strong commitment to regional cooperation by taking part actively in the ECOWAS and OAU affairs. The government was determined to end colonialism, racism and apartheid rule in

\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., p. 147
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid
\textsuperscript{88} Op. cit, Asante, p.44
Africa. The government used the platforms of the UN, OAU and other international gatherings to make its stand known.

2.5 Non-Alignment Policy

The policy of non-alignment was the guiding principle on which the Non-Aligned Movement was formed during cold war period. The term “Cold war” was a period of hostile relationship between liberal-democratic ideological bloc and communist-Marxist ideological bloc led by the USA and the USSR respectively after they emerged as victors at the end of the World War II in 1945.89 This development divided the world into two power blocs; the Western world led by USA and its North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) allies and the communist world, led by the Soviet Union, its satellite states and allies.90

As the cold war continued, number of new independent states emerged onto the international system. In order to increase their global supremacy, each of the power blocs began to influence the new independent states through various means adopted. This development increased political agitations in many colonies which eventually culminated to the achievement of political independence by many dependent territories in the world. The two supers began to seek support from these new states. For these newly independent states, to develop would require the assistance from any of the two power blocs, and aligning with any of the two power blocs against the other would be detrimental to their national development.91


For them to be free from influences of the two power blocs, five new leaders; Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia met in 1955 in Bandung where they agreed on their relations with the two major power blocs.\(^92\) In September 1961, a conference of Non- Aligned States was organised dubbed ‘the First Summit Conference of Belgrade. The Conference was attended by 25 independent states including Ghana, where Non- Aligned Movement (NAM) was formally launched.\(^93\)

Among the NAM’s objectives are; opposition to any military alliance, apartheid, arm race, establishment of foreign military bases on the territories of member states, the strengthening of the United Nations; the democratization of international relations; socioeconomic development and the restructuring of the international economic system; as well as international cooperation on an equal footing.\(^94\) These objectives therefore constitute what is called the policy of non-alignment on which NAM is based. The non-alignment policy is one of variables which influence Ghana’s foreign policy. Since Ghana’s independence, various governments have pursued the policy of non alignment in various ways. This section seeks to see how various governments prior to PNDC pursued policy of non-alignment and also to see if such choices differed from or influenced PNDC’s foreign policy on non alignment.

The government of President Nkrumah demonstrated firm commitment to the NAM. He was indeed one of the founding founders of NAM in 1961. Ghana’s foreign policy on non-aligned policy under Dr. Nkrumah showed commitment to the policy especially at the early

\(^92\) Op. cit., Bluwey, p. 43-44

\(^93\) Ibid.

\(^94\) Ibid, pp. 44-45
part of his rule. This he did, by establishing diplomatic relations between the two super powers; US and Soviet Union in 1957 and 1959 respectively.\textsuperscript{95} This Dr. Nkrumah did by commenting on any action taken by the two super powers which he thought would undermine world peace. He criticised US policy on Congo (Zaire) and Vietnam intervention which in view of Dr. Nkrumah amounted to imperialism.\textsuperscript{96} Dr. Nkrumah however became more aligned with the Eastern bloc especially after his visits to key communist states like Cuba, China, and Soviet Union till his overthrow by the NLC.\textsuperscript{97}

Since the overthrow Dr. Nkrumah in 1966, ideological inclinations of leaders and economic problems have contributed to partiality that successive governments have shown in their commitment to NAM.\textsuperscript{98} The bad economy inherited by NLC pushed the regime to seek the supports of western blocs. The government appealed to the international community especially the western world for assistance to help revive the economy which had virtually collapsed. The appeal yielded fruitful responses from USA, Canada, and Britain, where food, drugs and financial assistance were offered. At the same the time, Ghana’s relations with the Eastern bloc especially Cuba, China and Soviet Union were temporally suspended.\textsuperscript{99} In summary, the NLC was partial in its commitment to policy of non-alignment as it favoured the Western world.

The Busia’s government which took over from the NLC did not show any departure from its predecessor as it followed the path it charted. Busia’s government also did not fully balance

\textsuperscript{95} Op. cit., Armah, pp. 161&180
\textsuperscript{96} Op. cit., Bluwey, P. 116
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid., p. 123
West-East relations. On foreign policy of Busia government, Victor Owusu, Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs, in his address to members of Parliament at the University of Ghana, stated that. “A country’s foreign policy is largely determined by the circumstances of the country.” He also went further to say that, “realism and common sense dictated that a new nation which had just emerged from a long period of colonial domination steer clear of such ideological conflicts”. But in reality, the government did not pursue total non-alignment policy but rather pro western non-alignment. This could be attributed to liberal ideological orientation of Prime Minister Busia as well as the ailing economy inherited. This therefore forced the government to collaborate with the Western world especially USA and Britain. Largely, non-alignment policy of Busia’s government was mainly Western bias.

The new NRC government led by Col. Acheampong which overthrew Busia government on Ghana’s foreign policy non-alignment stated in his address to the nation that, “our government intends to pursue a truly non-aligned policy, bearing in mind that at all times the essential interests of the Ghanaian people should be paramount. We shall be friends with all who would like to be friends with us”. The NRC was able to adhere to the policy of non-alignment by establishing relations with key states like Cuba, Soviet Union and strengthening Ghana’s relations with China whilst maintaining relations with the Western world except the period where Col. Acheampong repudiated Ghana’s debts with the Western

101 Ibid., pp. 37-38
102 Ibid.
The SMC and SMC II policies on non-alignment did not differ from NLC policy on non-alignment.

The new military government of AFRC led by Flt. Lt. Rawlings demonstrated his commitment to NAM by attending the Non-aligned Conference in 1979 before President Limann took over. The government of President Limann’s policy on non-alignment appeared to focus more on western power bloc especially Britain and USA than other countries of eastern world.\textsuperscript{105}

2.6 International Organizations

Under this section, we examine how various governments prior to PNDC era committed themselves to international organizations of which Ghana is a member. These include the UN, the Commonwealth of Nations, and the ECOWAS. It is imperative to note that, legal regimes that established these organizations as well as their decisions influence member states in their making of foreign policy choices. The assessment Ghana’s involvement in the aforementioned international organizations prior to PNDC government will enable us to examine whether the PNC regime’s roles in the above mentioned international organizations were influenced by previous governments.

2.6.1 United Nations

The formation of United Nations Organisation was the failure of the League of Nations to prevent the occurrence of the Second World War which started from 1939 to 1945.\textsuperscript{106} Before the formal launch of UNO, President Roosevelt of USA and Prime Minister

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\textsuperscript{105} Op. cit., Bluwey, P.125

\textsuperscript{106} A.C., Roy, International Relations Since 1919, (Kolkata: World Press limited, 2009), p. 600
\end{flushleft}
Christine Churchill of United Kingdom made a declaration called the Atlantic Charter in August 1941 which sought to promote international peace, cooperation and security.\textsuperscript{107} In 1945, the world leaders gathered in San-Francisco to sign the UN Charter. Article 4 of the UN Charter opens membership to all sovereign and independent states.\textsuperscript{108}

The objectives of the UN as contained in the Charter include, “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war ... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom”.\textsuperscript{109} Ghana joined the UNO in 1957, the same year she gained her independence from Britain. President Nkrumah used the UN gatherings to prosecute his policy on African freedom and the preservation of world peace and disarmament. President Nkrumah had also used the General assembly to speak against foreign intervention in Congo. Dr Nkrumah was strongly committed to the ideals of the UN. He supported the UN by dispatching contingents of soldiers to liberate fellow Africans who were under minority rule in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe).\textsuperscript{110}

Governments after the overthrow president Nkrumah have all been committed to UN by taking part in UN General Assembly deliberations on all issues that affect peace and security

\begin{footnotes}
\item \textsuperscript{107} Ibid., p. 601
\item \textsuperscript{109} Op. cit., Bluwey, p. 64
\item \textsuperscript{110} David, Owusu-Ansah "Ghana." Microsoft® Student 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.
\end{footnotes}
of the world. In fact, they had supported the UN, by sending personnel to UN peace keeping missions all over the world\textsuperscript{111}.

