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UNIVERSITY OF GHANA



**THE ROLE OF GHANA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN ITS
SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: A CASE OF
GHANA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC FROM 1993 TO 2008**

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**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY
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DECLARATION

I, Benedicta Elinam Agbokey, hereby declare that this dissertation is the product of an original research that I undertook under the supervision of Dr. Emmanuel Ken Ahorsu. This work has never been submitted partially or wholly elsewhere for any award, that all sources used have been duly acknowledged.



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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work firstly to myself, for believing in myself and embarking on this journey, and for successfully completing this program and my dissertation. Secondly, I dedicate this work to my mom, Mercy Ama Agbokey for her support and prayers for me throughout the entire program. I also dedicate this work to my uncle Mr. Gabriel Todzro for his advice and enormous support both financially and materially towards my studies. Finally, I dedicate this work to my best friend Mr. Desmond Darlington Okunor (MSc) for his support, advice and motivation during this research and study for this degree.



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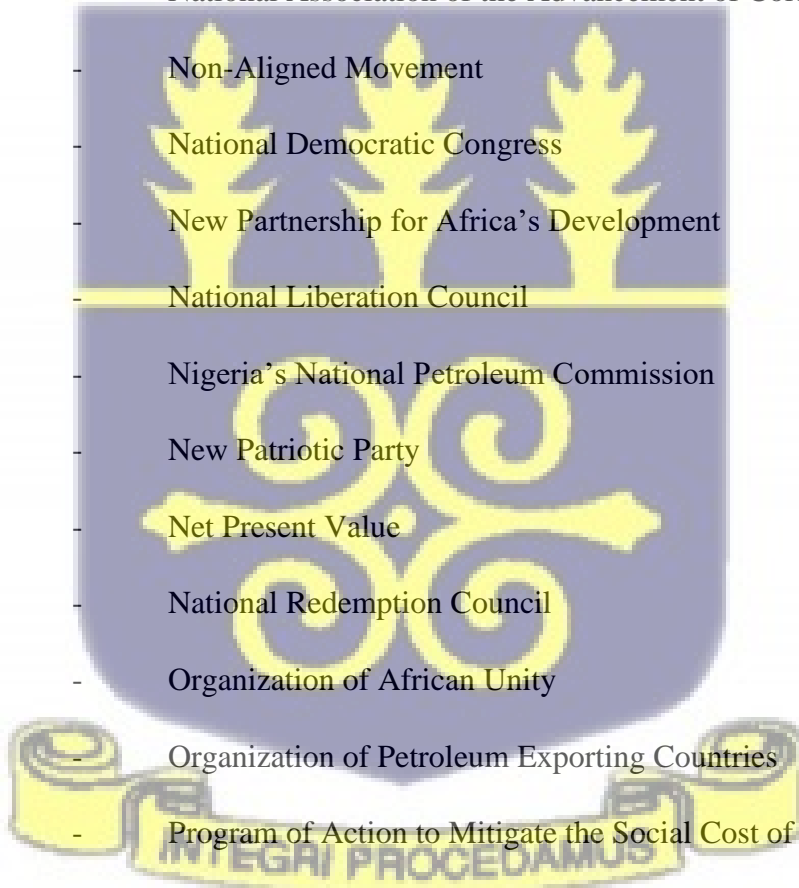


LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	-	African Caribbean and Pacific
AFRC	-	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
ANC	-	African National Congress
APRM	-	African Peer Review Mechanism
ASA	-	African Students Association
AU	-	African Union
CAA	-	Council on African Affairs
CPP	-	Convention People's Party
CSO	-	Civil Society Organization
ECOMOG	-	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	-	European Economic Community
EPR	-	Economic Recovery Plan
EU	-	European Union
FDI	-	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GEPA	-	Ghana Export Promotion Authority
GIFEX	-	Ghana International Furniture Exhibition
GIPC	-	Ghana Investment Promotion Council
HIPC	-	Heavily Indebted Poor Country
IBRD	-	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development



IDA	-	International Development Assistance
IFI	-	International Financial Institution
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
KVIP	-	Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit
MCA	-	Millennium Challenge Account
MDA	-	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MDG	-	Millennium Development Goals
MFARI	-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
NAACP	-	National Association of the Advancement of Colored People
NAM	-	Non-Aligned Movement
NDC	-	National Democratic Congress
NEPAD	-	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NLC	-	National Liberation Council
NNPC	-	Nigeria's National Petroleum Commission
NPP	-	New Patriotic Party
NPV	-	Net Present Value
NRC	-	National Redemption Council
OAU	-	Organization of African Unity
OPEC	-	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAMSCAD	-	Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment
PANAFEST	-	Pan-African Festival
PNDC	-	Provisional National Defense Council
PNP	-	People's National Party



PP	-	Progressive Party
SAP	-	Structural Adjustment Programs
SSNIT	-	Social Security and National Insurance Trust
SWAPO	-	South West Africa People's Organization
UK	-	United Kingdom
UN	-	United Nations
UNIA	-	Universal Negro Improvement Association
USA	-	United States of America
WTO	-	World Trade Organization

