

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CHALLENGES
IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GHANA'S
FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE FOURTH
REPUBLIC (1993-2015)**

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**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY
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LEGON

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the product of an original research that I undertook under the supervision of Dr. Iddi Ziblim. This work has never been submitted partially or wholly elsewhere for any award, that all sources used have been dully acknowledged.

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DATE.....

DATE.....



DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Glory of the Lord Almighty, in him I trust.



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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACP	-	Alien's Compliance Order
AFISMA	-	African-led Force Operating in Mali
APRM	-	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	-	African Unity
BADEA	-	Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa
CIA	-	Central Intelligence Agency
CDB	-	China Development Bank
CPP	-	Convention Peoples Party
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
EPA	-	Economic Partnership Agreement
GDR	-	German Democratic Republic
GPRS	-	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GIPC	-	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre
GNPC	-	Ghana National Petroleum Corporation
HIPC	-	Highly/Heavily Indebted Poor Country
IBRD	-	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IFIs	-	International Financial Institutions
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
LECIAD	-	Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy
MDA	-	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MFARI	-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
MFA	-	Master Facility Agreement
MOU	-	Memorandum of Understanding

NAM	-	Non-Aligned Movement
NDC	-	National Democratic Congress
NLC	-	National Liberation Council
NRC	-	National Redemption Council
NPP	-	New Patriotic Party
OAU	-	Organisation of African Unity
ONUC	-	United Nations Force in Congo
PNP	-	Peoples' National Party
PNDC	-	Provisional National Defence Council
PP	-	Progress party
SIP	-	Social Investment Programme
SMC	-	Supreme Military Council
UN	-	United Nations
UNAMIR	-	United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda
UNMEER	-	United Nations Mission on Ebola Emergency Response
USA	-	United State of America
USSR	-	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

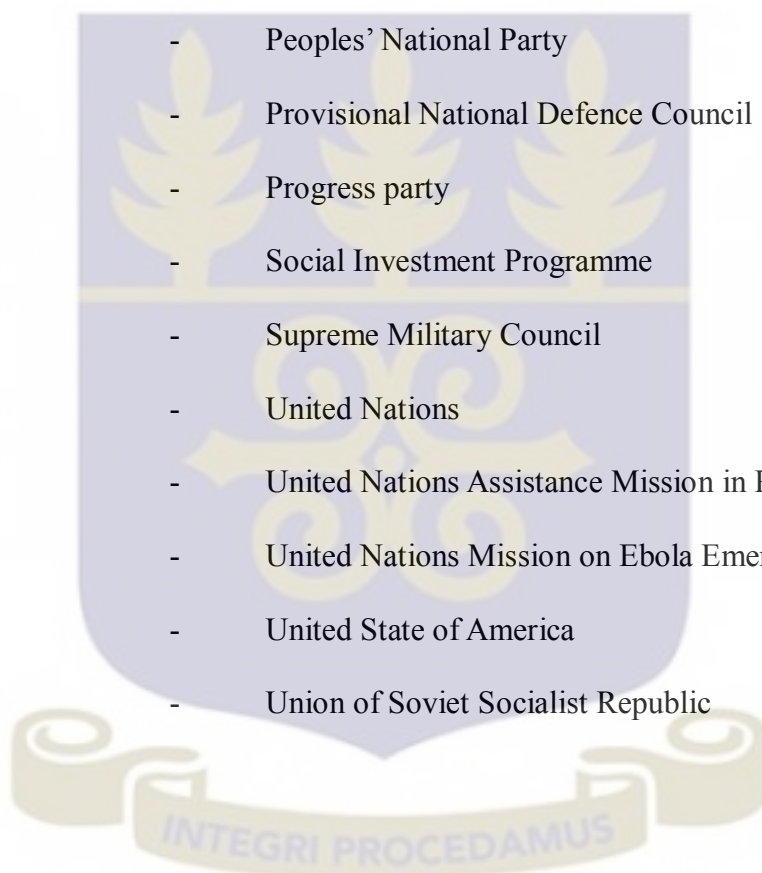


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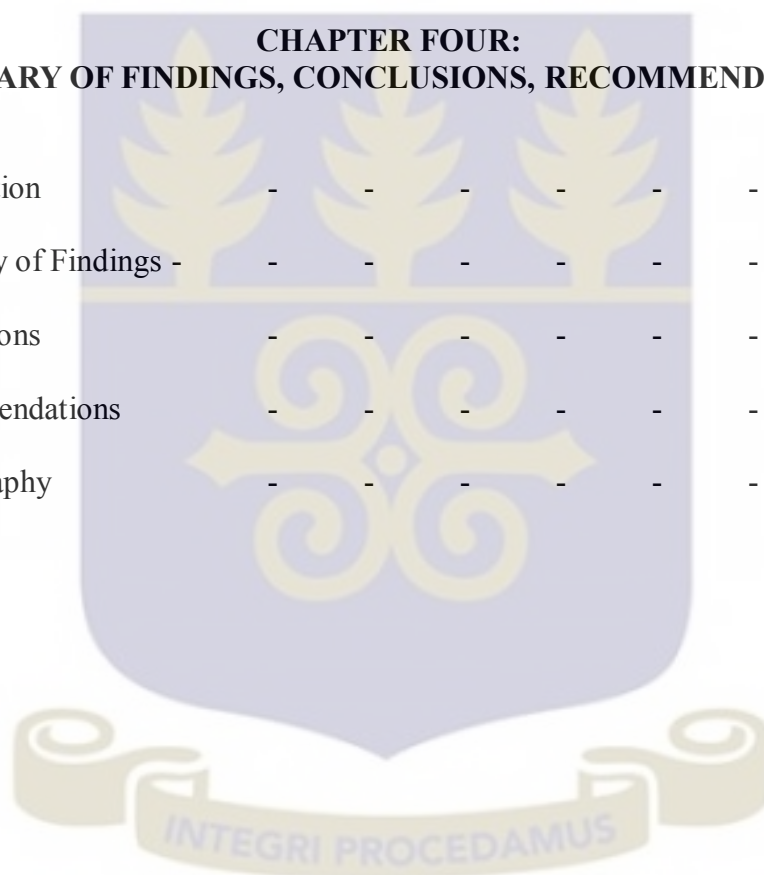
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ABSTRACT

The end of the cold war changed the dynamics of the international system. Countries no longer have to swing the pendulum from East to West, but are required to adhere to the tenet of democracy in order to receive support from the West. This wave of change propelled the transition from military regime to democratic regime, with the adoption of the 1992 constitution by Jerry John Rawlings. The change also impacted on the formulation and implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the Fourth Republic. This study, therefore, was undertaken to assess the challenges in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the Fourth Republic from 1993 to 2015. The study was based on the hypothesis that the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy is affected by domestic and external factors. Primary and secondary data were used. Primary data was gathered for the study through the conduct of a structured interview of various categories of individuals and institutions involved in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy. Purposeful sampling technique was used to select the population for the research. The target population for the interview included staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other institutions and actors involved in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy. Secondary data was obtained through a review of journals and other publications. Data obtained were analyzed qualitatively. Findings show that the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy is influenced by both internal and external factors. The internal and external factors are largely determined by the state of Ghana's economic infrastructure. The study revealed that Ghana's financial constraint has been a bane for the country to effectively implement its foreign policy agenda under the Fourth Republic. The study concludes that financial constraint is the overarching obstacle for effective implementation of foreign policy of Ghana under the Fourth Republic – for the economy of a country majorly influences how the implementation of its foreign policy is impacted by both internal and external factors.



CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.0 Introduction

Implementation is one of the important phase in the foreign policy making process. This is because it is at this phase that ideals, objectives and goals are translated from abstract to reality.¹ The relevance of the implementation phase is aptly noted by Henry Kissinger; he states that “No foreign policy – no matter how ingenious has any chance of success if it is born in the minds of a few and carried in the heart of none.”² Foreign policy analyst are of the opinion that, foreign policies are lived only when they are implemented.

According to Brighi and Hill, implementation concerns the transformation of countries foreign policy objectives into outcome.³ In the implementation of foreign policy countries must engage with actors in the external environment to promote its national interest. Foreign policy analysts are of the view that the implementation of a country’s foreign policy is influenced by both internal and external factors. For instance, the international system into which the newly independent African states emerged during the 1950s greatly influenced the nature of foreign policy, which was formulated and implemented during that era. For instance, K.B. Asante attributed Kwame Nkrumah’s achievement in the area of foreign policy to the then prevailing international system.⁴ The realist school attributes constraints in the implementation of foreign policy to the anarchical nature of the international system, which to them propel states to compete with other states for market, influence, power, security among others. According to Zelikow, implementation problems can result in the development of an entire new policy, for instance the failure to implement the comprehensive peace settlement dimension of the Camp

David Accords, led the Reagan administration to develop a new policy to deal with the issue of Palestinian autonomy in the late summer and fall of 1982.⁵

Every country is faced with various constraints in the formulation and implementation of its foreign policy, of particular importance to this study is the constraints faced by Ghana in the implementation of its foreign policy. Ghana was the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence in 1957 from the British colonial rule. Branful citing. M. Debrah in his work⁶ stated that, Nkrumah was concerned with transforming Ghana from a colonial territory to an independent and prosperous country, and secondly, leading the fight to rid Africa completely of colonial rule and domination.⁷ These two became the corner stone and pillars of Ghana's foreign policy at independence. Specifically, the foreign policy objectives which were put forward to achieve Nkrumah's vision were: decolonisation, African Unity, Non-alignment and Positive Neutrality, Economic Emancipation and effective membership of strategic International Organisations. After the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah in 1966 by the National Liberation Council (NLC), successive governments have pursued foreign policies that were guided primarily by the traditional foreign policy concerns which were laid down by Ghana's first President, with a slight shifts in nuances rather than substance.⁸

Significantly, the early 1990s witnessed a change in the structure of the international system, with the end of the Cold War and the emergence of a unipolar international system led by the United States of America as the world hegemon. It also witnessed the end of colonial rule in Africa, with the collapse of the apartheid system in South Africa. The new world order, while providing opportunities for greater international cooperation, also presented complex challenges such as globalization and terrorism, which have significantly impacted the formulation and implementation of Ghana's foreign policy. This study will critically assess the

challenges in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy within the new world order, specifically under the Fourth Republic.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

In recent times, there have been concerns by foreign policy analysts as to why, the best laid foreign policy objectives with well laid plans do not achieve the anticipated or desired outcomes, while others are successfully implemented⁹. Successful foreign policy outcomes are crucial for the socio-economic advancement of Ghana, especially in the context of today's highly inter-dependent world. This concern is as a result of the key role of implementation in foreign policy making.

Whilst some governments have effectively implemented Ghana's foreign policies, others have not been so successful. Under Ghana's first president, the country was able to mobilize Africa's efforts towards the emancipation of the dependent territories. Ghana succeeded, against formidable obstacle of inertia and opposition, in making the idea and ideals of African unity accepted all over Africa as the ultimate objective for all African states.

On the contrary, the Progress Party government's policy of good neighbourliness, was severely undermined by the passage, and particularly the implementation of the Alien compliance order in 1969/1970 which resulted in the mass expulsion of citizens of neighbouring states. The policy generated a lot of ill feeling against Ghana in some states, especially in Nigeria which was most affected by the Order.¹⁰

According to Obed Yao Asamoah,¹¹ the failure of Busia's foreign policy of dialogue with South Africa was as a result of the fact that, Ghana's position on the issue was in contradiction to the

position adopted by the Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU) and the United Nations (UN) in 1969. Also, the policy did not receive favourable response from the legislative organ of the country. Consequently, it was Busia's failure to analyse both the internal and the external conditions at that time, that led to a confusion as to the channel through which the policy was to be implemented, since the government did not have the support of both internal and external environments. The failure of Busia's foreign policy towards South Africa clearly amplify Breuning view that policy options must not only respond appropriately to the situation, they must also be acceptable at home.

It is important to note that, despite the pivotal role of implementation in the foreign policy decision-making process, not much attention has been devoted to the area of foreign policy implementation.¹² Whiles there exist considerable amount of literature on Ghana' foreign policy, much of the research focuses on the trend, actors and the decision making process without adequately addressing issues of implementation. This research therefore seeks to fill this gap and augment existing literature on Ghana's foreign policy particularly in the area of implementation under the Fourth Republic, from 1993 to 2015.

1.2 Research Questions

The study seeks to provide answers for the following questions:

- Who are the actors responsible for the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy?
- What are the available instruments for the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the Fourth Republic?
- What are the internal and external factors which constrain the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy?

1.3 Research Objectives

The study seeks to achieve the following objectives:

- To explore the major actors implementing Ghana's Foreign policy.
- To find the key instruments in Ghana's foreign policy implementation.
- To find out the internal and external factors limiting the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy.
- Proffer recommendations towards tackling the barriers to foreign policy implementation.

1.4 Scope of the Research

The study is designed to assess the challenges in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the Fourth Republic, from 1993 to 2015.

1.5 Rationale of the Study

This study is significant for the following reasons:

- The study will cover major issues regarding foreign policy implementation, and its findings will be useful for policy makers in Ghana's foreign policy.
- It will augment the existing literature on foreign policy making process, specifically the implementation phase of Ghana's foreign policy under the Fourth Republic.
- It will also inspire other students and researchers to make further inquiry into the field.

1.6 Hypothesis

The study was guided by the under-mentioned hypothesis:

The implementation of Ghana's foreign policy is affected by domestic and external attributes.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

International relations experts have offered different framework for foreign policy analysis. Strategic-relational approach is the theoretical framework on which the research was conducted. The strategic-relational approach was selected based on the fact that, other theories failed to provide a deeper and all-encompassing explanation to the challenges faced by states in the implementation of their foreign policy.

According to Brighi and Hill, Strategic-relational approach was propounded by Bob Jessop as a critical reaction to the agency-structure debate, which tended to offer the actor or the structure based form of explanation to foreign policy.¹³ Strategic-relational approach was introduced to political science in order to refute claims that, political action could be reduced to either external constraints or internal preferences.¹⁴ Strategic Relational Approach is an amalgamation of the two theories.

According to the model, foreign policy behaviour is produced via dialectic interplay between the actor's own strategy on one hand, and context on the other hand. The approach is called strategic because, actors are understood to be oriented towards the attainment of stated goals. In the process of elaborating courses of action, actors inevitably have to take into account the strategies of all other players.¹⁵ The approach is also relational because it assumes that, actors and their behaviour becomes only intelligible when analysed in relation to their surrounding environment. In turn, environment or context becomes truly 'real' only when looked at from the perspective of the individual actor in question.¹⁶

The underlying assumptions of the theory is that, there is a constant interplay between actors and context, and it is through this interplay that behaviour is produced. Context according to the theory, refer to other actors and the set of relations which they entertain, the material

environment becomes meaningful only through the relations that actors establish with one another.

The model also states that, there is constant feedback from the actor to the environment and vice versa, thus produced through an interactive process, foreign policy behaviour then feeds back into the context, restructuring the environment or leaving it unchanged, and into the actor itself, by making adaptation possible.

The model view the international system as having at least two (2) dimensions: that is horizontal and vertical. Horizontally, the international unfolds on a continuum, from proximity to distance, from local to global. Vertically, the international system is divided into layers: political, social, economic, military, normative. The theory contends that the greatest challenge for state leaders is to harmonize both horizontal and vertical. Furthermore, an exclusive focus on the domestic political process, cannot explain those instances in which outcome deviate from intentions. Also an exclusive focus on context places too much emphasis on the constraints and opportunities shaping action, and cannot contemplate any real sense of intentionality, therefore a degree of interplay between the internal and the external in the policy implementation is inevitable and necessary for its success.

The model is relevant to the study because, it is of the assumption that neither strategy nor context taken in isolation, can explain the success or failure of a certain foreign policy to deliver an intended outcome. In order to conceptualize behaviour and implementation, foreign policy analyst must consider how both the domestic and international affects foreign policy in its implementation.¹⁷ According to the model, a failure to take into account both the strategies and interactive nature of foreign policy, means a high likelihood of problems occurring at the

implementation phase. Most foreign policy implementation involves a tangled web of connections with other states, or at least parts of other states. Which is both necessary and a serious complication of agency, in that it may compromise the aspiration towards a single, rational strategy and the control of outcome. The model demonstrate that foreign policy action depends on others for its full implementation. Whether being pursued bilaterally or multilaterally, it will require the cooperation of partners. The model offers the lense through which a critical examination of the underlying factors, responsible for the challenges in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy will be examined. It also provides the framework to examine the different context, in which the various leaders under the Fourth Republic had to implement their foreign policy. For instance, using the model to analyse Ghana's foreign policy under K.A Busia and Atta Mills, with respect to their foreign policy regarding 'Dialogue with apartheid South Africa' and the 'Dzi wofi Asem' policies respectively, shows that both policies failed because of the two leaders failure to take into consideration the domestic and the international impact of their policies. The policies did not receive the necessary support from the international environment. This therefore demonstrate that a foreign policy which is projected to the outside without much understanding of such interplay is likely to backfire.

1.8 Literature Review

The literature review focused on the body of knowledge available on the subject under study. Marijke Breuning in her book 'Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction'¹⁸ explains the foreign policy decision making process. The author states that leaders most often are confronted with domestic constraints on foreign policy making. In this regard policy options must not only respond appropriately to the situation, they must also be acceptable by the domestic environment. In assessing policy option, decision makers must consider whether the options constitute effective and appropriate responses to the situation, in addition to an

evaluation of the response of the domestic audience to the option. The work examines the role of leaders in the decision making process and the challenges inherent in foreign policy making. Breuning believes that the personality and knowledge of the leader impact on the decision making process. The author is of the opinion that leaders do not rarely make foreign policy alone but involves government bureaucracies and advisory system. The writer states that rational decisions do not guarantee a desirable outcome, because the outcome of actions depends not just on the decision taken by the leader of one country, but also on how other actors in the international environment react to those actions.

Breuning acknowledges that implementation phase has its own problems and pitfalls. To her, even under the best circumstances, foreign policy outcome do not depend solely on good decision making; domestic and international constraints also play a role in determining whether policy decisions lead to the desired outcome. The author opines that rationality does not guarantee a desirable outcome, because the outcome is in part dependent on the reaction of other actors.

Furthermore, Breuning highlights on the factors that impede in the decision making process which include: type of government, structure of the bureaucracy, the interrelation between a government and its people, political culture, domestic pressure from media, public opinion, interest group, and inaccurate information.

Breuning argues that the international environment constrains the policy options that are available to decision makers. A state's membership of a regional organisation or an international organisation may constrain its leader's decision making option, since the rules, norms, and expectation of the organisation must guide the leader in their decision making. She

assert that the measure of capabilities of a state, only provides a small glimpse at the position of the state in the larger international environment. A country's measures of capabilities cannot indicate what foreign policies the decision makers of the various states will pursue, but they help us understand the set of constraints they face. Continuing, Breuning states that all things being equal, the leaders of states with smaller territories, population, and economies should perceive greater constraints as they navigate the international environment than the leaders of larger states, with more resources, more population and large economies.

On the issue of interdependence and the inequality of states, the work highlights that the differences in size and resources has implication for interactions between states. Small states foreign policies are constrained by their dependence to more powerful states. His work distinguish four foreign policy orientations that have been identified and characterise the foreign policies of small states. These are consensus-oriented foreign policy, compliance foreign policy, counter-dependent foreign policy and compensation. Consensus-oriented foreign policy involves the leaders of a small state, voluntarily aligning their external policy with that of a larger or more powerful state that has the capacity to exert influence over them. Compliance on the other hand involve a situation where a more powerful state has the capability to exert pressure on the leader of a small state, to align its foreign policy with it. Counter dependent represent a defiant reaction to dependence. Compensation is a foreign policy that antagonizes the leaders of powerful states in an effort to appease domestic audiences. Compensation-oriented foreign policy especially is relevant to my study and my hypothesis because, it advances that small and dependent states face dual pressures, that is the constraint from international environment as well as the domestic environment. This literature therefore validate the hypothesis of the study and therefore relevant to the study.

Valerie M. Hudson in her work 'Foreign policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory'¹⁹ examined the decision making process and the various actors involved in the process. She also discussed some of the factors which influences the process such as individual character, political psychology, perception, national and societal characteristics, and domestic factors.²⁰

Hudson state that a single leader cannot make and implement foreign policy by himself. Therefore the implementation of a foreign policy involve several actors both within the state and outside the state.²¹ Hudson contends that a country's national attributes plays an important role in the formulation and implementation of its foreign policy. The national attributes of a state include the natural resources, geography, population characteristics and size. Boafo-Arthur also concur with a statement that, the economic situation of Ghana influence the direction of its foreign policy under the Progress Party, National Redemption Council and the Provisional National Defence Council.²²

This literature is relevant to the study because it addresses some of the factors which constrains and poses problem to the implementation of foreign policy. It also highlight the importance of support from both the internal and the external environment in the implementation phase.

In their contribution to existing literature on foreign policy implementation, Elisabetta Brighi and Christopher Hill's writing on 'Implementation and Behaviour' in 'Foreign Policy Theories, Actors, Cases'²³ provide an elaborate work on the implementation phase of the decision making process. The writers describe the implementation phase as one in which actors confront their environment and in which the environment confronts them. The work posits that foreign policy implementation involves the translation of foreign policy objectives into practice. Implementation develop on two levels, domestic and international which are in constant

interaction. In order to be successful in achieving their objectives, actors need to pursue a foreign policy that is compatible with the context and at the same time supported by a reasonable degree of agreement inside the state.²⁴ Implementation calls for an attention to both fronts, domestic and international, and foreign policy makers need to make them work in tandem as much as possible. A degree of interplay between the domestic and the international in the process of foreign policy implementation is inevitable and indeed necessary for its success. Both super powers and small or weak states have challenges in the implementation of foreign policy.

Brighi and Hill contend that for successful implementation of foreign policy objectives, actors need to pursue a foreign policy that is compatible with the context and, at the same time supported by a reasonable degree of agreement inside the state. The writers stress that domestic objectives are achieved via particular foreign policies, whereas foreign policy objectives are pursued via domestic policies.

On the subject of instruments of foreign policy, Brighi and Hill are of the view that state, capability determine the type of instrument it would employ to translate its actions into outcomes. Larger states will possess the full portfolio of potential instruments, from the hardest of hard power to the most subtle and indirect cultural influence. They will also have the capability to act well beyond their own locality and globally. However, micro states are limited in their choice of instrument in the implementation of their foreign policies, since the choice of instrument depends upon the capabilities of states.

The work of Brighi and Hill provide a deeper insight into the subject of foreign policy implementation. The work provides the window through which a rich understanding of the

study is obtained. However, its only weakness is that the context of the work is general and not specifically related to challenges in developing countries, particularly Ghana.

Steven Smith and Michael Clarke in their book 'Foreign Policy Implementation'²⁵ argues that implementation determines foreign policy. Smith and Clarke maintain that, many studies of foreign policy tended to assume that once decisions are made they are almost automatically translated into actions, and that the results of those actions are easy to discern. Their work highlight the fact that even where implementation of a policy takes place as planned it may well not lead to the predicted or anticipated result. Smith and Clarke assert that existing approaches are incomplete because they focus on the decision as the element to be explained, and ignore the slippage that takes place afterwards. According to them, assessing policy implementation is essential because, it helps in understanding and addressing barriers to foreign policy implementation, which can enhance the effective implantation of a country's foreign policy.

This literature is relevant to the study because it focuses on the fact that, most states focus on the decision making process without paying attention to how the decision is implemented.

Mark Webber and Michael Smith, writing on implementation of foreign policy in their work 'Foreign Policy in a Transformed World'²⁶ presents an elaborate examination of implementation of foreign policy. Their work discusses the components of foreign policy implementation, the implementation process, the actors involved in the process, the nature of the instrument for the implementation of foreign policy as well as the challenges in the implementation of foreign policy in the cotemporary world.

Webber and Smith state that, implementation implies the mechanism through which, and the instrument with which, decisions are translated into action and outcomes. The result of foreign policy outcome are not easily discerned. The work address the fact that where implementation of a policy takes place as planned it may not lead to the predicted or anticipated results. Accordingly, foreign policy can be realised if only the policy can be implemented. Implementation is crucial to an understanding of the direction, the efficiency and the effectiveness of policy. The actions encapsulated in the process of implementation have to be chosen, they often have to be combined and coordinated in uncertain circumstances, and they require monitoring and evaluation by the policy makers as the basis for subsequent decisions and actions. As such, implementation is not just the residue after the policy has been made: it is subject to many of the same pressures and problems as in the decision making process such as type of political system and constitutional arrangement.

Webber and Smith explain that the capacity to act is a function of the resources or capabilities available, to the policy maker and also the ability to translate and combine those resources in pursuit of specific foreign policy goals. To them even in instances where the policy possesses adequate material resources, misguided actions that stem from calculations of political expediency or human frailties of miscalculation and misperception can pose problems to the implementation process. The work further states that the taking of a particular action may produce unintended and undesired results owing to intervening circumstances. The writers are of the opinion that adverse results are greater during implementation than during decision making for the following reasons: uncertainty of the policy arena, the high stakes, and the lack of control over action of other national governments or international acting bodies.

Concerning actors or agents in the implementation, the work maintains that the actors or agents through whom implementation take place can be diverse, located in a variety of institutional and political settings and thus often difficult to coordinate. The line of Foreign policy implementation, in other words, become blurred within a setting that is wider than the simple national context. Mark Webber and Michael Smith's work provides a rich understanding of the subject of study and therefore relevant to the research. However, the study is limited because it does not specifically focus on developing countries, and Ghana in particular.

Yao Gebe in his Journal article 'Ghana's Foreign Policy at Independence: Implication for the 1966 coup',²⁷ states that the leadership role of Kwame Nkrumah during Ghana's independence struggle was shaped by the vision and programs of the pan-African movement. And therefore his Pan-African vision was woven into Ghana's foreign policy at independence. Nkrumah was a participant in the Fifth Pan-African Congress held in London in 1945, in the position of Joint Secretary of the Organizing Committee with George Padmore, another staunch African nationalist.

Gebe is of the view that the government of Kwame Nkrumah, was confronted with a rather complex international system with repercussions for both internal politics and Ghana's external relations. The crucial point was reached in 1966 when his government was overthrown and the country had to undergo drastic changes in its foreign policy as well as domestic priorities. Gebe argues that the vision that underpinned Kwame Nkrumah's radicalism conflicted with the immediate preoccupations of most of his peers, especially on the subject of African Unity. Additionally, he noted that the international environment which he describes as hostile, impinged negatively on his priorities and programs for the African continent and its people. In the particular case of Ghana and for most African and developing countries during the Cold

War, pressures from the international system impinged on the choices our political leaders had to make with some opting for the socialist path of economic development, others liberal capitalism, while the majority of them declared that they were non-aligned.

In the opinion of Gebe, Nkrumah's foreign policy resulted in the erection of an ideological wedge between Ghana and the liberal democracies of Europe and North America. This development consequently led to his overthrow on 24th February, 1966. This work is relevant to the study because it provides an account of the challenges which impeded the formulation and implementation of Ghana's foreign policy at independence. It exhibit that internal and external political development shaped the direction of Ghana's foreign policy.

Boafo-Arthur in his inaugural lecture, "Regime Change and Foreign Policy Orientation in Ghanaian politics; The Post-Nkrumah Years in Perspective", examined the various changes in foreign policies of Ghana as a result of regime change, since the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah.²⁸ Boafo-Arthur analysed the various causes of regime changes and the policy changes in Ghana over the last fifty years. According to him, there is a relation between economic crisis and domestic political regime change. He noted that "a series of socio economic conditions linked to economic development or modernization such as per capital income, literacy levels, and the quality of communications media have been comprehensively studied in an attempt to explain regime change."²⁹ Explaining further, the author pointed out that modernization theorists are of the view that, authoritarianism thrives on the existence of low levels of factors indicated above while democracy is favoured by high level of the factors. According to Boafo-Arthur, Ghana has witnessed several regime change largely as a result of military intervention. According to him, foreign policy decision making suffered discontinuities, infelicities and lack of focus as a result of these regime changes.

In his conclusion, Boafo-Arthur observed that Ghana has now reached a stage in her development where regime change or change in government is not bound to lead to significant shift in foreign policy. The avenue has therefore been created for a developmental foreign policy. This he attributed to the consolidation of democracy which has led to the strengthening of the institutions for foreign policy decision making. The writer also observed that foreign policy formulation, to a large extent, is influenced by the idiosyncrasies of the leader of the regime, but advised that foreign policy should largely be built on the institutions of foreign policy formulation rather than the leaders.

The study is important to the research because it examines the implication of regime change on Ghana's foreign policy. Regime change could adversely affect the leadership and direction of a country's foreign policy. As well as play a major role in determining whether a policy would be abandoned or continued, thus regime change is an important variable in this study.

In his book 'Foreign Policy-making in Ghana options for the 21st Century'³⁰ K.B Asante examines the foreign policies of Ghana from independence to 1992. The writer asserts that since independence successive governments of Ghana have followed similar foreign policies except differences in form but not so much in substance. He is of the view that Kwame Nkrumah's foreign policy was carried out in a different environment than presently, thus the nature of the international system has an influence on the conduct of foreign policy.

Asante is of the view that foreign policy objectives are crucial to the achievement of a country's vision on the international stage. He therefore stress that Ghana should determine its objective clearly and design implementation measures which are cost effective and beneficial. He advised that the objectives should be designed in line with the needs of the country and not a

mere copy of others. On implementation agencies, Asante noted that Ghana's foreign policy is executed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Missions abroad. He observed that under the 1992 constitution, the president is bestowed with wide powers over the determination and conduct of foreign policy. Asante also noted that cabinet and parliament also play an important role in foreign policy formulation. He observed that considerable wastage of resources take place at the implementation stage. Asante states that diplomatic missions play a large part in the implementation of foreign policy. In this regard, diplomats should be carefully selected and given adequate training. He however caution against one person dominating the conduct of foreign policy which he assert often leads to waste of resources and costly errors.

Noting the challenges facing the Foreign Ministry in the implementation of Ghana's Foreign Policy, Asante focuses on conflict between the political heads and career diplomatic officers. This, in his opinion, was engendered as a result of the fact that career officers were generally better trained than the political heads of missions. This generated suspicion.

On foreign policy implementation, K.B. Asante states that foreign policy involves several activities which may not all be of equal importance at all times. He therefore suggested the need for cost benefit analysis in the execution of foreign policy. Cost benefit analysis involve an assessment of the cost and benefits which would accrued from a particular policy being carried out and allocate funds accordingly.

In view of the fact that K.B. Asante's analysis of Ghana's foreign policy is from independence to 1992, there is the need for further analysis of the period 1993 to 2015 in order to ascertain

the convergence and divergence in the two era. Therefore, this is what this work seeks to accomplish.

William G.M. Branful in his work “Personal Reflection of a Ghanaian Foreign Service Officer: Wither Ghanaian Diplomacy?”³¹ presents an overview of Ghana’s Foreign Service. He states that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration is the institution that plays the role of coordinator and implementer of Ghana’s foreign policy

On challenges affecting the effective functioning of the ministry, he observed that due to insufficient funds the ministry is not able to adequately perform its core functions. His views was based on the findings obtained from an assessment of financial allocation for the ministry from 2007 to 2009 based on actual financial requirement of the ministry and actual finance received for the aforementioned years.³² The assessment of the three (3) years indicated a considerable gap between the actual financial requirement of the ministry and the actual funds received. Branful maintain that lack of funds was one of the reason for Ghana’s mission abroad inability to effectively perform its functions. Also, lack of coordination between the ministry and other ministries, agencies and departments in issues relating to Ghana’s foreign policy was identified as a challenge in the implementation of Ghana’s foreign policy. Also, in-adequate staff at the ministry and its missions abroad was identified as a challenge impeding on the effective implementation of Ghana’s foreign policy. Brandful indicated that as at 2008 the staff strength of the Ministry was 854 with 274 vacancies.³³

Whilst his work provides a detailed explanation of the internal factors which impede on the effective implementation of Ghana’s foreign policy, it failed to examine the external factors which militate against the implementation of Ghana’s foreign policy.

1.9 Sources of Data and Methodology

The data for the research was derived from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was gathered for the study through the conduct of an unstructured interview from various categories of individuals and institutions involved in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy. The target population for the interview include staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, five (5) former and five (5) serving ambassadors, a former and current Ministers of Foreign Affairs and other institutions involved in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy. Purposeful sampling technique was used to select the population for the research. Secondary data was obtained through a review of books, journal articles relevant to the study. The primary and secondary data obtained was qualitatively analysed.

The study employed the use of qualitative research design to investigate and analyse the research problem. The methodology employed a descriptive analysis of which variables were identified and interpreted in relation to the objectives of the research to draw conclusions for the study.

1.10 Organisation of the Study

The study will comprise of four main chapters.

Chapter one consist of the Research design. It introduces the subject matter and gives background to the problem; objectives of the study; its rationale, hypothesis, scope of literature review, methodology, organization of the study and the theoretical framework that guides the study.

Chapter two provides an overview of Ghana's foreign policy since independence to the Fourth Republic, (1993 to 2015)

Chapter three highlight the actors involved in the implementation of Ghana’ foreign policy and instruments used in the implementation process. The chapter assess the challenges in the implementation of Ghana’s foreign policy under the Fourth Republic.

Chapter four provide the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations of the study.



Endnotes

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CHAPTER TWO

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF GHANA'S FOREIGN POLICY SINCE INDEPENDENCE TO THE FOURTH REPUBLIC (1957-2015)

2.0 Introduction

The foreign policy of a country depicts the country's opinions and posture on global politics. Goldstein¹ defines foreign policy as the strategy used by governments to guide their actions in the international arena. Foreign policies spell out the objectives state leaders have decided to pursue in a given relationship or situation, as well as the general means by which they intend to pursue those objectives. It is fitting, therefore, to assert that the kind of foreign policy a country formulates and implements is pivoted on its national interest. Suffice it to say that, at independence, Nkrumah envisioned that the new nation could only be strong if its neighbours and, indeed, the entire African continent is liberated.

Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first Prime Minister and later president, declared on the eve of 6th March 1957 that "the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of the African continent."² Nkrumah's statement on the liberation of the African continent and the promotion of the African personality formed the axis of Ghana's foreign policy agenda during the first republic; the foreign policies pursued by successive governments after Nkrumah have evolved on the foreign policy his government initiated. However, various governments have differed in the implementation of these policies. The implementation of foreign policy is, however, determined largely by an interplay of internal and external factors. Various foreign policy analysts including Bofo-Arthur identify such internal variables as the economic might of the country, the governmental system, leadership structure etc. to impact foreign policy implementation; external factors that shape the implementation process include

the economic and military might of other countries, the political influence of other countries, membership of international organization etc.

In this chapter, I present an overview of Ghana's foreign policy, since independence up to the Fourth Republic. The objective is to identify the challenges faced by various regimes in the implementation of foreign policy at each stage in post-independence Ghana, and the strategies employed by them to address those challenges. The work shall also highlight any persistent challenge to foreign policy implementation by successive regimes.

2.1 Ghana's Foreign Policy under Kwame Nkrumah (1957-1966)

According to Boafo-Arthur,³ Nkrumah had both a blend of feat and failure in foreign relations. Ghana was able to make an impact on the international stage as a result of the fact that she was relatively well endowed, had the advantage of being the first of the new sub-Saharan states, and was strongly committed to the development of a foreign policy that would include working forcefully for African liberation and unity. According to Debrah,⁴ Nkrumah was effective in the implementation of his foreign policy because of the nature of the international system. The Cold war power politics between the USSR and USA made it possible for African countries to either swing the pendulum of support from either East to West. Also, the absence of a viable opposition in a single party parliament by 1964 made it easy for Nkrumah's foreign policies to be approved by parliament without any opposition⁵.

Ghana's foreign policy at independence was centered on decolonisation, African Unity, Non-alignment, positive neutrality, Economic Emancipation and effective membership of strategic International Organisations.

2.1.1 African Policy

Nkrumah vigorously pursued his African policy. He laid the foundation for the Unity of the states of the African continent. Nkrumah seized every opportunity to give substance to the ideal of African state. However, the form of unity that Nkrumah wanted was not in accordance with the vision of other African leaders⁶. This was a source of conflict between Nkrumah and other African leaders. While Nkrumah preferred a Union of African States the majority of African states were opposed to that ideal. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) that was formed in 1963 fell short of Nkrumah's vision. Nkrumah's foreign policy on Africa, specifically continental unity, failed because of lack of support from majority of the African community.⁷

Additionally, Nkrumah pursued the Pan-African agenda in order to catalyze the African continent through the emancipation of Africa from colonization and the rebuilding of the dignity of the black race, and the creation of power and influence in Africa.⁸

2.1.2 Economic Diplomacy

Nkrumah's economic policies adopted within the West African sub-region received a lot of criticism. Nkrumah's decision to take Ghana out of all the regional arrangements and agencies that were inherited from the British, such as, the West African Currency Board, the West African Cocoa Research Institute and the West African Court of Appeal, all meant to boost cooperation among British colonial dependencies, also came up for some criticism. To the critics, it contradicted his desire to foster continental union since these were credible examples of unity at the sub-regional level.⁹

One clear manifestation of Nkrumah's economic diplomacy was the solicitation of funds from the West for the construction of the Volta River Project and the Akosombo Dam for the production of electricity, based on his belief that 'the Volta River Project will provide the quickest and most certain method of leading Ghana towards economic independence.'¹⁰

2.1.3 Decolonization

Nkrumah's successful implementation of foreign policy in the area of decolonisation and liberation struggle was attributed to the financial resources of the country. Thompson¹¹ observes that Ghana had substantial natural resource to be economically vibrant; the country had the financial muscle to effectively implement its foreign policy agenda. Nkrumah exhibited his commitment to the liberation of the African continent in the form of financial aid to the tune of 10 million pounds to Guinea after it had broken away from France in September 1958.¹² Additionally, he agreed to grant Mali a long-term loan after its split with Senegal. Ghana established a political association with the two countries.¹³

2.1.4 Pan-African Agenda

Nkrumah was able to effectively implement his non-alignment policy as a result of the nature of the international system.¹⁴ The nonalignment movement was an association of countries that aimed to detach itself from the politics between the East and the West, particularly the Soviet Union on the eastern bloc and the United States on the western bloc. Ghana was a founding member of the nonalignment movement; the country's foreign policy under the first republic thus sought to remain neutral to the policies and alliances of the two blocs, and especially the cold war politics. Nkrumah strategically established close friendship between both the Soviet Union and the United States by opening embassies in the two countries. However, between

the mid-1961 and the 1966 coup, the country pivoted to the east partly because of the politics of the left wing faction within the CPP government, and Nkrumah's fallout with the West on the debacle in Congo and the West's annexation of Southern Africa.¹⁵ Nkrumah's anti-Western posture and socialist leanings incentivized the West against him; his meddling in the Congo crises initiated his cold war woes – for in doing so he got entangled in the superpower struggle between the east and the west. Ghanaian diplomatic activity increased greatly as Nkrumah became very involved in the Congo crisis and simultaneously sought to increase Ghana's contacts with the communist states. His efforts proved increasingly unsuccessful as he overestimated his ability to exert international influence, as Soviet foreign assistance proved disappointing, and as he came increasingly to rely on his more militant, but less capable, policy advisors.¹⁶

According to Boafo-Arthur,¹⁷ Nkrumah adopted the use of aggressive and hostile policy measures to attain his foreign policy objectives. These measures led to mistrust between Nkrumah and his immediate neighbours. Thompson¹⁸ is of the view that Nkrumah's personal ambition, superiority complex, among others, contributed immensely to his foreign policy failure. Nkrumah's relationship with her immediate neighbours was characterized with mistrust. His political ideology was contrary to some of the leaders ideology, these among others led to his overthrow in 1966.

2.2 Ghana's Foreign Policy under the National Liberation Council (NLC) (1966-1969)

Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown on 24th February 1966 in a coup led by E. K. Kotoka, while Nkrumah was on a peace mission to Hanoi. Subsequently, the National Liberation Council (NLC) took over power with J. A. Ankrah as Chairman of the Council. According to Boafo-Arthur, the regime was not accorded with the needed international recognition. The regime was

therefore opposed by some countries (Tanzania, Egypt, Somalia and Guinea) at international meetings, such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Zambia also demonstrated its disapproval of the coup through the recalling of her ambassador to Ghana. On the other hand, countries such as Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Liberia welcomed the overthrow of Nkrumah as a result of the bad relations which existed between Nkrumah and them.¹⁹

The NLC administration did not place importance on foreign policy because of the economic issues they were preoccupied with. According to K. B Asante, the NLC members failed to develop any proactive foreign policy. The coup d'état by the NLC led to the separation of Eastern European countries as well as the centrally-planned economies. Cuba, for instance, had to close its embassy in Accra, while others maintained their ambassadors with only skeletal staffs left behind. Trade, economic cooperation and technical agreements with these countries were unilaterally abrogated, forcing their technical advisers to leave the country.²⁰

The National Liberation Council also embarked on a pro-West foreign policy by intensifying relations with the market economies of Western Europe and North America. Ghanaian government delegations paid goodwill visits to the United Kingdom, the United States and France with the added objective of seeking favorable changes to Ghana's financial obligations to these countries.²¹

2.3 Ghana's Foreign Policy under the Progress Party Government (1969-1972)

After three and a half years in office, the NLC regime decided to organize democratic elections and hand over political power to a civilian government. On 1st May, 1969 the prohibition on political parties was lifted leading to the decree of a new constitution for Ghana which came

into force on 1st March, 1970. Kofi Busia won the elections and became the Prime Minister. It was, however, very clear that most of the ministers and those in leadership position in the new government had been active participants in the NLC military government.²²

According to some proponents, the Progress Party was brought into power to carry on with the policies of the NLC regime and that combating Nkrumahism as an ideology was at the center of its commitments. The Busia government refused Kwame Nkrumah and his associates return to the country, a policy that was inherited from the NLC era. In addition, all state officials and individuals with a CPP past were disallowed to hold public office or serve in government.²³

2.3.1 International Diplomacy

The Busia administration also acknowledged that world peace could not be built ‘on the present balance of terror between the two superpowers’ and emphasized the need for a more reliable and permanent mechanism to ensure continuous peace and security of the world, best represented by the United Nations. The Busia government also recognized its pro-West leanings but explained its readiness to establish relations with non-Western countries such as Eastern Germany and China.²⁴ With regards to the continent of Africa, the Busia administration explained that the total emancipation of the continent from colonial domination was a fundamental principle of Ghana’s foreign policy but added that African emancipation was a subject for all African states and thus Ghana must collaborate with them. On the question of African Unity, it was explained that the government was dedicated to the cause of African unity and that while a political union of Africa was desirable, the proper foundations through functional integration must be laid, preferably at the sub-regional level hence the interest in a West African Economic Community.²⁵

2.3.2 Economic Diplomacy

Busia's economic foreign policy was directed towards attracting foreign investment and other forms of economic cooperation to supplement domestic efforts toward resource mobilization. It aimed to make the fullest use of Ghana's Diplomatic Missions abroad and in this regard, strengthen the country's role in the various international trade and economic bodies of which it was a member, as well as other international bodies of relevance to Ghana's over all national interest and development, for instance, the Commonwealth.²⁶

After two weeks in office, Kofi Busia embarked on a two-week state visit and tour that took him to the United States to meet President Richard Nixon as well as deliver a speech at the 16th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. He also held talks with the representatives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in addition to official visits to the United Kingdom and France where formal meetings were held with Prime Minister Harold Wilson and President Georges Pompidou respectively. These overtures did not only confirm Ghana's pro-Western orientation but more importantly, the opportunity to bring the rescheduling of the country's debt onto the agenda of those who matter in this regard.²⁷

According to Ronald T. Libby,²⁸ the uniqueness of the Busia's administration economic diplomacy was locked into a network of intergovernmental economic relations. Within that network, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) effected a connection of policy formation and transmission. The IGO's connected creditor and donor countries by means of an informal partnership of Ghanaian officials and foreign advisers who were residents of Ghana. Equipped with financial support for their policies, the international organizations and the internal

coalition proved decisive in gaining Ghana's acceptance of them. Libby²⁹ however, indicated that the economic policies pursued by the Busia's administration turned out to be disastrous. This led to the decline of its already precarious public support. In the wake of public disaffection, a military coup d'état was successfully carried out, putting an end to Ghana's short-lived experiment in democracy.³⁰

2.3.3 Ghana's foreign Policy towards Africa

It is important to note that two monumental foreign policy decisions impacted most negatively on the Busia administration. The first was the Alien's Compliance Order (ACP) that resulted in the expulsion of illegal aliens from the country, though purportedly towards a larger economic policy of indigenization.³¹

The second was the disreputable policy of 'dialogue with Apartheid South Africa' that urged the OAU and African countries to open direct talks with Apartheid South Africa as to how the problem could be resolved. With regard to the ACP, about approximately 300,000 foreign nationals, mostly from countries in the West African sub-region (Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Togo, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Benin and Niger) were forced in November 1969 to leave the country. This was considered as an unfriendly act by a sister country and resulted in deteriorated relations and retaliation by other countries in the sub-region, for instance, by Nigeria in 1983.³² In the case of Africa's relations with Apartheid South Africa, Ghana found itself isolated due to its imprudent decision to establish contacts with the Pretoria regime of South Africa. The overall policy recommendation of 'dialogue with South Africa' was out of tune with African and Third World international relations, thus meeting criticism and condemnation. There were other African countries that believed in this approach to resolving the apartheid question, for

instance, Cote d'Ivoire. But coming as it was from a country like Ghana that spearheaded the liberation struggle under President Kwame Nkrumah, it brought nothing else but serious damage to the country's reputation and image.

2.4 Ghana's Foreign Policy under the National Redemption Council (NRC)/ Supreme Military Council (SMC I and II) Governments

The National Redemption Council (NRC) led by Ignatius Kutu Acheampong took over power on January 13, 1972 from the Busia Progress Party (PP).³³ Acheampong endorsed Ghana's commitment to the effort of total liberation of the continent. He set up a Liberation Information Center in Accra for freedom fighters to use for propaganda against European imperialism and apartheid.³⁴ He extended support to African countries in their time of need. Just as Nkrumah came to the aid of Guinea-Conakry as part of his African unity, Acheampong readily came to the aid of Guinea-Bissau when they needed Ghana's assistance in 1974³⁵. He also came to the aid of Uganda when that country was faced with shortage of teachers after Idi Amin expelled Asian and British teachers from his country. Acheampong posted trained teachers from Ghana to fill in the vacancies left by the departing foreign teachers.³⁶

The NRC government's major foreign policy outside Africa was in the realm of economic diplomacy. Characteristic of military dictators, Acheampong unilaterally and unceremoniously declared his government's intension to repudiate all foreign debts contracted by previous administrations suspected to be tainted by corruption. Unperturbed by the potential consequences of his action, Acheampong announced his infamous 'Yentua' (debt repudiation) policy to the chagrin and surprise of Ghana's creditors. He declared that the NRC explicitly repudiates all contracts which are vitiated by corruption, fraud or other illegality.³⁷ He also openly expressed his disdain for the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and refused to

allow the IMF and the World Bank to negotiate Ghana's debt with her creditors. Acheampong's defiant position won him a lot of admirations from Ghanaians. His populist approach to economic diplomacy was exactly what he needed to rally the people and gain their support for his government.³⁸ It is argued that Acheampong was emboldened to chart the path of defiance and confrontation with Ghana's creditors because of the country's economic fortunes as a result of increase in cocoa prices in the world market as well as increase in timber production.

2.5 Ghana's Foreign Policy under the Peoples' National Party (PNP)

The foreign policy under the Limann administration was in line with that of Kwame Nkrumah. He came into power from September, 1979 to December 1981. Limann stated that the overall objective of his administration on foreign policy was to restore the nation's influence and the image it once had in the sight of the outside world. However, this time around, it was focused on cost-benefit of the nation as he puts it 'for a successful conduct of our foreign policy, an efficient and cost-effective foreign service is required.'³⁹

The goal of Limann's government was so open that in one year at the presidency, he contracted the STX in South Korea to build four more brand new cargo ships for the Black Star Line. The then Minister of Transport, Harry Sawyer, on the basis of Ghana's foreign policy, went to India to negotiate the deal on the importation of Tata buses into the country as it was the first of its kind.

Regardless of all these achievements chalked by President Limann's government on its foreign policy, Quantson holds the view that the government of Hilla Limann had no clear

policies geared towards the national interest as he thought President Limann was not a strong president with numerous problems in his party affecting the country's foreign policy.⁴⁰

2.6 Ghana's Foreign Policy under Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) 1981-1992

In E. Gyimah-Boadi's work, "The search for economic development and democracy in Ghana: From Limann to Rawlings", he designated that on 31st December, 1981, the Provisional National Defence Council led by Jerry John Rawlings overthrew the People's National Party (PNP).⁴¹ According to the new government, Ghana had just enough foreign exchange to last for only two weeks. In real terms, the country's outstanding import bill of \$348m was far more than the \$33m in the country's reserve.⁴²

According to Kevin Shillington,⁴³ the PNDC government wasted no time in embarking on an aggressive foreign policy agenda to solicit aid from fellow revolutionaries and major socialist countries. Initially, the regime claimed to be socialist and had no clearly defined policy for international economic relations or foreign economic policy.

2.6.1 Economic Diplomacy

There was an aggressive quest for economic support for national development by the PNDC government; this resulted in establishing a very good relations with the IMF/World Bank and other international financial institutions (IFIs). This greatly influenced Ghana's relations with other developed economies and to some extent some developing ones. In time, the PNDC's relations with the West in particular were predicated on good relations with the Bretton Woods institutions.⁴⁴

The PNDC's change of ideological orientation in April 1983 led to the pursuit of an overly aggressive foreign economic policy. Many questions have been asked on the theoretical constructs that best explain the regime's behaviour domestically and externally with specific reference to international economic relations.

After executing IMF/World Bank imposed alleviating policies, the PNDC virtually had to renounce socialism. Nonetheless, and unlike earlier governments, political and economic relations with so-called progressive regimes in the international system continued.

The regime saw nothing wrong with the pursuit of liberal economic policies and its disregard for the fundamental rights of the people. The disregard for due process seemed to be fallout of the relations with the progressive regimes. It was an incongruous blend of domestic politics and international economic relations. It, however, succeeded because the policy incidentally had the covert support of the Bank and the Fund. Until the collapse of communism, the two institutions openly courted and favoured the grant of loans to dictators.⁴⁵

The PNDC obtained assistance from various funds operated by Arab countries for development in Sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, in 1988 the Kuwait Fund granted to the government \$3.5 million for the Northern Power Grid at three and half percent interest rate, three years grace period and a repayment period of fifteen years. To add to this, between 1985 and 1987 the Saudi Fund granted over \$114 million to Ghana for various projects. Among the projects are building of grain storage silos, Science College, the Rehabilitation of the Tema and Takoradi ports, and the Northern Power Grid. Interest charges on the various loans ranged between one and four per cent. Generous repayment terms were offered.⁴⁶ In that same year, the Arab Bank

for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA) granted Ghana a loan of \$10 million for the rehabilitation of the cocoa industry. The refund period was fifteen years, a grace period of five years and interest at five percent.⁴⁷ Financial support from the two Bretton Woods institutions for both short and long term programmes is, however, unprecedented in the annals of Ghana's chequered relationship with the institutions. Bofo-Arthur,⁴⁸ indicated that the Ghanaian economy under the PNDC became aid-driven. There is no indication that this had changed under the NDC. Under the PNDC Ghana became the largest per capita aid recipient in Africa.

2.6.2 International Diplomacy

After the overthrow of the PNP government, the PNDC straightaway restored diplomatic relations with Libya that had been disengaged by President Limann, and went on to establish diplomatic missions in Cuba and Bulgaria. Ghana entered into economic and cultural agreements with Cuba, the former German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Ethiopia (under Mengistu), China, Mozambique, Nicaragua (under the Sandinistas led by Daniel Ortega) and Romania under Ceausescu.

Revolutionary cadres were also sent to Cuba, Bulgaria and Libya for training. It became a standard policy for newly recruited foreign-service personnel to be given six-months training in Bulgaria in what was termed a study in "mobilisation for national development." There was no doubt, however, that most of the people were trained in military tactics, espionage, sabotage, guerrilla warfare and political indoctrination of the socialist hue. A large number of secret service personnel and commandos, who were the security backbone of the PNDC and currently of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) had been trained in the USSR, Bulgaria, and Cuba.⁴⁹

Through the international diplomacy under the PNDC government, several Ghanaians were awarded scholarships to study in various fields in Moscow and Cuba. Some companies in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and Bulgaria won Ghana government contracts. What were not made known to the general public, ostensibly for security reasons, were the security training components of the agreements. The point remains, however, that the PNDC knew what it wanted from the international community and went in for it.

In 1983, cooperation between Ghana and Burkina Faso deepened as Thomas Sankara became the president of Burkina Faso. Indeed, Rawlings and Sankara began uniting Ghana and Burkina in such a way that would overturn the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union, which Nkrumah had wanted to promote as a foundation for his dream of unified continental government. Political and economic ties between Ghana and Burkina Faso, became stronger through joint cooperation and through border demarcation committee meetings.

Ghana's relations with Ivory Coast suffered some difficulties in 1984 as Ghana directed its foreign policy towards building cooperation with Togo. The PNDC government accused Ivory Coast of allowing Ghanaian rebels to use its territory, as a base from which to carry out acts of sabotage against Ghana as well as granting asylum to political agitators wanted for crimes in Ghana. Nevertheless, after 1988, relationships between Ghana and Ivory Coast improved considerably.⁵⁰ From the 1990's Ghana contributed a large contingent of troops to aid in bringing calm to conflicts that escalated in Liberia and other West African countries through ECOWAS.

2.7 Ghana's Foreign Policy under the Fourth Republic

The Fourth Republic of Ghana was inaugurated on 7th January 1993, following eleven (11) years of military rule under the leadership of Flight Lt. Jerry John Rawlings. The transition to multi-party democracy was publicly approved by national referendum in 1992, in which the overwhelming majority of voters (93 percent) approved the new Constitution. Following a disputed introductory presidential election, won by the incumbent Rawlings with fifty-eight (58) percent of the national vote, the main opposition party pulled out of the parliamentary elections that followed. Aside from the electoral dispute, Ghana's transition to multi-party democracy was smooth, and the opposition soon entered into a dialogue with the government under the supervision of the Inter-Party Advisory Committee. Since 1992 Ghana has made substantial democratic progress, holding progressively free and fair elections every four years, and witnessing two successful democratic alterations of power in 2000 and 2008.

The 1992 Constitution establishes the fundamental principles that guides her foreign policy under the fourth republic of Ghana.

In Article 40, Chapter Six of the 1992 Constitution titled "Directive Principles of State Policy," It clearly specifies Ghana's primary foreign policy objectives as follows:

- a) The promotion and protection of the interests of Ghana abroad;
- b) Seeking the establishment of a just and equitable international economic and social order.
- c) The promotion of respect for international law, treaty obligation and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means; and
- d) Adherence to the principles enshrined in, or as the case may be, the aims and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations; the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity

(now the Constitutive Act of the African Union); - the Commonwealth; the Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); and many other international organisation of which Ghana is a member.

2.7.1 Ghana's Foreign Policy under National Democratic Congress (NDC) 1993-2000

The ascendancy of western democratic values including human right resulted in the promulgation of the 1992 Constitution, and the subsequent holding of both Presidential and parliamentary elections. Jerry John Rawlings won the 1992 Presidential elections and became the President of Ghana. Rawlings served two terms as President of Ghana from 1993 -1996 and 1997-2000. As stated by Boafo-Arthur, the return to constitutional rule and victory for the National Democratic Congress (NDC) did not engender change in the foreign policy direction of the country.⁵¹

2.7.1.1 African Policy

In line with Ghana's foreign policy to achieve peace and security in the sub-region, Ghana was influential in various peace initiatives on Liberia and Sierra Leone. For example, during the first Liberia war, Ghana was a member of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) which brokered the first ECOWAS Peace Plan for Liberia that was signed by the three warring groups at the time. A number of Peace Agreements were negotiated by former President Rawlings who was the ECOWAS Chairman in 1994.⁵² These had changing levels of success, not for lack of dedication on the part of the mediators, but primarily because of the inflexibility of the warring factions. However, the process continued until 1997, when Charles Taylor won elections and became President. Rather than seize the opportunity to build peace in the country, Taylor saw his victory as an opportunity to witch-hunt his enemies. It is reported that he even

masterminded the death of the former Speaker of the National Assembly Hon. Samuel Dokie.⁵³ Consequently, many of his adversaries were forced into exile, especially into neighboring Guinea, and this created the basis for the eruption of the second war.

In addition to Rawlings' administration support for peace and security in the West African sub region, Ghana hosted several Liberian refugees and contributed troops to conflict zones in West Africa in safeguarding armistice and harmony.⁵⁴

2.7.1.2 Economic Diplomacy

Boafo-Arthur⁵⁵ pointed out that Ghana's interaction with the international community was influenced largely by two reasons; ensuring continued international economic support and the continuation of the balanced relations in the international community. The administration adopted an aggressive policy with regard to international economic relations. The competition for international financial support had become very keen as a result of the collapse of the Eastern bloc and the emergence of several independent states in Eastern Europe that hitherto were dependent on the former USSR. This led to the creation of the Trade and Investment Bureau at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This was followed by the establishment of investment promotion wings at some of the foreign missions of the country such as United Kingdom, United States of America, Singapore, Japan, South Africa and Malaysia. Such a policy called for an aggressive investment drive, which explained the many visits made to Europe, United States of America and South East Asia by President Rawlings with the main objective being the enhancement of trade ties between Ghana and the countries visited.

Furthermore, Ghana had a positive relation with Cuba, Libya, and North Korea which culminated in the signing of cooperation agreements in areas such as sports, science, health, culture and information.⁵⁶

2.7.2 Ghana's Foreign Policy under the New Patriotic Party (NPP) 2001-2008

The New Patriotic Party (NPP) came into power following its victory during the 2000 general elections. Under President John Agyekum Kufuor, Ghana's foreign policy was centered on economic diplomacy, with President Kufuor taking center stage by undertaking many travels abroad. By his fourth year in office, President Kufuor had become Ghana's most travelled leader since independence with more than sixty-three (63) visits to foreign countries.⁵⁷ President Kufuor's foreign policy also sought to enhance peaceful neighbourliness with the view to removing the tension and suspicion that had characterised relations between Ghana and her neighbours, particularly Togo. The relations among Ghana, Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire became excellent as a result of the constant consultations between President Kufuor and his colleagues. Indeed, Ghana was seen as a haven of peace and a trustworthy and sincere neighbour, genuinely committed to peace and progress in the sub-region.⁵⁸

In February 2004, Ghana became the first country to voluntarily subject itself to NEPAD's Peer Review Mechanism, which resulted in the inspection of the government's democratic, human rights and economic objectives by a team of African observers.

2.7.2.1 Economic Diplomacy

When the NPP came into power in 2001, Ghana needed an economically driven foreign policy as against the politically motivated foreign policy of the past government. President Kufuor,

therefore, pursued a vigorous and aggressive foreign policy of economic diplomacy. He put much emphasis on the need for Ghana to fortify bilateral relations with her development partners, and took it upon himself to be the one to lead the economic crusade by undertaking numerous economic trips to sell Ghana abroad and win favours from the rich nations. It can be contended that the NPP administration took economic diplomacy to a new level, and chocked enormous success in its efforts.⁵⁹

Ghana, under the NPP, received the highest injection of foreign capital, foreign aid and external loans in the history of the country. By the time the NPP government left office, Ghana reached the HIPC initiative completion point, thus leading to the cancellation of Ghana's debt by the Paris Club of creditors and the G8 Nations. Ghana's debt of \$3.5 billion was cancelled, and the country was to benefit \$230m every year from HIPC for the next nine (9) years (2004-2013). The NPP used some of the HIPC monies to fund Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS). The NDC government also invested HIPC monies into the Social Investment Program (SIP). The NPP government's economic diplomacy yielded some gains from Ghana's bilateral donor partners. Aggressive diplomacy with Japan led to Japan giving Ghana \$80m grant for the Mallam-Kasoa-Yamoransa road. Japan also cancelled \$1bn debt owed by Ghana.⁶⁰

Kufuor's economic diplomacy led to Ghana obtaining a record over \$500 million grant from the U.S Millennium Challenge Account for economic development. With this grant Ghana's social vision was consolidated as it unleashed the entrepreneurial potential of many Ghanaians as a means of creating wealth and hence dealing with the social challenges facing Ghanaians which saw to the modernization of agriculture for rural development, private sector participation, enhanced social services and vigorous infrastructural development.⁶¹

In the NPP's pursuit of economic diplomacy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration cooperated with the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) to promote the influx of foreign investment into Ghana in which Ghana recorded 417 wholly owned companies by foreign investors.

The Ghana Investment Promotion Council (GIPC) in 2002, recorded a total of 138 projects valued at about \$65.3 million and by the end of the third quarter of 2003, 108 projects was registered which was valued at about \$ 89.86 million.⁶²

2.7.2.2 Good Neighbourliness Policy

One of the key differences between the NDC and the NPP in foreign policy was in the area of relations with Ghana's neighbours in West Africa. Whereas Rawlings had a frosty and difficult relations with Togo, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and Nigeria, Kufuor developed a warm and friendly relations with all of them. Ghana re-opened its diplomatic missions in Senegal and Mali. As president, Kufuor's first foreign trip took him to Togo, where he started the process of rebuilding Ghana's relations with that country. His friendship with President Obasanjo of Nigeria yielded great benefits economically to Ghana. Nigeria gave Ghana saloon cars for the Ghana Police Service and supported Ghana with \$40m for the West Africa Gas Pipeline.

Kufuor was elected on two occasions (2003/2004) as ECOWAS chairman, further confirming the confidence and trust the West African leaders reposed in him. At the continental level, NPP improved relations with Libya, South Africa and Tanzania. Kufuor was voted chairman of the African Union by his peers when it became clear that President Omar Al-Bashir of Sudan was not getting the support of African leaders to head the Union. Ghana, under the NPP also became

the first country to subject itself to the African Peer review Mechanism (APRM) process, setting the pace for good governance and democratic practices. Ghana hosted the African Union Summit in 2007, where the African Unity debate was provoked. Once again, Ghana was positioning herself as the leader in Africa, and its image was uplifted, especially in the area of democratic governance in the continent⁶³.

2.7.3 Ghana's Foreign Policy under John Evans Atta Mills (2009-2012)

Ghana's foreign policy has continued to follow the principles of President Nkrumah despite intermittent shifts in paradigm over the years. The foreign policy of the new NDC administration under John Evans Atta Mills sought to achieve strong bilateral and multilateral ties, international treaty obligations and a firm commitment to the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter.⁶⁴

2.7.3.1 Good Neighbourliness Policy

This was clear as the NDC administration joined in international affairs with a strong tendency for supporting the grounds of economic integration, continental unity and Pan-Africanism causes that were in the light of President Nkrumah's policies.

President Mills stated that "The concept of the free movement of persons and goods throughout our respective countries must progress from mere slogans to results oriented actions that will encourage integration and economic development in our sub-region."⁶⁵ Ghana continued to engage vigorously beyond the Africa Union to the world, and to maintain an active role in the United Nations and its specialized agencies as well as in other multilateral organizations such as the Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement etc.⁶⁶

In the “State of the Nation” address in 2010 by President Mills, he pledged to honor all legitimate international treaty obligations, while Ghana sought its objectives among friendly countries that shared Ghana’s commitment to democratic governance by its unflinching support for world peace as well as social and distributive economic justice.

President Mills visited Equatorial Guinea in May, 2010, during which the two sides signed agreements in the fields of trade, agriculture, small and medium enterprises and air services. The President of Equatorial Guinea Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo also visited Ghana in September, 2010. Mills also paid a visit to Switzerland in August, 2010, which culminated in the signing of bilateral agreement between the two sides relating to the promotion of sustainable public procurement in Ghana and air transport services between the two countries.

2.7.3.2 Non-Alignment Policy

The NDC’s confidence in sovereignty was established in President Atta Mill’s “State of the Nation” address. He indicated in his speech that “Ghana is no longer interested in what happens around us in the world if that would mean offending some powerful countries who are bullying the less powerful nations and peoples of the world.”⁶⁷

This showed the position of Ghana’s foreign policy with regards to alignment to Western policies. Foreign policy with regards to regional integration under President Atta Mills’ administration was aimed at ensuring peace and eliminating tension within the sub-region. However, this policy was in question when Cote d’Ivoire was at the brink of civil war in early 2011 when the then president Laurent Gbagbo refused to concede defeat after losing the presidential runoff vote to Ouattara. While many nations, including sub-regional bodies like

the ECOWAS, expected Ghana to play its leadership role in the sub-region by ensuring peace and eliminating tension, President Atta Mills' posture was "mind your own business", which was his first response on the situation which seem contrary to the country's traditional foreign policy since independence. Thus, the statement was seen to lack diplomatic exactness and also inconsistent with the broader principles of Ghana's foreign policy towards her neighbours.⁶⁸

In this globalized world, it would be difficult for any country to successfully alienate itself from happenings elsewhere, especially, conflict situation in an immediate neighbouring country. If Ghana even had the intention to "mind its own business," it still had refugees from Cote d'Ivoire to deal with. When the border was closed, passengers traveling to Cote d'Ivoire and other African nations through Ghana were stranded at the border.

2.7.3.3 Economic Diplomacy

The regime vigorously pursued economic diplomacy. However, the economic and financial crisis, which impacted the United States of America and Europe most devastatingly made the Mills administration turn more to the emerging economies like China and Brazil for economic assistance in addition to those received from the traditional western development partners. Some of the benefits Ghana derived from her foreign policies were observed through some loan agreements received from other countries, these involved bilateral trade and foreign developmental projects. A typical example was when the Parliament of Ghana on Wednesday, 29th February 2012 approved an agreement between the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC) and the UNIPEC Asia Company Limited targeted at Jubilee oil Fields. The said agreement was a subsidiary of the Master Facility Agreement (MFA) between Ghana and the China Development Bank (CDB).⁶⁹

The agreement involved the purchasing and lifting of 13,000 barrels of Jubilee Crude Oil per day, amounting to five cargos a year at a cargo size of 950,000 net US barrels from GNPC, by UNIPEC Asia Company. The same agreement with the CDB, involved a loan facility to the tune of three billion dollars to undertake various infrastructural projects in the country. The MFA requires government to enter into separate subsidiary agreements with the CDB for each project to be implemented under the loan facility.⁷⁰

Another benefit Ghana derived from her foreign policy was the supplier's credit agreement between Ghana and the China International Water and Electricity Corporation for an amount of 162,000,000.00 dollars which was approved by the parliament of Ghana. Monies accrued from this deal was used for supplying as well as installation of materials and equipment under the national electrification scheme for the Volta region and throughout other regions as an extension of the Upper West Electrification project.

2.7.3.4 International Diplomacy

The historic visit to Ghana by the US President Barack Obama in July, 2009, was a high point in Ghana's diplomacy and international relations, and positioned the country in the spotlight of the international media. In March 2012, Mills paid a visit to USA to reciprocate Obama's visit to Ghana in July, 2009. One major outcome of the visit was the signing of the Partnership for Growth Initiative between the United State and Ghana, which seek to accelerate and sustain broad-based economic growth, based on President Obama's Presidential Policy Directive on Global Development. Ghana also signed a US\$1.2 billion dollars facility with General Electric and the Conti Group for a number of projects to revitalize Ghana's energy sector.⁷¹

In 2010 Mills paid a visit to Japan which resulted in the restoration of the Yen concessional grant facility which was suspended by the Japanese government when Ghana went HIPC; funding of the Eastern corridor road project; and the offer of additional scholarships to Ghanaians to pursue various courses in Japan.⁷² In March 2010, the government of Ghana secured the collaboration of STX Corporation, in undertaking a “Ghana investment Plan” for the execution of commercially viable sub-project with the support of the Government of Ghana, including a National Housing Project involving the construction of 200,000 units of housing in various regions of the country.⁷³ However, STX agreement did not materialize.

In 2011, Ghana and Cuba signed a 74 million dollars Memorandum of Understanding to reduce the incidence of malaria in the country by nationwide aerial spraying; offer by Cuba to train 250 specialist doctors to augment the staff of the Ghana Health Service; and an undertaking by Cuba to augment the number of Cuban doctors deployed in deprived areas of Ghana.

Under the administration, Ghana demonstrated its commitment to international Protocols. For instance, in 2010 Ghana ratified the Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons Munitions and other Materials. The Instrument of ratification has since been deposited with the ECOWAS Commission. Ghana has also ratified the African Charter on Democracy, Election and Governance which seeks to secure the gains of democratic governance in Africa.⁷⁴

2.7.4 Ghana’s Foreign Policy under John D. Mahama (2012-2015)

In accordance with the 1992 constitution, Vice-President John Dramani Mahama, was sworn in as the care-taker president on 24th July 2012 on the death of his predecessor, John Atta Mills.

Subsequently, Mahama contested in the 2012 December general elections and was declared the winner of the Presidential elections.

Mahama, continued with the foreign policy of John Evans Atta Mills. Ghana remained committed to all bilateral agreements and treaties.⁷⁵ Delivering the State of the Nation address on 21st February 2013, President John Mahama indicated that Ghana's foreign policy of positive neutrality will remain with emphasis on economic diplomacy, hinged on the country's national interest. He stated that Ghana's foreign policy will deliver good neighbourliness, peace at home and abroad and economic wellbeing by strategic partnerships. He also identified that Ghana's paramount consideration in foreign policy is commitment to peace and security in West African.⁷⁶

2.7.4.1 Good Neighbourliness

Ghana joined ECOWAS in seeking a permanent peaceful resolution to the conflict in Mali, by backing a modest detachment of Ghana's armed forces to participate in the African-led force operating in Mali, AFISMA. As a commitment to peace and stability in the region, the President pledged at the Africa Union and the United Nations, that Ghana will not serve as a haven to destabilize any of their neighbours. The Mahama Administration assured any refugees on Ghana's territory that they are welcome guests as long as they do not use Ghana as a base to destabilize the Governments in their home countries.⁷⁷

Under the Mahama regime, Ghana uphold its commitment to the UN, the AU, the Commonwealth, ECOWAS and other international organisations to which Ghana is a member.

The regime affirmed its commitment to cooperate with relevant international agencies, to fight against international terrorism, money laundering, narcotics and human trafficking.⁷⁸

In the 2014 state of the nation's address, the President affirmed that Ghana's foreign policy has assumed prominence in the area of peacekeeping. Ghana was devoted to the advancement of regional integration at the West Africa and continental levels. In 2013, Ghana was instrumental in the successful efforts of ECOWAS and the international community to achieve a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Mali. Ghana contributed a battalion of officers to South Sudan to help restore peace and allow for the re-establishment of an effective Government in South Sudan. Ghana actively engaged in several other peacekeeping initiatives in the region and around the world.⁷⁹ Ghana also stood in solidarity with Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin countries in their fight against the Boko Haram terrorist group.

One of Ghana's achievements in the area of foreign policy could be seen in her contribution to the fight against Ebola. The Ebola outbreak occurred in 2014 and saw the death of thousands of affected victims in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone and a number of cases in Nigeria. As part of Ghana's effort to assist in the fight against the disease, Ghana provided the coordination Centre for the United Nations Mission on Ebola Emergency Response (UNMEER). Mahama visited Ebola hit countries, based on the proposal from the Ebola epidemic, and believe that the UN Secretary General's Panel may also consider mechanisms for information sharing at the outset of any national crisis so that there would be the opportunity for a faster and more coordinated response than we saw in the case of Ebola.⁸⁰ Ghana donated a total of hundred (100) tons of food products to the three (3) countries (Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea).

Ghana's contribution in the fight against Ebola received international applause; this greatly helped to enhance the image of the country on the international stage.

2.7.4.2 Ghana's Relations with the Middle-East

The Mahama administration saw the strengthening of relations with the Middle-East. The President of Lebanon Michel Sleiman paid a visit to Ghana in March, 2013. Also, the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the then Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) visited the country in April, 2013.⁸¹ The visit of the Iranian President to Ghana attracted a lot of attention from the international community. The Vice-President, Kwesi Bekoe Amissah-Arthur, attended the inaugural ceremony of President Hassan Rouhani in Tehran on 4th August, 2013. Also, the 5th Session of the Permanent Joint Commission for Cooperation (PJCC) was held in Tehran from 5th to 7th May, 2014 to discuss areas of mutual interest and cooperation. The Foreign Minister of Israel Avigdor Lieberman visited Ghana in the same year.



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- ⁶⁸ Daily Graphic, 1st October (2012).
- ⁶⁹ Parliament of Ghana. “ Ghana Parliament approves China loan off taker agreement for crude oil lifting” (2012) retrieved 06/ 12 2012 :
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- ⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ⁷¹ The Ghanaian Envoy: Newsletter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (2010)
- ⁷² Ibid.
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- ⁷⁶ Mahama, H.E John Dramani. "State of Nation’s Address." a National Address given by the president at the Ghana Parliament House, Accra (2013).
- ⁷⁷ Ibid.
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CHAPTER THREE

CHALLENGES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GHANA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

3.0 Introduction

Foreign policy implementation is an action part of the foreign policy making process; it involves the execution of the policies of government in relation to foreign policy.¹ Brighi and Hill refers to foreign policy implementation as that part of political process where decisions and policies are enacted.²

Ghana's foreign policy agenda – under the 4th republican constitution – is:

- The promotion and protection of the interests of Ghana abroad;
- Seeking the establishment of a just and equitable international economic and social order;
- The promotion of respect for international law, treaty obligation and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means; and
- Adherence to the principles enshrined in, or as the case may be, the aims and ideals of: the Charter of the United Nations; the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity (now the Constitutive Act of the African Union); - the Commonwealth; the Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); and many other international organisation of which Ghana is a member.

In chapter two, I presented an overview of Ghana's foreign policy from independence to the Fourth Republic. This was to aid in the appreciation of the strategies employed by various regimes to achieve the foreign policy agenda of the country. It is significant to mention that the period from independence to date could be categorized into cold war and post-cold war era.

Foreign policy analysts note that each of the eras presents a different challenge in the implementation of foreign policy of a country. This chapter will discuss the challenges in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy within the post-cold war era, specifically the period from 1993 to 2015 (i.e. under the Fourth Republican constitution); the chapter is organized under the following themes: actors involved in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy, the instruments employed by the actors for the implementation of the foreign policy, and challenges in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy.

3.1 Major Actors involved in the implementation of Ghana's Foreign Policy

The 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana outline the major actors responsible for the conduct of foreign policy as the Executive and the Legislature. For the purpose of this work, the executive shall comprise the presidency and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration.

3.1.1 The President

The President of the Republic of Ghana is the only person mandated by the 1992 constitution to execute Ghana's external relations on behalf of the people. As the chief implementer, the president has wide powers over the implementation process of the foreign policy of the country. Article 75 (1) of the constitution empowers him to execute treaties, agreements or conventions in the name of the country; he is entrusted to appoint ambassadors and high commissioners to foreign countries, as well as receive ambassadors and high commissioners of other countries, to the country.³ The president thus spearheads in the realization of the foreign policy objectives of the country. Thus any statement – on international affairs – by the president or emanating from the presidency ultimately becomes the country's foreign policy. For example, under the

Kufour regime, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nana Akufo Addo, pledged the government's support for USA Africa policy when he stated that the NPP is a natural ally of the USA. Also, in the aftermath of the Haitian earthquake, the president of Ghana announced a gift of \$3,000,000 to the people of Haiti for the reconstruction of their country. Kufour declared his support in favour of Zimbabwe's suspension from the Commonwealth in 2002⁴. In the 2013 State of the Nation's Address, President Mahama stated that Ghana shall contribute to supporting peace and security in Mali; Ghana then demonstrated its commitment to securing peace and security in that country by contributing a contingent of armed forces to the ECOWAS contingent of African-led Force operation in Mali (AFISMA). Again, in the 2011 Ivorian election dispute that resulted in civil war, Ghana's position on the Ivorian crises was summarized in then President's Mills statement "Dzi wo fie Asem" to wit mind your domestic affairs – meaning Ghana should focus on its internal affairs instead of meddling in the Ivorian crisis. This statement reverberated in the international community, particularly in Africa, such that the AU had to mandate Raila Odinga of Kenya to come to Ghana to ascertain the country's position on the Ivorian crises. Given the implication of their public utterances on international issues, presidents are always circumspect and careful on contributing to public discourse on matters of international affairs.

3.1.2 Parliament

Parliament plays a pivotal role in the implementation of foreign policy of the country. The President takes the lead role in foreign policy implementation, but parliament has a crucial role to play in the implementation of foreign policy. The constitution gives both the president and parliament specific powers relating to foreign policy implementation. Parliament has oversight responsibility over the president's conduct of foreign policy.⁵ Apart from the constitutional

requirement for the president to account to parliament as directed under article 75(2) of the constitution, the constitution also requires that any treaty, agreement, or convention executed by or under the authority of the president shall be subject to ratification by an Act or a Resolution of parliament; treaty making by the country is deemed complete and implementable only after ratification by parliament.⁶ For example, on February 14, 2012, parliament ratified a UN Convention against Transitional Organized Crime; in August, 2015, parliament ratified the UN Arms Trade Treaty; on February 29, 2012, parliament approved agreement between Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC) and the United Petroleum and Chemicals Company Ltd (UNIPEC) on operations on oil at the Jubilee oil fields. Again, the country has signed several agreements through Permanent Joint Commission for Cooperation (PJCC) with several countries including Mali (2011), South Africa (2013), Togo (2013), and Guinea (2014), but most of these treaties have not been implemented because they are yet to be ratified by parliament⁷. This provision of the constitution sometimes retard the implementation process of the foreign policy of the country because the ratification process by parliament sometimes takes several years. Parliament is also mandated by the constitution to determine the budgetary allocation for the implementation of the country's foreign policy. Various foreign policy analysts including Branful have observed that the budgetary allocation to Ghana's Foreign Affairs ministry is quite meagre for the ministry to effectively execute its programmes.⁸ Blay-Amihere explained that the budgetary control exercised by parliament determines the scope of the implementation of the country's foreign policy.⁹ He posits that a foreign policy without the necessary financial muscle could not be effectively prosecuted. Branful and Blay-Amihere opinions concur with an interview observation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that virtually all of Ghana's missions abroad have, over the years, faltered in prosecuting their job responsibility of protecting and advancing the image of Ghana abroad – due to insufficient

funds. Again, an interview at the ministry revealed that there have been instances where the Minister of Foreign Affairs could not attend multilateral conference – because of lack of funds. It is patently clear – from the foregoing – that parliament’s role in the arena of foreign policy implementation in the country is pivotal. However, as noted by some foreign policy analysts, because parliament is deficient in the requisite human resource manpower to effectively conduct its oversight responsibility of monitoring foreign policy implementation by the executive, it often concur with the executive in the implementation of the foreign policy of the country. Again, due to the bipartisan nature of parliament, ratification of treaties is sometimes stalled.

3.1.3 Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI)

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration is the umbrella body for implementing Ghana’s foreign policy agenda. Bluwey¹⁰ observes that the ministry is the central pillar of the foreign policy implementation in the country. The ministry is responsible for advising, assisting, and making recommendations to the president on the formulation of foreign policy, as well as implementation of foreign policy decisions by the president. Again, it has a vested responsibility of, among other things, promoting friendly relations and economic cooperation between Ghana and other countries; playing a positive and creative role as a member of ECOWAS in the interest of peace, stability and economic development; and providing support services to relevant Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) in the international arena.

The challenges faced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI) could be categorized into two themes: Lack of coordination between MFARI and other MDAs, and bureaucracy.

3.1.3.1 Poor Coordination Mechanism between MFARI and other MDAs

Despite the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the anchored body for the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy, certain policies have components which require the active participation of other Ministries, Department and Agencies (MDAs), for implementation. The participation of other MDAs in matters of foreign policy sometimes retard the implementation process because of inefficient coordination mechanism between MFARI and some of the MDAs. For instance, in 2014, Ghana and Iran held its Permanent Joint Commission where several agreements were signed. These agreements required the coordination efforts of the Ministries of Finance, Agriculture and Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration for implementation. However, because of the lethargic coordination process between these ministries, the agreements are yet to be implemented.

Also, the current economic aid soliciting posture of the country is impeding the effective operation of the Foreign Ministry.¹¹ This aid-driven foreign policy of the country is gradually relegating the Foreign Ministry to second fiddle position on some foreign policy issues; the Bank of Ghana and the Finance Ministry are rather consulted to engage with international creditors on matters of loans and aid agreements. The poor coordination mechanism between the MFARI, and Bank of Ghana and the Finance Ministry on matters of loan and aid agreements sometimes retards the implementation process of some the agreements. This view is also acknowledged by E. M. Debrah.¹² He mentioned that there are instances where Foreign Affairs

want to send an observer to a meeting with a foreign Ambassador in Accra the answer is often ‘no thank you’¹³. This therefore makes it difficult for the Foreign Ministry to initiate the needed follow-up actions.

3.1.3.2 Bureaucracy

The lethargic bureaucratic processes within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration impedes the implementation of foreign policy agenda. Blay-Amihere ¹⁴ posits that the bureaucratic quagmire within the ministry could stifle initiatives and good intentions. An interview at the ministry revealed that, part of the bureaucracy at the ministry is due to it being part of the civil service. Membership of the civil service compels the ministry to be subjected to the same rules, regulations, and conditions of service of the staff of the MDAs¹⁵. This situation constrains the operations of the ministry by stifling it of proper management and efficiency procedures, particularly in meeting operational logistics needs. The consequence is the slow implementation of some foreign policy agenda.

Additionally, bureaucrats also pose a challenge to the implementation of foreign policy through the manner in which they carry it out. This is because the bureaucrat do not always agree with the foreign policy decision of the country; to substantial degree, bureaucrats have discretion to carry out policy within broad parameters set down by decision-makers. When they have options, it is normal for an official to choose the one that fits with his or her policy outlook thus implementation may inadvertently vary from what policy makers might have wished. At times, bureaucrats can consciously attempt to delay, change, or ignore a decision or try to seize the initiative and act on their own. In an interview with a staff of MFA&RI it was noted that in response to the Haiyan typhoon in Philippines, the Ministry endorsed that a consignment of

cocoa products should be donated to the affected country. However, due to bureaucratic constraint, the products were never delivered rather a condolence message was dispatched.

3.2 Instruments employed to implement Ghana's foreign policy under the Fourth Republic

Instruments for foreign policy implementation are tools or strategies employed by a country or state to achieve its foreign policy objectives. The attainment of the foreign policy goals of a state does not depend solely on the ability to formulate fine policies but to greater extent on the skills with which the state employs tools available to achieve its foreign policy objectives.¹⁶

The tools available for the implementation of a country's foreign policy include military, foreign aid and diplomacy. Countries such as the United States, Great Britain, Russia etc. use such instruments as diplomacy and military power, among other instruments, to advance their foreign policy objectives. Ghana, however, largely employs diplomacy in executing its foreign policy agenda since Ghana does not have either economic or military power. In 2014, Ghana's military was ranked 15th out of 16 countries in Africa, considered most powerful on the continent¹⁷. Military strength of a nation plays an important role in determining the kind of foreign policies a country can implement. Ghana does not possess strong and well equipped militaries (this includes the size of military, equipment, training, leadership and nuclear or non-nuclear capabilities).

Also, an analyses of the country's economy since 1992 shows that Ghana does not have the financial capacity to advance its foreign policy through the use of economic means, therefore its best line of defence is diplomacy.¹⁸ According to Sir Harold Nicholson 'Diplomacy is the

management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys; the business or art of the diplomatist.¹⁹

Indeed, an interplay of the domestic capabilities of a country and the prevailing conditions in the international systems where the policy is implemented largely determines the instruments the country employs to prosecute its foreign policy agenda. Given Ghana's democratic credentials and participation in peacekeeping roles, the country employs diplomacy as a tool for effective engagement in the international system. For example, Ghana used diplomacy to engage the authorities of the Gambia on the killings, in Gambia in 2005, of some 44 Ghanaians; Ghana²⁰ under the Kufour administration employed diplomacy to mediate in the Kenyan election dispute. Currently, Ghana is employing diplomacy in engaging the Ivorian authorities on the maritime boundary dispute between the two countries. The greatest danger for Ghana's use of diplomatic instrument has, however, been on instances when gains from diplomacy appears to be contingent on the persona or network of the president. For example, the country over depended on the network of the president during the NPP administration. Also under Mills, Ghana signed a total of US\$ 13 billion loan agreement with the China Development Corporation (CDC) and the China EXIM Bank. The CDB loan was for US\$ 3billion, while the EXIM Bank loan was over US\$9 billion. It is believed that Ghana obtained those amounts because the late President Mills developed close relations with President Ho Jin Tao of China when they were both Vice Presidents. After President Mill's death that personal touch in the relations was lost. This has therefore accounted for the problem we have with China in the implementation of the loan agreement. This challenge is concurred by Boafo-Arthur in his work *Regime Change and Foreign Policy Orientation in Ghanaian Politics: The Post Nkrumah Years in Perspective*.²¹ He assert that foreign policy suffers discontinuities, infelicities and lack of focus as a result of regime change.

Another major challenge of diplomacy as a tool for the implementation of foreign policy is the fact that diplomacy is achieved through a process of communication which can lend itself to misinterpretation, misunderstanding, inaccuracies and communication failure. For instance, Atta Mills' 'Dzi wo fie Asem' utterances, in his own opinion, was misinterpreted by the intended audience.

Diplomacy also requires well trained personnel in the art of diplomacy. In an interview with an officer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration it was revealed that eighty percent (80%) of ambassadors appointed in 2014 were political appointees while twenty (20%) were career officers. The appointed ambassadors go through a two (2) weeks orientation programme before they depart to their various countries of accreditation. This is viewed to be insufficient to adequately prepare a political ambassador for the tasks ahead.

It is noted by Debrah that lack of requisite skills and knowledge for effective negotiations is one of the reasons accounting for Africa in general and Ghana in particular, inability to effectively negotiate at international forums. According to a report on African participation in the Uruguay round of Trade Negotiations, cited by Debrah. The report notes that:

'Negotiations were constrained by inadequate understanding of the complexities of issues to be negotiated, including a dearth of in-depth analysis of the implications of the various proposals for their national interests and a weak institutional structure for remaining on top of developments in the negotiations.'²²

3.3 Challenges of foreign policy Implementation under Ghana's Fourth Republic

According to Clarke, the implementation stage of foreign policy is an integral part of the political process. He categorized the challenges of foreign policy implementation into administrative and principles challenges.²³

Clarke observed that the administrative challenges to foreign policy implementation encompasses the absence of organizational machinery to advance novel policies or a decision that demands actual provision of some services which necessitates a continual growth.²⁴ The principal challenge of foreign policy implementation is evident in the overt and/or articulated attitude of some policy-makers to a particular policy decision. For such persons, the implementation of the policy is less important than the principles on which the policy is framed, the architects of the policy, or the values and expectations attached to it.

Much as effective policy decisions must be devoid of bureaucratic distortions, an analysis that elaborates on such distortions as a management problem is sometimes myopic on the political nature of the process. For the implementation stage encompasses a wide but elusive arena of concerns in the outputs of foreign policy, dealing with issues that are neither strictly technical nor likely to be explicitly stated.

From the foregoing discussion, it is fitting to advance that the challenges to the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the Fourth Republic could be categorized into: internal and external constraints. In this section, I discuss the challenges to the implementation of foreign policy under Ghana's Fourth Republic.

3.3.1 Internal Constraint in the Implementation of Ghana's Foreign Policy

This section will discuss the internal challenges which impede on the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the fourth republic. The section will be organised under the following themes: economic constraint, poor coordination mechanism between MFARI and

other key sectors, economic dependence, nature of relations between Ghana and other states in the international system, the nature of the foreign policy goal, regime change and leadership.

3.3.1.1 Economic Constraint

Various scholars, including Bofo-Arthur, identify economic constraint as one of the major challenges the country faces in the implementation of its foreign policy. The state of the economy, undoubtedly, plays a pivotal role in the implementation of the country's foreign policy: a good economy influences the extent to which the country could engage other countries on the international arena. Suffice it to say that countries with a strong economy have much leverage over those with weak or poor economy – on global events such as military and diplomatic matters. The US, UK, Germany, and recently China, have strong influence on international politics because of their economic infrastructure.

Ghana's economic constraint is one of the obstacles hindering the nation in the effective implementation of its foreign policy agenda under the Fourth Republic. In 2002, former President Kufour, in a keynote address at LECIAD, stated that Ghana had a huge domestic and external debt overhang, and that the fragility of the economic situation of the country compelled the government to apply for the Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) initiative; in the 2009 State of the Nation's address, late President Mills described the economy he inherited as a crippled economy; in 2013, President Mahama described the economy as a meat that has been eaten to the bone. These statements by our leaders depict a weak economy at various times under the Fourth Republic. Indeed Lentner²⁵ and other foreign policy analyst concur that a weak economic system cripples a country from effective foreign policy implementation – for wealth is essentially a precondition for undertaking certain kinds of foreign policies.

Officials at the MFARI answering my interview questions pointed out that diplomacy is an expensive venture, and that limited financial resource is one of the major challenges impeding the effective implementation of the country's foreign policy agenda. For example, Ghana requires financial resource to establish and maintain diplomatic missions in countries it wishes to engage; the country requires financial resource to send officials to certain international conferences and programmes; Ghana's missions abroad require financial resource to regularly organize trade fairs, conferences, and mount exhibitions as a way of attracting investors to the country. In fact, due to limited financial resource, Ghana has had to close down some of its missions, and only limit its presence to a few places where the country's interest would be best served.²⁶ For instance, in 2012 Ghana closed down its mission in Belgrade and reopened its mission in Ankara, Turkey in 2013.

According to Branful²⁷ the budgetary allocations to the Foreign Ministry has never been sufficient enough to enable it to effectively prosecute its core functions. Edwin Adjei, the Director of Policy Planning and Monitoring Bureau of the MFARI adduced that: "the maintenance of diplomatic missions is a very expensive exercise. Diplomacy is very expensive, and so financial constraints put a limit on where Ghana can be, and how extensive we can cover the world". This statement by Edwin Adjei summarizes how economic constraint impedes the effective implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the Fourth Republic. This statement is supported by A.N. Abankwa²⁸ in a presentation on 'Bilateral Diplomacy and Foreign Aid' and Asante in his work 'Foreign Policy Making in Ghana: Options for the 21st Century' all former Ambassadors of Ghana. They observe that the financial capabilities of a country determines the extent to which it can implement its foreign policy. Indeed, comparing the Fourth Republic with the First Republic under Nkrumah's regime, Edwin Adjei noted that

Ghana, under the Fourth Republic, has not been able to effectively embark on its African foreign policy agenda due to financial constraints. According to him, Ghana, under Nkrumah had the financial muscle to actively engage in the liberation struggle by offering financial assistance and support to other African countries such as Guinea, Congo etc. However, Ghana currently has limited financial resources to effectively engage in its African policy agenda; it has thus cut down on its involvement in so many areas, in terms of foreign policy.

3.3.1.2 Poor Coordination Mechanism between MFARI and other key Sector MDAs

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration is the lead government institution mandated by the Fourth Republican constitution to implement the country's foreign policy agenda. This mandate requires that all Ministries Department Agencies (MDAs) coordinate the foreign element of their operations through the MFARI. However, because of the poor coordination mechanism existing between the MFARI and the MDAs, some of these MDAs engage directly with some international agencies or partners without recourse to the MFA. The consequence is that other MDAs conduct international relations independent of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration – a situation that adversely impacts the conduct of foreign policy particularly if the MFARI is already engaging with such international agencies or partners on a different platform.

There are several instances where delegations from Ghana visit a country and conduct business on behalf of the Government of Ghana without the knowledge of the Ghana mission accredited to that particular country. This therefore makes it challenging for the Missions abroad to effectively offer any assistance when help is needed. Godwin Baletum, Deputy Director, Africa and Regional Integration of the Foreign Ministry in an interview I conducted stated that while

on duty in Moscow, Russia in 2012, he heard that a delegation from Ghana's Ministry of Defence had come to the country to purchase five helicopters for the government of Ghana. He intimated that the Mission was unaware of the transaction so could not effectively intervene when the transaction encountered a hiccup.

Again, Baletum observed that there are instances when the presidency hold meetings on international affairs without the involvement of the MFARI. According to him, some MDAs and other international agencies within the country transact businesses without recourse to the Foreign Ministry. For instance, the Spanish government engaged directly with the Ministry of Agriculture (to give assistance in agriculture) without routing it through the Foreign Ministry. The challenge with such a situation, he explained, is that the Foreign Ministry has to always go to the embassies for update of their operations in the country before the ministry could update its brief; this challenge would have been curtailed if all transactions were routed through the ministry, he opined.

3.3.1.3 Economic Dependence

Ghana's over dependence on certain countries such as China and the United States of America for financial assistance has created a situation whereby it is 'less free' to act in the international system. For instance, more than half of Ghana's national budget continue to be financed from donor agencies. Thus Ghana is forced to skew the implementation of its foreign policy towards the preference of its donor partners. Ghana is forced in some instances to abandon its objectives or intentions in favour of its donors. For instance, Ghana's voting pattern at the United Nation and other international organisations has always been determined by the interest of Ghana's donor partners. In 2003, Ghana was forced to sign an agreement with the United State of

America forbidding the surrender of American soldiers from prosecution at the International Criminal Court (ICC) in the Hague for fear of losing financial aid. Under, Rawlings, Ghana was forced to go contrary to the international community and support President Sani Abacha of Nigeria, because of Ghana's dependence on the latter for the supply of oil at concessionary rate. Again, because of Ghana's dependence on the European Union it was compelled to sign on to the Interim Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) in 2007, and also as part of the ECOWAS bloc in 2014, as result of pressure from the European Union, despite the fact that United Nations Economic Commission had warned that Ghana could lose about 300 million dollars in revenue as a result of the agreement.²⁹

3.3.1.4 The Nature of Relation between Ghana and Other States in the International System

The nature of political relations between Ghana and other states within the international system play an important role in the implementation of foreign policy. The nature of relationship between states is usually demonstrated by the number of high level visits and frequent consultation which takes place between the two states. Implementation of foreign policy cannot succeed within a context of hostile relations, or non-existing bilateral relations. For instance, Ghana's relationship with Djibouti and Somali is non-existent therefore there is insignificant engagement between the two countries. For instance, in 2013, Ghana's relations with China waned as a result of the deportation of 200 Chinese nationals involved illegally in petty trading and 'galamsay' (illegal mining) in Ghana. This adversely affected the relations between the two countries. This therefore accounted for Ghana's inability to implement a Loan agreement entered into by the two countries in 2010. In an interview with an officer of MFARI it was disclosed that it was even difficult to obtain visa to China during the period. Ghana's relations with Malaysia was strengthened with the acquisition of Ghana Telecom by Malaysia. It was at

the same time that Ghana established an embassy in Malaysia. However, with the acquisition of the latter by the government of Ghana, the relations between the two countries have been sour. Currently, there is an ongoing effort to close down the Ghana mission in Malaysia. Also the Ghana-Ivorian Maritime dispute has put stress on the bilateral relations of the two countries, thus the maritime dispute could not be solved through diplomatic means, but had to resort to arbitration.

3.3.1.5 The Nature of the Foreign Policy Goal

The nature of the foreign policy itself pose a challenge to its implementation.³⁰ Whiles some foreign policy decisions may not be capable of being carried, the decision may conflict with established pattern whiles others may just be declaratory. The foreign policy will be difficult to implement if the policy is perceived by other actors as being subversive of the existing ideals of the international system or conflict with their national interest or foreign policy objectives. For instance, in 2010 and 2014 Ghana signed financial agreements with Iran which has not yet been implemented as a result of the sanction imposed on the country.

Also, every country strive to protect its national interest. K. B. Asante views national interest as that which promotes a country's national security.³¹ The national interest consist of vital and secondary interest such as national survival, territorial integrity, national prosperity, international human security, among others. Ghana's national interest in the area of foreign policy has been defined under Article 35, clause 2, of the 1992 constitution. The constitution mandate 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'. The constitution therefore gives a clear indication of what Ghana's national interest should be in the realm of international

relations. The country will have to compete with other countries in the international system for the same goal. When Ghana's foreign policy is perceived to be against the vital interests and foreign policies of other countries it becomes difficult for the policy to be implemented. For instance, in the Ghana-Ivorian maritime disputes both countries seek to protect their national interest-thus both countries seeks to protect its territorial integrity.

3.3.1.6 Regime Change

Boafo-Arthur and other scholars have identified change in governments as a challenge in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy. Regime change leads to reversal of policy or change of policy or abandonment of a foreign policy goal. Change of government leads to a shift of focus and interests in the policies to be implemented in terms of Ghana's foreign policy. Every government has its ideology and objective which is informed by the manifesto of the government in power. Therefore when there is a change, the previous government's goals, ideology which is contrary to the new government's are put aside, and the new government begins to implement its own manifesto and ideology. Foreign policies programmes and projects of the previous government are truncated and not followed through. For instance, Kufuor's government objective to establish a mission in Ireland in 2008 was truncated by the Mills government which won the 2008 elections, despite the fact that plans were far advanced, with the appointment of an ambassador for the new mission. The Kufuor government also re-opened Ghana's diplomatic missions in Mali and Senegal. The Mills government closed the Ghana Mission in Belgrade in 2012 and reopened a mission in Turkey in 2013. Furthermore, regime change comes with changes in the leadership of the country and the foreign Minister who may decide to abandon the implementation of existing foreign policy agenda.

3.3.1.7 Leadership

Leadership plays an important role in the implementation of a country's foreign policy. Despite Rawlings vibrant personality and charisma, his regime lacked the requisite democratic credentials, particularly during the early period of his administration to effectively engage with the West. The international community was still aware of Rawlings involvement in several coups in Ghana namely: 1979 and 1981. Despite the transition to multiparty democracy in 1992, Rawlings regime was tainted with the image of a revolutionary government. He was also accused of involvement in alleged human rights abuses. For instance, there were accusations of his involvement in several murder cases which occurred on 30th June, 1982, such as the murder of Justice Sarkodie, Agyepong, Koranteng-Adow and Major Sam Acquah (Rtd).³²

According to Boafo-Arthur, the NDC under Rawlings did not have the positive democratic credentials, which at that time, was an important assets in the international system for the negotiation of international economic support³³. The regime performed poorly on governance indicators, and in the area of human rights. This baggage did not augur well for the pursuit of Ghana's foreign policy especially in the area of economic diplomacy with the West. In a world that has become increasingly hooked to democratic principles, even in former communist enclaves, the inability of the NDC regime to demonstrate in a forceful way any of such credentials with conviction at the international level explains the low response to its appeal for international support outside the umbrage of the Bretton Wood institutions. The NDC democratic deficit, and human rights baggage of the former President served as a huge obstructions to the effective implementation of the foreign policy objective of the regime.³⁴ Rawlings did not receive the necessary international support for the achievement of the country's foreign policy objectives. This therefore constrained the implementation of Ghana's

foreign policy, specifically in the area of economic diplomacy. On the other hand, Kufour's administration foreign policy success was as a result of immense international support it received from the international community due to its adherence to the rule of law and good governance.

3.3.2 External Constraints in the Implementation of Foreign Policy

This section will discuss the external factors which constrained the implementation of foreign policy under the fourth republic.

3.3.2.1 The Media, Public Opinion and Civil Society Organizations

The 21st century has witnessed an enhancement of fundamental human rights such as freedom of expression. This is portrayed by the increase in the number of human rights organisations, media companies and civil society organisations among others. One of the compelling force to the implementation of Ghana's foreign policies are the media and civil society organizations (both local and international). It would have been virtually impossible to see the tremendous development in human rights chalked by the international community if not for the role of organizations like the Amnesty International, Transparency International, Human Rights Watch as well as the media (both international and Local) among several others and the pressure they have brought to bear on governments to adopt policies that favour human rights issues. The views of the media and civil society organisations are critical in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy since policy makers rely heavily on the views of the public regarding a particular issue. For instance, government's decision not to host the African Cup of Nations in 2015 was as a result of the outcry from the general public concerning the recent outbreak of the deadly

virus, Ebola and the attendant risk of importing the virus during hosting of the football tournament.

3.3.2.2 Lack of Cooperation

Ghana's foreign policy objectives, whether pursued unilaterally or multilaterally, needs the collective support of other states for it to be implemented.³⁵ In an increasingly interconnected and interdependent global community, no single country can go it alone. Ghana, a small country with limited resources and influence, needs the assistance of other countries in order to extend her influence and to promote her interest. Therefore, the response of other states are crucial for its successful implementation. Lack of support from the international community impede the implementation of foreign policy. This is also compounded by Ghana's inability to take unilateral decision, as a result of the fact that Ghana is not an economic power; either does it have military or political might.³⁶ This is because foreign policy action directed towards the international arena depends on others for full implementation. For instance, Ghana has been fighting for the implementation of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 regarding the Palestine question. However, this resolution has not been implemented as a result of lack of support from majority of states. Also, implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Goods has been ineffective as a result of lack of support from member states. Without the necessary support and cooperation from member states the capacity to act is limited. Additionally, the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) in 1994 has been described as one of the ill-fated peace missions that the UN has undertaken. With the withdrawal of Belgium, Tunisia and Bangladesh from the UNAMIR mission, Ghana's contingent of 456 could not effectively accomplish its peacekeeping mission in Rwanda.³⁷ The

reasons advanced for the failure of the mission include lack of logistics, lack of clear mandate and lack of cooperation by the international community.

3.3.2.3 International Organizations and Treaties

The international environment today has moved from its primary focus on the state to capture other relevant actors such as international organizations. The influence of multi-national Corporations (MNCs) in an era where economic diplomacy has assumed prominence in a nation's foreign policy cannot be overstated.

These organizations have a huge impact on the implementation of a country's foreign policy as they play a role in shaping the conducts of nations in their interactions with one another. In this regard no state can act in a way which will be inimical to the interests of other states.

It has been agreed by scholars that isolation and non-recognition by other states in the international community of nations is undesirable, hence almost all independent sovereign states are members of one international organization or the other through their acceptance of treaties establishing them. Nations that are parties to these international treaties adopt foreign policies that favour their existence and the positions they represent. For instance, Ghana is a party to the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and is bound by it and hence will adopt policies that seek to advance its objectives. Similarly, Ghana is a member of the United Nations and is therefore bound by the rules spelt out by the organization and as such, have to abide by them and espouse policies that seek to promote its objectives. For instance, Ghana has not been able to implement financial agreements signed with Iran in 2010 and 2014 due to United Nations sanctions imposed on the country as a result of nuclear enrichment programme.

From the above discussion, it is observed that within the fourth Republic, the most important elements that impacted on the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy was the status of the country's economy. Ghana's over-dependence on the North, and Asia particularly China and Japan, for financial support, had led to the county's inability to effectively engage with them on the same level. Ghana's greatest asset during the period was her democratic credential. Also, the personality of the various leaders under the period greatly influenced the implementation process. The next Chapter will present the summary of finding, conclusion, and recommendations of the study.



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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDING, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides summary of research findings, draws conclusions from the study and proffers recommendations for the study which sought to assess the challenges in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the Fourth republic, from 1993 to 2015. The research was based on the premises that the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy is affected by both domestic and external attributes.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The implementation of foreign policy objectives is crucial to the achievement of the socio-economic objectives of a country. Often, the foreign policy objectives of countries involve a number of stages or phases, and implementation is perhaps the most crucial of these stages: it is at the implementation phase that ideals, objectives and goals are translated from abstract to reality. The implementation of foreign policy thus entails translating foreign policy objectives into practices or outcomes, and decisions into actions.

From the study on the challenges in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the fourth republic the following are the findings:

- The study found that, under the fourth republican constitution, the MFARI is the main institution for foreign policy implementation in the country. Despite the MFARI being the main institution for the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy, it requires the participation of other MDAs for the overall attainment of the foreign policy objectives of the country. Indeed, the study identified poor coordination mechanism between the MFARI and other MDAs as a challenge to effective foreign policy implementation under the fourth republic. Thus to effectively prosecute

Ghana's foreign policy agenda, under the fourth republic, there must be smooth communication between the ministry and other MDAs.

- The study also observed that the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy is influenced by both internal and external factors. The internal and external factors are largely determined by the state of the country's economic infrastructure. The study revealed that Ghana's financial constraint has been a bane for the country to effectively implement its foreign policy agenda under the fourth republic. For example, in 2012, Ghana had to close down its mission in Belgrade because of lack of funds to manage the mission. Also, as revealed in the interview I conducted at the MFARI, on some occasions, Ghana does not participate (or send the requisite number of people) in some international conferences because of financial constraints. Financial constraint was identified as the major challenge in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the fourth republic.
- The study noted that Ghana is severely limited in terms of the tools available to her for the implementation of its foreign policy under the fourth republic. Ghana has poor economic and military infrastructure and so relies mainly on diplomacy to implement its foreign policy. For instance, on the matter of the killing of some 44 Ghanaian nationals in the Gambia, in 2005, Ghana could have strategically employed military might (just as Kenya did when it pursued Al Shabab in Somalia or Chad did when the Chadian army pursued Boko Haram of Nigeria) to compel the Gambia authorities to punish the perpetrators of that crime – if she, Ghana, had a superior military capability compared to that of the Gambia. The study, thus, revealed that there is a relationship between the kind of tool a country uses and the

capabilities of the country. Invariably the capabilities of a country determines the nature of foreign policies which it would implement.

- It was also observed from the study, that apart from lack of resources, misguided action that stem from calculations of political expediency or human facilities of miscalculation and misperception also pose problem to the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy.

4.2 Conclusion

The research leads to a number of conclusions. First and foremost it is gathered from the study that the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the fourth republic was greatly constrained by the economic status of the country. Even through other constraints were identified by the study the overarching challenge was finance.

The next conclusion that the research lends itself to, is that diplomacy remains one of the indispensable tools for the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy owing to the fact that the country lacks the financial backing to access other means such as aid and military means. This implies that the economic status of the country directly determines the means through which Ghana's foreign policy is implemented. However, in order for Ghana to strategically position itself in the international system, Ghana needs to build up its military capability.

It is noted that the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the fourth republic was constrained by the economic status of the country; Ghana's membership of international organisations such as ECOWAS, AU, UN among others; Ghana's obligations to international treaties, convention and protocol to which it is a party. Additionally, the structure of the

implementation agencies as well as the constitution of Ghana, greatly constrain the implementation of the country's foreign policy. It was also noted that all the administrations under the Fourth Republic depended extensively on donor partners for financial support. Consequently, Ghana's relations with them, have been defined by its dependence. It is obvious from the findings above that, the study conducted on the challenges in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy under the fourth republic has confirmed the view that the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy is affected by both domestic and external attributes.

4.3 Recommendations

From the foregoing the study put forth the following recommendations:

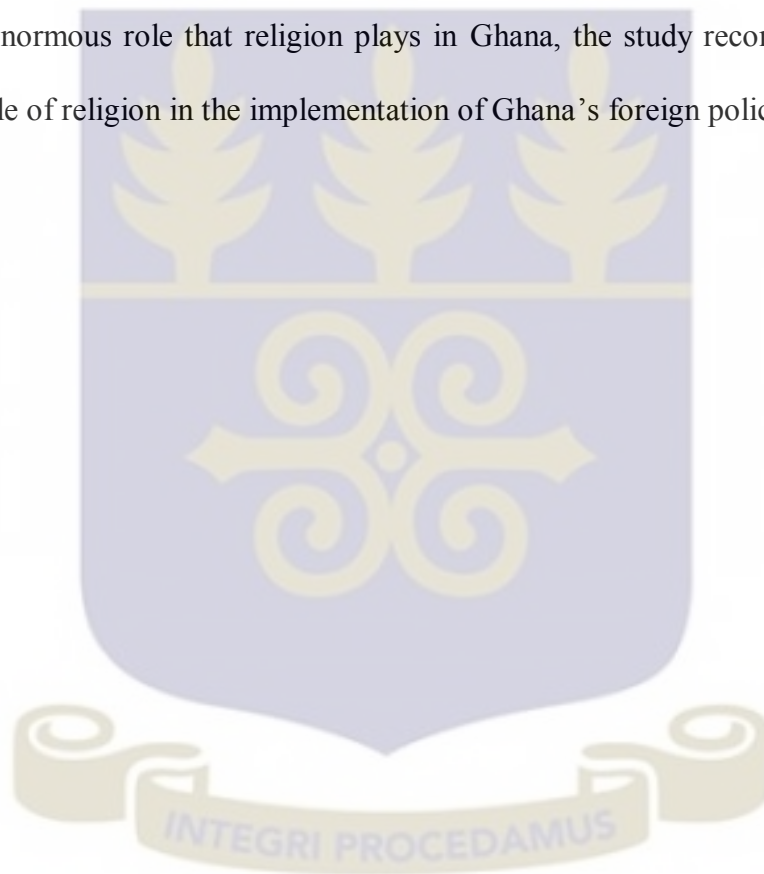
In view of the fact that diplomacy is the major tool for the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy, it is recommended that newly appointed ambassadors should be given adequate training in the area of diplomacy. Additionally, in the appointment of ambassadors, the government should make a conscious effort to bridge the gap between political appointee and career diplomats. There is the need for the recognition of the centrality of the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the coordination, as well as the execution of the country's foreign policy. Attention should be paid to enhancing the Ministry's human and resource capacity.

Also, there is the need for a well-functioning inter-ministerial coordination committees. This suggests the need for more regular meetings and at more levels to analyze measures already adopted at the national level, to assess the level of implementation of Ghana's foreign policy objectives, to identify needs, to make all levels of the state hierarchy aware of the need for national implementation and to plan future action.

Taking cognizant of the fact that Ghana's foreign economic policy has been influenced by the need for external financial support, measures should be taken to promote economic growth, in order to reduce the over dependence on other actors in the international system.

Furthermore, there is the need for a major review of the strategies for the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy to meet the demand of the 21st century.

In view of the enormous role that religion plays in Ghana, the study recommends a further study into the role of religion in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy.



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