2.6.2 Commonwealth of Nations

The Commonwealth of Nations is an international organization formed to unite former British colonies all over the world. Currently, the total membership of the Commonwealth stands at 53 member states\textsuperscript{112}. Ghana joined the Commonwealth of Nations in 1957, in fact, the first independent African state to be admitted into the Commonwealth of Nations. Its objectives are to “promote economic, social, and cultural co-operation among its member states.”\textsuperscript{113} It also seeks to promote “democracy, freedom of speech representative form of government and rule of law”.\textsuperscript{114} President Nkrumah since Ghana’s admission into the commonwealth showed dedication to the course of the association. He did so by presenting so many papers at Commonwealth conferences on burning world issues on cold war, as well as African freedom. In recognition of President Nkrumah’s effort, he was made a Privy Councillor by Queen Elizabeth.\textsuperscript{115} Governments that succeeded President Nkrumah, continue to commit themselves to the objectives and principles of the Commonwealth of Nations.

\textsuperscript{111} Annan, A., Cato, “Ghana’s Role and Place in the International Organizations” in Ghana’s Foreign Policy Options, University of Ghana: Legon Centre For International Affairs, 2002), p. 108

\textsuperscript{112} http://www.win2pdf.com, as assessed on 2\textsuperscript{nd} July, 2012,

\textsuperscript{113} Op. cit., Roy, p. 622

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{115} Op. cit., Bluwey, p. 119
2.6.3 Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS)

The West African sub-region has been faced with abject poverty, underdevelopment, and foreign dependency which have been affecting the sub-region’s economic development. In order to overcome the challenges that the sub-region faced, leaders in 1975, established the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to harmonize economies of member states. The ECOWAS in chapter 2 Article3 of its Treaty sought to achieve economic integration through liberalization of trade between its member states, removal of all impediments to free mobility of factors of production, as well as harmonization of national economic and fiscal policies of member states 116

The ECOWAS came into existence after Dr. Busia was overthrown, but his (Busia) administration realized the need for regional cooperation in order to promote Africa Unity. In line with government’s regional cooperation vision, the then Foreign Minister, Victor Owusu in address on Ghana’s foreign policy to members of Parliament at Legon, he stated that “the Busia administration was committed to the early establishment of a West African Economic Community.”117 It was on the basis of promoting regional cooperation Busia’s administration improved and strengthened Ghana’s relations with its neighbours.

The government of Col. Acheampong was instrumental in the formation of the ECOWAS in the 1975.118 The government of Limann continued to take active parts in

ECOWAS by ratifying ECOWAS’s protocol on free movement of goods and people which seek enhance regional economic integration.\textsuperscript{119}

\textsuperscript{119} Op. cit, Asante, p. 45
CHAPTER THREE

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PNDC

3.1 Introduction:

The interdependent nature of the international system makes it important for countries to make policies towards the international system. No country has ever developed without securing any assistance in one way or the other. It is in the light of this, that government in any country charts its own policies and programmes towards the international community. The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) was no exception, as in its effort to participate in the activities of the international community; it made certain foreign policy decisions.

This chapter will examine the foreign policies pursued by the Provisional National Defence Council towards the international community. It will focus on the regime’s relations with its neighbours in West Africa, its economic diplomacy, African policy, how it pursued Ghana’s policy on non-alignment, and how it participated in UNO, the Commonwealth of Nations, and the ECOWAS of which Ghana is a member of. This chapter will also examine whether the PNDC’s foreign policy choices had been influenced by the foreign policies of governments prior to it.

3.2 The Political Structure of the PNDC:

The military coup d’etat led by Flight Lieutenant J.J Rawlings, which toppled a popularly elected government, led by Dr. Hilla Limann on the 31st December, 1981 established the Provisional National Defence Council.\(^{120}\) The Council initially was made up

of seven members, but in 1985 the total membership rose to ten. The members who constituted the PNDC were: Flt. Jerry, John Rawlings (Chairman), Brigadier Nunoo Mensah (Member), Rev. Dr. Kwabena Damuah (Member). The rest of the members were; Chris Atim (Member), WOI. J. Adjei Boadi (Member), Joachim Amartey Kwei (Member), Sergeant Allolga Akata-Pore (Member).\textsuperscript{121} Some of these members were drawn from the June Fourth Movement\textsuperscript{122} and who ideologically were hard core Marxists. By 1985, majority of these members of the PNDC were changed while new members who were moderate socialists were brought on board. The new members who were appointed were; D.F. Annan (Vice-Chairman), Paul Victor Obeng (Member), Ebo Tawiah (Member), Alhaji Mahama Iddrisu (Member), Major-General Arnold Quainoo (Member), Brigadier Winston Mensah-Woode (Member), Aanaa Enin (Member), Susana Alhassan (Member).\textsuperscript{123}

For effective policy formulation and implementation, the PNDC government appointed secretaries who were responsible for various ministries. These Secretaries constituted what was called Committee of Secretaries which met periodically to discuss issues of national concerns. According to Mike Oquaye, the Committee of Secretaries “served as the research and policy examination and implementation wing of the PNDC”.\textsuperscript{124} Notable among these secretaries were Dr. Obed Asamoah responsible for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, responsible for Finance and Economic Planning, P.V. Obeng who served


\textsuperscript{122} The June Fourth Movement was made up of supporters of the June Fourth Uprising in Ghana led Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., pp. 133-134

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., p135
as Chairman of the Committees of Secretaries and many others who had been appointed during the reign of the PNDC.\textsuperscript{125} The PNDC also formed National Defence Council which was responsible for coordinating the activities of the Defence Committees\textsuperscript{126}. Thus, the Defence Committees were made up of two main groups namely; the Peoples Defence Committees and Workers Defence Committees. These were later dissolved to form a new revolutionary organ called Committees for the Defence of the Revolution. All the aforementioned Committees drew their membership from the New Democratic Movement, June Fourth Movement, the People’s Revolutionary League of Ghana, Movement for Peace and Democracy, the Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards, Pan African Youth Movement, and the Peace and Solitary Council.\textsuperscript{127} The regime was able to implement its policies successfully because of the support from the popular and revolutionary elements. Most of the members of the aforementioned organizations were radical socialists and therefore provided the domestic support for the regime. As the regime began its journey, disagreement over ideology, control and others made them to become critical of the Provisional National Defence Council.

\textbf{3.3 PNDC’s Relations in West Africa}

The rise of the Provisional National Defence Council to political power on the 31\textsuperscript{st} December, 1981 in Ghana was characterized by mixed reactions in the West Africa sub-region. News of the birth of the PNDC was not received warmly by Ghana’s neighbours. It is important to note that, the immediate neighbours of Ghana during the period under review demonstrated their disapproval of the regime. This could partly be attributed to the fact that,

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{125} Ibid
\item \textsuperscript{126} Op. cit., Oquaye, P. 120
\item \textsuperscript{127} Ibid., p.120
\end{enumerate}
the Limann administration which the PNDC led by Rawlings had overthrown, had cordial relationships with Ghana’s neighbouring states, namely Togo, Cote d’ Ivoire, Burkina Faso, and Nigeria. This section will examine Ghana’s relation under PNDC with the aforementioned states.

3.3.1 Ghana- Burkina Faso Relations

The West African state of Burkina Faso is Ghana’s neighbouring state in the north. During the era of the PNDC under Chairman Rawlings, Ghana-Burkina Faso relations reached some forms that need to be examined. It is important to note that, since their achievement of political independence, the two neighbouring states have enjoyed good inter-state relationships. However, the coming into power of Captain Thomas Sankara on 4th August, 1982 in Burkina Faso at the time that Rawlings led PNDC was already in power took the relationships between the countries to a greater height. The rise of Captain Thomas Sankara to power had further strengthened and consolidated Ghana’s relations with Burkina Faso.

The close relationship that existed between the two countries was attributed to several factors. These factors included the following: First, the two governments ideologically were socialists inclined especially at the initial stage of the PNDC government. Secondly, the PNDC government and the Sankara government assumed political leadership through military coup d’ etat. Thirdly, the two governments had the support of the government of the Col. Muammar Gaddafi of Libya.128 The above stated factors contributed significantly to the close relationships that the two countries fostered in the West Africa sub-region. In view of

the common bond between the regimes, Rawlings decided to accord a formal recognition to
the Sankara regime, when he visited Burkina Faso to meet Captain Sankara on 30th
September, 1983 to deliberate on ways of strengthening the relations between the two
countries. The visit led to the reviving of the Ghana- Burkina Faso Permanent Joint
Commission for Co-operation, which was established by the Busia government in1971. In a
Communiqué, issued at the end of their deliberation, the two agreed that, “their present Joint
Commission for Co-operation constitutes the best means by which they can meet effectively
to improve upon and strengthen the co-operation between them.”\textsuperscript{129} The two countries during
the period under review, had taken measures like border patrols to protect their common
border against any attack from their enemies, as well as handed over exiled dissidents
residing in their countries.\textsuperscript{130}

However, the assassination of Captain Thomas Sankara on the 15\textsuperscript{th} October 1987 by
Captain Blaise Campore affected Rawlings relations with Burkina Faso\textsuperscript{131}. The death of a
close friend of Rawlings (Captain Sankara) affected all the bold initiatives that two countries
jointly agreed to pursue. Thus, Ghana’s relations with Burkina Faso under Captain Campore
during the reign of the PNDC were hostile in nature. It is worthy to note that all cooperative
agreements that were reached during the reign of Captain Sankara never continued. This turn
of event impacted negatively on the well being of the citizens of the two countries.

\textsuperscript{129} West Africa, 6 August 1984, p.1605
\textsuperscript{131} Op. cit., Boafo-Arthur, p.142
3.2 Ghana – Togo Relations

Ghana’s relation under the PNDC regime with Togo cannot be overlooked since one of the objectives of the study is to examine Ghana’s relations with its immediate neighbours. It is important to note that, the relationship between Ghana during the period under review with Togo was very hostile. This could be attributed to the full diplomatic relations that the PNDC government had established with Libya whose relationships with Ghana’s conservative neighbouring states had broken.¹³² The tension between Ghana and Togo became high as the countries became safe havens for the dissidents of the two governments.

The PNDC government accused President Eyedema’s government of assisting opposition to overthrow the government. The relationships between Ghana and Togo during the PNDC era developed a severe crack when Ghana closed its eastern border with Togo in 1982. This was intended to safeguard the territory from any attack from the Togo. The continuous activities of Ghanaian dissidents in Togo angered Chairman Rawlings to warn his Togolese counterpart to desist from aiding the activities of dissidents residing in the country. The Ghanaian government however reopened its border with Togo after the Togolese government had assured them of tough measures on the dissidents in 1984.¹³³

Again the Ghana – Togo relations turned sour in 1986 when Ghanaian dissidents who were fully armed entered the country from Togo. In the same year, Togolese officials also reported of attempted coup against President Gnassigbe Eyadema by opponents of the government from Ghana. This led to the closure of the border between the two countries and subsequent arrests and deportations of 233 and 120 Ghanaians in 1986 and 1989

¹³² Ibid., p.139
respectively. 134 At the same time, the Togolese counterpart pointed accusing figures at the Rawlings regime of giving assistance to dissidents from Togo living in Ghana. 135 This therefore resulted in high tension between the two neighbouring states.

The situation was even made serious when some high level officials such as Dr. Obed Asamoah and Christ Atim were cited making comments which threaten the survival of President Eyedema’s regime. 136 Even the leader of the PNDC regime (Rawlings) himself was on record to have stated that “We know that our revolutionary process threatens those institutions and the countries whose systems are based on the exploitation of the common man. And we can understand scientifically why they will want to destroy us.” 137 These statements emanating from high government personalities indeed, contributed to the hostile relationships that had existed between neighbouring states in West Africa. It is impotant to know that, the strained relationships that prevailed between the two countries affected negatively social and economic lives of the citizens of the two nations through insecurity that the tensions created. This development could further be attributed to the close relation of the PNDC government with Libya which was accused by Ghana's neighbouring states to be responsible for political instability that prevailed in the sub-region.

However, the two leaders in 1988 were able to iron out their differences to improve upon their relations. This was demonstrated by the historic visit of Flt, Lt Rawlings to Togo


135 Op cit., Boafo- Arthur, p. 143

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid.
and other West African states to consolidate Ghana’s relations with Togo which had not seen improvement.  

3.3.3 Ghana – Nigeria Relations

Ghana’s relation with Nigeria during the reign of the PNDC was also marked by hostility in one way or the other. This development, according to Boafo-Arthur, was attributed to three main factors. In the first place, it is important to know that, the PNDC assumed political power through a military coup d’etat, which ousted the government of Dr. Hilla Liman who was a close friend of President Shehu Shagari of Nigeria. The two leaders came into office through democratic elections and therefore shared the same views and ideology. Besides, the PNDC accused the government of Shagari together with Western powers of plans to topple the government of PNDC in order to reinstate the ousted Limann administration. Finally, the expulsion of Ghanaians from Nigeria by the Shagari government to Ghana at the time that the country was going through economic difficulties further affected the relationship between the two countries.  

It was in the light of this that, Nigeria suspended oil delivery to Ghana in demand for arrears which had accrued during the reign of President Limann. Again, the decision of the PNDC government to establish diplomatic relations with Libya, which Nigeria accused of providing assistance to dissidents based in Chad further undermine Ghana’s relations with Nigeria.


However, the overthrow of the government of Shehu Shagari on the 31 December 1983 by General Muhammudu Buhari brought improvement in the relations between Ghana under the PNDC and Nigeria, as the two leaders assumed political leadership through military coup. According to Kwame Boafo-Arthur, under Buhari, the PNDC government had received increase in the amount of crude oil purchase from the Nigerian government. In December, 1984 Rawlings and leaders from Togo, Benin, and Nigeria met in Lagos to discuss their common problems. Eventually, the four leaders agreed to cooperate in areas of trade, customs and immigration.  

It is imperative to note that, the overthrow of General Buhari by Major General Ibrahim Babangida on the 27 August 1985 in a military coup, also affected Ghana’s relations with Nigeria. Thus, in 1985, Ghana-Nigeria relations witnessed another crack as another batch of Ghanaians was expelled from Nigeria by the new military government. But, this did not in any way affect the relationship between the two countries as Ghanaian leadership took measures to contain situation. The expulsion of Ghanaians at this time provided the opportunity for the two countries to come together to discuss ways of strengthening the relations between the two countries. However, it was in the light of this, that Rawlings paid a three day visit to Nigeria in April 1988. This visit was the first since Major General Babangida assumed the reign of government. As a sign of good relationship, Major General Babangida also paid a visit to Ghana in January 1989 to discuss issues bordering on ways to

enhance their economic development between the countries.\textsuperscript{141} This led to the establishment of a Joint Commission on cooperation between Ghana and Nigeria.

\textbf{3.3.4 Ghana – Cote d’ Ivoire Relations}

Ghana’s relations under Rawlings’ PNDC with its immediate neighbours will be incomplete without examining Ghana’s relation with Cote d’ Ivoire. Ghana’s relations with Cote d’Ivoire since the attainment of independence were characterized by hostility and cordiality. But the relationship between Ghana under PNDC and Cote d’ Ivoire witnessed a further level of hostility as the PNDC regime appeared initially radical in outlook and decided to establish full diplomatic relations with Libya while the rest of West African countries, including Cote d’ Ivoire, had broken diplomatic relations with Libya.

The association of the PNDC government with Libya, made Cote d’ Ivoire and other conservative regimes in west Africa to take measures which had threatened the survival of the PNDC regime. The PNDC government officials began to accuse Cote d’ Ivoire of harbouring elements who opposed the PNDC regime to overthrow the government.\textsuperscript{142} By 1988, the relationships between the two countries witnessed some improvement, as they decided to find a solution to the border dispute that had existed for so many years by setting up Ghana-Cote


\textsuperscript{142} Op.cit, Owusu, p. 240
of the d’Ivoire Border Demarcation Commission. The countries later agreed to improve the transportation and communication network between the two countries.

It is worthy to note that, within the West Africa sub-region, the Rawlings led PNDC’s relations with its immediate neighbours was characterized by hostility as the regime was accused by other conservative governments of supporting the activities of elements that had wanted to topple their governments. This therefore made Ghana’s neighbouring states to initiate hostile measures against the PNDC government.

From the above, Ghana’s relations with her neighbours under the PNDC regime were not cordial. This was because of the animosity that resulted from lack of trust, suspicion that characterised her inter-state relations with other states in the West African sub-region. Ghana’s relations with her neighbours prior to the emergence of the PNDC could be described as mixed. This was because, President Nkrumah, like Rawlings had strained relations with other African states especially Ghana’s immediate neighbours. This was mainly due to differences in approach, methods and ideology between President Nkrumah and other African leaders.

However, after the overthrow of President Nkrumah, the successive governments, namely, NLC, Dr. Busia, Col. Acheampong, and Dr. Limann as we saw in previous chapter were committed to improving and strengthening Ghana’s relations with her immediate neighbours. In view of the Ghana’s historical relations with her neighbours, we can conclude that, PNDC’s policy on Ghana’s neighbours was not influenced by various policy choices.

\[143\] Ibid.
\[144\] Ibid.
made by previous governments prior to the revolution. This was because apart from President Nkrumah era, Ghana’s relations with her neighbours prior to PNDC had been cordial.

3.4 PNDC’s Economic Diplomacy

The economic turn down that befell the country since Nkrumah era could not be controlled and reversed by the civilian Limann administration. The economy was characterised by shortage of essential commodities like spare parts, high inflation rate, rapid depreciation of cedi in value, corruption in the public sector, low production of Ghana’s export commodities, departure of Ghanaian skilled labour to Nigeria and above all, the standard of living of the people fell drastically. From the above, it became clear that, the Limann administration could not initiate any measure to stem the economy from its continuous deterioration. Consequently, a military coup led by Flt. Lt. Rawlings truncated the reign of President Limann on 31st December, 1981.

The new PNDC government stated explicitly its unwillingness to work with the capitalist economies of the world. The PNDC government believed that, the economic predicaments of the nation were as a result of the Ghana’s continuous collaborations with the Western capitalist economies of the world prior to the 31st December 1981. It was in the light of this belief that, the regime decided to ignore western assistance. According to Boafo-Arthur, “the PNDC’s initial political moves, pronouncements, and directives amounted to a declaration of intent to break up the Western stranglehold on Ghana.”

However, as the economy of Ghana continued to deteriorate further, other adverse developments, namely outbreak of drought, famine, bush fires, as well as the expulsion of

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Ghanaians from Nigeria further aggravated the economic problems of Ghana.\textsuperscript{147} What even compounded the problem, according to Boafo-Arthur, was the failure of the socialist crafted solutions to remedy the economic woes of the country, as well as the refusal of the Eastern European Socialist government to offer financial assistance.\textsuperscript{148} The aforementioned factors prompted the PNDC governments to seek financial assistance from the Western IFIs, namely the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank in 1983. The financial package agreed on by the PNDC government had economic reforms attached to it. These were the economic stabilization and Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) under the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP).\textsuperscript{149} According to Dr Kwesi Botchwey, the PNDC Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, “the ERP was to reverse the moral decay and economic stagnation which had engulfed the country”\textsuperscript{150}

In April 1983, the IMF, and the World Bank recommended economic reforms were captured in the 1983 budget. The Programme was to be executed in three phases namely, ERP I from 1984-1986, ERP II/SAP I from 1987 – 1989, and ERP III/ SAP II from 1990 – 1992. The objectives of ERP I include the following; to boost production in all areas of the economy especially the agriculture sector, reduce high rate of inflation through use financial controls, boost up exports and reduce the import of luxuries goods in the country, reduce foreign debts and increase Ghana’s foreign reserves, revive productive and social facilities that had been damaged, and mobilize resources both within the country and outside to stem

\textsuperscript{147}Op. cit., Jonah, p. 110


\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., p. 328

\textsuperscript{150} Peoples Daily Graphic, 4 January, 1990.
the fallen standard of living of Ghanaians.\textsuperscript{151} The objectives of the ERP II/ SAP I were; to maintain yearly economic growth over the medium term between 5\% to 5.5\%, raise public investment, boost up domestic savings, enhance public sector resource management, and enhance the well-beings of Ghanaians.\textsuperscript{152} The final phase (ERP II/ SAP II) of the ERP had the following objectives; to achieve yearly growth of GDP of 5\%, reduce the rate of inflation to 5\% by 1992 from 27\% in 1988, achieve balance of payment surpluses, and implement Program to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) without delay.\textsuperscript{153}

The PNDC government implemented the economic reforms by the introduction of exchange rate reforms, elimination of price controls, increasing the producer prices of major exports, devaluation of the cedi, raising the interest rate, increasing direct taxes and customs duties, and generally liberalizing the economy.\textsuperscript{154} One of the principal goals of the ERP was to revamp the economic sector to make it more viable and productive. The government laid off excess workers within the public sector with the prime aim of reducing huge public sector salaries.\textsuperscript{155} In August 1983, the IMF, following Ghana’s approval of the ERP granted the PNDC government financial aid of $254.5 million between 1983 and 1986. This financial facility was used to improve the roads and railway infrastructure in the country. A portion of this facility was also pumped into reviving the timber, cocoa, and mining industries.\textsuperscript{156} The government was also granted financial facility assistance from United Nations Development

\textsuperscript{151} Op. cit., Oquaye, p. 452

\textsuperscript{152} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{153} Ibid, pp. 452 - 453


\textsuperscript{155} Op. cit., Gyimah-Boadi, p. 331

\textsuperscript{156} Op. cit., Amenumey, p.268
Programme (UNDP) following the successful implementation of the ERP. This enabled the regime to embark upon a number of development projects like the expansion of electricity and water supply to villages, as well as educational reforms which took place during the period.\textsuperscript{157} It is important to note that, the impact of the economic program was remarkable. In the view of Donald Rothchild, “the SAP reversed the decline of the recent years and recovered at least some of the lost ground of the last decade.”\textsuperscript{158}

The economic reform programme had led to economic growth rate of 6%, sharp reduction in the rate of inflation (from 116.5 in 1981 to 31% in 1988), a rise in agricultural output, and an increase in industrial output, diversification of exports, especially non-traditional exports.\textsuperscript{159} It is worthy to note that, aside the positive contribution of the Economic Recovery Programme, the policy affected the well being of Ghanaians as it led to labour retrenchment, devaluation, high cost of health and educational services, and a cut in the wages and salaries of the workers.\textsuperscript{160} In order to alleviate the hardships of Ghanaians resulting of the implementation of the ERP, the PNDC government in 1988 launched the PAMSCAD. The PASCAD was a social facility which was provided by the creditors to mitigate difficulties that would arise through the implementation of the ERP. Under this programme, a number of underprivileged groups particularly in the urban and rural sectors of the country had been supported through various projects.\textsuperscript{161}

\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., p 269
\textsuperscript{158} Op. cit., Rothchild, P. 9
\textsuperscript{159} Ibid., pp. 9-10
\textsuperscript{160} Op. cit., Gyimah-Boadi, p.331
\textsuperscript{161} Op. cit., Amenumey, p. 270
The acceptance of the ERP by the PNDC government from the World Bank and the IMF made other powers of the capitalist economies of the world to get attracted to the foreign policy of the PNDC regime. This had enabled the regime to pursue economic diplomacy to seek financial assistance from other Western powers. Thus, following the adoption and implementation of the ERP by the PNDC government, the British government granted £69 million to cushion Ghana’s balance of payment problems in 1983. In her commitment to strengthening Britain-Ghana relations, British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mrs. Lynda Chalker, visited Ghana in 1987 where an improved financial aid was given.\(^\text{162}\)

Ghana-United States relations have been cordial since the attainment of independence, except in the period of the anti-capitalist posture of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The PNDC government’s relations with the United States of America in its early stage were hostile. This was because of the regime’s establishment of full diplomatic relations with Libya at the time that the US and other Western powers had a strained relationship with Libya. In 1985, a close relative of Rawlings residing in the United States, Michael Soussoudis, was arrested and convicted on a charge of espionage. He was later exchanged for a numbers of Central Intelligent Agency (CIA) agents who were arrested in Ghana during the PNDC regime. This development further aggravated the strained relationship between the two countries.\(^\text{163}\)

The relations between the two countries began to witness some level of improvement in the mid 1980s. The bilateral relations between the countries reached a great level when former President of the United States, Jimmy Carter, visited Ghana in 1986 and 1988. The cordial reception that was accorded to the former president, indeed, demonstrated that Ghana-

\(^\text{162}\) Op. cit., Owusu, p. 246

\(^\text{163}\) Ibid., p. 248
US relations had reached a more friendly level. This contributed to the friendly foreign policy of Ghana towards the US. Following the successful implementation of the ERP, the US government in 1989 decided to forgive US$114 million owed by Ghana as part of Western nations’ debt relief programme.\footnote{164} It is worthy to note that, after the PNDC’s regime ‘U-turn’, the government decided to map out foreign policy that would enable the country enhance the country’s economic growth and development. It was in the light of this that, Canada, as part of her programme to forgive its debts owed by African countries, cancelled Ghana’s external debt of US$77.6 million in 1987. This touched the heart of Germany and France to cancel Ghana’s external debt of US$295 million and US$26 million owed them respectively in 1989. In 1991, Rawlings paid a three day visit to Paris, where the leaders had discussions on ways of cementing the bilateral relationship between the two countries\footnote{165}.

The successful implementation of the IMF and Bank sponsored ERP by Ghana, resulted in high confidence in the country by other allies of the Western powers especially Japan. It is important to note that, Ghana- Japan relations under previous governments had not reached the level it reached during the reign of the PNDC. It was in the light of this, that the Government of Japan offered US$680 million to Ghana. This financial facility enabled the PNDC government to repair the telephone and television services in Ghana. In addition to the above, a delegation of the Japanese government visited Ghana in 1987 and made a pledge of US$70 million towards the economic development of Ghana\footnote{166}.

The PNDC continued to initiate various measures to secure foreign economic assistance from the Arab world to further propel Ghana’s socio-economic development. In

\footnote{164}{Ibid.}
\footnote{165}{Ibid., p. 249}
\footnote{166}{Ibid, p.250}
order to realize this dream, the government of Ghana in February 1988, signed a loan agreement worth US$13 million with the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development for the extension of electricity to some selected rural areas in the northern belt of the country.  

Again, the PNDC government was also able to secure huge financial assistance from the government of Saudi Arabia from 1985 to 1987. The total amount secured within the two year period amounted to US$114 million which was to be used to finance the construction of grain storage facility, repair of Tarkoradi and Tema Ports, as well as the extension of electricity to other parts of the northern Ghana. In addition, the government was granted a loan facility of US$10 million by the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa in 1989. The facility was to be used to revive the cocoa industry whose outputs had drastically reduced.

The problem of economic stagnation had been the determinant factor in shaping the PNDC’s foreign economic policy. Since Ghana’s independence, various governments had difficulty in promoting economic growth. This difficulty, compounded by poor economic capability of the country made various governments to seek assistance from the IFIs and other donor countries in the world. President Nkrumah and other leaders that succeeded him had all resorted to foreign assistance in times of economic difficulties as has been captured in the previous chapter. It is instructive to note that, the foreign economic policy choices made by the PNDC had been to a large extent influenced by the foreign economic policies and their impacts on nation by its predecessors.

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3.5 PNDC’s African Policy

Ghana’s African policy has been established by the first President, Dr. Nkrumah during his independence declaration. He said, “we are going to see that we create our own African personality and identity… We again re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle to emancipate other countries in Africa; for our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent.” This demonstrated Dr. Nkrumah’s commitment to the course of Africa liberation from colonial rule, racism, and promotion of African unity. The government of Nkrumah and other governments that succeeded him committed large amount of resources and energies to eliminating colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, and the achievement African unity as we saw under African policy of governments prior to the revolution.

The rise of the PNDC to power did not show any departure from Ghana’s traditional foreign policy orientation with regards to the African continent. In Chairman Rawlings’ commitment to the liberation of the African continent, he once said that, “the liberation of Africa still continues to be a major aspect, indeed the cornerstone of Ghana’s foreign policy. We see even more clearly today the necessity to link our efforts to reverse centuries’ colonial exploitation with similar efforts throughout Africa the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and the rest of the Third World”.

The PNDC government’s African foreign policy beyond the West African sub-region was dominated mainly by Libya under the reign of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, at the time

169 Op, cit., Nkrumah, p. 121.

170 Peoples Daily Graphic, 25 February, 1988
that the regime’s posture was radical. It is impotant to know that, the government of Gaddafi was the first government to recognize the PNDC regime, when the latter came to power. The PNDC regime subsequently established full diplomatic relations at the time that the relations between Libya and other African governments had become strained. The PNDC government’s relations with Libya were inevitable, as no government came to the aid of the regime when Ghana’s economy during the period under revie deteriorated. On assuming political power, the PNDC government sent a delegation to Libya. The delegation was led by Mr. Christ Atim and was to assure the government of Col. Gaddafi of the PNDC government support and also request for assistance. In line with the PNDC government request for assistance, in March 1982, barrels of oil worth about $20million were given free to the PNDC government at the time that Nigeria suspended her oil supply to Ghana. In addition, about 378, 323 metric tons of crude oil was also given to Ghana on concessional terms. As part of the two governments’ desire to strengthen their bilateral relations, several agreements of cooperation were signed on agriculture, finance, culture, and information which contributed significantly to well beings of the two countries.

However, Ghana- Libya relations became severed when the PNDC’s government accepted to implement the ERP which was prescribed by the IFIs and their creditor countries. In the view of Boafo-Arthur, the change in the initial socialist ideological posture of the PNDC government in 1983 was attributed to economic deterioration, the inability of the socialist oriented solutions to resolve the economic difficulty of the country,

172 Ibid., p.139
173 Ibid.
as well as the inability of pro-socialist governments to give financial assistance to revive the bad state of the economy.\textsuperscript{175}

Again, the foreign policy of the PNDC government was committed to the decolonization and liberation struggle which were started by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (the first President of the Republic). It was in the light of this commitment that, Rawlings stated in one of his radio interview that, “our foreign policy is the eventual unification of the African continent”.\textsuperscript{176} It was against this background that, the PNDC government made substantial contributions to support the Organisation of African Unity’s (OAU) effort towards liberation struggle in Africa. This, the PNDC government did by providing material and diplomatic supports to the OAU Liberation Committee which was set up to spearhead the decolonization process on the continent. The anti-colonial movements of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa as well as South West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) in the then South-West Africa (now Namibia) were also accorded material and diplomatic assistance.\textsuperscript{177}

In 1987, Ghana was appointed a member of the Permanent Steering Committee of OAU which was tasked with finding a common position regarding the African continent’s debt problem. Again, in the same year, the PNDC government made a significant contribution of US$5 million to the African Fund which was established by the Non Aligned Movement to help Africa Liberation movements as well as to fortify opposition to the South Africa destabilization behaviours in Southern Africa.\textsuperscript{178} The government of the PNDC in its

\textsuperscript{175} Ibid., p. 136
\textsuperscript{176} Op. cit., Asante, p. 47
\textsuperscript{177} Op. cit., Owusu, p. 244
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid.
commitment to the cause African unity and decolonisation honoured Ghana’s financial obligation to the OAU by paying US$1.3million to the OAU. This had contributed immensely to the financial independence of the OAU during the period under review. In addition to the above, the PNDC government also made a substantial donation to the OAU’s Liberation Fund for Namibia as well as donated US$5 million to the African Fund which was established to raise fund to finance the repatriation of Namibians living outside their country to enable them take part in pre-independence elections in February 1990.\footnote{Ibid.}

In 1986, Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings attended the funeral of late Samora Machel in Mozambique, where he contributed US$250,000 towards famine relief in Mozambique to help save the lives of many Mozambicans.\footnote{Ibid} In order to strengthen Ghana’s bilateral relations with other African states, the chairman of the PNDC (Flt. Lt. Rawlings) visited a number of African states, namely Uganda, Mauritania where various agreements on cooperation in the area of trade and scientific and technological exchanges were signed.\footnote{Op. cit., Boafo-Arthur, p. 142}

From the above, it been established that, the PNDC’s government’s African policy did not deviate from the traditional African policy. President Nkrumah’s government and other governments prior to the revolution had taken active parts in the affairs of the African continent. Large doses of resources of Ghana had been committed by these governments (Nkrumah, NLC, Busia, Acheampong, and Limann) to spearhead decolonisation process, eliminate minority rule, and promote among other things African unity. The emergence of the PNDC had not affected Ghana’s supremacy and dominance in the African affairs. The new junta rather became more committed to promoting African freedom the diverse supports

\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{Ibid}

(finance, material, military, and diplomatic initiative) that government provided to Africans who were still under colonial domination especially in Southern Africa. In an address to members of the Diplomatic Corps, Rawlings said, “Ghana abides faithfully by the principles of the United Nations, the OAU, the ECOWAS, and the NAM”\(^{182}\)

From the above, it has been revealed that, the PNDC’s African policies did not show any departure from Ghana’s African policy choices made by previous government.

3.6 PNDC’s Non-alignment Policy

The new military government of PNDC’s commitment to the principles of non-alignment became questionable when the regime’s initial foreign relations favoured the Eastern ideological power bloc. At the time of PNDC’s revolution, the international system was dominated by keen ideological completion between the Western liberal-capitalist world led by USA and the Eastern communist world led by USSR. The initial anti-western stance of the regime was attributable to PNDC’s leadership belief that, the economic stagnation which has been facing the country since independence was the result of bad economic policies which were forced on the country by the pro-western IFIs.\(^{183}\) This was indeed confirmed by the Policy Guidelines of the PNDC which states that, “the historical roots of our present state of underdevelopment stem from British Colonialism which bequeathed a set pattern of economic development, social structures, attitudes and parasitic state machinery. The retention of the structures of colonialism had assured the continued domination of our economy by foreign financial interests, with the attendant losses of the country’s resources and hard earned wealth, in a new phase of colonialism which been aptly described as neo-

\(^{182}\) Ghanaian Times, 2 July, 1990  
colonialism.” In addition, the anti-western rhetoric of the radical elements (Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, Chris Atim, Captain Kojo Tsikata, Tsatsu Tsikata etc.) of the PNDC also confirmed the regime’s Eastern alignment.

Ghana’s relations with the socialist countries during the period under review reached a great height as the PNDC government in its initial stage forged good relations with the then socialist bloc of the world. The initial external relation of the PNDC government was purely with the progressive regimes. In commitment to its pursuit of radical foreign policy, the regime pursued close relations with the communist regimes. This was because the regime believed that, the economic difficulties that the country was going through were caused by Ghana’s previous collaboration with the West. The Policy Guideline which was issued in May 1982 captured the principles to be followed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The document in the view of Boafo-Arthur, “called for closer collaboration with progressive countries as well as friendship and cooperation with all the advanced and prosperous nations as well as all oil producing countries.” In line with the aforementioned policy guideline, the PNDC government collaborated with the revolutionary regimes in Eastern Europe, Cuba, Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, China, Nicaragua, Romania, Bulgaria, and many others. In the beginning of the reign of the PNDC, Rawlings visited China and Cuba to assure them of his government’s unflinching support to them.

The PNDC government also signed bilateral agreement with the German Democratic Republic in the area of transportation which led to the enhancement of the road networks in


186 Op. cit., Owusu, P. 249
Kumasi. Through this agreement, the then East German government delivered railway coaches to Ghana which contributed immensely towards improving the railway networks in the 1980s.\(^{187}\) Again, as part of the PNDC government desire to strengthen Ghana’s cooperation with the socialist bloc of the world, the government set up the State Committee for Economic Cooperation to champion Ghana’s economic relation with the socialist countries. During the reign of PNDC, Ghana – Soviet Union relation was revived, which had led to large number of Ghanaians getting scholarships to study in various fields of study.

The PNDC government’s decision to align itself with Cuba yielded immense benefits to the citizens of Ghana. Thus, the PNDC government signed various bilateral agreements with Cuba under which various forms of assistance were offered in the areas of education, health, security and agriculture.\(^{188}\) It is important to note that, Cuban Medical Brigades came to the aid of Ghana when there was serious need for medical personnel in the northern belt of the country. The arrival of the Cuban Medical Brigades saved the lives of the people of Ghana.\(^{189}\)

However, the adoption and the subsequent implementation of the IMF and the Bank engineered ERP made the government to balance Ghana’s foreign relations with regards to its commitment to policy of non-alignment has been one of Ghana’s traditional foreign policy concerns since Nkrumah era. The PNDC’s re-alignment became unavoidable as the socialist crafted solutions could not resolve the country’s economic problem, the refusal of the Eastern European Socialist governments to offer any financial assistance.\(^{190}\) This situation made the

\(^{187}\) Ibid.

\(^{188}\) Ibid.

\(^{189}\) Ibid.

radical elements to soften their anti-Western stance to enable the PNDC to re-orient themselves towards the Western power bloc. The regime’s re-orientation towards the West resulted in massive financial assistance from the IFIs and their creditor countries such as the USA, France, Britain, Canada, Japan, and many others as we saw under the PNDC’s economic diplomacy.

In sum, the PNDC’s initial policy on Non-alignment appeared to be overly pro-East. But economic difficulties forced the regime to balance its foreign relations to improve Ghana’s relations with the Western world. The study revealed that, economic considerations have been determinant variable in shaping Ghana’s foreign policy on Non-alignment since President Nkrumah. This was the case of NLC, Busia, Acheampong and Dr. Limann. The case of PNDC’s policy on non-alignment was not different, as its foreign relations were conditioned by Ghana’s economic stagnation.

3.7 International Organizations

This section looks at how the PNDC government participated in the international organizations such as the United Nations, the Commonwealth of Nations, and the ECOWAS.

3.7.1 PNDC’s Roles in the United Nations

Ghana was the first African state south of Sahara to be admitted into the UN in 1957. Nkrumah and his successors continued to strengthen Ghana’s commitment to the UN by participating actively in all UN fora where issues on international peace and security were deliberated. The PNDC government on assuming political power, participated more actively in the promotion of world peace and stability under the auspices if the UN. Rawlings himself reiterated Ghana’s commitment to the UN by saying that, “Ghana abides faithfully by the
principles of the United Nations, the OAU, the ECOWAS and the NAM”\textsuperscript{191}. The PNDC continued Ghana’s central role within the UN by supporting various peace keeping and building efforts initiated by the UN.

The PNDC government supported the UN’s world peace keeping efforts by contributing troops to peace keeping operations in Iraq-Kuwait (1991), Cambodia (1992-93).\textsuperscript{192} In appreciation of the PNDC’s commitment to the African liberation movements and the activities of the UN, especially the General Assembly, Ghana was elected as one of non-permanent members of the UN Security Council from 1986 to 1987.\textsuperscript{193}

3.7.2 PNDC’s Roles in the Commonwealth of Nations

Ghana as a former colony of Britain, traces her association with the Commonwealth since President Nkrumah era. Ghana under Nkrumah played central roles within the Commonwealth by hosting of Commonwealth conference and leading the campaign against apartheid South Africa. However, Ghana’s relations with the Commonwealth became strained when Britain supported Ian Smith unilateral independence in the then Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) against OAU resolution.\textsuperscript{194} The overthrow of President Nkrumah saw improvement in Ghana’s relations under the NLC, Busia, Acheampong, and the Limann with the Commonwealth. However, Ghana’s membership with the Commonwealth was suspended following the 1981 revolution violated the principles and ideals of the Commonwealth.

\begin{itemize}
    \item[\textsuperscript{191}] Peoples Daily Graphic, 4 January, 1990
    \item[\textsuperscript{192}] Op. cit., Owusu, p.252
    \item[\textsuperscript{193}] Ibid.
    \item[\textsuperscript{194}] Op. cit., Owusu, p. 245
\end{itemize}
3.7.3 PNDC’s Roles in the ECOWAS

The roles of the PNDC government in supporting the ECOWAS in the promotion of peace and security in the sub-region cannot be overlooked. The PNDC government played a central role in the resolution of the Liberian conflict that started in 1989 within the framework of the ECOWAS. Ghana under the PNDC was one of the five member states of ECOWAS which formed the Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) of ECOWAS whose main function was to find an amicable solution to the Liberia Crisis. The PNDC government committed a large number of Ghanaian soldiers to the ECOWAS peacekeeping force in Liberia called the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). The PNDC government apart from the peacekeeping assistance, the government also accepted Liberian refugees who were escaping war in Liberia.

In sum, Ghana’s participation in the international organizations, namely the UN, the Commonwealth, and the ECOWAS under the PNDC was very active. The PNDC government supported actively the roles of the UN and the ECOWAS in the promotion of peace and security in the world. The roles of the PNDC government in these international bodies did not depart from Ghana’s roles under the PNDC’s predecessors (Dr. Nkrumah, NLC, Busia, Acheampong, and Lima)

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction:

This chapter provides summary of research findings, draws conclusions from the study and proffers recommendations.

4.2 Summary of findings:

The study revealed that, Ghana’s foreign policy since the first President (Dr. Nkrumah) has been influenced by many factors namely; the state of the economy, African liberation and unity, non-alignment, support for international organizations, namely the UN, the Commonwealth, and the ECOWAS of which Ghana is a member of. That, the choice of the PNDC’s government foreign policy was to a very large extent influenced by the past foreign policy choices made by his predecessors. The coming into office of the PNDC government in 1981 provided the regime a platform to champion Ghana’s relations with the international community. In trying to execute this mandate, the PNDC government fashioned out some foreign policy decisions which determined the course of Ghana’s relations with the members of the international community.

From the study on the foreign policy of the PNDC government of Ghana, the following are the findings:

The study revealed that, prior to 31st December 1981, Ghana’s external relations with its immediate neighbours under the governments of NLC, Busia, Acheampong, and Limann were marked with cordiality. This was demonstrated by the visits of the leadership of the above mentioned governments to Ghana’s neighbouring states during their reigns.
The study also reveals that, the overthrow of President Hilla Limann administration by Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings caused a strain in Ghana’s relations with its immediate neighbours especially Nigeria. Indeed, the overthrow of President Hilla Limann by the PNDC government was not taken kindly by President Shehu Shagari as he suspended oil supply to Ghana and demanded the payment of arrears owed.

The study again revealed that, ideologically the PNDC government belonged to the left of the ideological divide. This was demonstrated by the regime’s flirtation with the socialist states of the world, especially Libya, Cuba and many others. Thus, the regime in its initial stage alienated the capitalist economies of the world and their IFIs as they were accused by the regime to be responsible for the country’s economic woes.

It was also discovered that, on assuming political leadership in Ghana through the revolution, the PNDC government established a full diplomatic relation with Libya at the time that most West African states, including Ghana’s immediate neighbours, had hostile relations with Libya. This state of Libya’s relationship with West African states was attributed to the fact that, Libya was accused of giving assistance to opponents of various West African conservative governments.

The study also discovered that, Ghana’s relations with its immediate neighbours was marked with hostility. In the case of Togo and Cote d’ Ivoire, the relation was highly strained as the two countries accused the PNDC government of offering assistance to dissidents to overthrow their governments. In the case of Burkina Faso, Ghana had an excellent relationship with her under Captain Thomas Sankara, which resulted in the establishment of a Joint Permanent Commission for Cooperation between the two countries in various fields. The study reveals that, the assassination of Captain Thomas Sankara by Captain Blaise Campore strained the cordial relations between the two countries and therefore made the
implementation of the various agreements, signed during the reign of Captain Thomas Sankara, impossible.

The study also found that, Ghana’s relations with Nigeria during the period under review was marked with hostility. This was demonstrated by President Shehu Shagari’s suspension of oil supply to Ghana; Nigeria’s demand for payment of outstanding arrears; and mass expulsion of Ghanaians living in Nigeria in 1983. However, the study shows that, Ghana saw improvement in her relations with Nigeria under General Muhammadu Buhari as he increased oil supply to Ghana.

The study further revealed that, on African policy especially with respect to African liberation and unity, the PNDC government like its predecessors was committed to the liberation of the African continents from colonialism, apartheid, racism within the framework of the OAU. The government provided numerous supports that ranged from finance, material, diplomatic initiatives, and many others. Thus, the PNDC’s African policy did depart from the traditional foreign policy as established by its predecessors.

The study discovered that, PNDC’s foreign policy on non-alignment initially was bias towards that East and later balanced its relations between the West and the East when it improved its relationship with West through the adoption of the ERP. Based on the leadership persuasion and the state of the economy, the past governments either became pro-East like Dr. Nkrumah or pro-West as were the cases under the NLC, Busia, and Limann.

The study discovered that, the foreign economic policy of Ghana has been influenced by the IFIs through their economic reform programmes as were the cases in the NLC, Busia, and Acheampong eras. The case of the PNDC government was not different. The regime accepted and implemented IFIs prescribed ERP.
Finally, the study revealed that, as a result of the change in the initial radical posture of the regime, a lot of countries belonging to the capitalist economies of the world, namely Britain, United States of America, France, Canada, and many others offered tremendous financial assistance to the regime, ranging from grants to cancellation of Ghana’s foreign debts.

4.3 Conclusion:

A careful examination of the earlier chapters shows that, since independence, successive governments in Ghana had executed foreign policy decisions in their relations with the international community. Their foreign policies were largely influenced by the need to secure foreign economic assistance to stem the country’s economic stagnation, African liberation and unity, and supports for the UN, the Commonwealth and the NAM and its non-alignment policy. It has been established that, the PNDC government’s foreign policies did not change from the traditional foreign policies established by its predecessors. The regime’s foreign policy choice was shaped by the same parameters around which Ghana’s foreign policy has been revolving. This study traced briefly some of the various foreign policies that were formulated and executed by various governments prior to the 31st December, 1981. This was done to provide a clear understanding of what happened prior to the rise of the PNDC government. However, the PNDC government on assuming political leadership made certain foreign policy decisions which determined its relations with the international community.

The study is based on the premise that, the posture of the Provisional National Defence Council accounted for the hostile relations with immediate neighbours in West Africa.
In all, Ghana’s relations with its immediate neighbours under the PNDC were marked with insecurity, apprehension, and mistrust which affected greatly intra-regional cooperation in the sub-region. In contrast to the PNDC’s regime, Ghana’s relations with her neighbours after the President Nkrumah was deposed were cordial and cooperative. The PNDC’s initial radical posture against the western world was based on the belief that, Ghana’s economic deterioration was the result of pro-Western economic reforms implemented by the various governments of Ghana since independence.

However, a change in the regime’s foreign policy posture towards the West and its IFIs enabled the government to secure financial facilities which helped the government to breathe a new life into the deteriorating economy. This was followed later by massive financial aid from the capitalist economies of the world to the PNDC government which contributed immensely to the revival of the economy during the period under review.

The PNDC government’s foreign policy was to varying degrees shaped by the policy of non-alignment, Africa liberation and unity, as well as support for the UN, the Commonwealth, and ECOWAS. Thus, the PNDC’s foreign policy was to a large extent influenced by the foreign policy choices made by its predecessors. It is obvious from the findings above that, the study conducted on Ghana’s foreign policy under PNDC has confirmed the view that the posture of the PNDC regime accounted for the hostile relations with its neighbours.

4.4 Recommendations:

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations have been made;

- Measures should be taken to promote economic growth. The study revealed that Ghana’s foreign economic policy has been influenced by the need for external
economic assistance which has not been able to solve the country’s economic problems. This was the case under the governments of Dr. Nkrumah, the NLC, Dr. Busia, and the Acheampong which sought financial assistance from the IFIs whose string conditions aggravated the plights of Ghanaians. To stem this problem, Ghana’s economy should be diversified from depending on the exports of primary products to manufactured products through the use modern technology, research, and innovation.

- In view of the hostility that characterised Ghana’s relation with its neighbours during the reign of the PNDC, as well as its negative impacts on the lives of Ghanaians, future governments should endeavour to pursue policy of good neighbourliness which promotes cooperation, collaboration among the neighbouring as was demonstrated by the government of the NLC, Busia, Acheampong and especially under President Kuffour whose administration saw cordiality and friendship with Ghana’s neighbours.

- As developing country, future governments should pursue foreign policy which favours all actors of the international community. This is to avoid problems caused by the PNDC’s government’s alignment with the so called “revolutionary and progressive states of the world” which generated friction between the Ghana’s immediate neighbours on one hand and the Western world on the other hand.

- Finally, efforts should be made to strengthen Ghana’s commitment to international organizations, namely Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); African Union (AU); United Nations Organisation (UNO); Non-Aligned-Movement; and the Commonwealth of Nations.
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