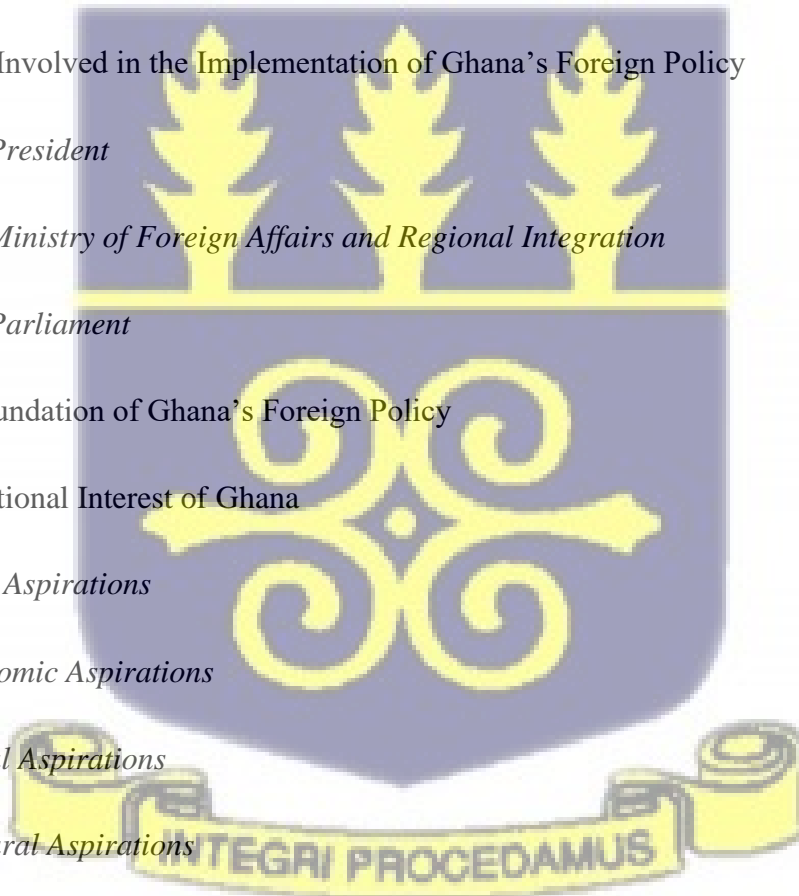


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ABSTRACT

The study analyzed and compared the foreign policies of Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings of the NDC and John Agyekum Kufuor of the NPP and the impacts their foreign policies had on Ghana's socioeconomic development. The study was a qualitative one. Both primary and secondary data was used for the study. The study revealed that Ghana's foreign policy under the two Presidents played significant roles in the economic development of Ghana. There was both continuity and change in the policies of the two administrations. Both leaders employed aggressive economic diplomacy and Pan African policies to rebuild and strengthen the economy. Kufuor, however, emphasized good neighborliness. Rawlings emphasized Pan Africanism and drew much assistance from revolutionary governments, emerging economies, and Asian countries. The foreign policies of the two regimes improved the country's socio-economic growth. Marked improvements were seen in health, infrastructure, jobs, education, and agriculture delivery.



CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Background of the Study

Over the years, states have pursued various objectives and aspirations, which they consider a necessity for the survival and development of their territorial integrity, and the wellbeing of their citizens. These aspirations could be in the form of trade promotion, membership of international organizations or the promotion of respect for human rights.¹ The aspirations and objectives pursued by these states are known as national interests. Vernon Van Dyke explains national interest to be how states protect their desires in relation to other states.² The Brookings Institution define national interest as “what a nation feels to be necessary to its security and wellbeing.”³ Thus, national interest reflects the general and continuing ends for which a nation acts. These aspirations and objectives are pursued through a means termed foreign policy. Foreign policy helps states to achieve their national interests in their relations with other states.⁴

Foreign policy, therefore, is the strategies a state adopts to achieve its aims or goals through its relationship with other states. This may take the shape of political, economic, social or even religious policies.⁵ Sally Marks and Chas W. Freeman define foreign policy as one that “establishes goals, prescribes strategies and sets the broad tactics to be used in their accomplishment. It may employ secret agents, subversion, war or other forms of violence as well

¹ As, B. (2018). The study of foreign policy in international relations. *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs*, 9.

² Van Dyke, V. (1977). The individual, the state, and ethnic communities in political theory. *World Politics: A Quarterly Journal of International Relations*, 343-369.

³ America, M. (2008). The Brookings Institution. *Washington, DC*, 53-86.

⁴ Nemeth, B. (2009). *The Highly Important, Non-Existent National Interest* (Doctoral dissertation, CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY).

⁵ Smith, S., A Hadfield, T Dunne (2016) - *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases* Oxford: OUP

as diplomacy to achieve its objectives.”⁶ States regard foreign policy as a major tool in achieving their objectives and aspirations. National interest through their relationship with other states. The objective of foreign policy is to negotiate and prevent issues in the international system from escalating into conflicts or dire situations whiles, seeking to achieve projects that will bring development to one’s country.⁷

Several factors feature in the reason why states adopt or use foreign policy to achieve their national goals. States’ inability to provide all the needs of its citizens creates the necessity for interaction and co-operation with other states. Again, state’s use foreign policy to ensure their territorial security and promote peace. Most international issues such as peace and security, are best solved collectively and through means as good neighborliness and international law. This necessitates the need for international organizations and regional integrations such as the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Moreover, foreign policy strategies are drawn to solve states’ development challenges, citizens’ security and welfare, and connect with citizens living abroad to help them solve challenges that confront them. In order to secure strategic resources from other states or regions, states formulate and pursue foreign policies that guarantee the continuous supply of such resources. In summary, foreign policy strategies are pursued to satisfy national interest; the quest to be prosperous economically, politically, socially and in any other areas. It is the summation of ensuring a state’s continuous security from external attack and ensuring its survival, the focus of improving the lives of its citizens and their philosophy as well as the attainment of the goals of the state. These can be



⁶ Marks, S., & Freeman, C. W. (2016). Diplomacy. Encyclopedia Britannica.

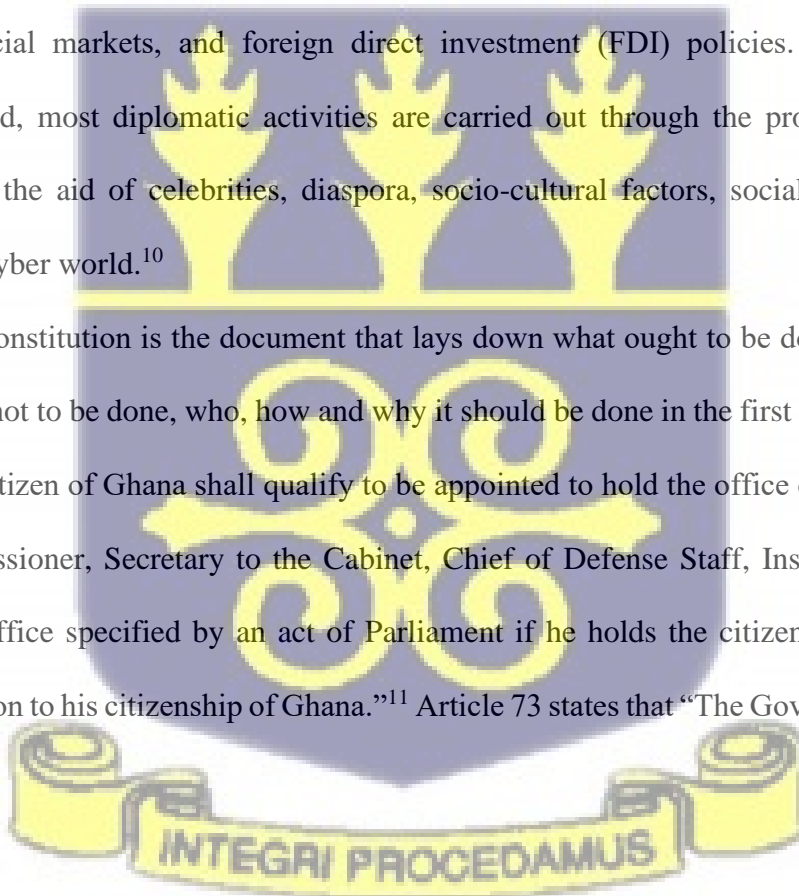
⁷ Zartman, I. W. (2007). Negotiation and conflict management: Essays on theory and practice. London: Routledge.

achieved through maintaining good neighborliness with neighboring states in the region and the globe generally and securing foreign investments to aid developmental projects in the nation.⁸

The main actors in foreign policy decision making are governments and their institutions. However, given the exigencies of the contemporary world, non-state actors such as Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), the private sector and other non-states actors play major roles in influencing foreign policy formation and implementation.⁹

Foreign policy goals are pursued through such modes as traditional diplomacy, which focuses on state-to-state relations through government officials. Economic diplomacy emphasises trade, access to financial markets, and foreign direct investment (FDI) policies. In today's ever-globalizing world, most diplomatic activities are carried out through the promotion of public diplomacy with the aid of celebrities, diaspora, socio-cultural factors, social networks, social media, and the cyber world.¹⁰

Ghana's 1992 Constitution is the document that lays down what ought to be done in the country and what ought not to be done, who, how and why it should be done in the first place. Article 8(2) "states that no citizen of Ghana shall qualify to be appointed to hold the office of an Ambassador or High Commissioner, Secretary to the Cabinet, Chief of Defense Staff, Inspector-General of Police, or any office specified by an act of Parliament if he holds the citizenship of any other country in addition to his citizenship of Ghana."¹¹ Article 73 states that "The Government of Ghana



⁸ Carlsnaes, W. (2008). Actors, structures, and foreign policy analysis. *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases*, 85-100.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ 1992 Constitution of Ghana, Accra: Assembly Press.

shall conduct its international affairs in consonance with the accepted principles of public international law and diplomacy in a manner consistent with the national interest of Ghana.”¹²

Since independence, Ghana has used its foreign policy strategies to live harmoniously with its neighbors, promote trade and tourism, and engaged the African diaspora in its pursuit of socio-economic development. President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s foreign policy constitute the yardstick for Ghana’s subsequent foreign policies. Through Nkrumah’s foreign policies, Ghana was able to achieve landmark projects such as the construction of the Akosombo Dam and Tema Harbour.¹³

The National Liberation Council, which accused and overthrew the Nkrumah government of being dictatorial and pro-East, and its scion, the Progressive Party’s foreign policies were overly pro-West. Ghana has had a checkered constitutional history of military and constitutional rule. However, leaders have pursued the same national interest of security, peace, unity and progress. The foreign policies of the various governments largely varied or followed the foreign policy ideals of Kwame Nkrumah.¹⁴

The 4th Republic Constitution of Ghana came into force at the end of the Cold War. The constitutional history has since been dominated by the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). A marked characteristics of the foreign policy strategies under Ghana’s Fourth Republic is the emphasizing of economic and public diplomacies in the pursuit of its national interest of socio-economic development. This study emphasizes the benefits of foreign policy on socioeconomic growth. It uses the Rawlings administration under the NDC and the Kufuor administration under the NPP, in a comparative study, to examine how the two governments’ foreign policies contributed to the socioeconomic development of Ghana.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Fuller, H. (2010). *Building a nation: Symbolic nationalism during the Kwame Nkrumah era in the Gold Coast/Ghana* (Doctoral dissertation, London School of Economics and Political Science (United Kingdom)).

¹⁴ Biney, A. (2008). The Legacy of Kwame Nkrumah in Retrospect. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 2(3).

1.2 Problem Statement

Existing literatures on Ghana's foreign policy have greatly focused on areas such as actors, instruments, determining factors and the challenges in the implementation of foreign policies. It is rare to find a scholarly work on the impact of foreign policies on domestic affairs, one that increases the growth of socioeconomic development of citizens. It is evident that leaders formulate international policies to bring progress to their countries as well as to promote their national interest. However, not all international decisions of leaders safeguard the socioeconomic development and wellbeing of citizens, as some jeopardizes their safety and wellbeing.

The aim of this study therefore is to do an in-depth analysis of the foreign policy orientation of the Rawlings and Kufuor administrations. It is focused on the benefits the country and its citizens have enjoyed through their international decisions. In the process, the study will identify and explain the contributing variables that accounted for their foreign policy choices and the role they played in the country's socioeconomic development within their years of governance and beyond. This will take the form of a comparative analysis of the two leaders in all areas of their foreign policy directives and the role those choices played in the promotion of socioeconomic development in Ghana.

1.3 Research Questions

- What are the principal national interests guiding the foreign policy formulation of Ghana?
- What were the factors that influenced major foreign policies undertaken under the Kufuor and Rawlings administrations?

- How did the foreign policies of Rawlings and Kufuor aid in Ghana's socioeconomic development?
- What are the mark differences and similarities, and what accounts for the differences and similarities if any, in Presidents Rawlings and Kufuor's governments?

1.4 Research Objectives

- Examine the principal national interest guiding the foreign policy formulation of Ghana.
- Study the factors that influenced the major foreign policies undertaken under the Kufuor and Rawlings administrations.
- Identify the role their foreign policies played in Ghana's socioeconomic development.
- Explore the mark differences and similarities and what accounted for the differences and similarities if any, in Presidents Rawlings and Kufuor's governments.

1.5 Scope of Study

This research covers the years of governance of the two leaders; Rawlings (1993-2000) and Kufuor's (2000-2008).

1.6 Rationale of Study

This study will help enlighten readers on the impact of foreign policy and the value it has added to Ghana's socioeconomic development. It discovers how decisions of leaders taken internationally affect the lives of the citizens positively or negatively with special attention to foreign policies under the NDC and NPP administrations. Finally, it will serve as a guide to

politicians, members of the academia and those in the field of international affairs as well as add to the existing literatures on Ghana's foreign policy within the period under study.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

This study is situated in the conceptual framework of national interest. The concept of "national interest" emerged with the evolution and arrival of the nation states in the international scene. National interest is what states seek to protect or achieve in their relation to others. Nations chart their own course in international relations and arrange their priorities according to their national interests.¹⁵ The term national interest has been used by scholars and statesmen since the inception of nation-states to describe the aspirations and goals of sovereign states in the international community. While leaders may use the term national interest as a basis for guidance, it may in reality be just an attractive or deceptive name to cover up a policy of their interest or one that favors their personal interest.¹⁶

National interest is defined by Hans Morgenthau, a prominent political scientist, as a key concept in international relations that is associated with survival. That is, the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states. All the nation-states are constantly engaged in the process of fulfilling or securing the goals of their national interests, and the foreign policy of each nation is formulated based on its national interest.¹⁷ Morgenthau defines two levels of national interest, the vital and the secondary. Vital interests assure a state its security, its freedom and independence, protection of its institutions and its values. Vital interests also negate compromise and represent issues over which the state is willing to wage war.

¹⁵ Faraz, N. (2000) Role of National Interest. *International Politics: Concepts, Theories and Issues*

¹⁶ Nincic, M. (1999). The national interest and its interpretation. *The review of Politics*, 61(1), 29-55.

¹⁷ Burchill, S. (2005). *The national interest in international relations theory*. Springer.

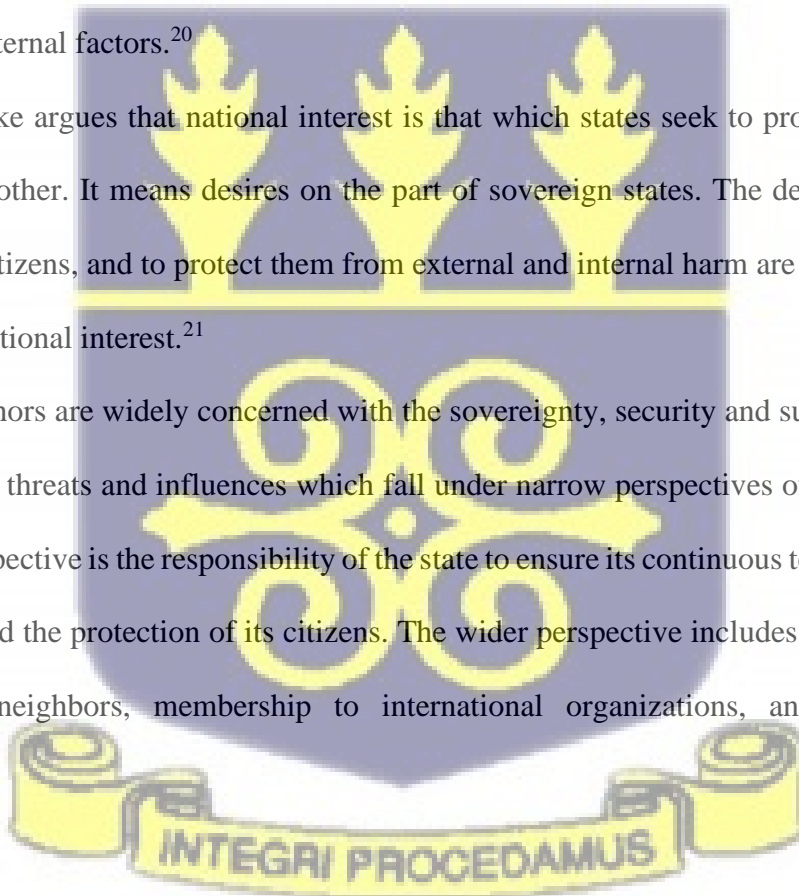
Secondary interests are more difficult to define, but do involve compromise and negotiation.¹⁸

Hans places national interest of states in a narrow perspective where states are focused on protecting and defending their sovereignty and territorial integrity, ensuring the security of their territories and the people in it as well as the freedom, independence and the institutions through which the state is being administered.¹⁹

Donald Neuchterlein defines national interest as a tool for both analysis and policy development. The term “national interest has been used by political leaders and scholars since the founding of the nation-states to describe the aspiration and goals of sovereign entities in the international arena. The interests comprise of the perceived needs and desires of a sovereign state taking into consideration external factors.²⁰

Vernon Von Dyke argues that national interest is that which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other. It means desires on the part of sovereign states. The desire to survive, to provide for its citizens, and to protect them from external and internal harm are all situated within the spheres of national interest.²¹

All the three authors are widely concerned with the sovereignty, security and survival of the state from all external threats and influences which fall under narrow perspectives of national interest. The narrow perspective is the responsibility of the state to ensure its continuous territorial integrity, independence and the protection of its citizens. The wider perspective includes maintaining good relations with neighbors, membership to international organizations, and observance of



¹⁸ Yanakiev, Y. (2019). The Process of Evaluation of National Interests as the Basis for Security Policy-Making and Strategy Development. *36VOL. XIX*.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

international law.²² Notwithstanding, various states perceive national interest in different ways. It depends on whether a state is democratic (constitutional) or undemocratic (unconstitutional).

In international relations, national interest is traditionally linked with what has been labelled by scholars as a billiard ball approach to foreign policy, in which the nation state is defined and treated as a unitary actor, more important than the cobweb of national and transnational connections that others see to be important to an understanding of foreign policy.²³

According to Stephen Krasner, for any particular issue to be considered a country's national interest, it must meet three basic standards. These include the need for the issue to seek and serve a general societal goal. Also, the policy should be and seek a long term benefit that will meet the aspirations of posterity. Finally, the policy must seek to put national security and economic development as its paramount objective.²⁴

The major schools of thoughts namely the realist, the liberalist and the constructivist school all have contrasting definitions, view and approach to the national interest of states. Their definitions and perceptions on the concept is relevant to the study as it will help to understand why states through their leaders act the way they do, nationally and internationally.

Realists define the term national interest as the pursuit of national security, that is, physical survival and territorial integrity of the state. Hans J. Morgenthau argues that states seek to preserve their political autonomy and their territorial integrity. Once these two interests are secured, their national interest may take different forms such as securing more resources or land, expanding their political or economic systems or dwelling in isolation. They believe that the national interest of states must be defined in terms of power which can be split into economic, political, diplomatic or cultural

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Krasner, S. D. (2009). *Power, the state, and sovereignty: essays on international relations*. London: Routledge.

resources. This is an ideal feature of a realist – power. The power to survive and dominate makes them feel safe because to them, the world is harsh, dangerous and anarchic. They argue that wars and conflicts are acceptable ways of achieving a state’s national interest. This justifies their fight more power with every opportunity they get.²⁵ Kenneth Waltz, a neorealist also argues that national interest is an emphasis for the survival of a state.²⁶ In summary, realists believe that states pursue goals based on the accumulation of power and survival rather than prioritize morals in decision making because morals weaken the independence of states.²⁷

In contrast to the realist, liberalists have an optimistic view to national interest. They define the concept as the pursuit of wealth and economic growth, and power through peaceful and harmonious means by states. They argue that national interest should be centered on citizens, their wellbeing and development as against the state-centric idea of realists. The actors of international politics are not just states but include rational actors and social groups who attempt to represent their interests. They conclude that the interests of social groups will soon dominate individual state interests as is the case of the European Union (EU). They emphasize that increasing globalization, rapid rise in communications technology and the increase in international trade meant that states could no longer depend on simple power politics to decide matters. This perception can also be referred to as “theories of complex interdependence.”²⁸ For liberalism, “The world is a harsh and dangerous but the consequences of using military power often outweigh the benefits. International cooperation therefore is in the interest of every state.” The liberalist believes that military power is not the only form of power but economic and social power matter too. Exercising economic power has proven more effective than exercising military power. Different states often have

²⁵ Vincent Ferraro (2016) – Political Realism

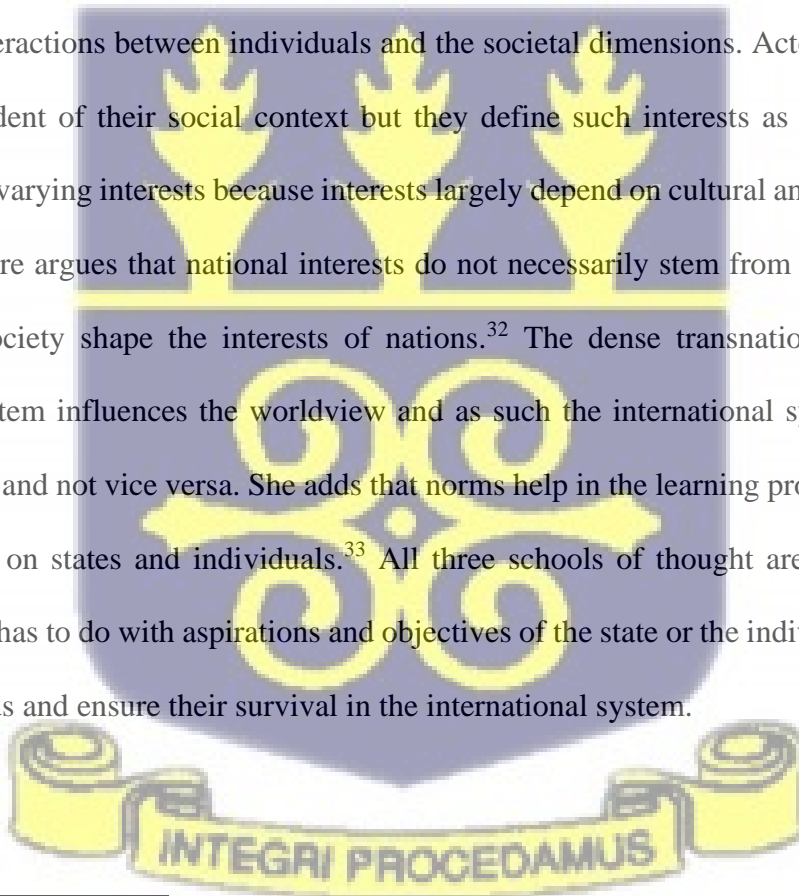
²⁶ Telbami, S. (2002). Kenneth Waltz, neorealism, and foreign policy. *Security Studies*, 11(3), 158-170.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid, 2

different primary interests. International rules and organizations can help foster cooperation, trust, and prosperity.²⁹ They believe states can peacefully pursue and achieve their national interests through cooperation without employing military might. That is, international peace of the community is ensured and sustained while each state enjoys prosperity and fulfilment.³⁰

The constructivist on the other hand, have introduced a totally different view of the concept. They regard national interest as the preservation of a nation's culture and identity in the international community. Alexander Wendt argues that identity is related to the actors who are representing their interests while the interests are the aspirations and objectives of those individuals. There is no already existing objective of a state or individuals but rather these objectives and interests arise as a result of interactions between individuals and the societal dimensions. Actors do not possess interest independent of their social context but they define such interests as a social situation. Actors can have varying interests because interests largely depend on cultural and social context.³¹ Martha Finnemore argues that national interests do not necessarily stem from states but instead, norms of the society shape the interests of nations.³² The dense transnational nature of the international system influences the worldview and as such the international system can change what states want and not vice versa. She adds that norms help in the learning process but also puts some constraints on states and individuals.³³ All three schools of thought are of the view that national interest has to do with aspirations and objectives of the state or the individual, which is to satisfy their needs and ensure their survival in the international system.



²⁹ Ibid, Telbami, S. (2002). Kenneth Waltz, neorealism, and foreign policy. *Security Studies*, 11(3), 158-170.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 2

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

The concept of national interest is relevant to the nexus of Ghana's foreign policy and development. It provides the avenue to identify Ghana's national interest. It also helps to identify the national interests that are being given maximum priority in terms of pursuit. Again, the concept helps to identify how the pursuit of these national interests contribute to the promotion of socioeconomic development in the country to the benefit of the its populace.

1.8 Literature Review

There are a number of book chapters, journals and articles directly and indirectly related to this study area that will be employed for the purpose of this chapter.

1.8.1 Concept of Foreign Policy

In "*Foreign policy in a transformed world*", Webber & Smith defined foreign policy as "the goals sought, values set, decisions made and actions taken by states, and national governments acting on their behalf, in the context of external relations of national societies. It constitutes an attempt to design, manage and control the foreign relations of national societies".³⁴ Per their definition, foreign policy is placed in the context of interactions between governments of states with the aim of achieving a set of goals. They lay emphasis on the factors needed for a successful implementation of a foreign policy. Thus, for a foreign policy to be executed, it must first be formulated by the government of the state and action taken to achieve set objectives.³⁵

H Sanusi and SA Gyamfi in "*Ghana's Foreign Policy: Some Regional and National Interests*" define foreign policy as "a country's policy on dealing with international issues and how it reacts to external events. These decisions are sometimes influenced by history, security, trade, political

³⁴ Webber, M., & Smith, M. (2002). *Foreign policy in a transformed world*. London: Pearson Education.

³⁵ Ibid.

circumstances at a time, leadership status and national interest”.³⁶ They propound that foreign policy decisions do not happen in vacuum but instead factors such as security, trade, politics and national interest influence and shape the foreign policy decisions and choices governments make.³⁷ Ademolu Isah views foreign policy as “a strategy with which institutionally-designated decision-makers seek to manipulate the international environment in order to achieve certain national objectives”. He observes foreign policy from the lens of states controlling and influencing the international system to benefit them.³⁸ The varying definitions of the scholars affirms that foreign policy is a multifaceted and dynamic process of the state. These are the characteristics that helps the concept of foreign policy to be well understood.

1.8.2 Concept of National Interest

In “*Defending the national interest: Raw materials investments and US foreign policy*”, Stephen Krasner views national interest as one which “ensures that decisions made internationally seeks to serve societal goal, with a long term plan that will achieve the aspirations of the state and prioritize national security and economic development when taking decisions in relation to other states”.³⁹ It is important for every state to meet these basic standards. State’s interest should seek to make decisions that reflects their objectives and ambitions, while ensuring that the benefits to gain through the decisions are not short lived but its results are continuously enjoyed for a long time.⁴⁰

³⁶ Sanusi, H., & Gyamfi, S. A. (2017). Ghana’s foreign policy: Some regional and national interests. *Journal of Human Sciences*, 14(1), 598-608.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Ademolu, I. (2017). Behaviouralism and Foreign Policy: The Influence of Decision Making Theory. *Journal of Policy and Development Studies*, 289(5385), 1-5.

³⁹ Krasner, S. D. (1978). *Defending the national interest: Raw materials investments and US foreign policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

In “*Ghana’s Foreign Policy at Independence and its Implications for the 1966 Coup D’état*”, Gebe Boni argues that “national interest comprises of the priorities of a state”.⁴¹ He argues that, the reflection and articulation of a state’s interest in the international scene where competition of interests and threats to national security is a competition between states, the fundamental prerequisite is survival through pushing forward one’s national interest into the international community.⁴²

1.8.3 Concept of Development

In “*Discussing Development*”, Bethany Britton defines development “as the alleviation of poverty, ensuring that the poor is able to provide for their basic needs and achieve a higher standard of living. It involves empowering the less privileged and training of the unskilled to pursue an education or partake in one skill or the other to earn an income. It involves providing jobs for the masses to earn as well”.⁴³

In “*Development Theory*”, Cowen and Shenton referred to development as “the remedies for the shortcomings and maladies of progress. This involves questions such as population (according to Malthus), job loss (for the Luddites), social questions (according to Marx and others) and urban squalor”.⁴⁴ To them, progress is linear and development is curvilinear. In modern thinking and economies, Pieterse also argues that development is affiliated to economic growth, as in economic



⁴¹ Gebe, B. Y. (2008). Ghana’s Foreign Policy at Independence and Implications for the 1966 Coup D’état. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 2(3), 160-186.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Bethany Britton (2013) – Discussing Development

⁴⁴ Pieterse, J. N. (2010). *Development theory*. London: Sage.

theory and the Big Push Theory. Again, he argues that the alternative modern understanding and definition of development is the societal and community growth as well as “human flourishing”.⁴⁵ Despite the varying views of the scholars on development, it is obvious that development is a solution to backwardness and the promotion of growth and improvement of the society and the individuals living in it. These features help to better appreciate the concept of development.

1.8.4 Relationship between Foreign Policy and Development

In “*Foreign Policy’s Role in Promoting Development: A Case of Brazil and Turkey*”, Spohr and Silva analyze the relationship between foreign policy and development and how foreign policy can be used by developing countries to mitigate their weaknesses. Foreign policy promotes domestic development but hardly are the mechanisms for achieving this ambition discussed. Their article presents a comprehensive understanding of foreign policy’s role in promoting semi-periphery countries’ development and mitigate their weakness. For an emerging country’s development to be ensured through foreign policy, it needs to undertake six major economic and political lines of action. The economic lines of action consist of trade promotion, investment policy and economic, financial and commercial negotiations while resource exploration rights international co-operation and international projection fall under the political lines. Feder agrees that, a country’s exports (economic area) plays a huge role in raising its state revenue than just being a contributor to its GDP.⁴⁶ However, the political lines create an enabling environment for the success of the economic strategies. The image of a country in the international community is necessary for maintaining and enhancing its trade flows, sustaining its relations to its powerful state partners, to gaining allies and support in times of multilateral decisions and to creating an enabling

⁴⁵ Ibid.

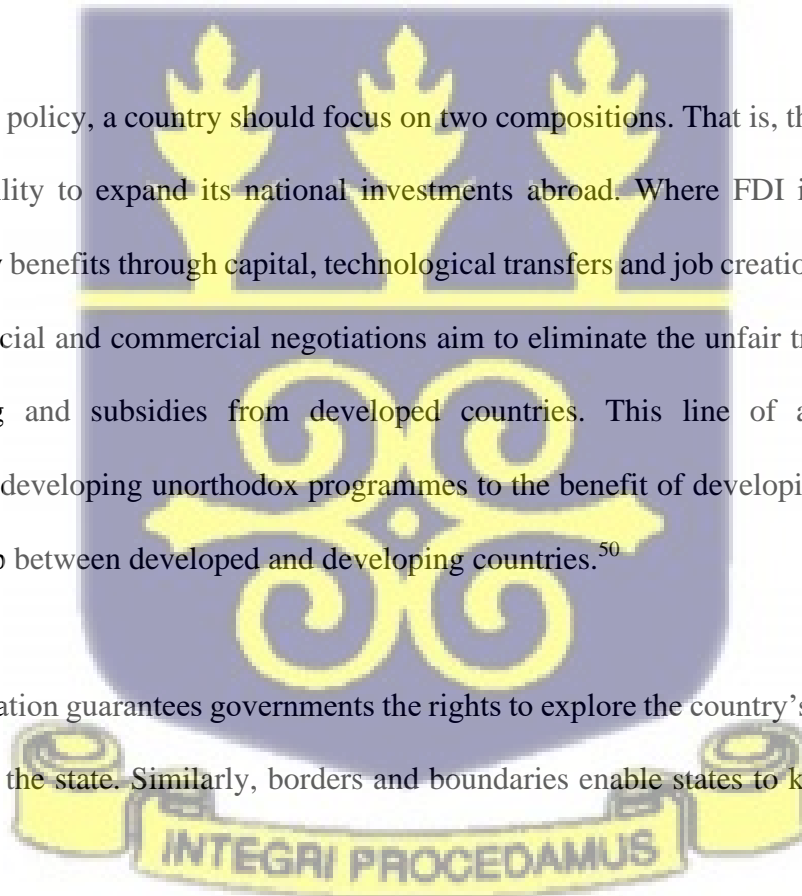
⁴⁶ Fosu, A. K. (1990). Exports and economic growth: The African case. *World Development*, 18(6), 831-835.

environment for its companies to increase their activities domestically and internationally. This affirms the fact that a political arena is equally important as an economic one in terms of increasing developmental chances.⁴⁷

Trade promotion is aimed at encouraging the export of value-added commodities to increase the country's foreign revenue. Foreign policy makers should be on the look-out for new markets as they arise. This line of action depends solely on domestic policies of enhancement of goods' competitiveness, which is determined by improvement of workers' labor skills and the motivation given to the workers.⁴⁸

With investment policy, a country should focus on two compositions. That is, the ability to attract FDI and the ability to expand its national investments abroad. Where FDI is established, the recipient country benefits through capital, technological transfers and job creation for the people.⁴⁹ Economic, financial and commercial negotiations aim to eliminate the unfair trade practices like tariffs, dumping and subsidies from developed countries. This line of action also seeks opportunities of developing unorthodox programmes to the benefit of developing countries so as to reduce the gap between developed and developing countries.⁵⁰

Resource exploration guarantees governments the rights to explore the country's natural resources to the benefit of the state. Similarly, borders and boundaries enable states to know their limit of



⁴⁷ Spohr, A. P., & Silva, A. L. R. D. (2017). Foreign Policy's Role in Promoting Development: The Brazilian and Turkish Cases. *Contexto Internacional*, 39(1), 157-178.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

exploration. This is to ensure that resources for developmental projects continue to remain available to the country.⁵¹

International cooperation is a two way gain for both countries involved. This creates an opportunity for the promotion of trade, transfer of technology, develop shared projects of resource exploration and exchange of experts in various fields. This strategy enhances the continuous gain of benefits that can last long enough to reduce the country's reliance on foreign aid.⁵²

A country's influence on the international scene is a powerful add-on to its developmental approach. However, autonomy is needed for this line of action to succeed. A state must be independent and devoid of external influence to carry out its set goals and ambitions without interference. The ability of a country to formulate its foreign policies without external influence alongside its contribution to international matters helps it to project the country on the international scene. This provides access to foreign aid to undertake internal developments.⁵³ These are measures if adopted by African states, will go a long way to mitigate their structural weakness and bring socioeconomic development to the region whiles reducing the dependence on foreign aid and assistance.

African foreign policies have always often around economic diplomacy and the desire to attract investment for socioeconomic development. This has largely been influenced by domestic policies and the underdevelopment of most African states.⁵⁴ Economic diplomacy, if approached and

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Saner, R., & Yiu, L. (2003). International economic diplomacy: Mutations in post-modern times.

implemented well stands the chance to promote internal development of states. Economic diplomacy uses instruments as informal negotiations and voluntary cooperation to soften regulations and the enforcement of binding rules to conduct activities such as trade promotion and granting of foreign aids.⁵⁵ Investments such as FDI has largely been pursued in Africa. African states are seizing opportunities to acquire technological transfer and technical know-how which is vital for development and growth. However, those policies fail to address the structural weaknesses of their economies. This failure is as a result of poor leadership and mismanagement in African states where corruption and individual interest tend to dissipate and direct investment towards individual political gains. The economies are then plunged into depending on foreign aid and assistance again rather than addressing basic structural weaknesses such as primary producing economies, communication and transport deficiencies, as well as energy volatility to cushion African economies for self-reliance.⁵⁶

1.8.5 Ghana's Foreign Policy and her National Interest

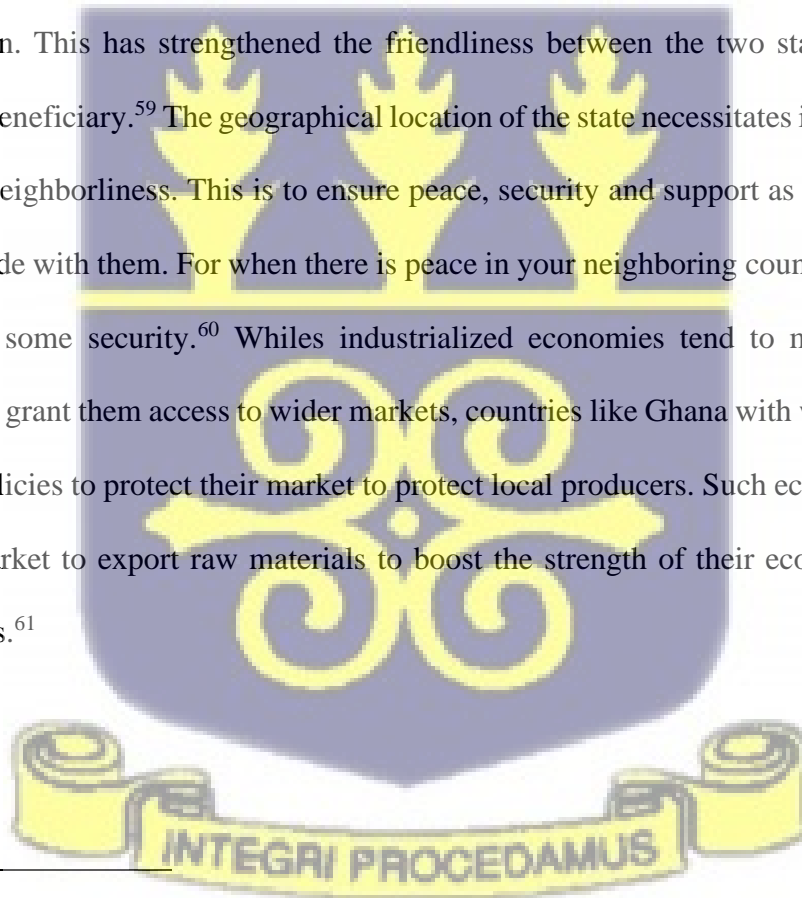
Ghana's foreign policy has primarily been characterized by the pursuit of economic diplomacy, good neighborliness, support for regional integration, support for African Union, multilateral diplomacy and welfare of its citizens within its region and beyond.⁵⁷ Various governments have used radical and soft approaches of economic diplomacy to generate funds for development. The construction of the Akosombo Dam, the Tema Motorway and Township, among others were all accomplished from funds of economic diplomacy. Activities such as the Pan African Festival (PanAFest) were also used as economic diplomacy to raise revenue for the development of the

⁵⁵ Bayne, N., & Woolcock, S. (Eds.). (2011). *The new economic diplomacy: decision-making and negotiation in international economic relations*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd..

⁵⁶ Rotberg, R. (2013). *Africa emerges: Consummate challenges, abundant opportunities*. John Wiley & Sons.

⁵⁷ Yeboah, S. A. (2019). Economic Diplomacy And National Development Ghana Under Kufuor (2001-2008): 'Mammon' and Good Neighbourliness. *International Journal of New Economics and Social Sciences IJONESS*, 10(2), 201-221.

country. Good neighborliness was also evident in Ghana's foreign policy. Ghana's policy of good neighborliness has been crafted to promote a climate of peace and stability in the sub-region by building mutual trust and confidence between governments and their neighbors. The country's foreign policy has greatly been influenced by its historical background, geographical location and resource availability.⁵⁸ The nation's history of colonialism and its continuous relationship with its colonial powers compel it to draw foreign policies towards the direction of the colonial powers, which is Britain. As a result of this, Ghana's biggest trading partner is the United Kingdom. In the same vein, majority of the weapons used by the Ghana Armed Forces and other Security agencies is provided by Britain. The country's administrative and legal processes continue to be a reflection of that of Britain. This has strengthened the friendliness between the two states where Ghana remains a huge beneficiary.⁵⁹ The geographical location of the state necessitates it to draw a foreign policy of good neighborliness. This is to ensure peace, security and support as well as enable the promotion of trade with them. For when there is peace in your neighboring countries, then you are also assured of some security.⁶⁰ Whiles industrialized economies tend to make international policies that will grant them access to wider markets, countries like Ghana with weaker economies usually make policies to protect their market to protect local producers. Such economies also look for available market to export raw materials to boost the strength of their economy rather than remain importers.⁶¹



⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 31

⁵⁹ Baah-Duodu, K (2016) Lecture on determinants of Ghana's foreign policy. Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD)

⁶⁰ Siaw, K. E. (2015). *Change and Continuity in Ghana's Foreign Policy: Focus on Economic Diplomacy and Good Neighbourliness under Rawlings and Kufuor* (MA dissertation, University of Ghana).

⁶¹ Ibid

The state formulates its foreign policies using its national interest as a guideline and a constrain to the international decisions formulated. Every foreign policy pursued by the government of Ghana ensures that such policies do not endanger the territorial independence of the country. It prioritizes the welfare and security of its citizens.⁶² Various governments since independence have defined the national interest of Ghana according to the issues surrounding the state at the time they assume power, of which the Rawlings and the Kufuor administrations under the Fourth Republic hasn't been left out of. The NPP under the Kufuor-led administration guided by their liberal democratic manifesto define the interest of the state as “the liberation of energies of the people for the growth of a property owning democracy in this land, with right to life, freedom and justice, as the principles to which the Government and laws of the land should be dedicated in order specifically to enrich life, property and liberty of each and every citizen.”⁶³ The social democratic NDC, on the other hand, under the leadership of Rawlings also operationalized the state's interest as “a belief in the equality and egalitarian treatment of all persons with respect to the political, economic, social, cultural and religious relations in a multi-party, multi-ethnic environment to progressive politics and the protection of the underprivileged and upliftment of the socially disadvantaged”.⁶⁴ The literature reviewed propounds that both governments per their interests, have priorities in line with the growth, development and upliftment of the nation and its people. Also, both governments are also democratic and seek equality and justice for all persons.

1.9 Sources of Data



⁶² 1992 constitution of Ghana

⁶³ Ayee, J. (2009). The evolution and development of the New Patriotic Party in Ghana.

⁶⁴ Bob-Milliar, G. M. (2012). Party factions and power blocs in Ghana: a case study of power politics in the National Democratic Congress. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 50(4), 573-601.

Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources were collected through first hand unstructured interviews. The target population consists of Personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Ministry of Trade, Ghana Trade and Export, Ghana Investment Centre, Ministry of Finance and the Ghana Export Promotion Council. The secondary data was sourced from previous scholarly book chapters, journals, articles and newsletters relating to the topic.

1.10 Research Methodology

The research is an exploratory study that employs qualitative research method to analyze its findings. This study depends on narrative, exploratory, and non-numeric data, hence a qualitative research methodology was appropriate. Qualitative research is the process of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting non-numerical data, such as language. By conducting interviews, this method enables the researcher to get insights into the issue⁶⁵.⁶⁶ Qualitative research is useful, instructive, and based on the experiences of participants to the assessment of the benefits of foreign policy decisions to the state's socio-economic development. This method provided a descriptive account of the connection between benefits of foreign policy decisions to the state's socio-economic development. Qualitative research may be utilized to get a deeper understanding of how an individual perceives and experiences their social world. Qualitative data include non-numerical information such as text, video, images, and audio recordings. This kind of information may be gathered through journal entries or in-depth interviews and analyzed using thematic analysis and content analysis. This method has been used in similar works.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ Rotberg, R. (2013). *Africa emerges: Consummate challenges, abundant opportunities*. John Wiley & Sons.

Moreover, the choice of this methodological approach is informed by the nature of the study which requires the researcher to undertake an in-depth assessment of the benefits of foreign policy decisions to the state's socio-economic development. This method was preferred over quantitative because it allows to unearth the interconnections between participants' experiences which might otherwise be lost in quantitative method. Again this method is more valuable to this research due to its ability to bring out why a decision was made and not just the details of the decision. Also, more information is gathered from a small sample through context, body language and open-ended questions as compared to quantitative method.

The sampling technique for the study is purposive sampling as well as convenient sampling. Purposive was used to gather information from specific personnel who have access to the needed data for the research. Convenient sampling was used to interview equally resourceful respondents due to the unavailability of the target population. Purposive sampling was chosen because it is a non-probability sample based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study. It helps the researcher to make the most out of a small population of interest, thereby ascertaining valuable outcome. However, in the absence of these key persons, there is another set of population with equally valuable information to share. They form the convenient target. They were chosen as an alternative in the absence of the purposive target.

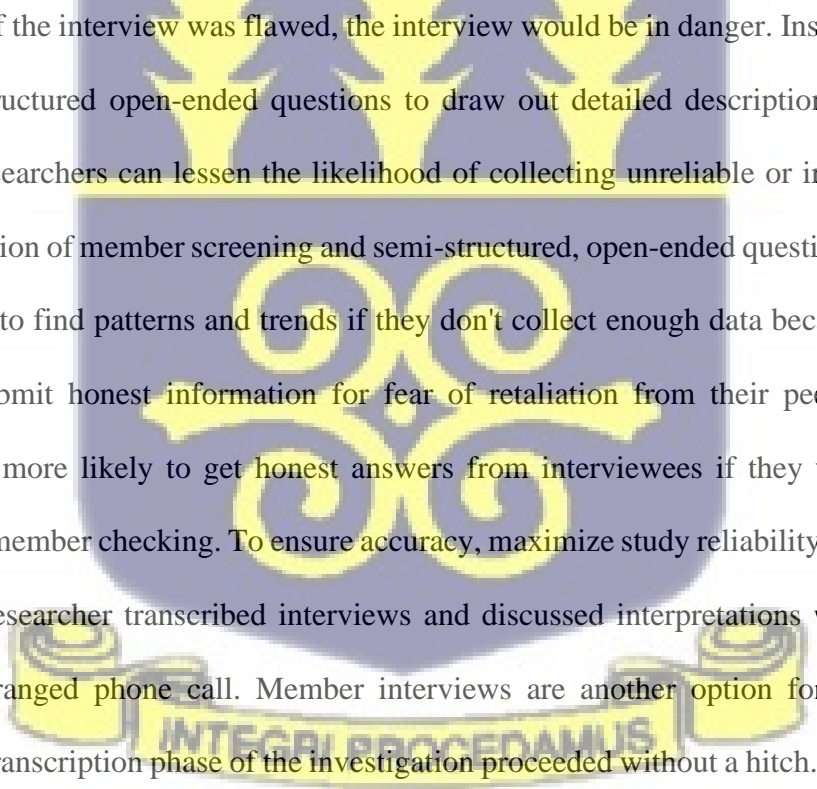
Data gathered for this study are of both primary and secondary data. Secondary data sources are primarily gathered through extensive literature review and government agencies such as the Ghana Investment Promotion Council and the Ghana Export Promotion Authority. Other secondary sources of data include articles from newsletters and journals.

The primary data was sourced through unstructured interviews, conducted with selected respondents who are experts in the areas of International Trade and Export, Investment, