

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**



**THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA: A  
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NPP-NDC FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS  
THE ECOWAS 2001-2017.**

**BY**

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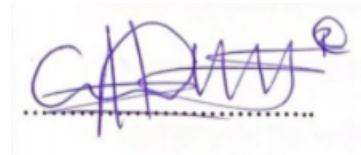
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## DECLARATION

I, ABIGAIL TETTEH declare that apart from the works duly acknowledged and cited in the reference section, this thesis is my original work submitted to the Department of Political Science of the University of Ghana and has not been used for any other academic activity. No part of this work has been submitted to any institution for any other degree.



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## **ABSTRACT**

The fundamental elements required for the growth and development of any country are peace and adequate security. West Africa has been characterized by violent conflicts for the past two decades. ECOWAS has taken the lead in establishing several protocols and institutions to curb the numerous security threats that confront the sub-region.

The activities of ECOWAS are made possible through the contributions of member countries which Ghana is not an exception. Ghana after the attainment of independence has pursued several policies to champion the collective interest of the African continent and the West African sub-region particularly in the resolution of the myriads of conflicts and security threats in the region. Using the neoliberal institutionalism and historical institutionalism theories, the study sought to comparatively study the foreign policies pursued by NPP and NDC (2001-2017) administration' towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS, strategies deployed, and an analysis of continuities and changes in these policies.

Data collected from the interviews, review of important literature and an analysis of the statements and speeches of the three former Presidents of NPP and NDC (2001-2017) using the qualitative research methodology revealed that, both governments pursued several policies towards ECOWAS' peace and security operations. Also, both administrations supported peacekeeping and peacemaking processes of the sub-regional body. An analysis of continuities and changes in their policies revealed that some levels of continuities in their foreign policies are discernible. However, both regimes portrayed some changes in their policies as a result of a lack of a single policy document to guide Ghana's foreign policies pursued towards ECOWAS' peace and security operations.

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Agudey Mensah, and my brother Prince Tetteh.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AFRC:</b>	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
<b>AFISMA:</b>	African Led Force Operating in Mali
<b>AMU:</b>	Arab Maghreb Union
<b>AU:</b>	African Union
<b>BTI:</b>	Bertelsmann Transformation Index
<b>BWI:</b>	Bretton Woods Institution
<b>CEN-SAD:</b>	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
<b>COMESA:</b>	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
<b>CFR:</b>	Council of Foreign Relations
<b>CNN:</b>	Cable News Network
<b>CPP:</b>	Convention People's Party
<b>CSO:</b>	Civil Society Organization
<b>DRC:</b>	Democratic Republic of Congo
<b>EAC:</b>	East African Community
<b>ECA:</b>	Economic Commission for Africa
<b>ECCAS:</b>	Economic Community of Central African States
<b>ECPF:</b>	ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework

<b>ECOWAS:</b>	Economic Community of West African States
<b>ECOMOG:</b>	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
<b>EU:</b>	European Union
<b>FSI:</b>	Fragile States Index
<b>GAFSC:</b>	Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College
<b>GIPA:</b>	Ghana Investment Promotion Act
<b>IGAD:</b>	Integrated Authority on Development
<b>IGO:</b>	International Governmental Organizations
<b>INF:</b>	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty
<b>LECIAD:</b>	Legon Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy
<b>LTA:</b>	Leadership Trait Analysis Theory
<b>LURD:</b>	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy
<b>MNC:</b>	Multinational Corporations
<b>MNJV:</b>	Multinational Joint Force
<b>MOD:</b>	Ministry of Defense
<b>MOFARI:</b>	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
<b>NDC:</b>	National Democratic Congress
<b>NLC:</b>	National Liberation Council

<b>NPP:</b>	New Patriotic Party
<b>NGO:</b>	Non- Governmental Organization
<b>OAU:</b>	Organization of African Unity
<b>PMAD:</b>	Protocol of Mutual Assistance and Defense
<b>PNDC:</b>	Provisional National Defense Council
<b>PP:</b>	Progress Party
<b>PNP:</b>	Peoples' National Party
<b>RUF:</b>	Revolutionary United Front
<b>SADC:</b>	Southern African Development Community
<b>SMC:</b>	Standing Mediation Commission
<b>SONA:</b>	State of the Nation Address
<b>SU:</b>	Soviet Union
<b>UN:</b>	United Nations
<b>UNECA:</b>	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
<b>UNMEER:</b>	United Nations Missions on Ebola Emergency Response
<b>USA:</b>	United States of America
<b>WACSO:</b>	West African Civil Society Forum
<b>WANEP:</b>	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding

**WASCI:** West African Civil Society Institute

**WIPNET:** Women in Peacebuilding Network

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of Study

In our world today, the basic requirement for the growth and development of any country is the guarantee or assurance of the collective peace and security of citizens living in a country (Igbuzor, 2011). The development of every country or continent is closely linked to security and conflict. Amid conflicts, whether interstate or intrastate, insecurity will be the order of the day which will translate into the absence of peace in the country or region. In the absence of peace, development cannot be achieved (Matinuddin, 2010). Security is a broad concept that encompasses economic, social, environmental, and gender concerns; and is not only limited to military problems that characterize a region or country (Sesay, 1995). Galtung (1969) also avers that, in the absence of violence or war, there is peace.

Development in Africa has generated inadequate outcomes after thirty years of worry about the growth and progress of the continent (Ake, 1996). The aftermath of independence for some countries in West Africa has been characterized by violent conflicts for the past two decades. Most of these clashes occur within the confines of the country rather than the States fighting each other (Piccolino & Minou, 2014). The West African sub-region remains one of the porous and unstable regions in the world, confronted with civil strife, smuggling of illicit drugs, human trafficking (Iheduru, 2011), and terrorism through the activities of Boko Haram (Hassan, 2017). These conflicts which take place in the sub-region are caused by the inability of the governance system (bad governance) to take care of the human rights and needs of minority associations in these countries as well as corruption (Annan, 2014; Kufuor, 2005).

The African Union suspended eight countries from 2002 to 2012 for undemocratic change of régimes in Africa with the support of internal regional bodies like the ECOWAS and looking outside the continent for support from the European Union or the United Nations. The suspended States were Central African Republic, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, and Niger. This signifies the level of seriousness of the African Union to prevent intense clashes that occur on the African continent often caused by instability in the countries (Vines, 2013).

Moreover, out of 20 suppressive and cruel systems of governments in the world, eight are in Africa. Starting from the highest, these countries are Sudan, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Chad, Ivory Coast, Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, and the Central African Republic (Williams, 2007). According to the Fragile State Index (FSI) 2019, out of the 30 recorded fragile states in the world, 21 of these States are from Africa (Messner, 2019). This points to how the issue of insecurity has become dominant on the African continent. The impact of the cold war has seen the development of regional organizations becoming very relevant and recognized in the international scene. This has led to the increasing support of the UN for regional bodies like ECOWAS in the prevention, management, and resolution of the crisis by planning and implementing programs to enhance the security of these countries and also promoting sustainable peace and development (Gabrielse, 2007; Nathan, 2012).

As a result of the security interdependence and weaknesses faced by many African countries, most countries come together to take advantage of co-operative avenues to plan and implement policies to address their security challenges (Francis, 2006). This is evident in the activities of ECOWAS in promoting a great level of harmony and safety within West Africa with the support of AU, UN, and other International Governmental Organizations (IGO's).

ECOWAS was established by the enforcement of the Lagos agreement by member States on the 28<sup>th</sup> of May, 1975. It had a special obligation or task to uphold economic cooperation in all sectors of its member States. However, the protocols of Non-Aggression and Relating to Mutual Assistance on defense (PMAD) established in 1978 and 1981 respectively ushered the sub-regional body into the area of peace and security (Adeniji, 1997). Member States through the Non-Aggression protocol agreed not to use force to fight against any country within the ECOWAS community or support any foreign country to fight the territorial integrity of a member country. Also, Relating to Mutual Assistance on Defense Protocol explains how any threat against a country that belongs to the ECOWAS Community is a threat against the entire West African region. As a result, member States offer joint assistance to each other in times of need. Moreover, the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, Peace Keeping and Security was institutionalized in 1999 to achieve collective harmony and safety within the ECOWAS Community. Another Supplementary Protocol for Democracy and Good Governance was subsequently agreed on in 2001 to support the other protocols to fight against insecurity in the sub-region (UNECA, 2019).

Security operations of ECOWAS is very important because, for the effective realization of the sub-regional economic cooperation, a great amount of peace is required to attain the economic cooperation mandate within the sub-region. Countries that make up the ECOWAS community are: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo (ECOWAS, 2019).

The past account of chaos and uncertainty in West Africa is a result of the tales of unscrupulous governance and leadership, inadequate institutions and democratic values as well as the use of abject poverty and low literacy rate as devices to sway citizens into endorsing authoritarian

regimes. Despite the numerous problems that characterize the region, ECOWAS has taken the lead in establishing operational and self-motivated conflict management and resolution approaches to resolve the broad security and political challenges facing the sub-region (Bolaji, 2009).

This has resulted in a significant improvement in some African countries taking into consideration the insecurity that characterized them as stated in the annual report of the 2019 Fragile State Index (FSI). According to the FSI report in 2005, Sierra Leone which suffered twenty years ago of the civil war was ranked in the first ten war-prone countries in the world together with Ivory Coast and further categorized as the most fragile countries in the world. Currently, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast have been ranked 39<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> respectively in the world (Messner, 2019). The improvement in these two countries stated by the FSI 2019 can be linked to the dynamic involvement of ECOWAS member countries in seeking solutions to crises that characterize the sub-region.

Sovereign states pursue two main types of policies, namely, internal policies and external or foreign policy. Both policies are public policies championed by governments. Domestic policies are the strategies used by countries to achieve their internal goals (Asare, 2013). Foreign policy is very important as it comprises of statements and actions of states and non-state actors in the broad context of the international system. As such, priority or importance needs to be accorded to major policymakers or leaders on the international scene who influence the making and implementation of foreign policy processes of the country involved (Gebe, 2008).

The attainment of freedom from colonial rule in 1957 marked a crucial breakthrough and served as the basis for the nation's foreign policy. This is because, it allowed the country to interact freely with other countries in the international system which later became the bedrock of the country's vibrant foreign policy (Boafo-Arthur, 1989). That is, the country had to come to terms with the

pursuit of independent foreign policy. Ghana, on the attainment of independence had to reason very fast how to behave in the international arena. What is new about this study? It seeks to focus on Ghana's foreign policy concerning her neighbors and her role in West Africa. Specifically, her foreign policy towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS by comparatively studying the NPP-NDC administrations from (2001-2017).

## **1.2 Statement of Research Problem**

Since the inception of the Fourth Republic, Ghana has come under different governments with both the NPP and NDC being the main leading political parties. The NDC (7<sup>th</sup> January 1993-7<sup>th</sup> January 2001) with Flt.Lt. Jerry John Rawlings as the leader, NPP (7<sup>th</sup> January 2001-7<sup>th</sup> January 2009) under the auspices of John Agyekum Kufuor and the NDC (7<sup>th</sup> January 2009-24<sup>th</sup> July 2012) with the late Professor John Evans Atta Mills being the leader. Former President John Dramani Mahama took over power after the death of the sitting President John Evans Atta Mills still under the NDC government (24<sup>th</sup> July, 2012-7<sup>th</sup> January 2013) and was re-elected into office from (7<sup>th</sup> January 2013-7<sup>th</sup> January 2017), and the current NPP led administration under the leadership of His Excellency Nana Akufo Addo.

These leaders have pursued several policies towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS which are worth examining. Interestingly, two administrations with three different leaders, that is, the NPP-NDC from 2001 to 2017 make it a very important research area. Former President Kufuor, the late former President Mills and former President John Dramani Mahama on several occasions in their State of the Nation Addresses (SONA) mentioned the country's commitment to the collective safety of the world, Africa and the ECOWAS community to be precise (Mahama, 2013; Mills, 2012; Kufuor, 2005). The problem therefore is, although peace and security issues are very paramount and these leaders have formulated several policies to support

ECOWAS in its operations, little empirical research has been done in this area. Of particular importance to this work is the comparative study of the nation's foreign policy formulated towards the security operations of ECOWAS under the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) administrations.

Scholars have written extensively on several aspects of Ghana's foreign policy since independence. These include: how ideologies influenced the country's external relations, the dynamics of continuities and changes in Ghana's external relations, how internal and external factors affect the execution of Ghana's foreign policy and Ghana's foreign economic relations (Aluko, 1975; Asare & Siaw, 2018; Boafo-Arthur, 1989, 1999, 2007; Birikorang, 2007; Gebe, 2008; Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi, 2017; Thompson, 1969). However, not much attention has been given to Ghana's foreign policy championed towards the ECOWAS in its quest to achieve collective security within the sub-region. This research, therefore, seeks to delve deeper into this area, by comparatively studying Ghana's foreign policies championed towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS under the NPP-NDC led administrations under the leadership of former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama respectively. The extent to which the foreign policies pursued by the NPP-NDC during that period impacted on the quest for peace and security of the sub-region is the focus of the study.

### **1.3 Purpose of the Study**

The research is a comparative study of Ghana's foreign policy pursued towards the security operations of ECOWAS under NPP-NDC administrations from (2001-2017).

#### **1.4 Research Objectives**

- The central research objective is to explore the major foreign policies that were formulated and pursued by the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) led administrations towards the ECOWAS in its security operations.
- To discover strategies the NPP-NDC administrations deployed and used in contributing to ECOWAS security operations.
- To analyze continuities or changes in the foreign policies of the NPP-NDC formulated towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS.
- To establish the lessons that can be drawn from Ghana's foreign policy towards the collective achievement of safety within the ECOWAS sub-region.

#### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The study is very important for two main reasons. Academically, the research will contribute to the existing literature on Ghana's foreign policy pursued towards the ECOWAS in the direction of its peace and security operations in West Africa under the NPP-NDC administrations.

At the national level, major stakeholders and policymakers in Ghana's foreign policy will understand the exact peace and security policies formulated by the NPP-NDC administrations towards the ECOWAS, strategies deployed, and the contributions made to accomplish collective safety needed to bring about development in West Africa.

#### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

This research comparatively studies Ghana's foreign policy championed by NPP-NDC (2001-2017) towards the ECOWAS with a particular focus on security operations. The study is limited to the foreign policy contributions of former President J. A Kufuor, former President Atta Mills,

and former President John Mahama towards the ECOWAS in the avoidance, controlling and determination to prevent civil conflicts and other security crisis or threats that occurred during their tenure in power. These are second Liberian civil war (1999-2003), Togolese crisis in 2005, the first civil war in Cote d'Ivoire (19<sup>th</sup> September, 2002-4<sup>th</sup> March 2007), second Ivorian civil war (2010-2011), the Mali civil war (2012-2015) and the constitutional crisis in The Gambia (2016-2017).

### **1.7 Justification/ Rationale for the Time Frame and ECOWAS.**

The researcher selected 2001 to 2017 because the NDC led administration under former President Atta Mills and former President John Mahama is a new administration that ended not long ago, where little research has been conducted. Studying this administration comparatively with the NPP under the leadership of former President J.A. Kufuor is an area where little attention has been paid to concerning the country's foreign policies towards the collective realization of the security mandate of the ECOWAS. This makes the selected timeframe very significant and an important area to conduct a study and add unto the existing literature on Ghana's foreign policy.

There are several IGO's in Africa purposely established by countries coming together to achieve a particular objective or goal. Some of these groups are Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Integrated Authority on Development (IGAD), Southern African Development Community (SADC), and Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) (Bappah, 2014). ECOWAS is selected amidst all other regional bodies for this study because as a sub-regional body, it is mainly made of member countries from West Africa who have gone through conflicts or civil wars in one way or the other and understands why peace and security is a necessary factor to contribute to success in Africa and the world at large.

Also, after the cold war, some scholars like Essuman-Johnson (2009) argued that regional bodies are very important when solving problems or crises within their territory and outlined three reasons why they must solve their peace and security problems. Firstly, regional organizations should take it up upon themselves to solve their conflicts because the great powers in the international system may not be interested in what is happening in a sub-region and more importantly committing resources to solve the problem. For example, while conflicts occurring in Kuwait will attract prompt attention, conflicts within Africa will receive less attention.

Secondly, although, conflict resolution strengthens the roles of the UN Security Council, most Third World countries or developing countries see it as an imposition from the Council. Thirdly, a decline in international pressures will be seen by regional powers as making space to exercise power over some important parts of their environment (Essuman-Johnson, 2009).

### **1.8 Organization of the Study**

The research comprises of six chapters as presented below. Chapter one which is the introductory chapter includes background to the study, statement of the research problem, research objectives, purpose, significance of the study, organization of the research, and limitations of the study. Chapter two reviews the literature on all relevant documents on conflicts, peace, and security, foreign policy in general, Ghana's foreign policy to be precise, and the role of ECOWAS in addressing problems in the West African sub-region. Chapter three comprises the theoretical framework upon which the study is built and the research questions the study seeks to answer. Chapter four presents the methods and methodology, research instruments adopted by the researcher as well as the rationale and justification for the sampling techniques and methods to collect data. Chapter five focuses on data analysis and discussions concerning the research

questions posed and objectives outlined. Chapter six encompasses the presentation and summary of the research findings, conclusion and recommendations for future research.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The literature review of every work is to give a new interpretation to old information and provides the opportunity to combine both old and new information. It also helps the researcher to identify the gaps in the existing field under study (Arlene, 2014). This chapter focuses on reviewing essential works on Ghana's foreign policy as well as strategies used by ECOWAS in its peace and security operations. Broadly, the researcher starts the review of literature from understanding conflicts, peace and security in Africa, foreign policies of the developed world, Ghana's foreign policy and narrows it down to ECOWAS strategies used in resolving civil wars, conflicts, and rivalries in West Africa. The objective of this section is to appraise existing information written by scholars on, and related to the topic under study.

The following thematic areas are appraised in the literature: understanding conflicts, peace, and security in Africa; factors that influence foreign policy decision making; Ghana's foreign policy under NPP-NDC (2001-2017) and the dynamics of continuity and change; strategies adopted by ECOWAS in achieving peace and security in the West Africa sub-region as well as challenges that confront the institution.

#### **2.2 Understanding Conflicts, Peace, and Security in Africa.**

An understanding of the concepts' conflicts, peace, and security in Africa is very important so far as this study is concerned. This is because explaining the terms shapes the understanding of the researcher in the selected field. Review of literature on the root causes of conflicts helps the researcher to understand the actual causes of conflicts in West Africa and rightful ways to curb

them as argued by Mayer (2010). Also, in order to conduct a good study on the country's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS under the NPP-NDC administrations from 2001-2017 literature review of these concepts is very essential.

Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, former secretary-general of the OAU now AU is of the view that the African continent is seen as the world's poorest. Also, a key issue affecting the progress and development of the continent is armed conflicts (Salim, 1997). Annan (2014) argues that although not all conflicts are violent, African conflicts over the years have been characterized by some forms of violence. Some of these conflicts occurred in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, and Guinea-Bissau. On the whole, there has been a reduction in conflicts across the African continent except for recent conflicts in Nigeria, Mali, and The Gambia which raises concerns for the eruption of more conflicts.

According to Mayer (2010), one's perception of conflicts determines the attitude and approaches used to curb it. To him, conflicts can be explained in three ways: "conflicts as a perception, feeling and action" (Mayer, 2010 pp.4-5. Conflict as a perception occurs when an individual believes his or her interests, needs, standards and morals are unharmonious with another person. Conflict as a feeling evolves when an individual reacts emotionally to a situation which brings about disagreements. Often, the emotions expressed are fear, bitterness, anger, or hopelessness. The third dimension which is a conflict as an action occurs when an individual or a group of people express their emotions or feelings, articulate their views or perceptions, and get what they require in a manner that has the potential to affect another person's needs.

Mengistu (2015) defined conflict as a vigorous disagreement between individuals who have diverse ideas or views. It usually occurs between two or more people or parties with diverse interests. However, not all conflicts are violent. The two main types of conflicts are peaceful

conflicts (this type of conflict occur when people want to change the status quo and often rules exist that guides all activities) and violent conflicts (when people or parties involved in the fighting move beyond their limit to destroy lives and property of the opponent). For this work, conflict is explained as a strong misunderstanding or disagreement between two or more people or parties with diverse ideas or views or opinions.

There are two main dimensions of conflicts, these are internal conflicts or intra-states and international conflict or interstate. Internal conflicts take place when the government faces various opposition from the citizens of the country who mostly want to overthrow the existing government with weapons. It is also explained as the conflicts that occur within the borders of a country (Aremu, 2010). Bujra (2002), further identifies two-dimensions of internal conflicts; the type of conflicts that the State is part of the rivalry and conflicts which occur in a country between groups of people in which the government is not involved. Interstate conflicts on the other hand occurs between two or more countries. Aremu (2010) in his article identified a third type of conflict named internationalized internal armed conflict. Conflicts of this nature has taken place in some African countries (DRC, Angola, and Sierra Leone) and were mostly civil wars that had a lot of external support from other countries.

In an address to the 70<sup>th</sup> Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of Organization for African Unity now AU, KY Amoako former Executive Secretary of Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) stated that conflicts occurring in Africa are linked to three dimensions. First of all, conflicts occurring in Africa are related to poverty which in most cases leads to a civil war. Poverty here is explained as young people having no proper employment opportunities which brings about the motivation to join rebel groups. Secondly, conflicts in Africa are also linked to an uneven distribution of resources or disparity in the share of natural resources. With this, rebels in the well-

endowed areas use these resources to fund their rebel or militia activities. These groups later destabilize the country using these resources which brings about chaos and unrest. Thirdly, he explained that conflicts occurring in most parts of Africa are as a result of dysfunctional systems of governments. These governments are often weak, unstable, fragile, and usually portray undemocratic principles. In many instances, the government is unable to provide the basic needs of the citizenry (Amoako, 1999).

To add to the literature on the dimensions of conflicts, Zartman (1992) identifies three fundamental causes of African conflicts. These are: struggles to consolidate power, boundary or territorial disputes, inter-state hegemonic rivalries cited in (Joseph, 1997), and ethnic and religious issues (Vogt, 1997). According to Bakwesega (1997), African conflicts are triggered by the unsatisfied needs of people or individuals living in a country concerning the acquisition or attainment of independence, sense of justice, basic needs to survive, and human rights. These conflicts are mostly caused by poor governance systems, resource allocation disputes, state sovereignty, and the power struggle. Ofuatey-Kodjoe (2003), specifically identifies deep ethnic cleavages as a result of the colonial and historical records of Liberia as the root cause of the civil war. To complement the literature on the causes of conflicts, a study conducted by Vinck et al (2011) cited in (Annan, 2014) revealed that, greed and corruption were the main causes of the Liberian civil war.

Others scholars such as Aremu (2010), argues that the creation of borders as a result of colonialism, diverse ethnic divisions, incompetent political leadership of most African countries, exploitation of natural resources, adverse effects of debt owed by the states and poverty as the causes of conflicts in Africa. These factors have several implications on the socio-economic development of Africa. This results in the challenge of reconstruction in countries that face civil wars. After the civil war or conflicts, damaged or loss infrastructure cannot be replaced immediately because most

internal support of regional bodies have channeled all the resources in restoring peace and order in the country. These conflicts bring about unemployment, loss of lives and property, and lots of refugees trooping into neighboring countries and poverty.

In looking for solutions to combat civil wars and conflicts in Africa, Aremu (2010) avers that dedicated, truthful and honest leadership; uniform distribution of resources; the advancement of rule of law; protection of basic rights of all citizens living in a country including access to education; eradication of poverty; employment opportunities; remuneration of workers in the public sector are factors that can solve the numerous conflicts and civil wars that continually challenges the progress and development of the continent. Bujra (2002) asserts that, seeking solutions to the conflicts that threaten the peace and security of a country is a long-term process that requires strategies to solve it. These long-term strategies to be adopted by governments to solve or prevent civil wars and conflicts are nation-building, developing a comprehensive political system, and economic development. The complex nature of African countries requires nation-building policies to solve its problems. This is because, during the fight for independence, most of these countries came together to fight colonial rule with great leadership and instituted nationalistic approaches. These policies brought about unity which can also help fight against conflicts and civil wars in these countries. Also, African countries must develop a comprehensive political scheme that allows for the inclusion of all citizens in the country to be a part of the political decision-making process. When citizens are part of the process, they will support it and not fight against it. On the other hand, when citizens are not part of the process, they will rebel against the system. Finally, the author in explaining economic development is of the view that serious economic crises which bring about poverty is a major cause of conflicts in Africa. Due to this, countries must implement programs that aim at reducing poverty. Also, there should be equal development in all

parts of the country leaving no area out of developmental projects. This is because, when some groups are left out of the developmental projects, it can trigger conflicts. The author concludes that, if all these ways of addressing conflict are properly adhered to, African countries can reduce civil wars and conflicts that confront them (Bujra, 2002).

To Galtung (1969), peace and violence are highly related terms, thus, the term peace is explained as the non-existence of violence. Broadly, violence is explained to take place when people or individuals are inclined to a particular predisposition which affects their judgments and in turn affects what they do. There are two dimensions of violence, likewise peace. Personal or direct violence and structural or indirect violence while the two dimensions of peace are positive peace (absence of personal violence) and negative peace (absence of structural violence) (Galtung, 1969). Albert, (2008) avers that peace is a collectively accepted concept. Every country or society needs it whether developed or not developed.

Igbuzor (2011) argues that for any country to develop, a critical element to pursue is an education in the area of peace and security. In explaining peace, the author identified the philosophical, sociological, and political dimensions. Philosophically, peace is explained as the unique will of God for the existence of man. Peace in sociological terms is the situation of societal living in which there are no grudges against anyone. The political dimension of peace is the establishment of institutions or rules and regulations that regulates the activities of individuals living in the society without infringing on the rights of the citizens. The author added that to achieve sustainable peace in Nigeria or any other African country, the following elements must be adhered to: *“justice; just and accountable governance; protection of human rights; equitable distribution of resources; peace and security education/culture of peace”* (Ibid, p.5).

Security of every country is closely linked to the territorial integrity of the country and the collective national security (Soderbaum & Tavares, 2009). Iwilade & Agbo (2012) argue that the term security implies *“not necessarily the absence of threats to the ability of people to articulate their social and economic goals, but rather the ability of society to effectively manage those threats with the greatest possible level of democratic participation”* (Ibid, p.361).

According to Williams (2007), most researchers consider security as the removal of intimidations to the values of people. However, arguments from scholars such as Ken Booth states that to understand security is should be differentiated from survival. With this, security is explained and understood as *“survival plus”, where plus represents some level of freedom from life-determining threats and therefore some life choices”* (Ibid, p.1023). He added that most literature on security in Africa focuses on the activities of governments and what they do for their countries. The author recommended that security should be people-centered in order to have a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of African security to achieve a stable future for the continent (Williams, 2007).

A key objective of the study was to explore the major foreign policies that were formulated and pursued by the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) led administrations towards the ECOWAS in its security operations as well as strategies the NPP-NDC administrations deployed. However, most of the literature reviewed on conflicts, peace, and security in Africa were collective generalizations about the African perspective on these concepts or terminologies although some country-specific examples were cited for the Liberian and Sierra Leone civil wars. This study, therefore, seeks to fill the gaps identified in the literature under this section by researching the exact policies and strategies deployed by ECOWAS through the support of its member countries shaped or influenced by their foreign policies in the resolution of the selected West African conflicts. These selected

conflicts are second Liberian civil war (1999-2003), Togolese crisis in 2005, the first civil war in Cote d'Ivoire (19<sup>th</sup> September, 2002-4<sup>th</sup> March 2007), second Ivorian civil war (2010-2011), the Mali civil war (2012-2015) and the constitutional crisis in The Gambia (2016-2017).

### **2.3 Factors that Affect/ Influence Foreign Policy Decision Making.**

Foreign policies refer “to the choices individuals, groups, and coalitions make that affect a nation’s actions at the international stage” (Renshon & Renshon, 2008, p.508). Mintz & DeRouen (2010) argue that, in analyzing foreign policies of countries, researchers or scholars use either the rational actor framework or the cognitive models. The rational actor assumption stems from the debate that countries want to achieve more in the international system by selecting the best options from a wide range of essential information. The cognitive framework on the other hand, serves as a rebuttal to the rational actor assumption. This is because, it mainly examines how the misunderstanding of leaders, time burden, memory deficiency, the layout of an organization affects the decision making of leaders or technocrats who are major actors. The rational actor framework is of great importance because leaders search for a wide range of information relevant to the decision-making process and make the best options that fit the situation while the cognitive model helps scholars to appreciate how leaders acquire, process, and store information which influences the foreign policy decision-making process.

Kegley & Wittkopf (1997) divided the factors that shape or influence foreign policy decisions of states into three main forms or levels. These are the external or outward level, the national or state level, and the individual level. The outward or the external level comprises of the characteristics of the international system or what is happening outside the confines or jurisdiction of a country. The state-level consists of domestic factors such as the nature of the political system or the political views of citizens which affects the external policies the leaders in the country make or decide on.

The individual levels of analysis are the features of the leader which include the norms, values, belief systems, personality traits, ideological orientation, and several other elements that influence the decision-making capacity or ability of the leader.

Unlike Kegley & Wittkopf (1997), Kaufman (2013) categorized the levels of analysis into five. These are (starting from the base of the pyramid) international system, nation-state, government, society or culture, or the environment and the individual. She argues that broadly the international system comprises of countries or nation-states, IGO's, NGO's, multinational corporations and several others. Every country has a system of government that rules or governs the people. The system of government also exists in a society that has its own culture or way of life and the individuals or people or leaders who make decisions. All these levels of analysis come together to affect or influence the actions and inactions of leaders in making decisions that affect their respective countries.

Margaret Herman and Charles Herman in their article "*Who makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry*" are of the view that, in every type or system of government exist a decision-making body made up of an actor or a group of actors who have control over other entities within the decision-making body known as the "Ultimate Decision Unit". They argue that there are three types of decision units, namely; the predominant leader, who has the power to make a decision and ability to stifle opposition; a single group, a group of individuals who belong to a common body, choose an action through face to face interaction and obtain agreement to achieve desired objectives. The final type is the multiple autonomous actors, they are made up of distinct individuals, groups, and coalitions, who can agree and disagree, can act for the government but no one can coerce the other to agree or not to agree (Herman & Herman, 1989).

In some countries the ultimate decision unit can remain the same in all foreign policy matters while in other jurisdictions, the decision unit may change or vary depending on the issue under consideration. Using the USA as a case, they argued that, the President of America can make an instant decision to an unexpected question when interacting with the media (Predominant Leader). Also, for an issue involving the military, the decision can be taken by the Joint Chiefs of Staff (a single group) and for a decision involving the preparation or planning of a treaty or agreement with a foreign government, the decision involves the President, the executive branch associate of the President and the senate (these three bodies make up the multiple autonomous actors) (ibid).

This work is very important because, for each type of ultimate decision unit, a key information exists which enables the researcher to determine when to focus on the decision unit to understand the making of foreign policy and when to look out for other factors that affect or influence foreign policy decision making. Although the decision-making units largely influence foreign policies of countries as stated by Herman & Herman (1989), the leadership style of the President or the Executive influences the selections of advisers and the executive arrangements who assist the president in the day to day policy planning and implementation processes of a country (Hermann & Preston, 1994). Renshon & Lerner (2012) in their article, “*Decision-Making, the Role of Emotions in Foreign Policy*” argue that unlike the past when emotions were not recognized as a factor that affects or influences foreign policies of countries, now it extensively accepted. They are of the view that decision-makers constantly encounter diverse issues that affect what they do. These emotions are integral or fundamental emotions and secondary or incidental emotions. The fundamental or integral emotions occur or are triggered as a result of the decision at hand while the secondary emotions are not associated with the decision at hand but occur as a result of some personal attributes of the decision-maker or leader.

Pena (2002) argues that, in recent times, the activities of the media have great consequences on the foreign policies of countries. The work largely focused on the relationship between the media and foreign policy decision making of a country, the impact of the media on the decision making, and vice versa. Two theories have emerged to explain how the news media affects foreign policy decision making. These are the CNN effect and the manufacturing content. The former explains how the media through its broadcast whether radio or television can trigger an action from the government to respond to a call. The latter explains how the media can be manipulated by governments to broadcast a piece of particular information to the public to champion their course. The CNN effect and manufacturing consent are very important theories that explain the media-foreign policy relationship and how it can affect the foreign policy planning and implementation of a country.

In their contribution to the literature, Brighi & Hill (2016) are of the view that the implementation phase of every foreign policy is the most important point in the overall foreign policy process. This is as a result of the constant impact the environment has on the actor and how the actor influences his or her environment. They opine that the international arena comprises of state and non-state actors with different principles, mandates, set objectives and interest which are diverse from each other. By so doing, to understand behavior and implementation, students, researchers, and foreign policy analysts or experts must adopt the strategic-relational approach or theory. They believe that the application of this theory or approach makes the implementation process of foreign policy comprehensible (Bright & Hill, 2016).

They added that the implementation of foreign policy comprises of internal and external factors. However, some foreign policy objectives come to light through domestic factors and other domestic policies succeed through external factors. Due to this, the distinct feature of foreign

policy becomes clear and the process of interaction between the actor, context, and foreign policy at the peak of the strategic-relational approach or model is made manifest (ibid).

This work is very important for this study because it clearly explains how the implementation phase of every foreign policy decision is very important and outlines how the environment (context) affects the actor and how the actor also influences his or her environment. Finally, the role of the strategic-relational approach theory model in understanding the implementation of foreign policy decision making was highlighted which is very essential.

Identifying scholarly works on the factors that affect or influence foreign policy decision making of countries is very important for this study. The challenge with most of the literature on foreign policies of developed countries is that it is very difficult to apply such theories and explanations to developing countries which Ghana is not an exception as argued by Herman & Herman (1989). Due to this, most of the approaches cannot be applied to the Ghanaian context. This study seeks to fill this gap by bringing to light Ghana's foreign policies pursued by the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS.

#### **2.4 The Strategies Deployed by ECOWAS in achieving Peace and Security in West Africa.**

This section reviews known literature on strategies adopted by the ECOWAS to deal with issues of peace and security within the sub-region. As argued by Burchill (2015), member countries came together as a result of mutual interest and cooperation to form a body or organization to collectively achieve an objective through institutions. ECOWAS can resolve conflicts as a result of the contributions of member countries. An assessment of how these conflicts were resolved with the support of member countries like Ghana will help the researcher to unravel whether or not the sub-regional body has been successful in the resolution of conflicts which threaten the peace and

security of West Africa. These conflicts are the second Liberian civil war (1999-2003), Togolese crisis in 2005, the first civil war in Cote d'Ivoire (19<sup>th</sup> September, 2002-4<sup>th</sup> March 2007), second Ivorian civil war (2010-2011), the Mali civil war (2012-2015) and the constitutional crisis in The Gambia (2016-2017).

ECOWAS, the main regional body in West Africa was established to enhance and promote economic integration between its member countries and serves as the mouthpiece for the sub-region. This goal and objective changed when the sub-regional body had to mobilize and help resolve the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone (Adeleke, 1995; Ajayi, 2008; Annan, 2014; Bappah, 2014, 2018; Birikorang, 2007; Essuman-Johnson, 2009; Obi, 2009). The start of the 1990s saw regional organizations assuming major roles to curb the security threats that affected most countries which ECOWAS is not an exception (Khadiagala & Lyons, 2001). The numerous security issues that affected the development of countries in West Africa led to the establishment of the 1990 collective security protocol (Adibe, 2001) to expand ECOWAS "*mandate to include peace, security, and stability after it was compelled to halt violent intra-state conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone*" (Bappah, 2018, p. 84).

Adeleke (1995) argues that ECOWAS adopted two main strategies to resolve the Liberian civil war, that is, peacemaking and peacekeeping. This included the use of dialogs, consultations, negotiations, and later the use of military force to halt the activities of the perpetrators of the civil war. A Standing Mediation Commission (SMC) made up of ECOWAS member States was established. It comprised of Ghana, Nigeria, Mali, Gambia, and Togo as main members while Sierra Leone and Guinea served as observers. The ECOWAS military force was set up with Nigeria contributing the majority of the troops and Ghana and the other countries contributing some troops

to support. A Ghanaian named General Arnold Quainoo served as the first army commander for the ECOWAS operation.

Ghana hosted the peace conference in 1994 to sign the Akosombo accord. The first and second Akosombo peace plan signed in Ghana failed. Dr. Obed Asamoah, the then Deputy Foreign Minister for Ghana announced that ECOWAS was contemplating using force as the last available option to solve the crisis in Liberia (ibid). Adeleke's (1995) work is very important because the author critically accounted for Ghana's contribution towards the ECOWAS in resolving the Liberian civil war although the PNDC government under former President Rawlings did not want to involve himself but changed after a while. This work sets the foundation of Ghana's involvement in the Liberian civil which is a very important case for this research. However, Adeleke's work did not contribute to the policies of Kufuor, Mills, and Mahama which are the main focus of the work because of the time the article was published in 1995. As a result, this work will add to the existing body of knowledge on Ghana's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS from 2001-2017.

To complement Adeleke's (1995) work, Ofuately-Kodjo (2003) argues that the UN and ECOWAS usually deploy three main strategies that conform to international peace principles. These instruments or strategies are peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace enforcement which are used one after the other, or at times used concurrently. Peacekeeping over the years has developed into the exercise of cease-fires, bringing all troops together, demilitarization and dismissal. Sometimes, peacekeeping activities include instituting order in the country and steering the coordination of elections. The peacekeeping approach was largely deployed in the Sierra Leone civil war. Also, the UN or ECOWAS largely focused on the peacekeeping process in the resolution of the conflict in Sierra Leone because they lacked a comprehensive understanding of the crisis (ibid).

Peacemaking on the other hand largely involves mediations, negotiations, and agreements between ECOWAS representatives or leaders and the warring factions or groups. To achieve successful mediation, these factors must be present: the major issues of disagreement in the conflict; the identity or the behavior of the parties involved; the rank or position, available resources, experience and skills of the mediator; and the strategies adopted by the mediator to be used in resolving the conflict. To further explain ECOWAS mediation strategy, (Bappah, 2014; 2018) argues that, ECOWAS mediation processes is either done by top-level actors (Presidents of various countries and governments and the mediation and security council) or low-level actors (community actors) who play active roles in the resolution of conflicts that take place within the sub-region. A recent example of top-level mediation was when former President John Dramani Mahama and President Muhammadu Buhari led the mediation processes during the Gambian constitutional crises.

Ofuatey-Kodjo (2003), further explained that peace enforcement implies the use of force in an attempt to halt fighting during conflicts or a civil war. UN and ECOWAS peace enforcement activities were not successful during the Sierra Leone civil war due to several factors. Although ECOWAS had the requisite leadership and human resources, it was difficult to identify when the peace enforcement was to be operated. This is because it has been politicized and has to be negotiated between the high-profile authorities of the command involved in the intervention. This brought about uncertainty and affected the implementation of the peace enforcement strategies of ECOWAS in the Sierra Leone civil war (Ofuatey-Kodjo, 2003). Ofuatey-Kodjo's work confirms how ECOWAS uses peacekeeping approaches in the resolution of conflicts as argued by Adeleke (1995). His work further added two main strategies used by ECOWAS that is, peacemaking and peace enforcement which is very important for this study.

*“To solve the numerous security and peace challenges, the Mediation and Security Council of ECOWAS on January 1, 2008, enacted the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF)”*

(Obi, 2009, p. 120). The ECPF is an all-inclusive conflict management and prevention approach that allows ECOWAS member countries to make use of human and natural resources available at the broad level of cooperation between member states concerning the new initiatives to resolve conflicts or issues that threaten the security of a county (Yabi, 2010). The ECPF clearly outlines and explains the duties of CSO’s, the non-governmental sector, and the international community in transforming crises in West Africa. ECOWAS involves CSO’s and political parties as a strategy in resolving conflicts that occur in the sub-region. These institutions have proven to be helpful and very supportive in the peacemaking and building process as occurred during the Liberian and Sierra Leone civil war which led to the establishment of WACSOF in 2003 as a means of ensuring partnership between governments, political parties, CSO’s and ECOWAS (Bappah, 2014; 2018).

During the Liberian crises, ECOWAS lacked lots of institutions, although the sub-regional body through ECOMOG helped to stop the fighting. Religious bodies in the country and NGO’s greatly supported in facilitating the mediation processes. He added that four main factors influence or affect the methods used by ECOWAS in resolving conflicts. First of all, the nature of the issue and its repercussions on the laid down institutions which exist in the country. In cases where the conflict goes contrary to the laid down principles of ECOWAS, the community does not waste time to exert force on the perpetrators of the conflict to bring about peace, security, and stability as occurred in Mali in 2012. Also, in countries where CSO’s are active, the sub-regional body gets adequate support from these institutions to restore peace. For instance, through a social media campaign, Gambians in the diaspora supported ECOWAS processes in restoring peace between Yahya Jammeh and his political party supporters, the main opposition party, and Gambian citizens

(ibid). Secondly, the richness of contributions emanating from the ECOWAS Commission for the peacemaking process. The executive committee is the main body responsible for making strategic analysis and recommendations for the institution. Due to this, any information coming from them is what will be used to start the peacemaking process. Thirdly, the interest of some ECOWAS member countries in the crises and fourthly, the interest of the international community or developed countries in the conflict (UN, AU, EU, France, USA, and the like) (Bappah, 2018).

Annan (2014) agrees with (Bappah, 2014; 2018), on how the contribution of CSO's and women organization have greatly yielded positive results in the resolution of conflicts. The actions and activities of these organizations played a crucial role in looking for lasting solutions to conflicts. The initiatives of corporate bodies such as West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), West Africa Civil Society Institute (WASCI), and Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) and several others contributed to the resolution of some conflicts in West Africa. For instance, an advocacy campaign "We want peace, No More War" launched by WIPNET and several other CSO's put pressure on President Charles Taylor and the leaders of Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) to attend the Accra peace talks which finally brought about peace in war-torn Liberia.

The research by (Annan, 2014; Bappah, 2014; 2018) contributes greatly to this study on the strategies used by ECOWAS in the resolution of conflicts that threaten to peace and security in West Africa. This is because, although member countries through the dominant support of the various Heads of States pursue policies to mainly support ECOWAS peace and security operations, CSOs and NGOs play great roles behind the scenes to restore peace and stability in several cases as explained above.

As a means of resolving conflicts and preventing its occurrence, ECOWAS promotes democratic governance in its member countries. ECOWAS has achieved great success by applying or using regional means of instilling democracy in West Africa. This was made manifest when ECOWAS threatened to use force in Ivory Coast during the civil war. Also, Niger, Togo, and Ivory Coast were sanctioned for constitutional manipulations whereas Guinea and Mali were suspended for unconstitutional change of governments. ECOWAS has two main strategies or mechanisms for promoting good governance and democracy which translates into the desire for peace and security in West Africa. These are the exploratory mission and the observer mission. The former takes dominion in assessing several factors before the start of an election. At this level, ECOWAS provides monetary and technical assistance to the country involved. The observer mission is the main monitoring unit during elections and is dissolved immediately after the declaration of election results (Bappah, 2014).

ECOWAS also sets up SMC to help resolve and prevent conflicts that occur within the sub-region regarding the PMAD. For instance, during the Liberian crises Ghana, Mali, Togo, and Gambia (all member states of the ECOWAS community) formed the main mediation body in charge of restoring peace and security in the country (Obi, 2009). ECOWAS through the dominant support of the armed forces of Senegal and Guinea helped to halt the activities of perpetrators in Guinea-Bissau. But these two countries through ECOWAS pulled out of the conflict for the UN to intervene due to financial constraints on the part of the sub-regional body. After the institutionalization of the new protocols, 1999 and 2004, ECOWAS aggressively joined the operations in Guinea-Bissau again by paying off part of military arrears of USD 500,000 and also selected ECOWAS special representatives to collaborate with already existing national authorities in Guinea-Bissau and some foreign partners to restore peace in the country (Yabi, 2010),

Yabi (2010) further argued that the general notion of ECOWAS activities in Guinea-Bissau was viewed as a positive one due to the commitment of the sub-regional body to be present at all times when the country needed support. However, ECOWAS is critiqued largely on the inability of the sub-regional body to translate its determination into action by promoting or seeking to achieve peace and security through advocating for support from donors or developed nations. To Berman & Sams (2003), the lack of resources (financial support) to fully undertake its missions continues to affect the activities of ECOWAS. Although ECOWAS through the SMC established an emergency fund to mobilize resources to support ECOMOG activities, the fund did not receive any contributions to support its activities. Also, lack of resources (financial support) to fully undertake its missions continues to affect the activities of ECOWAS.

Nevertheless, Ajayi (2008) also adds that another challenge that affects ECOWAS in finding permanent solutions to conflicts in West Africa can be attributed to the lack of understanding of the root causes of the conflicts. Annan (2014) asserts that, for instance, the international community has attributed to the cause of the conflict to the activities of terrorist groups in the country which has resulted in the shift of focus from deep-rooted bad governance system, marginalization of some ethnic groups and unstructured military governance to the Islamist terrorist activities. This hampers the resolution of such conflicts because, after dealing with only the terrorist activities, the main root causes will erupt again which leads to conflicts. Also, due to inadequate monetary allocations for ECOWAS peacekeeping operations, the sub-regional body after a few months of operations in Guinea withdrew due to a lack of logistical and monetary support from the UN. The inability to sustain achieved peace continues to disrupt conflict prevention and management processes as occurred in Liberia when Nigeria decided to withdraw

from the peacekeeping operations due to the huge amount of money the country committed to ECOMOG activities (Ajayi, 2008).

To add to the literature on the challenges that continue to threaten the success of ECOWAS operation, scholars such as (Annan, 2014; Obi, 2009) argue that, the hasty decisions made by some individual countries without waiting for the full support and approval of the main sub-regional body affects the resolution of conflicts in West Africa. This occurred during the Guinea-Bissau civil war when Senegal and Guinea made a quick decision to intervene in the crises without full support from other member countries. Also, the division of the sub-region into Anglophone and Francophone affects the decision making of the sub-regional body. France exerts lots of influence on its colonies in West Africa, especially in its security operations. This affects the sub-regional body when making and implementing their security decisions.

Due to the underdevelopment of capacity and logistics in peacekeeping operations, ECOWAS continues to depend largely on Western countries for support as it occurred during the Ivorian civil war. According to Quainoo (the Ghanaian commander), the force lacked some equipment needed to carry out some of their operations (Berman & Sams, 2003). Also, the sub-regional body depends largely on Nigeria (regional hegemon) and this affects some peacekeeping operations when the country does not have specific interests due to the internal issues the country could be going through. Moreover, ECOWAS narrows security as relating to military actions without taking into consideration the human rights, gender, and democratic participation problems that continue to threaten the peace and security of the sub-region (Ajayi, 2008; Iwilade & Agbo, 2012).

ECOWAS peacemaking process is criticized by scholars as allowing human rights violators to go scot-free without facing trial for the numerous atrocities caused. Former President Yahya Jammeh, his family, and the people he committed several violations with were all granted a pardon by

ECOWAS. Also, the sub-regional body is critiqued for always using high-level personalities (Heads of States) for mediations without using experts in mediation processes (Bappah, 2018).

## **2.5 Ghana's Foreign Policy under NPP-NDC and the dynamics of Continuity and Change.**

In other to fully understand Ghana's foreign policy under NPP-NDC administrations, an overview of the nations' foreign policy since independence is very relevant." *The overview is particularly important as a backdrop to help enhance the understanding of the nature and direction of the country's foreign policy after independence*" (Kumah-Abiwu, 2016, p.298).

According to Gebe (2008), foreign policy constitutes an essential part of a country's conduct of public policy as it relates to other actors in the larger international system. This includes relations with other nations, IGO's, NGO's, MNC's, agencies, and individuals who influence the policy decisions of a country. Just as domestic policies are formulated and implemented within the confines of the state, foreign policies are directed and geared towards the external environment. He added that internal factors such as the political or ideological or ethnic proclivities and societal tensions have great effects on the external affairs of a country. Although the international system influences the foreign policies of countries, it does not always determine the foreign policy of countries. In the case of Ghana and some African states, pressure from the cold war impinged on the choices our leaders had to make with some choosing neither the socialist path of economic development nor the liberal capitalism while the majority of them declared to be non-aligned.

Thompson's (1969) work on *Ghana's Foreign Policy 1957-1966: Diplomacy, Ideology, and the New State* is one of the major pillars or the foundation for the literature on foreign policy in Ghana. It provides the basis for scholars or researchers to build on especially in the area of the country's foreign policy. He argues that Ghana's foreign policy emanated from somewhere but not in a

vacuum after the attainment of independence in 1957. The external affairs or policies of the country cannot only be attributed to the fight for power or supremacy in Africa but the readiness and availability of other African institutions to cooperate in order to collectively achieve African unity as envisaged by Nkrumah. The most vibrant tool or factor to achieve this was the Pan-Africanist movement.

Scott Thompson's work primarily focused on how the actions of Nkrumah influenced his policy posture both in and outside of the country. He also added that Ghana's foreign policy under Kwame Nkrumah was a reflection of his ideological orientation, philosophy, personality, and perceptions. Nkrumah was very passionate about championing the regional integration course in Africa through his African policy. In his address to the United Nations General Assembly in March, he stated *that "UN objectives were beneficial and desirable, although they were not essentially African objectives"* (Ibid, pp.159). As a result, Nkrumah was very instrumental in the search for peace in Congo during the crisis. Ghana contributed two battalions of soldiers to join the UN peacekeeping force in Congo and also provided health professionals, civil engineers, food, and medicine to support Congo. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah believed that peace and security in Africa was very important and crucial as a continent when he stated that "what *is at stake was African unity, peace, and security"* (Ibid, pp. 159).

Unlike George Padmore who envisaged that the United States of Africa could not be achieved, Nkrumah believed it was highly attainable except for a few obstacles or challenges. Ghana's neighbors were very important because for a small country with such a great vision, she needed their support to achieve most goals and set objectives. After independence, several British officials were still working in Ghana's public sector. However, due to the success story of Pan-Africanist movements, the Nkrumah administration was at liberty whether or not to renew old contracts or

terminate them. The business community or foreign investments in the country, to some extent, had an influence or impact on the foreign policy direction of the country. This is because the Nkrumah administration sought to attract investors to help develop the country and attain maximum industrialization. These domestic factors influenced Ghana's external relations with the rest of the world but largely did not influence the African policy of Nkrumah (Thompson, 1969).

Also, the Nkrumah administration invited Western advisors to help and support the country with the necessary expertise for developmental projects. Due to this, Ghana's relationship with the West was strong as a result of the economic benefits the country enjoyed. Thompson added that the understanding of the national interest to Nkrumah is a very complex one as well as his leadership style and personality traits which characterized his regime or administration. Ghana actively became a member of the international system with its major support from the Commonwealth. Nkrumah became a model for the non-aligned leadership in Africa. This was as a result of his plan to successfully industrialize Ghana with the support of both the East and the West (ibid).

Aluko (1975), in his article "*After Nkrumah: Continuity and Change in Ghana's Foreign Policy*" is of the view that several interpretations have been expressed to depict Ghana's foreign policy under diverse governments. Some of these scholarly accounts are highly credible while others are not. He opined that while there have been some changes in the foreign policy orientation in Ghana, there has also been some level of continuities. He explained that three main components make up Ghana's foreign policy. These are the nation's foreign policy concerning her neighbors and her role in the West African sub-region; the nation's policy towards the rest of Africa and the policy of non-alignment (Aluko, 1975).

Taking a linear view, the author divided the factors that bring about continuity in the nation's foreign policy as the colonial background of the country, the continuous existence of colonialism

in the African region, and the activeness of the civil service. On the other hand, the economic situation of the country, differences in the ideological orientation of the ruling class, and the internal political demands from the citizenry are the dominant factors that continually bring about change in Ghana's foreign policy. However, the active role of civil service in Ghana and the external environment of the country will continue their influence on the nation's foreign policy (ibid).

Birikorang (2007) argues that Ghana's involvement in peace and security operations in the world can be traced to the 1960 crisis in Congo. The country has played an active role in conflicts that occurred in Kosovo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Lebanon, DRC, Ivory Coast, and several others. Ghana's contribution yielded positive results by helping to curb the immediate suffering these countries were going through. Also, mediators from Ghana were able to create a serene environment to facilitate the resolution of these crises or conflicts as seen in Sierra Leon and Liberia through the provision of human and financial resources to the sub-regional body, ECOWAS. She added that, although the country is concerned largely about the security of the African continent regardless of the government in power, it's relations with neighboring countries have not been constant. These inconsistencies are a result of the regime in power, the ideological inclination of the ruling government, and the relationship that existed between these parties and countries before they assumed office.

Birikorang's work further assessed regime change and foreign policy consistencies in Ghana. The study revealed that, between 1957-1966, the CPP government under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was strongly consistent in their foreign policies towards the peace and security of the African continent through the Pan-Africanism policy. The NLC regime (1966-1969) and the PP government which were military regimes under the administration of former Presidents was pro-US and were not

consistent in their foreign policies towards other countries. The Supreme Military Council (SMC) between 1972-1978 supported African regional communities and was very consistent. The People National Party (PNP) government between 1979-1981 was consistent in supporting regional communities in Africa. The PNDC regime under former President Rawlings supported the non-aligned movement and was consistent in the support for regional activities. The NDC (1993) and NPP (2001-2007) both supported regional activities (ibid).

This work is very important so far as this study is concerned. This is because the researcher assessed the continuities and changes that characterized several regimes starting from 1957 when the country gained independence to 2007 under former President Kufuor. However, due to time limits the research did not examine the administration of former President Mills and former President Mahama. This work seeks to fill these gaps by comparatively studying the country's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operation of the ECOWAS (2001-2017).

Boafo-Arthur (1999) in his contribution to the literature on Ghana's foreign policy is of the view that, since the attainment of political freedom in 1957, economic and political foreign policy decision making or direction seems to have been influenced either by exclusion or inclusion with some methods or approaches independent or in combination with other factors. He added that, unlike the global north or industrialized countries, Ghana depends on foreign support and as a result constrained by universal and societal influences to compromise a specific foreign economic policy in exchange for monetary support from the so-called developed nations.

Moreover, he argues that foreign economic relations of subsequent governments after the overthrow of the CPP government in 1966, have evolved around the country's interaction and close relations with the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWI), except for the Acheampong regime. Neo-liberalism gained roots in the country due to the broad interplay with regards to the internal

economic needs as well as the external opportunities and the administration of the Rawlings led regime being able to seize that opportunity to receive support from international financial institutions. The Rawlings led administration attained an appropriate external relation by winning the support of the BWIs for monetary assistance but the economy was subsequently driven by aid. However, the influence and lessons from the different regimes that governed the country after the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, to some extent, influenced the foreign economic and political decisions of the Rawlings led administration (ibid). This work is very essential to this study because it highlights the factors that influenced foreign economic and political decision making under the PNDC regime. However, the work failed to examine the peace and security contributions championed towards the ECOWAS during the PNDC era.

Kumah-Abiwu (2016) argues that most scholarly works on Ghana's foreign policy have fully examined the systemic, broad, and universal factors that affect foreign policy decision making and implementation. The author takes a divergent view by examining how individual or personality traits of leaders affect or influence their policies geared towards the external affairs of the country. He opines that "*the leadership and personality trait of political leaders' matter in an attempt to understand better Ghana's foreign policy-making*" (ibid, p.298). Using Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA), he further argued that, although the structural or universal factors affect foreign policies of the country, domestic affairs and external events constantly play a major role as argued by Bofo-Arthur and Agyeman-Dua. The individual traits and styles of the leaders as argued by Hermann and other scholars have a great influence on the foreign policy decisions of leaders. By so doing, the sudden shift of the economic policy of the country from the East to the West by the Rawlings' administration can be attributed to his personality trait and leadership not excluding other structural factors that constantly play a role in the nation's foreign policy.

Asare & Siaw (2018), argue that Rawlings and Kufuor pursued good neighborliness by relating it to economic gains. Some levels of continuities existed in the administration of former President Rawlings and former President Kufuor. This was portrayed in their leadership abilities and massive support in the West African sub-region when they both served as ECOWAS chair for two consecutive times respectively. However, changes that characterized both administrations were as a result of their distinct ideological orientation. While the Rawlings administration built strong ties with well-endowed socialist countries, the Kufuor administration related well with all countries without taking into account their ideological belongingness. The study revealed that the personal idiosyncrasy of leaders affects their foreign policy as portrayed in how the unfriendly relations between Ghana under former President Rawlings and some other West African countries affected the nation's policy of good neighborliness and how former President Kufuor's positive relations with some member countries led to positive external relations and economic development in the country. This led to an improvement in peace and security within the sub-region.

Siaw & Asare's (2018) work fully confirms Kumah-Abiwu's (2016) research which concluded that the sudden shift of the economic policy of the country from the East to the West by the Rawlings administration can be attributed to his personality trait and leadership abilities not excluding other structural factors that constantly play a role in the nation's foreign policy.

Aning (1999), in his article "Ghana, ECOWAS and the Liberian Crisis: An Analysis of Ghana's Role in Liberia" sought to study the country's participation and contribution in the Liberian crisis under the leadership of former President Rawlings. He argues that, although Ghana did not join the intervention in the early years of the conflict, the country participated during the latter part of the 1980s. According to the author, the perception of the PNDC administration under former President Rawlings shifted towards the latter part of the 1980s as far as the country's involvement

in the Liberian civil war was concerned. The shift in Ghana's foreign policy at the regional level can be attributed to domestic (internal pressure) and external factors as well.

Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi (2017) are of the view that Ghana's membership in international organizations such as the UN and AU allows the country to protect the national interest of the country and also establish itself as a pioneer in addressing some of the challenges that confront the continent. Also, Ghana through its active involvement in the activities of the UN, AU, and ECOWAS has led to the attainment of peacekeeping experiences.

The author added that Ghana under the administration of former President Rawlings was not actively involved in the affairs of other countries which was a clear departure of the approach of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in his foreign policy orientation. Broadly, although the Rawlings administration through ECOWAS always wanted to establish a peaceful atmosphere within the sub-region, the Rawlings administration single-handedly did not condemn unconstitutional change of government but worked through the sub-regional front. The author adds that the Kufuor administration also exhibited some inconsistencies in its policies towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS. Many people expected Ghana to facilitate the arrest of President Taylor during the 2003 peace talks in Accra after the court order for his arrest for allegedly being involved in the Sierra Leone civil war. In the latter part of 2000, Ghana remained silent during the coup in Togo when all member countries within the ECOWAS community condemned the act. It took a lot of pressure from international organizations before Ghana issued a national statement. This was different from the Ivorian crisis in September 2002. The NPP administration quickly issued a national statement after the unconstitutional change in government (Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi, 2017). He further argued that former President Mills exhibited some irregularities in his foreign policy towards the ECOWAS at a press conference when he responded to the Ivorian crisis with his "Dzi

wo fie asem” response. This led to a lot of international feedback because it was not expected of Ghana to make such pronouncements. The sub-regional body, ECOWAS felt betrayed by Ghana’s decision because much was expected from the Ghanaian leadership. Also, Ghana-Gambia relations were greatly affected due to the killing of 44 Ghanaians by the Gambian military force in 2005 during the leadership of former President Yahya Jammeh. Former President Mahama when he was the spokesperson for MOFARI announced that Ghanaians should not welcome former President Yahya Jammeh to Ghana during the AU summit in Accra. As a result, Ghana’s visit to The Gambia during the constitutional crisis raised lots of questions (ibid).

Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi’s article is a very good work for this study. This work focused on the extent to which the foundational ideologies or orientation of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah continues to impact on Ghana’s foreign policies pursued towards regional organizations under former President Rawlings, former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS as well as the irregularities in the foreign policies of these leaders.

In his contribution to the literature on Ghana’s foreign policy, Boafo-Arthur (2007) argues that Ghana successfully moved or transitioned from a military regime to a democratic regime where the country adopted a liberal dimension of government. That is, the government opened up for competition in all aspects of the governance process (political, social, and economic). All decisions made by the government were in the national interest of the country. The author brought forth various scholarly debates on the continuities and changes in a country’s foreign policy. The likes of Barbara Tuchman and Alvin Toffler who are of the view that, changes in the domestic affairs of a country and the external environments are bound to happen or take place, and that scholars comparing what happened years back and current events are not the best. Likewise, there

continues to be some levels of continuities in a nation's foreign policy as stated by scholars like Kenneth Waltz, Kegley, and Wittkopf. For instance, using Ghana as a case, he outlined how the overthrow of the Nkrumah administration led to a total change in the country's foreign policy direction where relations with the Eastern bloc countries were cut off. In the same vein, a change in the foreign policies of the country occurred when the PNDC government embraced policies from the BWIs despite its closeness to the East. Nevertheless, there was some level of continuities in their foreign policies which were made in diverse ways (Boafo-Arthur, 2007).

He added that the West Africa sub-region continued to face a series of political instability which translated into conflicts and civil wars as were made manifest in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Under the leadership of former President Jerry John Rawlings of the NDC, Ghana supported and contributed massively to the Liberian Civil war crises when he was elected and served two times as the chairman of the ECOWAS in 1994 and 1995. Moreover, the author accounted for the peaceful transfer of power from the NDC to the NPP in the year 2000. The new government did not depart from the foundations laid by the previous governments. However, there was a shift in the country's relations with some African countries such as Togo and Burkina Faso who had hostile relations with the previous administration. The new NPP government also gave much importance to peace and security in the West African region. This can be attributed to the fact that; development of a country can be linked to peace and security in its sub-region. For this reason, former President John Agyekum Kufuor was elected and served as the ECOWAS chair in 2003 and 2004 where he helped in seeking solutions to the Ivorian crises which seriously affected the country. He participated in several peace talks held outside Africa and in Africa (ibid).

He concluded that, although the NPP led administration followed the foundations laid by the outgoing NDC administration, former President Kufuor uplifted his foreign policy of economic

diplomacy to a whole new level looking at the economic situation and demands of the country by pursuing several domestic and international travels to build strong relationships with countries that could be of help to the country (Boafo-Arthur, 2007). This work is very vital to this study, as it accounts for Ghana's foreign policy towards the ECOWAS in its peace and security operations which is one major aspect this work seeks to delve into. However, the study was limited to the NPP administration due to the time the author wrote the book and could not contribute to the foreign policies championed by former President Mills and former President Mahama under the NDC which the study seeks to comparatively study with the Kufuor administration. Asare & Siaw's work sought to fill the existing time gap in Boafo-Arthur (2007). However, the study predominantly focused on good neighborliness without assessing Ghana's foreign policies under the NPP-NDC pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS within the sub-region.

Cook (2009) asserts that the government of Ghana dynamically supported ECOWAS mediation and negotiation activities in Liberia, Ivory Coast, and Togo. Some scholars argued that Ghana contributed to resolving succession issues in Togo due to the nation's close contact with the leadership of the government of the country. As a result, about twelve thousand refugees sought refuge in Ghana in the course of the conflict. Also, the country continues to contribute military forces to the ECOWAS intervention. Ghana was elected to chair the AU and had the opportunity to host the AU Summit in 2007. This shows the country's commitment to peace and security within the West African sub-region and continual support for ECOWAS.

The literature review on Ghana's foreign policy under the NPP-NDC administrations (2001-2017) did not cover foreign policies formulated and pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS during the selected timeframe. Specifically, there is a huge gap in Ghana's foreign

policy pursued towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS under former President Mills and former President Mahama which this work seeks to comparatively study with the NPP government under former President Kufuor. The study seeks to fill this gap in the literature on the nation's foreign policy by delving deep into the exact policies to support the peace and security operations of ECOWAS.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical framework which underpins the research. The major role of theory is to provide a framework that will allow us to simplify a complex reality so that we can describe the events that took place in the past, try to explain them in causal terms (“this happened because that happened”), and in doing so, try to predict or at least anticipate what might happen in the future (Kaufman, 2013, p. 43).

For this work, neoliberal institutionalism or theory of liberal institutions and historical institutionalism theories are used as the theoretical framework. The main justification for the selection of these two theories for the study is their complementary nature: one compliments the others’ shortfalls.

#### 3.2 Neoliberal Institutionalism or Theory of Liberal Institutions

Neoliberal institutionalism theory also known as the theory of liberal institutions became dominant in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a solution to the anarchy in the international system perceived by the realist school of thought and serves as a better proposition for the peaceful world order championed by Liberals (Burchill, 2005).

A major assumption of neoliberal institutionalism theory stems from the argument that, the conflictual nature of the international system as argued by the realist school of thought can be addressed by the establishment of international institutions (Hellmann & Wolf, 1993). Neoliberal institutionalism fundamentally argues that “*even if the realists are correct in believing that*

*anarchy constrains the willingness of states to cooperate, the state nevertheless can work together and can do so especially with the assistance of international institutions” (Grieco, 1998, p.486).*

Institutions form a major component of neoliberal institutional theory. Neoliberals are of the view that institutions promote cooperation through the openness of the activities of other states thereby reducing fear or insecurity which is mainly argued by the realist school of thought. As a result, states or actors are aware of what others are doing and tend to bring about cooperation between these countries. These institutions consist of the rules and regulations used to closely observe the activities of the actors. An example of such rules and regulations are the laid down principles of the UN Security Council used in the peaceful resolution of conflicts or civil wars (Wheeler, 2018). *“Liberal institutionalists believe that cooperation between states can and should be organized and formalized in institutions. Institutions in this sense mean sets of rules which govern state behavior in specific policy areas, such as the Law of the Sea” (Burchill, 2005, pp.75).*

Also, neoliberal institutional theorists assume that institutions are primarily formed as a result of the combined or mutual interest of states to achieve a common purpose. International institutions come in diverse forms and dimensions in terms of their membership and size. Some are very complex and are made up of all countries within a regional bloc or a sub-regional bloc. Whereas some of these institutions focus on dealing with smaller issues or problems, others focus on bigger issues or problems (Stein, 2008). Due to the importance of institutions, ECOWAS has taken the lead in establishing several protocols (institutions or rules and regulations) agreed on by member states which regulate all activities in the sub-region especially on peace and security problems. These institutions are the 1978 Protocol on Non-Aggression; 1981 Protocol on Mutual Assistance in Defense; the 1994 ECOWAS revised treaty; 1999 Protocol on the Mechanism; 2001

supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance; and the 2008 ECOWAS Conflict Preventive Framework (ECOWAS, 2020; ECOWAS Mediation Guidelines, 2018).

Another assumption of the neoliberal institutional theory is the claim that through the creation of institutions international cooperation can be accomplished even when the interest of the country which championed the establishment of the institutions and the main regional or sub-regional organization is absent (Hellmann & Wolf, 1993). The country which championed the formation of ECOWAS is Nigeria (often referred to as the regional hegemon). If Nigeria decides to exit from the ECOWAS community, the sub-regional body will not collapse. This is because other member countries are interested in the activities of ECOWAS and as a result will continue to cooperate to achieve set objectives and targets in West Africa.

Moreover, another assumption of neoliberal institutionalism theory is that this school of thought places great emphasis on the role International Governmental Organizations undertake in the international arena. They view security as an essential component but are certain that international peace, security, and cooperation can best be arrived at through the creation of institutions. These institutions are created by representatives or leaders of countries who come together to deliberate on political problems, economic difficulties, social issues as well as achieving collective peace and security. The underlying assumption is that international institutions that are created by countries provide the basis or context for which peace and security can be arrived at even in a chaotic international arena (Kaufman, 2013).

Neoliberal institutionalist also factors in the role that international and intergovernmental organizations play in world politics. They too look at security as an important variable, but they arrive at a different conclusion as to how best to ensure it. In this case, neoliberal institutionalist believes that security and cooperation can best be achieved through the creation of international institutions. In this variant, it is the international institutions that are created by individual leaders to represent states that ensure that there will be interaction on a range of issues- political, economic, security, environment, and so on.

The assumption here is that these institutions which States enter into voluntarily, provide the framework for cooperative and peaceful interaction even in an anarchic international system (Kaufman 2013, p. 58).

The basis of analysis for neoliberal institutionalism theory is the role or activities of International Governmental Organizations. These institutions play an important role in the world. These include creating awareness on public health, elimination of all forms of discrimination, removal of poverty from the world, and playing vital roles in achieving peace, security, and economic integration (Asare, 2013). Because of the size or nature of the challenges that confront various countries or states in the international system, countries often cannot achieve desired results in isolation but through cooperation with other countries (Hellmann & Wolf, 1993).

ECOWAS through its established protocols and institutions can assist member countries within West Africa to address the peace and security issues that threaten the stability of the sub-region. For instance, civil wars that occurred in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and The Gambia could not have been resolved only by the countries involved but through international cooperation and support from member countries, these issues were eliminated.

### **3.2.1 Strengths and Weaknesses of Neoliberal Institutionalism Theory**

Neoliberal institutionalism theory is very important for this study because it clearly outlines and explains how countries come together collectively to achieve their goals or objectives which will be impossible for only one country to attain without the cooperation and support from other member countries through international institutions. In the case of this study, peace and security is a collective goal of ECOWAS and member countries within the community can achieve their quest for peace and security if they formulate foreign policies to support the sub-regional body, ECOWAS to fight and resolve conflicts and civil wars which destroys the peace, security, and stability of some member countries.

The theory also helps in explaining Ghana's foreign policy pursued towards to the ECOWAS in the area of its peace and security operations. That is, whether it has yielded positive or negative results and the lessons that can be drawn for Ghana's foreign policy towards the ECOWAS. Finally, the theory will also enable the researcher to ascertain if ECOWAS as an institution will be able to help in achieving the peace and security which is needed to transform the West African sub-region.

Despite the importance of neoliberal institutionalism theory in explaining how countries can collectively attain their set goals and objectives, it is criticized based on its inadequate ability to test the hypothesis or assumptions about the downfall or breakdown of institutions. This is as a result of historical facts about some institutions that collapsed or broke down after achieving their mandate for which they were established (Hellmann & Wolf, 1993). For instance, the 1987 Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty signed by former President Ronald Reagan and former President Mikhail Gorbachev collapsed after the USA, under the administration of President Donald Trump, opted out of the treaty (Sabbagh, 2019). However, since it is in the interest of states to create the institutions, they usually do well to maintain it as it addresses challenges for which they were established (Hellmann & Wolf, 1993).

The realist school of thought criticizes neoliberal institutionalism theory on the basis that, international institutions portray the power of countries that championed their formation (Stein, 2008).

Also, neoliberal institutional theory cannot explain continuities or changes that characterize the foreign policies of countries. One of the objectives of this study is to analyze continuities or changes in the foreign policies of the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) formulated and implemented towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS. Due to this, the study will also adopt the

historical institutionalism theory to complement the neoliberal institutional theory to explain the continuities and changes in the foreign policies of former President Kufuor, former President Mills, and former President Mahama respectively.

### **3.3 Historical Institutionalism**

The origins of institutional theory can be traced to the formative years of social sciences. Modern institutional theory has received great attention from scholars across diverse facets of the social sciences and is used to explain structures stretching from small interpersonal interactions to broader comprehensive global frameworks (Scott, 2004). This theory has risen to a high status in terms of great popularity and influential explanation for the actions and inactions of both individuals and organizations (Dacin, Goodstein, & Scott, 2002).

Institutional theory has developed into a leading standpoint in a broader or macro model for organizations (Suddably, 2010). Institutional theory pays close attention and delves deeper into the strong dimensions of social organizations or construction. It takes into account how these organizations or structures are formed as the commanding principles for social behavior. It also investigates how these units are formed, dispersed, embraced, and revised over a while and how they become irrelevant after some time (Scott, 2004).

Three schools of thought have developed from the new institutional theory. These are rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism, and historical institutionalism (Thelen, 1999). Rational choice institutionalism has gained its roots on the basis that policies or decisions are a result of the preferences of the actors, power relations, and availability of resources. Sociological institutionalism on the other hand focuses on the norms, values, and rules which characterize the organization and does not give room to power relations or the preferences of the

actor (Fioretos, Falleti, & Sheingate, 2014). Historical institutionalism is selected for this study. This is because, to ascertain whether there were levels of continuities or changes in Ghana's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS, two concepts (path dependence and critical junctures) under the historical institutional theory will be used. Historical institutionalism came to light as a rebuttal or critique of the behavioralist school of thought. This theory rejects the general perception that politics is the summation of planned decision making by actors. Rather, historical institutionalism appreciate politics as a broad set of relationship or affiliation amongst actors and their immediate institutions (Lecours, 2005).

As a sub-field under the new institutional theory, historical institutionalism is an amalgamation of the sociological and rational choice institutionalism. This is because actors are law-abiding whiles having pre-determined choices they may want to pursue. However, the actions and inactions of these political actors are as a result of their preferences and rules having an impact on their decisions. History is very important to this school of thought for three reasons. First of all, past events that occur within a historical period affect future developments or decisions. Secondly, history is very important in all facets of life as actors can learn from previous happenings or events. Historical institutionalists do not treat all events in the past as the same but take into consideration the factors or role that influenced the event before generalizing. Thirdly, the past (history) sometimes shapes the expectations and decisions of actors (Steinmo, 2008).

Policies made by political actors are controlled and limited by previous decisions or already established institutions that are embedded in the context of the institution as the preferences of the political actors who are members of the organization. Historical institutionalism is further divided into three dimensions or concepts. These are path dependence, critical junctures, and lock-in. In simple terms, path dependence means previous decisions influencing future choices and

preferences, critical junctures are the internal and external tensions that can bring about change while lock-in is a total departure or deviation from previous norms or decisions and builds another institutional arena. The actor then neglects the old one at a high cost and accepts the new institution (Bursens & Deforche, 2010). Path dependence and critical junctures will be critically appraised for the study. This is because, these two concepts under the historical institutional theory will be used to explain the continuities or changes in the foreign policies of the NPP-NDC administration under former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama pursued towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS (2001-2017).

### **3.3.1 Path Dependence**

Path dependence has been extensively recognized and used within a short period (Greener, 2005). Path dependence is perceived to be an interesting model to better appreciate progress in public policy; it gives a tag for a pragmatic explanation that, the instincts or perceptions or rules are very problematic to change after creation or establishment. This concept summarizes that public policy decisions accrued over a while have implications for future decisions by actors or policymakers (Kay, 2005).

Path dependence theory stems from the assumption that organizations and actors are major components of institutions that regulate and channels the behavior, activities, and decisions along already established paths. These already established paths are made of institutions (rules, values, desires, standards) and public policies as a result of past or old decisions of actors which results in the imposition of restrictions on new institutional developments and processes (Couturier, Etheridge, Saint-Jean & Somme, 2010).

James Mahoney outlined three main characteristics of using the concept of path dependence. Firstly, in the approach of path dependence, prior part of a sequence is very important than the later parts in a complete historical period. This is because, what happened very late may not have an impact, but it would have been better if the timing was right. Secondly, in the path-dependent approach, initial historical happenings are contingent manifestations that cannot be enlightened based on the initial events. This is because, the events that occurred in the past are essential facts for the outcome of the sequence, and this affects the issue of forecasting or predicting the outcome based on the initial conditions. Thirdly, historical events are established; the path-dependent arrangement or patterns or structures are set in motion; it continues to track the activities or policies; and develops into institutional arrangements over some time. Self-reinforcing sequence is a type of path dependence concept under the historical institutionalism theory; it observes how preliminary steps in a specific direction encourages or causes the same activity to take place over a while which can bring about the trouble to change or reverse the direction that has been started (Mahoney, 2000).

### **3.3.1.1 Strengths and Weaknesses of Path Dependence**

The concept of path dependence under historical institutionalism is very essential for this study. As a theoretical framework, it shapes our understanding of how institutions play a key role in ensuring continuity in decisions making processes of countries through historic precedents or accounts. The theory will help the researcher to explain continuities in Ghana's foreign policy pursued towards the ECOWAS by comparatively studying the foreign policies of the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) under the leadership of former President J.A Kufuor, former President Mills and former President J.D Mahama respectively. This theory will bring to light the continuities in the foreign policies of these leaders during their tenure in office.

Scholars have critiqued path dependence based on its inability to help researchers or scholars with the necessary variables or hypotheses which will help the researcher to investigate the policies it is applied to. As a model, it is used to categorize as a non-permanent process by offering some form of explanations to specific happenings or events and also acknowledging some competition with other alternatives such as the specific political situations at different times which will enable scholars to appreciate what happened which is influencing future policy decision (Kay, 2005).

Path dependence is also criticized based on its inability to explain changes that occur in institutions as a result of the strict adherence to historical patterns already established. If institutional theorists claim that history is important, how can political actors move away from already established traditions and principles? This theory failed to explain all these factors which organizations continually face (Greener, 2005).

Broadly, institutional theory is criticized based on the quantitative nature of organizational research which is simple when counting the structures rather than the significance of the systems or processes. Due to this, the theory has been ineffective to maintain procedures that are constant with the importance of associating meanings to signs, traditions, and the method through which organizations construe their institutional environments. By focusing only on the outcome of institutional activities we overlook all other interesting factors that played a role in the institutional story (Suddaby, 2010).

### **3.3.2 Critical Junctures**

Critical juncture is another concept that has emerged from the theory of historical institutionalism under the new institutional theory in comparative politics. This concept explains how historical patterns are altered or changed by rational political actors in the case of uncertainty and bargain in

diverse ways which often bring about differential outcomes from rooted historical-institutional settings. They argue that the preferences or choices of political actors at a particular point in time have implications or consequences for future or successive institutions (Calder & Ye, 2004).

### **3.3.2.1 Strengths and Weaknesses of Critical Junctures**

Critical junctures will aid the researcher in explaining the changes that take place in policies formulated by countries that deviate or goes contrary to the status quo or the norm which is very important for the comparative study which this work seeks to achieve.

For this work, critical junctures a concept under the historical institutionalism theory will help the researcher to explain the changes that occurred in Ghana's foreign policy pursued towards the ECOWAS peace and security operations under former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama respectively. Specifically, changes that occurred in their administration's foreign policies and strategies adopted by these leaders to help combat or resolve the civil wars and conflicts during their tenure in office as Presidents within the West African sub-region.

## **3.4 Research Questions**

The central research question is:

- What major foreign policies were formulated and pursued by the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) led administrations towards the ECOWAS in its peace and security operations?

The study seeks to also provide answers to the following questions:

- How did the NPP-NDC led administrations support ECOWAS in the resolution of the selected crises during their tenure in office?

- Were there continuities or changes in the foreign policies of NPP-NDC administrations towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS?
- What lessons can be drawn from Ghana's foreign policies championed towards the collective achievement of safety within the ECOWAS sub-region?

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The key objective of this research is to comparatively analyze the peace and security policies pursued by the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) governments towards the ECOWAS under former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama respectively in their quest to achieve safety and harmony within the West African sub-region. The research methodology chapter presents the research approach and methodology, the justification or rationale for the choices made by the researcher as well as the strengths and weaknesses. The chapter will also look at the research process and design, selected population or sample size and its justification, the procedure for data collection, and data analysis methods.

#### **4.2 Approach to Study**

Historically, two main traditions exist when conducting research: positivism and post-positivism also known as phenomenology. The former is related to research conducted in the natural sciences (quantitative research) while the latter consists of research conducted to understand an event socially created rather than scientifically determined (qualitative research) (Noor, 2008). There are therefore two main research approaches or methodologies; these are quantitative and qualitative research methods. Quantitative research encompasses the collection of data quantitatively and using mathematical and statistical means in the data analysis processes while the objective of qualitative research is to assess the views, opinions, and behavior of a phenomenon or event which does not involve any mathematical or statistical means of data collection or analysis (Kothari, 1990). The qualitative research methodology involves rigorous data collection approaches and effective evidence of the research process and procedure. All information on how

the research will be carried out must be appropriately included in the study (Bowen, 2009). Scientists always have a tradition of objectivity to prevent biases. In the same manner, qualitative research places greater emphasis on procedures and processes to avoid subjectivity or the researcher being biased (Patton, 2002).

Quantitative research makes use of internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity whereas qualitative research tests trustworthiness, transferability via credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, respectively. Good qualitative research applies standards of trustworthiness such as member-checking, stepwise replication, and audit trails, each of which seeks to verify the substance of what participants said so that interpretations are not subjective iterations of the researcher's belief system (Jackson, Drummond & Camara, 2007, p.26).

Qualitative research regularly deploys fellows or associates going through the study, peer evaluations and assessments, heavy account of the process, and checks or inspections. Researchers adopt one or more of these processes when conducting their study and include the outcome in the study (Creswell & Miller, 2000). A third research methodology known as the mixed methods is an amalgamation or combination of both the quantitative and qualitative research methods (Creswell, 2003).

The research adopts a qualitative research method or design. This is because, researchers who use this method are not only interested in collecting data for the study but the overall objective is to discover solutions to inquiries by adhering to the guidelines for conducting qualitative research design (Lune & Berg, 2017). To understand Ghana's foreign policies pursued by the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) towards ECOWAS peace and security operations, the study adopts the qualitative research methodology to fully answer all the stated research questions. Also, the researcher seeks to explore and analyze the strategies used as well as the continuities and changes in the country's foreign policies pursued by the NPP-NDC from (2001-2017) towards the ECOWAS. To achieve

this, the researcher must adopt the qualitative research method rather than the quantitative which seeks to quantify the views, thoughts, and behaviors of the target population.

### **4.3 Research Strategy/ Design**

There are several ways in conducting a qualitative research study. These are phenomenology, grounded theory, case study, ethnographic study, narrative analysis, critical qualitative research, and postmodern research (Merriam, 2002).

#### **4.3.1 Case Study Approach**

This approach is one of the most valuable qualitative research approaches in studying an event or a phenomenon (Starman, 2013).

The case study method is a very popular form of qualitative analysis and involves a careful and complete observation of a social unit, be that unit a person, a family, an institution, a cultural group, or even the entire community. It is a method of study in depth rather than breadth. The case study places more emphasis on the full analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their interrelations. The case study deals with the processes that take place and their interrelationship. Thus, a case study is essentially an intensive investigation of the particular unit under consideration. The object of the case study method is to locate the factors that account for the behavior patterns of the given unit as an integrated totality (Kothari, 2004, p.113).

This method of conducting research (case study approach) was adopted because it is a very important method that enables the researcher to appreciate and understand the behavioral patterns of the group of people or institutions under study in the past since it is the best approach to study a historical event. This approach also makes it possible for the researcher to acquire a deep understanding of the experiences or what motivated the leaders to pursue such external policies as far as the nation's foreign policy is concerned.

#### 4.4 Data Collection

Data collection is very essential in every study because it serves as the major fact of the research (Bryman, 2016). Data for this study was obtained from both primary and secondary sources.

Merriam (2002), identifies three main sources of data for qualitative research design. These are the use of interviews, observations, and documents. The use of interviews was selected as the main tool for the collection of data. Lune & Berg (2017), simply defines interviews as “*a conversation with a purpose. Specifically, the purpose is to gather information, the interviewer asks questions and the interviewee, called the informant, the respondent, or sometimes the subject provides the answers*” (Lune & Berg, 2017, p.65). Interviews refers to the techniques used to solicit or collect data from respondents or participants. This process comes in three diverse ways: structured, unstructured, and semi-structured (Jackson, Drummond, & Camara, 2007). Structured interviews comprise of formulation of research questions and methods or recording during the interview periods adhering to strict processes. During unstructured interviews, respondents have the chance to seek clarifications and more information to the research area and is likely to change the flow of the interview (Kothari, 1990).

The research instrument used by the researcher to collect primary data from respondents was the use of semi-structured interviews from the field survey. A semi-structured interview guide was designed to guide the researcher in soliciting for information. The rationale for the adoption of the semi-structured interview guide is to give the respondents and participants the chance to add more necessary information that will be relevant to the study. Also, semi-structured interviews were used because, as argued by Noor (2008), it allows for enough flexibility to approach different respondents differently but still focusing on the already set methods of data collection.

The researcher requested for an introductory letter from the Political Science Department to officially introduce the study to the selected respondents explaining what the research entails and also taking into consideration their suggestions of the selected topic. After confirmation from the respondents, the researcher then booked appointments for the interviews and sent out the interview guides before the interview dates were scheduled. The researcher sought permission to record all interviews before the start of the discussions and endeavored to take notes throughout the interviews. All interviews were conducted in English with an average of forty minutes per interviewee. All recorded voice notes were transcribed and categorized to fit the research objectives.

Secondary data were acquired from both print and electronic sources. Electronic sources such as SAGE publications, JSTOR, google scholar, and tandfonline were used to download articles, journals, and e-books. For the print sources, books from the Balme Library and Political Science department library were used in the study as well as annual reports and newsletters from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping and Training Center (KAIPTC) and the ECOWAS office in Accra. All these sources of data provided relevant insights and information to the study.

#### **4.4.1 Research Population**

The study population was targeted towards key stakeholders of foreign policy planning and implementation under the NPP-NDC (2001-2017). Also, foreign policy analysts, ECOWAS mediation experts, security experts, diplomats and academics with the requisite knowledge and experience in Ghana's foreign policy were very essential for the study.

#### **4.4.2 Sample Size and Sampling Technique**

The greatest approach in every study is to examine the whole population but this cannot be achieved due to the large number of people or participants. This is the reason for the selection of a sample which signifies or characterizes the whole population (Acharya, Prakash, Saxena, & Nigam, 2013). A sample design is explained as the strategy used to select the study population highly relevant for the study which includes the size of the population (people to be interviewed). In simple terms, a sample is defined as a part of a whole population.

Non-probability sampling takes place when the researcher selects participants who he or she believes is the best fit for the study but in probability sampling, every member of the whole population has an equal chance of being selected to be a part of the study (Kothari, 1990). In probability sampling, every unit in the population has the equal chance of being selected whereas, in non-probability sampling, the researcher uses his or her discretion (subjectivity) to select from the population and that participants do not have an equal chance of being selected for the study (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016).

Purposive sampling method also known as the judgment sampling is a non-probability sampling method in which the researcher can select his or her participants who have the requisite knowledge of the study area and are keen in supporting the study. This sampling technique is mostly used in qualitative research methodology because of its ability to get to the right people to add their rich experience to the research under study (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). For this study, the non-probability sampling method or design was used and the purposive sampling method was employed specifically to achieve the objectives of the study.

In all, a total of eight (8) participants were interviewed to obtain data to support the study. The eight participants were selected because of their in-depth knowledge, expertise and experience in

the phenomenon under study. The researcher interviewed Ambassador D K Osei, Former Ambassador at large and Secretary to former President Kufuor (2001-2009) and currently serving as the Chairman for the Council on Foreign Relations, a foreign policy thinktank established by H. E Nana Akufo Addo; Prof. Emmanuel Kwesi Aning, Director for Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, KAIPTC; Dr. Kodzo Alabo, former Director of Africa and Regional Integration Bureau at the MOFARI under the Mills administration and currently a Senior Lecturer at LECIAD; Dr. Vladimir Antwi Danso, Dean of Academic Affairs at the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAFSC) and a former Lecturer at LECIAD; Dr. Boni Yao Gebe, Senior Lecturer and Research Fellow at LECIAD; Dr. Ken Emmanuel Ahorsu, Senior Lecturer and Research Fellow at LECIAD; Mr. Ebenezer Aseidu, Head of Mediation Facilitation Division, Political Affairs Directorate, Department of Political Affairs Peace and Security, ECOWAS Commission and Mr. Padi Tetteh, Program Coordinator, Ghana Refugee Board. The justification for the use of interviews was to allow the researcher to obtain valid information from seasoned stakeholders, decision-makers, and scholars in Ghana's foreign policy.

#### **4.5 Framework for Data Analysis**

*“Content analysis is a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material to identify patterns, themes, assumptions and meanings”* (Lune & Berg, 2017. p.182). There are two main types of content analysis, namely, quantitative and qualitative content analysis. Quantitative content analysis uses programmed and prearranged categories generated from a source through an algorithmic search process rather than reading to analyze the data quantitatively. In qualitative content analysis, the researcher categorizes the data from the information generated from the field or interviews conducted and often through careful and attentive reading. Also, qualitative content analysis does not include the use of statistical

techniques but rather, all information or data are analyzed in a purely qualitative manner. A qualitative study aims to have a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon rather than making generalizations solely on numerical interpretations (Forman & Damschroder, 2008). The content which is used for the analyses can be in the form of recorded information or data transcribed from interviews, videos or films, reports of observation, and the like (Mayring, 2000).

This study mainly adopted the use of qualitative content analysis. The reason for the selection of the qualitative content analysis was to allow the researcher to do a proper analysis of the study to avoid hasty generalizations using statistical inferences. Data obtained from the interviews (primary sources) were transcribed into a text format. The interviews were categorized and designed into thematic areas to fit the objectives of the study and analyzed using qualitative content analysis.

#### **4.6 Ethical Consideration**

For this work, the researcher sought the consent or permission of all respondents and the interviewees before engaging them. Before the interview, selected participants or interviewees were sent the interview guide to go through. Also, all interviewees were assured of the utmost confidentiality of information and data obtained. Finally, the researcher duly acknowledged all material used for the study to avoid plagiarism or academic theft.

#### **4.7 Limitations of the Study**

A major limitation of this study is the selected timeframe, that is, 2001-2017 under Ghana's Fourth Republic. The researcher could have added the Rawlings administration and also other policies; such as economic cooperation and financial policies pursued towards the ECOWAS to the study but time would not permit the study to that extent. This led to the study focusing only on the foreign

policies of former President Kufuor, former President Mills, and former President Mahama towards ECOWAS peace and security operations in West Africa.

Although several other conflicts occurred during the NPP-NDC (2001-2017), the study was limited to the peace and security operations of ECOWAS during the second Liberian civil war (1999-2003), Togolese crisis in 2005, the first civil war in Cote d'Ivoire (19<sup>th</sup> September, 2002-4<sup>th</sup> March 2007), second Ivorian civil war (2010-2011), the Mali civil war (2012-2015) and the constitutional crisis in The Gambia (2016-2017).

A final limitation of the study was time constraints on the part of the researcher, interviewees, and the general apathy of Ghanaians towards research work. The timeframe for this thesis is one year and getting access to key stakeholders under the administration of former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama was difficult as most of them were either not available or not interested in engaging with the public.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The main objective of this chapter is to analyze data collected from the field qualitatively in order to find answers to the research questions posed and objectives outlined. The chapter constitutes the empirical analysis of foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS under the NPP-NDC administrations (2001-2017). The major foreign policies both governments pursued towards ECOWAS peace and security operations and the strategies adopted in the resolution of the second Liberian civil war (1999-2003), Togolese crisis in 2005, the first civil war in Cote d'Ivoire (19<sup>th</sup> September 2002 - 4<sup>th</sup> March 2007), second Ivorian civil war (2010-2011), the Mali civil war (2012-2015) and the constitutional crisis in The Gambia (2016-2017).

The chapter will also constitute an assessment of the continuities or changes that characterized the regimes' foreign policies and the lessons that can be drawn from Ghana's foreign policies pursued towards ECOWAS peace and security operations within the selected timeframe.

#### **5.2 Ghana's Foreign Policy under the NPP (2001-2009)**

The Kufuor led administration under the NPP (2001-2009) pursued several policies both at home and abroad. However, this study is interested in the peace and security policies formulated and implemented towards the ECOWAS. As stated by the neoliberal institutional theory, member countries of a regional or sub-regional body come together as a result of mutual interest to establish institutions that guide the policy planning and implementation processes of their respective countries. Also, the insecurity and instability crisis that continues to threaten West African countries can be addressed through cooperation between member countries belonging to the

ECOWAS community. Due to this, the NPP administration under former President Kufuor pursued several policies to champion the activities of ECOWAS to bring about the desired peace in West Africa.

### **5.2.1 ECOWAS Peace and Security operations**

Former President John Agyekum Kufuor was an astute lawyer and a businessman. He served as the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs during the second Republic under the PP regime. He was also appointed secretary for local government during the PNDC era under former President Rawlings. His career path focused on the liberal democratic side of politics in Ghana. This was seen in his values, demeanor, and comportment; popularly referred to as the “gentle giant” due to his calm and positive attitude. Former President Kufuor had a cordial relationship with the media and the business community. As a result, his administration received the biggest monetary support as far as the history of Ghana is concerned, that is, the Millennium Development Fund (MDF). His administration was seen to have been able to stabilize the economy and moderately progressed in human rights issues of the country (Agyeman-Duah, 2006) cited in (Dartey-Baah, 2014).

Former President Kufuor strongly believed peace and security in West Africa and the entire African region could be achieved. As a result, his administration ensured that the national security of the country was well trained and equipped to ensure the safety and harmony of Ghanaians and other peace operations abroad (Owusu-Ansah, 2010). Ambassador D K stated in an interview that:

The Kufuor led administration pursued good neighborliness to maintain friendly relationships with Ghana’s immediate neighbors. This is because poor or hostile relations among neighboring countries can serve as the basis for instability in West Africa or Africa as a whole. As a result, the NPP regime (2001-2009) devised strategies to champion and strengthen good-neighborliness which served as the basis of his African policy to help ECOWAS in resolving the crisis that challenged the peace, stability, and security of the West African Sub-region (**Interview with Ambassador D K Osei on March 3, 2020**).

According to the Bertelsmann Transformation Index (2006), the NPP government under former President Kufuor espoused a positive attitude and commitment towards ECOWAS activities. Former President Kufuor was seen as a trustworthy and dependable partner for cooperation and international development. The KAIPTC although established in 1998 with approval from the Ministry of Defense (MOD), was commissioned in 2004 under the Kufuor administration. The Kufuor administration's close relationship with the German government and the visit by German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, provided more than three million euros to support the establishment of technical logistics at the KAIPTC to support training and learning activities of the KAIPTC. The Chancellor also co-chaired the official inauguration of the center (GhanaWeb, 2004). The KAIPTC mainly known for its rich experience in peace and security training in Africa has trained lots of people all over Africa who one way or the other supports ECOWAS operations across the globe (Birikorang, 2007).

The Kufuor administration was instrumental in the search for peace in Liberia during the civil war. The signing of the Accra Peace Accords in 2003 finally brought about peace in the war-torn Liberia after several years of chaos and insecurity in the country. The agreement was signed on the 18<sup>th</sup> August 2003 in Accra under the administration of former President Kufuor (Boafo-Arthur, 2007; Sirleaf & Radelet, 2008). According to Nduom (2002), the Kufuor administration organized a Joint Permanent Commission for collaboration and support for West African countries with the sole objective of promoting the integration of the principles of ECOWAS.

Also, the Kufuor led administration was supportive in helping to resolve the Togolese crisis after the demise of Gnassingbé Eyadema in 2005. Faure Gnassingbé, the son of the late President wanted to continue ruling militarily but faced a lot of opposition which brought about the crisis that threatened the peace of the country (Bailey, 2018). ECOWAS sanctioned Togo by suspending

the country from the ECOWAS community and restricted its leadership from traveling within the West African sub-region (Vasagar, 2005).

The NPP (2001-2009) government was again actively involved in instilling peace during the first Ivorian crisis through the sub-regional body, ECOWAS. This led to the signing of the Marcoussis accord in 2003 in France. The Kufuor administration together with the Heads of State of Nigeria and Togo condemned any activity leading to an unconstitutional change of government in the Ivory Coast. As a result, Ghana, Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Niger, and Togo formed a mediation team to create a relationship with rebels to commence the solution to the crises that prevailed in Ivory Coast. In helping to resolve the Ivorian civil war, the Kufuor government was very instrumental in the signing of the Abidjan agreement, Accra I meeting, and the execution of the Lina-Marcoussis Peace Accord. Although these efforts to resolve the conflict failed, the government of Ghana under former President Kufuor through ECOWAS helped in the signing of Accra II and III Agreements. Former President Kufuor was the chairman of the Accra II Agreement on the 7<sup>th</sup> of March, 2003 (Dadson, 2008). The Kufuor administration was again seen to personally hold peace talks with Laurent Gbagbo and Alhassan Ouattara in Ghana during the electoral disagreements or clashes in the Ivory Coast as part of his pursuit of good neighborliness towards West African countries.

Due to the NPP governments' commitment to peace and security in the sub-region, former President Kufuor was elected to serve as the chairman for ECOWAS on two consecutive occasions, that is, 2004 and 2005 respectively. At the continental level, former President Kufuor again was elected to serve as chairman of the AU in 2007. This was a result of his commitment to championing the resolution of peace and security crises which affected the African continent (Boafo-Arthur, 2007).

Kufuor and Olusegun Obasanjo developed a very strong and cordial relationship that brought about great developmental projects for the NPP administration and Ghana as a whole (2001-2009) and ECOWAS. The relationship which existed between former President of Ghana and former President Obasanjo of Nigeria translated into progress and development in ECOWAS, the sub-regional body. Both countries participated in ECOWAS meetings which spearheaded the resolution of conflicts in the West African region. The strong relations that existed between Ghana and Nigeria was as a result of the determination to achieve collective peace and security in the sub-region through ECOWAS (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011).

In an interview with Prof. Emmanuel Aning, he highlighted that,

Ghana - Nigeria (Kufuor and Obasanjo) relations were very strong. They were able to leverage and make use of the ECOWAS platform to resolve the insecurity in some West African countries. For the intervention in Liberia to yield, the chemistry between Kufuor and Obasanjo was very good and positive which brought sanity into Liberian political space (**Prof. Emmanuel Aning, interview on February 3, 2020**).

### **5.3 Ghana's Foreign Policy under the NDC (2009-2012)**

The NDC under former President Mills and former President Mahama (2009-2017) formulated diverse international and local policies. This study is, however, interested in the peace and security policies formulated and implemented towards the ECOWAS. As stated by the neoliberal institutional theory, member countries of a regional or sub-regional body come together as a result of mutual interest to collectively solve or address challenges that confront them. Also, the insecurity and instability crisis West African countries are going through can be achieved through cooperation between member countries at the sub-regional level. As a result, the NDC (2009-2012) administration pursued several policies in other to contribute to the attainment of the desired peace in West Africa through ECOWAS.

### **5.3.1 ECOWAS Peace and Security operations**

The late Professor J. E. A Mills was born on the 21<sup>st</sup> of July, 1944, and hails from the Ekumfi Otum in the Central Region of Ghana. He was popularly referred to as “asomdwehene” literally translated as “king of peace”. He served as the Vice President of the Republic of Ghana during the NDC administration under former President Rawlings (Dartey-Baah, 2014). In his early career years, Professor Mills worked as a lecturer at the University of Ghana for several years and a visiting scholar to several institutions of higher education abroad. He also served as the Acting Commissioner of Ghana’s Internal Revenue Service from 1986 to 1993, the substantive Commissioner from 1993- 1996, and an author of several academic publications (peacefmonline, 2012).

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of January, 2009, former President Kufuor successfully handed over to former President Mills as President of the Republic of Ghana. This signified another peaceful transfer of power from the incumbent to the opposition in the history of Ghana (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009). In his first SONA as the President, former President Mills stated that his administration will follow the traditional foreign policy guidelines of the country. He also affirmed how strongly Ghana will participate in all ECOWAS activities to achieve the desired results in the sub-region. His administration on several occasions in his SONA expressed how committed the NDC government was in promoting and ensuring peace and security prevails in the sub-region. During his tenure in office, the NDC government under former President Mills used diplomacy and already established agreements to solve all boundary disagreements and conflicts (Mills, 2009; 2012). The Mills administration was involved in key counterterrorism initiatives in the African continent (GlobalSecurity.org, n.d.).

Former President Mills made his foreign policy people-centered to get the best out of the human and other valuable resources of the country to the benefit of all citizens of Ghana. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration by an Executive Instrument (E.I. 7) dated 23<sup>rd</sup> January, 2009 was redesigned under the administration of former President Mills. Also, the Mills administration in order to enhance the performance of the MOFARI organized a retreat for the ministry at Sogakope in the Volta Region from 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> June, 2009; where a comprehensive analysis of issues of critical importance to the development of the ministry in particular and the country at large were discussed. The Mills administration also initiated the construction of a modern office complex for the MOFARI following the outbreak of fire in its headquarters. With assistance from the government of the People's Republic of China, a modern office complex was built to replace the old one at the Airport junction in Accra (Allotey, 2015).

Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas, in his presentation during the Second Annual Memorial Lecture of the Late Professor Mills stated that,

Ghana during the epoch of Professor Mills was a refreshing sight both at the sub-regional (ECOWAS) and continental (AU) summits as other African leaders listened to his simple but incisive interventions with attention. He spared no time selling the Ghana governance model as a viable path towards democracy, development and regional integration. Behind the scenes, he brokered in conflict zones and maintained Ghana's proud record of peacekeeping abroad. Former President Mills was actively involved in the organization of a committee between Ghana and Ivory Coast to peacefully resolve the maritime border disagreements (Chambas, 2014).

In an interview, Dr. Kodzo Alabo, unequivocally stated that,

The NDC government's commitment to supporting ECOWAS activities was revealed in the first and famous SONA when he said: "The concept of the free movement of persons and goods throughout our respective countries must progress from mere slogans to result-oriented actions that will encourage integration and economic development in our subregion" as cited in (Mills, 2009) **(Interview with Dr. Kodzo Alabo on February 13, 2020)**.

During the Second Extraordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS on Ivory coast in Nigeria, West African Leaders including former President Mills decided and agreed on the use of force to remove President Laurent Gbagbo from power as President if he declined to hand over power to Alassane Ouattara, the constitutionally elected President for Ivory Coast (Aning & Atuobi, 2011).

However, the Mills administration did not comment or show concern on the crisis which was happening in Cote d'Ivoire although regional organizations such as the UN, AU, and ECOWAS approved of Ouattara as the newly elected President of Cote d'Ivoire. Briefing the press in Accra, former President Mills was asked how Ghana was going to support Ivory Coast and the response to the media entourage was "Dzi wo fie Asem" literally translated as "mind your own business" (Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi, 2017). This comment was a total deviation from Ghana's foreign policy which outlines Ghana's membership and adherence to international treaties and laws. Article (40), chapter (6) of the 1992 constitution states that,

In its dealings with other nations, the Government shall (a) promotion and protection of the interest of Ghana; (b) establishment of a just and equitable international, economic, political and social order; (c) promotion of respect for international law and treaty obligations; (d) Promotion of the settlement of international disputes through peaceful means; (e) Adherence to the principles enshrined in the Charter and aims or ideals of the United Nations, the African Union, the ECOWAS, the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement (Article 40, 1992 Constitution of Ghana).

Dr. Fayemi Kayode in his presentation at the Third Annual Memorial Atta Mills Lecture explained that,

when the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1975 in June, 2011, for the intervention in Cote d'Ivoire, a neighboring country of Ghana, it wanted to use Ghana as a springboard for UN Peacekeeping troops and other concerned nations to attack Cote d'Ivoire. Even though Ghana was party to the ECOWAS decision to use the military to intervene in Cote d'Ivoire, Mills decided not to take unilateral action in the crisis. He embarked on quiet diplomacy, that is (the "Dzi wo fie asem" policy, in Twi). Former President Mills believed that military option will destabilize Ghana and the entire sub-region (Kayode, 2015).

In an interview, Ambassador D K Osei explained that,

The NDC has a close ideological tie with the political party of Laurent Gbagbo in the Ivory Coast. Mills did not want to draw Ghana into a civil war, because the Gbagbo regime thought because he was close to the NDC party under Mills, Ghana would have supported Ivory Coast militarily. But the NDC under former President Mills chose otherwise with his popular “Dzi wo fie asem”. The conflict got to a point where survival could only be through military means, if Mills attempted to support Gbagbo it would have meant that, Ghana was going to fight the UN, French forces and ECOWAS. The “Dzi wo fie asem” policy meant Ghana was not going to intervene directly but through the ECOWAS (**Interview with Ambassador D K Osei on March 3, 2020**).

Some Ghanaians numbering up to 44 were killed in The Gambia under the administration of former President Yahya Jammeh, and this affected the Ghana-Gambia relationship. For instance, when Yahya Jammeh planned to come for the AU Summit in Accra, former President Mahama, a spokesperson for the MOFARI advised all Ghanaian not to welcome him. As a result, Yahya Jammeh cancelled his journey to Ghana. Looking at the country’s influential status in ECOWAS, Ghana was expected to be diplomatic in her dealings with other countries but choose otherwise (Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi, 2017).

Nigeria faced several security difficulties commencing from 2009 as a result of the activities of Boko Haram, which had great repercussions on the peace and security of the country. This led to the formation of a Multinational Joint Force (MNJF) comprising of Nigeria, Benin, Chad, and Cameroon to fight and halt the activities of Boko Haram which was a major threat to the Nigerian government. The Mills administration again did not join the alliance which was purposely set up to fight Boko Haram and restore peace and security in Nigeria (ibid).

The Mills administration, although cordial with Nigeria, faced some challenges compared to that of former President Kufuor. This is because the Nigerian community in Ghana saw the administration of Mills as a threat to their businesses. This was as a result of the increase in the fee for the establishment of foreign businesses under the Ghana Investment Promotion Act (GIPA).

Also, the Mills administration was allegedly accused of planning to import crude oil from Equatorial Guinea instead of the agreements the previous government had with Nigeria (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011).

## **5.4 Ghana's Foreign Policy under the NDC (2012-2017)**

### **5.4.1 ECOWAS Peace and Security operation**

Former President John Dramani Mahama was born on the 29<sup>th</sup> of November, 1958 in Damongo. He was elected as a Parliamentarian in 2000 and re-elected again in 2004 to represent Ghanaians in the Bole constituency. He was appointed as the deputy communications Minister for the NDC in 1997 and as the substantive Minister of Communications from 2001 to 2005. Later, he also served as the spokesperson for the minority in Parliament on foreign affairs from 2005 to 2008. Former President J E A Mills selected him to be his Vice President until his demise in 2012 when he was sworn in as the President of the Republic of Ghana by the Chief Justice of the country as the President after the death of J E A Mills. Article 60 (6) of the 1992 constitution stipulates that “when the president dies, resigns or is removed from office, the vice president shall assume office as the President for the unexpired term with effect from the date of the president's death, resignation or removal”. As a result, John Dramani Mahama was sworn in to complete the unexpired term of President J E A Mills as President.

Before assuming the position of President, he served as a member of the Pan-African Parliament, specifically, the chairperson for the West African sub-regional committee till 2001. He was also a member of the European and Pan-African Parliaments' ad hoc committee on cooperation. He is the author of “My First Coup d'état and Other True Stories from the Lost Decades of Africa” first issued in 2012. He is the first President of Ghana to have served all levels of political affairs in the country (Obiorah, 2018).

In February 2013, the Mahama-led administration formed a Bureau for Diaspora Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration to harness Ghanaian nationals' efforts, capacity and resources for national growth and development in the diaspora (Afful, 2017).

In the 2013 and 2014 SONA of former President Mahama, he explained how Ghana was ready to use its great mediation skills to help in the resolutions of conflicts as occurred in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Cote d'Ivoire.

In an interview with Dr. Ken Ahorsu, he asserted that,

Former President Mahama was committed to promoting peace and security in the West African sub-region. Ghana contributed a good number of the country's armed forces to participate in the resolution of the conflict in Mali through the African-led force operating in Mali (AFISMA) where Ghana was very active and instrumental in ECOWAS Affairs **(Interview with Dr. Ken Ahorsu on May 29, 2020)**.

ECOWAS imposed several sanctions against Mali when there was an unconstitutional change of power in the country. These sanctions were the closure of all land borders in Mali and the shutdown of the country's financial resources in West Africa. Ghana played an active role in restoring peace in Mali by attending all the summits, meetings, and contributions of troops to the peacekeeping force (Okeke, Oji, & Okechukwu, 2014). The country also engaged in several peacekeeping initiatives in the world by contributing military men to Sudan and other parts of the world to achieve collective peace and security in the sub-region. In the fight against terrorist activities in West Africa, Ghana supported Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin (Mahama, 2013; 2014).

Former President Mahama was elected to serve as ECOWAS chairman in 2015 as a result of his commitment to resolving peace and security issues in the sub-region. According to an interview by the Ghana News Agency (GNA) with Mr. Seth Terkper, former Minister of Finance in 2015, former President Mahama portrayed an exceptional visionary leadership when he served as

ECOWAS chairman. He supported member countries especially in monitoring elections leading to the peaceful transfer of power in Nigeria and Togo (Terkper, 2015).

The NDC government (2012-2017) saw the Gambian constitutional crises as a menace to the peace, security, and stability of the country and the whole sub-region. Due to this, ECOWAS sent a delegation headed by former Liberian President Ellen Sirleaf Johnson, together with former President Mahama, former President Buhari of Nigeria, and several others who traveled to Banjul to start the peacemaking processes. The mediation was led by former President John Dramani Mahama and President Muhammadu Buhari during the Gambian constitutional crises. Also, Ghana contributed troops to the peacekeeping force operating in The Gambia which led to the successful swearing-in and inauguration of Adama Barrow, the constitutionally elected President of The Gambia at the Gambian embassy in Senegal with an international approval from the UN, AU, and ECOWAS (Bappah, 2014, 2018; Hartmann, 2017).

The Mahama led government upheld its commitment to the UN, AU, the Commonwealth, and other IGO'S which Ghana is a member. During the Ebola outbreak, former President Mahama played a leading role in the sub-region to help curb the international health menace and provided coordination point of the Center for the United Nations Mission on Ebola Emergency Response (UNMEER) in Accra (Mahama, 2015). In addressing the 69<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York on the 25<sup>th</sup> September 2014, President Mahama made a fervent appeal to the international community to respond as a matter of urgency to combat and contain the spread of the Ebola virus in the sub-region of West Africa. Former President Mahama explained to all present the repercussions of Ebola if the international community should turn a deaf ear to it. In the same sessional address, President Mahama appealed to the US government to consider

normalizing diplomatic relations with Cuba and lifting the trade embargo imposed on that country, which was 50 years old (Mahama, 2014).

After handing over power successfully to the NPP administration under the leadership of H. E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo in 2017, former President Mahama was again selected by the ECOWAS to lead a 71 member election observation assignment in Liberia where he did very good work in ensuring free and fair elections in the country (Akwei, 2017).

### **5.5 Strategies used by the ECOWAS to achieve Peace and Security in the Sub-region.**

From the neoliberal institutional perspective, IGO's (ECOWAS) can be successful in the resolution of conflicts or threats that affect the West African region through the establishment of institutions. These institutions serve as the basis for achieving cooperation as a sub-regional body. ECOWAS institutions are created by representatives or leaders of countries who come together to deliberate on political problems, economic difficulties, social issues as well as achieving collective peace and security. The underlying assumption is, institutions created by ECOWAS provide the basis or context for which individual member countries like Ghana formulates and implements its peace and security operations policies towards the collective attainment of peace in the sub-region.

Review of literature on the strategies used by ECOWAS in resolving crises in West Africa showed that the sub-regional body adopts several strategies for its peace and security operations. ECOWAS strategies emanate from the already established institutions or protocols. However, individual countries formulate and implement policies to support and complement these strategies used to achieve the peace and security objectives and targets of the sub-regional body and do not issue sub-regional commands individually but collectively. As a result, Ghana cannot order a

peacekeeping mission alone but can be done and achieved collectively through the sub-regional front, ECOWAS by contributing troops to support the operation.

A major strategy used by ECOWAS is peacekeeping. ECOWAS peacekeeping strategy started in the late 1980s and early 1990s with interventions in Liberia (1990), Sierra Leone (1991), and Guinea-Bissau (1998). This approach was deployed in all three cases because the sub-regional body wanted to put an end to the catastrophic and severe nature of these crises which claimed the lives of several civilians. Also, the repercussions of these conflicts in neighboring countries prompted a peacekeeping operation approach. In the Liberian crisis, the administration of Samuel Doe was unable to govern the country due to the collapse of law and order in the country. The President was murdered by rebels even before the peacekeeping force arrived in the country (Adeleke, 1995; Olonisakin, 2011; Ofuatey-Kodjoe, 2003).

Moreover, in the case of Sierra Leone, the central government was not capable of controlling the country just as occurred in Liberia. This was because the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) had a powerful force that threatened the ruling government. As a result, some members of the armed forces in Sierra Leone who were supposed to defend the country rather staged a coup against the government. With this, ECOWAS had no option but to intervene in the conflict by deploying a peacekeeping approach. In Guinea-Bissau, the unconstitutional change of government had greater consequences on the government of the day just as it occurred in Cote d'Ivoire. Although the governments of Senegal and Guinea offered support for Guinea-Bissau, it yielded no results until ECOWAS intervened in the crisis (Olonisakin, 2011).

In an interview with Ambassador D K Osei, he explained that,

Former President Kufuor played an active role in the resolution of the Liberian crisis, the Togolese crisis, and the first Ivorian civil war by contributing Ghanaian troops to the ECOWAS and UN peacekeeping forces to resolve the conflicts. Although the Mills administration commented on the second Ivorian civil war with his popular” Dzi wo fie asem”, Ghana’s armed forces were part of the peacekeeping force in Ivory Coast. The Mahama regime under the NDC also contributed troops to the peacekeeping force in Mali and the Gambia during the crises (**Interview with Ambassador D. K. Osei on March 3, 2020**).

Another strategy used in restoring peace and security by ECOWAS is peacemaking. These peacemaking initiatives include mediations, use of diplomacy, negotiations, and agreements between ECOWAS representatives or leaders and the warring factions or groups as a way of resolving conflicts in West Africa. Several mediation roles led to the signing of the Cotonou, Abuja, and the Accra Peace agreements for the Liberian crises, Sierra Leone, and the Lomé Peace Accord. Despite the contribution of the UN, AU, and EU, ECOWAS developed great initiatives to resolve these crises (Adeleke, 1995; Bappah, 2018; Ofuatey-kodjo, 2003; Olonisakin, 2011). To complement the information in the ECOWAS Mediation Guidelines (2008), an interviewee explained that,

The mediation experience of ECOWAS started in Liberia (1990), Sierra Leone (1991), and Guinea-Bissau (1998). ECOWAS continued its mediatory role in Guinea- Bissau again from (2004-2010), Republic of Guinea (2007-2010), Ivory Coast (2010-2011), Mali (2012), Guinea-Bissau (2015-2017), Burkina Faso (2014) and The Gambia (2016-2017). Also, the Kufuor administration led several mediations during the crises of some member countries in the ECOWAS and AU. Former President John Dramani Mahama also led the mediation processes during the Malian and Gambian constitutional crises (**Interview with Mr. Ebenezer Aseidu on June 12, 2020**).

The ECPF was adopted by ECOWAS in 2008 to complement already existing protocols and institutions to help resolve conflicts that continue to threaten the peace, security, and stability of most West African countries. The ECPF is an all-inclusive conflict management and prevention approach that allows ECOWAS member countries to make use of human and natural resources

available at the broad level of cooperation between member states concerning the new initiatives to resolve conflicts or issues that threaten the security of a county (Yabi, 2010). The ECPF clearly outlines and explains the duties of CSO's, the non-governmental sector, and the international community in transforming crises in West Africa (Bappah, 2018). The ECPF reechoed the need for ECOWAS to establish a policy document that regulates and ensures effective collaboration between both official and official mediatory interventions in the sub-region (ECOWAS Mediation Guidelines, 2018).

ECOWAS also sets up SMC to help resolve and prevent conflicts that occur within the sub-region regarding the Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defense. For instance, during the Liberian crises Ghana, Mali, Togo, and Gambia (all member states of the ECOWAS community) formed the main mediatory body in charge of restoring the peace and security in the country (Ajayi, 2008; Obi, 2009; Bappah, 2014, 2018; Yabi, 2011).

According to Bappah (2014), ECOWAS involves CSO's and political parties as a strategy in resolving conflicts that occur in the sub-region. These institutions have proven to be helpful and very supportive in the peacemaking and building process as occurred during the Liberian and Sierra Leonean civil war. This led to the establishment of WACSOF in 2003 as a means of ensuring partnership between governments, political parties, CSO's and ECOWAS. Also, in countries where CSO's are active, the sub-regional body gets adequate support from these institutions to restore peace. For instance, through social media campaigns, Gambians in the diaspora supported ECOWAS processes in restoring peace between Yahya Jammeh and his political party supporters, the main opposition party, and Gambian citizens.

As a means of resolving conflicts and preventing its occurrence, ECOWAS promotes democratic governance in its member countries. ECOWAS has achieved great success by applying or using

sub-regional means of instilling democracy in West Africa. ECOWAS has two main strategies or mechanisms for promoting good governance and democracy, which translates into the desire for peace and security in member countries. These are the exploratory mission and the observer mission. The former takes dominion in assessing several factors before the start of an election. At this level, ECOWAS provides monetary and technical assistance to the country involved. The observer mission is the main monitoring unit during elections and is dissolved immediately after the declaration of election results (Bappah, 2014).

### **5.6 Continuity and Change in Foreign Policy**

From the theoretical framework, historical institutionalism theory which compliments the neoliberal institutionalism theory in this study largely explains continuities and changes in foreign policies of countries with the selected concepts: path dependence and critical junctures. This is because, the two concepts, path dependence, and critical juncture are used to ascertain whether there were continuities or changes in Ghana's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS from (2001-2017). Path dependence explains how foreign policy decisions accrued over some time have implications for future decisions by actors or policymakers. On the other hand, critical junctures explain how historical patterns are altered or changed by rational political actors in the case of uncertainty and bargain in diverse ways which often bring about differential outcomes from rooted historical-institutional settings. Scholars who align with this school of thought argue that the preferences or choices of political actors at a particular point in time have implications or consequences for future or successive institutions. As a result, the two concepts, path dependence and critical junctures, under the historical institutional theory are used to explain the continuities or changes in the foreign policies of the NPP-NDC (2010-2017)

administration under former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama respectively.

Also, a review of literature by the researcher outlined how scholars such as (Aluko, 1975, Asare & Siaw, 2018; Birikorang, 2007; Bofo-Arthur, 1999; 2007; Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi, 2017) explained continuities and changes in Ghana's foreign policy. Ghana's foreign policy gained its roots from the First Republic under the country's first President Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. In an interview with Dr. Kodzo Alabo who served as the former Director of Africa and Regional Integration Bureau at the MOFARI, he stated that:

The foundational pillars or the bedrock of Ghana's foreign policy are commitment to multilateralism (the fundamental belief that as a small State we need to relate with multilateral organizations to achieve our goals and objectives), pan-Africanism, non-alignment and good neighborliness. He added that the national interest of Ghana revolves around the development of the country and the ability to provide leadership for the world and the country's desire to pursue its policy of non-alignment to draw support from all parts of the world (**Interview with Dr. Kodzo Alabo on February 13, 2020**).

Foreign policy derives from the national interest of a country. The national interest of a country is very debatable; academics have not come to a consensus on it. Some scholars argue that the national interest of a country is the "interest of the sovereign", where the sovereign is the President or Head of Government of the country. Although Article 35 clause 2 of the 1992 constitution outlines Ghana's national interest, which states that, the State shall protect and safeguard the independence, unity, and territorial integrity of Ghana and shall seek the well-being of all her citizens. However, the national interest as stated by the constitution is not very clear. This gives room for the government in power to formulate policies and say it is the national interest of the country (Bluwey, 2002). Dr. Vladimir Antwi Danso indicated that:

“The national interest of Ghana thrives on peaceful co-existence; rapid development of the nation; and progress and prosperity of the citizenry” (**Interview with Dr. Vladimir Antwi Danso on January 27, 2020**).

Finally, in an interview with Dr. Gebe, he added that,

The national interest of Ghana hinges directly on national survival and can be linked to national security. If a state is secured, then you can think of other variables such as good neighborliness and membership of international organizations. The survival or security of Ghana’s neighbors is tied to the country’s security. That is why Ghana was very involved in the Liberian crisis in the early part of the 1990s to prevent a spillover of the conflict into the country (**Interview with Dr. Boni Yao Gebe on May 20, 2020**).

### **5.6.1 Continuity and Change in NPP Foreign Policy towards the Peace and Security Operations of ECOWAS (2001-2009)**

Ghana’s involvement in peace and security operations in the world can be traced to the 1960 crisis in Congo. The country has played an active role in conflicts that occurred in Kosovo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Lebanon, DRC, Ivory Coast, and several others. Ghana’s contribution yielded positive results by helping to curb the immediate suffering these countries were going through. (Birikorang, 2007). Continuities and changes in the foreign policies of the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) under former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama were assessed using these indicators. Diplomacy or diplomatic relations; hosting and attendance of summits; leadership skills, personal experience and drive; and humanitarian and refugee support.

#### **5.6.1.1 Diplomacy or Diplomatic Relations**

Some levels of continuities existed in the administration of former President Kufuor as far as Ghana’s foreign policy is concerned. The government of Ghana dynamically supported ECOWAS mediation and negotiation activities in Liberia during the civil war. Although the conflict started during the administration of former President Rawlings, the Kufuor administration met this crisis getting to the end of it and contributed to its resolution. The signing of the Accra Peace Accords

in 2003 finally brought about peace in war-torn Liberia after several years of insecurity in the country. The agreement was signed on the 18<sup>th</sup> August 2003 in Accra under the administration of former President Kufuor. Also, using good diplomatic relations the Kufuor administration successfully supported ECOWAS in the resolution of the Togolese crisis as well as the first Ivorian civil war (Boafo-Arthur, 2007; Sirleaf & Radelet, 2008).

In an interview with Ambassador D K Osei, he explained that,

In helping to resolve the first Ivorian civil war, the Kufuor government was very instrumental in the signing of the Abidjan agreement, Accra I meeting, and the execution of the Lina-Marcoussis Peace Accord. Although these efforts to resolve the conflict failed, the government of Ghana under former President Kufuor through ECOWAS helped in the signing of Accra II and III Agreements. Former President Kufuor was the chairman of the Accra II Agreement on the 7<sup>th</sup> of March, 2003 (**Interview with Ambassador D. K. Osei on March 3, 2020**).

#### **5.6.1.2 Hosting and Attending Summits**

The NPP administration under former President Kufuor massively supported and participated in ECOWAS by hosting and attending several summits organized to resolve the second Liberian civil war (1999-2003), the Togolese crisis in 2005, the first civil war in Cote d'Ivoire (19<sup>th</sup> September 2002-4<sup>th</sup> March 2007). Ghana hosted the Accra Peace Accords in 2003, the meeting which finally brought about peace in Liberia. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of January, 2008 former President Kufuor traveled to Ouagadougou to participate in the ECOWAS summit of Heads of State. The NPP administration again on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February 2008 hosted a joint UN/ECOWAS mission in Ghana to find strategies or ways to resolve and bring stability to the northern territory of Mali, Niger and Mauritania where some militia or rebel activities were ongoing. He finally attended the 35<sup>th</sup> Ordinary summit of heads of State in Abuja as the President of the Republic of Ghana (Nugent, 2009).

### **5.6.1.3 Leadership skills, Personal experience and drive**

Former President Kufuor portrayed great and exceptional leadership skills, abilities and massive support in the West African sub-region when he served as the ECOWAS chair for two consecutive times. Ghana contributed to the resolution of succession issues in Togo due to the nation's close contact with the leadership of the government of the country. Also, the former President was an astute Lawyer and diplomat with several years of experience in foreign policy before becoming the President of the Republic of Ghana. Specifically, when he served as a deputy foreign minister under the PP government.

Ambassador D K Osei explained in an interview that,

Former President Kufuor took a personal approach in his foreign policy towards the ECOWAS in all peace and security decisions. During the crisis in Togo, former President took a personal decision to speak to Faure Gnassingbé and other opposition factions involved and also supported the sub-regional front, ECOWAS. As a result of the NPP governments' commitment to peace and security in the sub-region, former President Kufuor was elected to serve as the chairman for ECOWAS for two consecutive occasions, that is, 2004 and 2005 respectively. At the continental level, former President Kufuor again was elected to serve as chairman of the AU in 2007. This was a result of his commitment to championing the resolution of peace and security crises which affected the African continent (**Interview with Ambassador D. K. Osei on March 3, 2020**).

### **5.6.1.4 Humanitarian and Refugee Support**

Ghana under the NPP (2001-2017) administration hosted approximately 47,000 refugees and people seeking asylum from Liberia, Togo and Sierra Leone. Besides, the number of refugees increased by 6000 Liberians who fled from mainly the Liberian civil war and neighboring countries such as Cote d'Ivoire (The UNHCR Global Appeal, 2004). Also, about twelve thousand refugees sought refuge in Ghana in the course of the Togolese conflict (Cook, 2009).

In an interview with the Program Coordinator for Ghana Refugee Board, he explained that,

The Government of Ghana under the Kufuor administration supported refugees who moved to Ghana during the Liberian crisis, the Togolese crisis and the first Ivorian civil war. Although, the UNHCR provides a lot of support for refugees in Ghana, the government provided lands for the establishment of the various camps. Ghana Refugee Board, which is in charge of all administrative activities of refugees in the country is fully funded and supported by the government (**Interview with Mr. Padi Tetteh on July 20, 2020**).

Despite the continuities in Ghana's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS under the NPP administration from (2001-2009), some changes characterized the regimes foreign policy. The Kufuor administration was expected to hand over President Charles Taylor to the Sierra Leone Special Court which ordered his arrest. This was as a result of the charges leveled against him for unlawfully supporting war crimes in Sierra Leone which threatened the peace, security, and stability of the country (Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi, 2017).

If Ghana adheres to all principles of the ECOWAS, the NPP government (2001-2009) was supposed to respect the judgment of the Sierra Leone special court by handing over Charles Taylor to the Sierra Leone government but did otherwise. This was a clear deviation from article 40 of the 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana. Also, the NPP government under former President Kufuor was silent about the unconstitutional change of government in Togo in 2005 although the UN, AU, and ECOWAS condemned the undemocratic event and perceived it as a threat to the country and the entire international community (ibid). In an interview with Dr. Boni Yao Gebe, he explained that

There are no protocols or agreements that orders the arrests of Heads of States who violate the human rights of citizens in their respective countries, as a result, the NPP administration under Kufuor was not bound by any agreement to hand over President Charles Taylor. Due to this, we cannot accuse the administration of former President Kufuor for doing anything unusual (**Interview with Dr. Boni Yao Gebe on May 20, 2020**).

## **5.6.2 Continuity and Change in NDC Foreign Policy towards the Peace and Security Operations of ECOWAS (2009-2017)**

### **5.6.1.1 Diplomacy or Diplomatic Relations**

The NDC administration under former President Mills followed the laid down principles of Ghana's foreign policy by taking inspiration from Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in his pursuit of foreign policies towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS. Also, the Mahama led government which took over from former President Mills upheld its commitment to the UN, AU, the Commonwealth, and other IGO's which Ghana is a member and maintained good relations with the country's immediate neighbors. These leaders were therefore guided by the provisions enshrined in the 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana such as articles 40, 41, 73 and 81 as well as the guiding principles of state policy as enshrined in the constitution. Ghana's foreign policy under both President Mills and President Mahama stretched on the country's respect for multinational bodies, international laws and treaties to which the country is a signatory. The foreign policies of these leaders explicitly demonstrated their involvement with the UN, AU, ECOWAS, the commonwealth and the Non-aligned Movement. Respect for these organizations as amplified by Mills and Mahama gave a strong and praiseworthy voice to Ghana in global matters (Mahama, 2014, 2015; Mills, 2009, 2012).

An assessment of the foreign policies under President Mills and President Mahama towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS reveal a common point of convergence with regards to maintaining global peace and security. The two illustrious leaders demonstrated and constantly reaffirmed their prime role in the international community when they had the chance to support ECOWAS operations. Both leaders pledged their unflinching support to world peace and security through Ghana's relentless effort in peacekeeping in a global crisis (ibid).

Dr. Kodzo Alabo asserted that,

The Mahama led administration which took over the mantle of leadership of the country followed the foreign policy directive of the country like his predecessor. He played an active role in the quest for peace and security in Africa. Ghana was at the forefront in the restoration of peace in Mali and The Gambia during the constitutional crises. Also, Ghana contributed military men to Sudan and other parts of the world to achieve collective peace and security. In the fight against terrorist activities in West Africa, Ghana supported Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin. Moreover, the Ebola crises saw how Ghana played a leading role in looking for a solution to cure the endemic disease as well as humanitarian assistant to affected member countries of the ECOWAS community. **(Interview with Dr. Kodzo Alabo on February 13, 2020).**

### **5.6.1.2 Hosting and Attending Summits**

Under the NDC (2009-2017) administration of former Presidents Mills and Mahama, both attended lots of summits aimed at the successful resolution of the second Ivorian civil war (2010-2011), the Mali civil war (2012-2015) and the constitutional crisis in The Gambia (2016-2017) which took place during their tenure in office. Former President Mills attended the ECOWAS mediation summit in Abuja on the 10<sup>th</sup> of January 2009 (GhanaWeb, 2009) and the 36<sup>th</sup> Ordinary session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government in Abuja on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 2009 (ECOWAS Commission, 2009). Also, he participated in the 38<sup>th</sup> ordinary session of the Authority of ECOWAS Heads of State in Sal Island, Cape Verde on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July, 2010 (Myjoyonline, 2010).

Also, the Mills administration was very instrumental in the Second Extraordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS on Ivory Coast in Abuja, Nigeria on the 7<sup>th</sup> of December 2010 and on the 24<sup>th</sup> of December 2010 with both meetings focusing on the resolution of the second civil war in Ivory Coast. The Mills administration also participated in an emergency meeting in Dakar on the recent political happening in Mali and Guinea-Bissau on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May 2012 (Dogbevi, 2012).

Moreover, former President Mahama attended the 42<sup>nd</sup> ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. Also, his administration hosted the forty-fifth

Ordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 2014 and served as the chairman for the occasion. President Mahama hosted the 45<sup>th</sup> Ordinary Session of ECOWAS in Accra, on 10<sup>th</sup> July, 2014 during which 15 Heads of State and Governments or their representatives participated in the session that dealt with the deadly Ebola disease. Another ECOWAS conference was hosted by Ghana at the Movenpick Ambassador Hotel, Accra on 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> November 2014; to raise funds to help combat and contain the Ebola virus in the West African sub-region. Ghana pledged US \$1million and 20 medical doctors as its contribution. He was the first president to have paid emergency visits to the Ebola victims in their respective countries.

He again hosted the ECOWAS summit on Ebola in Accra on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November, 2014 (Sanda, 2014) and attended the 46<sup>th</sup> ECOWAS summit in Abuja on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December, 2014 (ECOWAS Commission, 2014). He took part in the 44<sup>th</sup> Ordinary Session of ECOWAS held in Yamoussoukro, Ivory Coast and was elected as the Chair of the sub-regional government. Also, President Mahama on 15<sup>th</sup> September, 2015 was appointed by the UN as a Co-Chair of a group of 16 eminent Sustainable Goals Advocates to support the UN to generate momentum and commitment to achieve the SDGs by 2030. This was perhaps made possible as a result of his address on climate change to the UN General Assembly on 20<sup>th</sup> July, 2014. The 50<sup>th</sup> Ordinary Session of the ECOWAS in Abuja, Nigeria on the 17<sup>th</sup> December 2016 was also attended by former President Mahama (ECOWAS Commission, 2016).

### **5.6.1.3 Leadership skills, Personal experience and drive**

Former President Mills was an astute academic, a public servant and rose to the position of the Vice President under the administration of former President Rawlings before assuming the position as a President of the Republic of Ghana. Former President Mahama on the other hand was

appointed as the deputy communications Minister for the NDC in 1997 and as the main Minister of communications from 2001 to 2005. Later, he also served as the spokesperson for the minority in Parliament on foreign affairs from 2005 to 2008. Former President J E A Mills selected him to be his Vice President until his demise in 2012 when he was sworn in as the President of the Republic of Ghana by the Chief Justice of the country. He served as a member of the Pan-African Parliament, specifically, the chairperson for the West African sub-regional committee till 2001. He was also a member of the European and Pan-African parliaments' ad hoc committee on cooperation. Dr.Kodzo Alabo added that,

The NDC administration under former President Mills and former President Mahama portrayed some form of activeness in their support for ECOWAS peace and security operations. The Mahama administration exhibited competent leadership in the ECOWAS when he served as the chairman in 2015 (**Interview with Dr. Kodzo Alabo on February 13, 2020**).

Also, in an interview with Dr. Ken Ahorsu, he explained that,

Mahama was very active in the Gambian constitutional crisis. For the first time, Ghanaian soldiers were mobilized to interfere in the domestic affairs of a country. His administration also organized about five conferences in Ghana especially on terrorism in the sub-region and also served as ECOWAS chair due to his commitment to peace and security issues in the sub-region. During the Malian crisis, former President Mahama was one of the leaders who initiated the peacekeeping process to stop the Tuaregs from taking dominance in the northern part of Mali before the AU took over to support ECOWAS. Also, he helped in the establishment of the African Terrorist Center in Algeria to fight terrorism in the sub-region. During the Ebola crisis, the UN, WHO and the international community needed a West African country to be a coordination center and a launching hub whereby they could fight and support the affected countries, although Ghana was not affected by the Ebola pandemic, former President Mahama gave the country out as requested. A lot of Ghanaian doctors and nurses served in Sierra Leone to fight the Ebola virus. In the fight against terrorism, Ghana gave its territory to American soldiers to help fight terrorism in Africa (**Interview with Dr. Ken Ahorsu on May 29, 2020**).

#### **5.6.1.4 Humanitarian and Refugee Support**

Both former President J. E. A Mills and former President Mahama demonstrated their strong desire to support affected countries across the world and Africa through their foreign policies by giving

cash and showing love to affected countries. For instance, President Mills donated 3 million USD to support Haiti when a natural disaster hit the country in 2010 (Ofori, 2010). Also, former President Mahama donated 1 million USD and other food items in 2014 to support Ebola victims in West Africa (Boadu, 2014). The civil war in Ivory Coast led to about a thousand asylum seekers trooping into Ghana. According to the UN Refugee Agency report, a total number of 15,948 Ivorians had arrived in Ghana at the peak of the conflict out of which 7,499 were staying in the various camps provided while 8,449 were living among host communities in the country (UNHCR, 2011).

An interviewee explained that,

The NDC administration under former President Mills and former President Mahama supported refugees during the second Ivorian civil war, the Gambian constitutional crisis and the crises in Mali. In 2012 when Liberia was declared safe and secure by the international community, some Liberians decided to still stay in Ghana and the government paid some part of their residential bills in the country (**Interview with Mr. Padi Tetteh on July 20, 2020**).

In assessing changes in the foreign policies of President Mills and President Mahama, a major area of consideration has to do with the approaches or methods they used in resolving global crises like an uprising. President Mills adopted quiet diplomacy (*Dzi wo fie asem*) and would like to operate from behind the scenes in resolving issues. For instance, the role Mills played in the Cote d'Ivoire post-election conflict was the same results-oriented style of quiet diplomacy that he adopted in 2009-2010 when President Umaru Yar'Adua of Nigeria due to ill health triggered a constitutional exercise. Also, Mills was one of the main actors quietly nudging the Nigerian political authorities to allow an orderly succession following constitutional procedures and democratic norms (Kayode, 2015). President Mahama on the other hand believed in the use of agreed military force to whip up compliance. For example, in 2013, as part of his foreign policies, he had told the parliament of

Ghana during the 2013 State of the Nation Address that he was determined to deploy troops to Mali (Mahama, 2013).

An interviewee further added that, “Former President Mills opened the door for the mediations and negotiations during the first Ivorian civil war and facilitated that through back-channel ways or behind the scenes” (**Interview with Mr. Ebenezer Aseidu on June 12, 2020**).

From the above, we can see that although the Mills and Mahama led administrations were both from the same political party, that is, the NDC, their foreign policies towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS to some extent were not the same. Former President Mills took a silent posture of the second Ivorian crisis but former President Mahama was very active in the resolution of the crisis of member countries within ECOWAS, specifically the constitutional crisis in Mali and The Gambia as well as the whole African continent. Also comparatively studying the foreign policies of the NPP-NDC (2001-2017)

According to an interview with Dr. Vladimir Antwi Danso, he stated that:

Although these deviations took place under the Kufuor and Mills administrations, we cannot say there was a total change in foreign policy during their tenure in office. However, there was a change in the nuances of how they implemented their foreign policies (**Interview with Dr. Vladimir Antwi Danso on January 27, 2020**).

Also, Professor Emmanuel Kwesi Aning revealed that,

Despite the changes that characterized the foreign policies of the NPP-NDC administrations under former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama towards ECOWAS Peace and Security operations, the rhetorical support for ECOWAS has always been there for both political parties when voted into power (**Interview with Prof. Kwesi Aning on February 3, 2020**).

To complement the interviews above, Dr. Gebe added that,

Entirely, Ghana as a member of the ECOWAS played an active role in the resolution of conflicts within the sub-region. Both administrations promoted the interests of ECOWAS in the sub-region by ensuring that the principle of cooperation within the ECOWAS was always at the forefront of the country's activities (**Interview with Dr. Boni Yao Gebe on May 20, 2020**).

### **5.7 Factors that Influenced Foreign Policy Decisions under NPP-NDC (2001-2017) Administrations**

Kegley & Wittkopf (1997) divided the factors that shape or influence foreign policy decisions of states into three main forms or levels. The researcher will use the three categories identified by Kegley & Wittkopf (1997) to explain the factors that influenced the foreign policy decisions of both the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) administrations under former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama respectively. Dr. Vladimir Antwi Danso stated,

The Foreign policy of every country is always imprisoned in the following realities either singularly or combination: geographic location of a country, resources of the country (economic, political or military power), history, international system at any given time, the leadership of the country (whether a dictator or diplomat) (**Dr. Antwi Danso, interview on the January 27, 2020**).

#### **5.7.1 International Level**

The international system comprises of countries or nation-states, IGO's, NGO's, multinational corporations, and several others. These organizations have an impact or influence the foreign policy decisions of countries (Kegley & Wittkopt, 1997). The aftermath of the cold war saw the integration of regional organizations or bodies in solving issues that affect them rather than the depending or waiting for a superpower to come to their aid (Essuman-Johnson, 2009). As a result, AU and ECOWAS grew stronger to solve the numerous challenges in West Africa and Africa at large. Article 40 of Ghana's 1992 constitution outlines the country's commitment and adherence to the UN, AU, Commonwealth, and ECOWAS. As a result, Ghana abides by these principles which turn to guide the nation's foreign policy. Ghana's membership in ECOWAS mandates it to

follow the established principles and institutions of the sub-regional body. These institutions are the 1978 Protocol on Non-Aggression; 1981 Protocol on Mutual Assistance in Defense; the 1994 ECOWAS revised treaty; 1999 Protocol on the Mechanism; 2001 supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance; and the 2008 ECOWAS Conflict Preventive Framework (ECOWAS, 2020; ECOWAS Mediation Guidelines, 2018). To this effect, Ghana plays an active role in the quest to achieve peace and security in West Africa through cooperation with other member countries and following the established institutions (rules and regulations) as outlined by the neoliberal institutional theory.

### **5.7.2 State Level/ Governmental Level**

Every country found in the international system has a system of government that rules or governs the people. These rules guide the foreign policy orientation or direction of the country (Kegley & Wittkopt, 1997). Ghana is a democracy and as such follows the 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana which outlines the foreign policy orientation of the country irrespective of the political party in power. Due to this, the government in power adheres to the enshrined institutions in the policy planning, formulation, and implementation of the country. This was captured in Dr. Kodzo Alabo's voice:

“Former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama were all guided by the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana in all foreign policy matters” (**Interview with Dr. Kodzo Alabo on February 13, 2020**).

The multiple autonomous actors, as identified by Herman & Herman (1989) are made up of distinct individuals, groups, and coalitions, who can agree and disagree, can act for the government but no one can coerce the other to agree or not to agree on an issue. In Ghana, these set of actors are the

Parliamentarians who represents the citizens of the country in parliament. These Parliamentarians serve the interest of their constituents. The 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana grants them power in article 75 clause (2) which states that any treaty agreement or convention executed by or under the authority of the President shall be subject to ratification by an act or resolution of parliament. As a result, the decisions of parliamentarians influenced the foreign policy of both the NPP and NDC governments. This is because, most foreign policies of former President Kufuor, Mills and Mahama were all subject to Parliamentary approval as enshrined in the constitution.

Dr. Gebe explained in an interview that,

Generally, the government of the day is in charge of the country's foreign policy. In the case of Ghana, it is the President and the president has a cabinet, where the cabinet also has a minister for foreign affairs. The President takes the final decision, the minister of Foreign affairs doesn't make foreign policies but implements foreign policies. In a democratic state like Ghana, we have other institutions intervening. The parliament of Ghana is responsible for ensuring that whatever foreign policy decision is made is internalized. Foreign policymaking in Ghana is a three-tier approach. The President is at the top, followed by the MOFARI and then the Parliament of Ghana. Other individuals such as the cabinet, Minister for foreign affairs, political advisers. Also, the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Defense plays a role in the country's foreign policy (**Interview with Dr. Boni Yao Gebe on May 20, 2020**).

In recent times, the activities of the media have great consequences on the foreign policies of countries, as argued by Pena (2002). The work largely focused on the relationship between the media and foreign policy decision making of a country, the impact of the media on the decision making, and vice versa. The popular "Dzi wo fie asem" policy under the Mills administration was at a press briefing and proves how the media can provoke a foreign policy stance of a country.

Prof. Kwesi Aning revealed that:

Nevertheless, the ideological orientation of the political party or government in power influences the foreign policy direction of the country. The manifestoes of the various political parties before they are voted into power to some extent determines or influences the foreign policy of the country. The NPP manifesto had a great impact on the foreign

policy of former President Kufuor (**Interview with Prof. Kwesi Aning on February 3, 2020**).

Out of the numerous political parties in Ghana, the NDC is one of the biggest. The foundation of the NDC was from the PNDC. The PNDC also gained its root from the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). All these political parties were under the inspiration and leadership of former President Rawlings. Although all three political parties were under the inspiration of former President Rawlings, the NDC administration has been guided by its social democratic ideological orientation (Abbey, 2008). As a social democratic party, the NDC believed that, allowing the market to control the economy was affecting the development and progress of the country. As a result, they believed in providing social services and welfare for all as portrayed in their campaign slogans “A Better Ghana, Investing in People, Jobs and the Economy” (NDC Manifesto, 2008) and “Advancing the Better Ghana Agenda” (NDC Manifesto, 2012).

In an interview with Ambassador D K Osei, he stated that,

The NDC has close ideological ties with the political party of Laurent Gbagbo in the Ivory Coast. Because of this relationship, the Gbagbo regime in the Ivory coast expected the administration of former President Mills to support his camp militarily. However, former President Mills did not want to draw Ghana into a civil war, but chose otherwise with his popular “Dzi wo fie asem” policy. The conflict in Ivory Coast got a point where survival could only be through military means. If the Mills administration had attempted to support the Gbagbo led regime militarily, it would have meant that Ghana was going to fight the UN forces, French peacekeeping forces in Ivory Coast as well as the ECOWAS peacekeeping force. The “Dzi wo fie asem” policy meant that Ghana was not going to intervene directly in the Ivorian crisis but through the ECOWAS as agreed at the summit in Abuja by the heads of States in West Africa although he condemns the policy (**Interview with Ambassador D. K. Osei on March 3, 2020**).

Dr. Boni Yao Gebe further explained that,

President Mills was a realist, Ghana had already committed to Ivory Coast. Ghanaian troops were protecting current president Ouattara during the uprising. So, Ghana contributed through the ECOWAS militarily but did not commit further troops because Ghana had to protect its borders and national security as well. The NPP administration

was then in opposition and was interested in hyping the stance of Atta Mills (**Interview with Dr. Boni Yao Gebe on May 20, 2020**).

Unlike the NDC, the NPP government, on the contrary, is known for its conservative-liberal ideological orientation (Ninsin, 2006). This was explained in an interview with a participant that:

The manifesto of the NPP confirmed its liberal democratic orientation and domination as a free enterprise and property-owning democracy which was made known through the campaign slogans in 2000 and 2004, “Agenda for Positive Change” (NPP Manifesto, 2000) (**Interview with Professor Kwesi Aning on February 3, 2020**).

Another interviewee stated that:

The NPP government was influenced by the long rule of the PNDC/NDC era. President Kufuor belonged to a party that had not been allowed to be in power for a very long time because of coup d'états. Busia ruled for only 28 months and was ousted in a coup d'état. As a result, they took a diverse strategy from the NDC, where the NDC choose the left, they selected the right due to their ideological inclination (**Interview with Dr. Kodzo Alabo on February 13, 2020**).

The majority of interviewees explained that the NPP administration under former President Kufuor wanted to enhance the Ghanaian economy by making the financial foundations of the country right through the creation of an atmosphere where investments will be made possible in the country. As a result, the NPP administration under former President Kufuor introduced numerous financial laws to make Ghana an attractive destination for foreign investment. These laws were: Public Procurement law; Banking Act of 2004; Act 673; the Payment System Act of 2003; Act 663; the Venture Capital Fund; Act 2004; Foreign Exchange Act 2006; Act 723; Banking Amendment 2007; Act 738. An interviewee explained:

“The general idea behind these laws was to boost Ghana’s investment environment and to get the country eligible for all kinds of assistance once certain conditionalities have been fulfilled” (**Interview with Ambassador D K Osei on March 3, 2020**).

Moreover, national security and economic development were very important or key areas under the Kufuor led administration. These key areas influenced his foreign policy decision making. The NPP (2001-2009) also wanted to ensure that democracy will thrive in Ghana. In other to achieve it, good neighborliness became an important way to achieve it. The Kufuor administration did not want to have problems with Ghana's immediate neighbors so he visited a lot of neighboring countries to establish cordial relationships with them. Ambassador D K Osei asserted:

The closeness of former President Kufuor's administration to the Laurent Gbagbo regime in the Ivory Coast was a result of his determination to resolve the crisis which existed in the country. President Kufuor advised the Gbagbo side that there were lines he could not cross as far as ECOWAS and the entire international community was concerned **(Interview with Ambassador D K Osei on March 3, 2020).**

The domestic financial or economic situation of a country affects or influences the foreign posture of that country. In an interview with Mr. Ebenezer Aseidu who is Head of Mediation Facilitation Division, Political Affairs Directorate, Department of Political Affairs Peace and Security, ECOWAS Commission, he explained that,

When a country supports a peacekeeping mission in the sub-region by contributing its military or national security persons, the first 90 days is been financed by that country. Due to this, if a country is not stable economically it cannot support the peacekeeping operations in the sub-region even though the country might be willing to support or help **(Interview with Mr. Ebenezer Aseidu on June 12, 2020).**

The civil service of Ghana influences the foreign policy orientation of the country. This is because these technocrats often do not change when there is a change of government. As a result, they teach new appointees how the foreign policy of the country is conducted which to some extent influences continuity in foreign policies of countries (Aluko, 1975). Dr. Vladimir Antwi Danso revealed:

“The history of a country influences the foreign policy decisions of that country” **(Interview with Dr. Vladimir Antwi Danso on January 27, 2020).**

The friendly relationship that existed between the PP government of Ghana during the second republic and the Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast also existed between the Gbagbo and Kufuor administration. This close ties to an extent led to Kufuor governments' support in the resolution of the first Ivorian civil war through ECOWAS (Siaw, 2015). This confirms Siaw's research work

### **5.7.3 Individual Level**

As argued by Herman & Herman (1989), the foreign policy decision-making units of a country largely influence the foreign policies of countries. The predominant leader, who has the power to make a decision and ability to stifle opposition in all foreign matters indicates how powerful leaders can be in the formulation and implementation of foreign policies of their respective countries. Article 58 clause (1) of Ghana's 1992 constitution states that the executive authority in Ghana is vested in the President and exercised with regards to the constitution. Also, the President is mandated to execute Ghana's foreign policies on behalf of the country or may decide to choose to delegate the power. As a result, any information emanating from the presidency becomes a foreign policy of the country. As a result, Ghana's President plays a key role so far as the foreign policy of the country is concerned. The President has a lot of responsibility in foreign policy in the making and implementation of foreign policy in Ghana. Ambassador D. K. Osei revealed that:

Several individual traits of the President influence his foreign policies. Some of these traits are the personality of the leader, personal background or idiosyncrasies, past experiences, their activeness, cognitive balance or imbalance, cognitive biases, and interest of the President. He added that former President Kufuor saw foreign policy as a major driving force in the development of the country. Due to this, he selected four key experienced senior foreign policy experts to be his key advisors. These were: the Chief of Staff, Mr. Kwadwo Mpiani; Chief Advisor, Mrs. Mary Chinery-Hesse; Secretary to the President, Ambassador D K Osei; and secretary to the cabinet, Ambassador Keto (most experienced ambassador Ghana has ever had). These groups of people formed what he termed the 'unofficial advisory committee to the President' (**Interview with Ambassador D K Osei on March 3, 2020**).

This confirms the study by Herman & Preston (1994) which revealed that the leadership style of the President or the Executive influences the selections of advisers and the executive arrangements who assist the President in the day to day policy planning and implementation processes of a country.

### **5.8 Lessons from Ghana's Foreign Policies Towards ECOWAS Peace and Security Operations (2001-2017)**

Ghana has been at the forefront in supporting ECOWAS to address the peace and security crises across the sub-region by providing great leadership and cooperation through the established institutions of the community. Ghana's foreign policies pursued towards the ECOWAS has been a positive one and should be continued as a country. Dr. Boni Yao Gebe explained that,

Ghana as a member of the ECOWAS all these years has ensured that there is peace and security in the sub-region. Apart from the NPP-NDC regimes, individual players such as the late Mr. Kofi Annan, former secretary of the UN and Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas also played active roles in the ECOWAS, AU and the UN in the promotion of peace and security across the African continent and across the world (**Interview with Dr. Boni Yao Gebe on May 20, 2020**).

Dr. Vladimir Antwi Danso revealed that:

“This is because conflicts occurring in other countries can spill over into the nation and must be controlled and prevented in the host country” (**Interview with Dr. Vladimir Antwi Danso on January 27, 2020**).

However, the sub-regional body, ECOWAS, is lacking in leadership at the sub-regional front. Due to this, Ghana should continue to show deep commitment to the regional body. It has the respect of other sub-regional leaders and her assertions army insight. It by such a commitment ECOWAS can effectively tackle emerging crises and tensions. For instance, Prof. Kwesi Aning stated:

Ghana was very active in the establishment of the 1975 protocol of ECOWAS under the Acheampong regime. Former President Rawlings, Kufuor, and Mahama were also very

active in the peace and security operations of ECOWAS when they served as chairmen **(Interview with Prof. Kwesi Aning on February 3, 2020).**

Also, there is very little policy to guide the activities of these Ghanaian Presidents when voted into office concerning their conduct specifically on the peace and security operations of ECOWAS.

Due to this, Prof. Kwesi Aning explained that:

The office in charge of ECOWAS peace and security operations must be strengthened to come up with a policy document that guides the activities of the President or the government in power. This is because the lack of institutionalization meant that the foreign policies of former President Kufuor was not continued. As a result, there is no continuity in policies after a change of government. The lack of institutionalization meant that 8years after the administration of former President Kufuor led to a breakaway of that policy **(Interview with Prof. Kwesi Aning on the February 3, 2020).**

Finally, an ECOWAS mediation Expert added that,

From a global perspective, Ghana's foreign policies under the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) towards the ECOWAS has been very positive based on the fact that peace in one country transcends into the other. Although Nigeria is the largest contributor in the ECOWAS and Ghana is the second, based on the per capita income of both countries and their size, Ghana is the largest contributor and has also been consistent with her contribution. As a result, Ghana must take advantage of her strong position in ECOWAS based on our contributions to the sub-regional body **(Interview with Mr. Ebenezer Aseidu on the June 12, 2020).**

## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 Introduction

Since the attainment of independence, Ghanaian leaders or policymakers have pursued several foreign policies towards IGOs across the world in order to collectively achieve an objective or a goal. Looking at the relevance of peace and security and how it translates into development in a country or continent, this research needed to be conducted. Regional or sub-regional bodies in the world have taken active measures to ensure stability, security, and peace across the world. The success or failures of these bodies in achieving their peace and security objectives can be linked to member countries formulating and implementing policies to support such bodies and establishing institutions that guide and regulates all their activities. This study had the sole aim to access how individual countries formulate and implement policies to support regional or sub-regional bodies to achieve their collective peace and security objectives. Specifically, the foreign policies pursued by the NPP-NDC administration under former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS from 2001-2017.

Specifically, the study sought to comparatively assess the NPP-NDC administrations foreign policies towards ECOWAS peace and security operations in the following direction;

- To explore the major foreign policies that were formulated and pursued by the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) led administrations towards the ECOWAS in its security operations.
- To discover strategies the NPP-NDC administrations deployed and used in contributing to ECOWAS security operations.

- To analyze continuities or changes in the foreign policies of the NPP-NDC formulated towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS.
- To establish the lessons that can be drawn from Ghana's foreign policy towards the collective achievement of safety within the ECOWAS Community.

In order to achieve the above objectives, the researcher conducted interviews using semi-structured interview guides. Also, the policies of both the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS were analyzed. The speeches and statements of the former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama during their SONA to the people of Ghana were also explored. This study was built on two main theoretical frameworks; neoliberal institutional theory and historical institutional theory.

Neoliberal institutional theory is an important approach in studying how regional or sub-regional bodies can achieve their set objectives through the support of member countries. In the case of this study, Ghana's foreign policies formulated and implemented towards ECOWAS enabled the sub-regional body to achieve its goals and objectives through cooperation as a result of the mutual interests of member countries belonging to the ECOWAS community and being guided by the established institutions and protocols. Historical institutionalism (path dependence and critical junctures) on the other hand helps in the analysis of the continuities and changes which occurred in the policies formulated and implemented by the NPP-NDC administration's respectively towards ECOWAS in maintain peace, security, and stability in the sub-region. These two theories helped the researcher to explain how countries can come together to achieve their peace and security objectives through cooperation by formulating policies to champion and support the activities of the regional or sub-regional body. Also, continuities and changes which characterized

the NPP-NDC foreign policies were brought to light with the support of the theory (historical institutionalism).

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the research findings to specifically answer all the research questions posed and finally provide the conclusion and recommendations of this research. The recommendations of the study revealed how the MOFARI, LECIAD and CFR can be strengthened to drive and shape the thinking of the country's foreign policies towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS.

## **6.2 Summary of Findings**

### **6.2.1 Research Question 1:**

**What major foreign policies were formulated and pursued by the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) led administrations towards the ECOWAS in its peace and security operations?**

Data collected and analyzed from the study revealed that the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) under former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama formulated diverse policies to support the peace and security operations of ECOWAS. Both administrations pursued bold and vibrant policies to aid the sub-regional body in restoring peace and security in the selected cases. A major foreign policy under the NPP (2001-2009) administration was the active role played in the search for peace in Liberia during the civil war. Also, the Kufuor led administration was instrumental in helping to resolve the Togolese crisis after the demise of Gnassingbé Eyadema in 2005 and in also instilling peace during the first Ivorian crisis through the sub-regional body ECOWAS.

Under the NDC (2009-2017), during the Second Extraordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS on Ivory Coast in Nigeria, former President Mills agreed

on the use of force together with other Heads of States from West Africa to remove President Laurent Gbagbo from power as President if he refused to hand over power to Alassane Ouattara during the second Ivorian civil war.

The NDC administration under former President Mahama was very active in seeking solutions to the Mali crisis and the constitutional crises in The Gambia. His administration supported ECOWAS in the imposition of sanctions against Mali. Just as the crisis in Mali, the NDC government (2012-2017) saw the Gambian constitutional crises (2016-2017) as a threat to the peace, security, and stability of the country and the entire West African sub-region. Due to this, former President Mahama was part of the Heads of State assigned by the AU to start the peacemaking process.

### **6.2.2 Research Question 2:**

**What strategies did the NPP-NDC led administrations use in contributing to ECOWAS peace and security operations?**

A major strategy used by the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) ECOWAS was peacekeeping. Both administrations contributed a good number of the country's armed forces to participate in the resolution of the conflicts or crisis through the peacekeeping force of ECOWAS in Liberia towards the end of the war, Togolese crisis in 2005, first Ivorian civil war, second Ivorian civil war, Mali civil war, and the Gambian constitutional crisis.

Another strategy used in restoring peace and security by the NPP-NDC administrations was peacemaking. This includes mediations, use of diplomacy, negotiations, and agreements between ECOWAS representatives or leaders and the warring factions or groups as a way of resolving conflicts in West Africa. Several mediation roles led to the signing of the Cotonou, Abuja, and the

Accra Peace agreements for the Liberian crises. Kufuor was very instrumental in the mediation processes towards the end of the Liberian civil war, the Togolese crises, and election disputes between Laurent Gbagbo and Alassane Ouattara. The NDC administration under former President Mahama played an active role in restoring peace in Mali by attending all the summits and meetings. Also, former President John Dramani Mahama under the NDC (2009-2017) led the mediation processes during the Mali civil war and the Gambian constitutional crises together with some heads of States belonging to the ECOWAS community.

A final strategy used by both governments was their constant participation in ECOWAS meetings and summits and their vast contribution to decision making of the sub-regional body. The NPP under former President Kufuor participated in all meetings and summits during the Liberian civil war, the first Ivorian civil war, and the Togo crisis. In the same vein, the NDC under former President Mills and Mahama were not an exception, these two leaders also participated in all decision-making meetings and summits of the sub-regional body, ECOWAS during the second Ivorian civil war, Mali civil war and the constitutional crisis in The Gambia.

### **6.2.3 Research Question 3:**

**Were there continuities or changes in the foreign policies of NPP-NDC administrations towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS?**

Some levels of continuities existed in the administration of former President Kufuor (2001-2009) as far as Ghana's foreign policy is concerned. This was portrayed in his leadership abilities and massive support in the West African sub-region when he served as an ECOWAS chair for two consecutive times. The government of Ghana dynamically supported ECOWAS mediation and negotiation activities in Liberia. Also, the NPP government under the leadership of former

President Kufuor contributed to the resolution of the succession issues in Togo after the death of Eyadema Gnassingbé and the first Ivorian civil war by supporting all the peace and security operations of ECOWAS.

Despite the continuities in Ghana's foreign policy towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS under the NPP administration from (2001-2009), some changes characterized the regimes of foreign policy towards the ECOWAS. The Kufuor administration was expected to hand over President Charles Taylor to the Sierra Leone Special Court which ordered his arrest. If Ghana adheres to all principles of ECOWAS, the NPP government was supposed to respect the judgment of the Sierra Leone special court by handing over Charles Taylor to the Sierra Leone government but did otherwise which was a clear deviation from article 40 of the 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana. Also, the NPP government under former President Kufuor was silent about the unconstitutional change of government in Togo in 2005 although several IGO's condemned the act

The NDC (2009-2017) under the administration of former President Mills and Mahama exhibited some levels of continuities in their foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS. The Mahama led administration played a very active role in the quest for peace and security in Africa. His administration portrayed great leadership in the ECOWAS when he served as a chairman and was at the forefront in the restoration of peace in Mali and The Gambia during the constitutional crises.

Former President Mills took a silent posture of the second Ivorian crisis. Also, the "Dzi wo fie asem" policy was a clear departure from the country's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS during the second civil war in the Ivory Coast. This is

because the Mills administration was silent on the crisis in the Ivory Coast which served as a bad sign for Ghana looking at the country's position of peace and security matters in the sub-region.

#### **6.2.4 Research Question 4:**

**What lessons can be drawn from Ghana's foreign policies championed towards the collective achievement of safety within the ECOWAS Community?**

Data analyzed revealed that NPP-NDC (2001-2017) administrations' foreign policies pursued towards the ECOWAS has been a positive one and should be continued as a country to gain a prestigious position in the affairs of the sub-regional body. Ghana has played an important role in restoring peace and security across the sub-region by providing great leadership and cooperation through the established institutions and protocols of ECOWAS through peacekeeping and peacemaking initiatives.

However, there was very little policy to guide the activities of these leaders when they served as Presidents of the Republic of Ghana from 2001-2017. This led to the variations in their foreign policies towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS. The lack of a single policy document to guide the country's foreign policies towards ECOWAS peace and security operations brought about these inconsistencies.

#### **6.3 Conclusion of the Study**

Peace and security are very paramount in our world today. Although most African countries gained independence in the late part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the continent continually faces several conflicts or civil wars that threaten effective governments in these countries. This is because, a peaceful environment will transform into absolute success in all aspects of a country's economic, socio-cultural, and political life. Given this, ECOWAS the main sub-regional body in West Africa

supports its member countries in the resolution of conflicts and civil wars which results in chaos, instability and insecurity in some member countries. Although ECOWAS takes lead in resolving these crises, these initiatives are, however, actively supported by member countries who belong to the ECOWAS community.

What major foreign policies were pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS under the NPP-NDC administrations from (2001-2017)? This central research question served as the basis on which the study was conducted. In order for the researcher to fully answers the central research questions posed, two theoretical frameworks, the neoliberal institutional theory and historical institutional theory were used.

Data collected and analyzed for the study revealed that the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) administrations pursued several policies to support the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS in the resolution of the second Liberian civil war (1999-2003), Togolese crisis in 2005, the first civil war in Cote d'Ivoire (19<sup>th</sup> September 2002-4<sup>th</sup> March 2007), second Ivorian civil war (2010-2011), the Mali civil war (2012-2015) and the constitutional crisis in The Gambia (2016-2017). Also, both administrations supported peacekeeping and peacemaking policies of ECOWAS. To complement these efforts, both administrations hosted and supported refugees in the country as well as hosting summits and attending summits to support ECOWAS activities. The study concludes that several levels of continuities occurred in the foreign policies of both administrations in supporting ECOWAS peace and security operations so far as Ghana's foreign policy is concerned. However, changes that occurred in both administration's foreign policies of ECOWAS were a result of how the leadership of the NPP-NDC administrations responded to issues relating to the selected cases of the study.

The study also revealed that Ghana's foreign policy pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS under the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) has been a positive one. As a result, subsequent regimes should carry the baton and continue to champion ECOWAS peace and security operations to fight civil wars and conflicts in West Africa and Africa at large.

Finally, the research also showed that several factors influenced or affected the foreign policy planning and implementation of the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS at the international level, state level and the individual level.

#### **6.4 Recommendations of the Study**

The recommendations of this study are targeted towards the academic and stakeholders involved in the foreign policy planning and implementation of the country. Specific stakeholders include the MOFARI, LECIAD and the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in Ghana as well as key actors such as the Office of the President and Parliamentarians. A careful analysis of the foreign policies of former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS showed how consistent and inconsistent these leaders were in some of their policies.

These inconsistencies can be attributed to the lack of a single policy document that guides and regulates the activities of Presidents, the MOFARI and Parliamentarians in their conduct of the nation's foreign policy. As a result of the little policy to guide and regulate the activities of these Presidents, when voted into office they conduct their foreign policies based on their knowledge and expertise.

The study strongly recommends that the office in charge of ECOWAS peace and security operations at the MOFARI must be strengthened to come up with a single policy document that

guides the activities of the President and the MOFARI in charge of the policy planning and implementation of country. In the same manner, LECIAD and CFR must be strengthened to come up with policies, initiatives, and directives to shape and drive the thinking of the nation's foreign policies to serve the purposes for which they were established. When these institutions provide the intellectual and professional initiatives, it will shape the policies of the Presidency and other stakeholders. This will go a long way to ensure consistencies in the foreign policy of the country no matter the political party or the government of the day.

The main challenges of ECOWAS have been with financing of initiatives and ownership of policies. ECOWAS is largely financed by the EU and China. The peace fund although established by the AU and ECOWAS to support the peace and security operations in the region receives a large part of finance from developed countries. The study again recommends that Ghana which is an active member of the ECOWAS should also continue to support ECOWAS activities financially in the resolution of conflicts that threaten the stability of the sub-region and as well encourage other ECOWAS member countries to finance the activities of the sub-regional body.

To the academic community, the study recommends that other researchers further conduct studies on other foreign policies of the NPP-NDC (2001-2017) which this study did not delve into such as the economic policies of Ghana towards the ECOWAS.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FOREIGN POLICY UNDER NPP ADMINISTRATIONS TOWARDS ECOWAS (2001-2009).**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

This research is aimed at comparatively studying Ghana's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS under the NPP-NDC administrations from (2001-2017).

#### **International**

1. How important is peace and security concerning development in the World?
2. Can peace and security in West Africa be predicted; in what sense and to what extent?
3. Is it possible to achieve collective peace and security in West Africa?

#### **Foreign Policy in Ghana**

1. What has been the driving force(s) in Ghana's foreign policy?
2. What is Ghana's national interest and to what extent does it affect the foreign policy direction or orientation of the country?
3. Who is responsible for making Ghana's foreign policies and how much control can one have over his foreign policy?

#### **Foreign Policy under NPP (2001-2009)**

1. What major foreign policies were pursued towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS under former President Kufuor's administration?

2. What factors influenced or affected the foreign policy posture of the NPP government under former President Kufuor?
3. What strategies were used by the NPP government to support ECOWAS in achieving collective peace and security in the West African sub-region?

### **Continuity and Change**

1. Were there levels of continuities or changes in the country's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS from 2001-2017?
2. Is there a significant difference or similarity with the foreign policies of the NDC?
3. To what extent can other factors (international pressure, state of domestic economy etc.) account for such continuity or change?
4. What lessons can be drawn from Ghana's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS?

**APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE NDC ADMINISTRATIONS TOWARDS ECOWAS (2009-2017).**

**INTRODUCTION**

This research is aimed at comparatively studying Ghana's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS under the NPP-NDC administrations from (2001-2017).

**International**

1. How important is peace and security concerning development in the World?
2. Can peace and security in West Africa be predicted; in what sense and to what extent?
3. Is it possible to achieve collective peace and security in West Africa?

**Foreign Policy in Ghana**

1. What has been the driving force(s) in Ghana's foreign policy?
2. What is Ghana's national interest and to what extent does it affect the foreign policy direction or orientation of the country?
3. Who is responsible for making Ghana's foreign policies and how much control can one have over his foreign policy?

**Foreign Policy under NDC (2009-2017)**

1. What major foreign policies were pursued towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS under former President Mills and former President Mahama's administration?

2. What factors influenced or affected the foreign policy posture of the NDC government under former President Mills and former President Mahama?
3. What strategies were used by the NDC government to support ECOWAS in achieving collective peace and security in the West African sub-region?

### **Continuity and Change**

1. Were there levels of continuities or changes in the country's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS from 2001-2017?
2. Is there a significant difference or similarity with the foreign policies of the NPP?
3. To what extent can other factors (international pressure, state of domestic economy etc.) account for such continuity or change?
4. What lessons can be drawn from Ghana's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of the ECOWAS?

**APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GHANA'S SUPPORT TOWARDS REFUGEES UNDER NPP-NDC ADMINISTRATIONS (2001-2017).**

**INTRODUCTION**

This research is aimed at comparatively studying Ghana's foreign policies pursued towards the peace and security operations of ECOWAS under the NPP-NDC administrations from (2001-2017).

**Foreign Policy under NPP (2001-2009)**

1. How many refugees sought refuge in Ghana during the second Liberian civil war (1999-2003), Togolese crisis in 2005 and the first Ivorian civil war (19<sup>th</sup> September, 2002-4<sup>th</sup> March 2007)?
2. What strategies were used by the NPP government to support these refugees and asylum seekers in achieving collective peace and security in the West African sub-region?

**Foreign Policy under NDC (2009-2017)**

1. How many refugees sought refuge in Ghana during the second Ivorian civil war (2010-2011), Gambian constitutional crisis (2016-2017) and the Mali civil war (2012-2015)?
2. What strategies were used by the NDC government to support these refugees and asylum seekers in achieving collective peace and security in the West African sub-region?

**Continuity and Change**

1. Were there levels of continuities or changes in the support from former President Kufuor, former President Mills and former President Mahama towards the refugees and asylum seekers in Ghana?

2. What lessons can be drawn from the country's support towards refugees from West African countries?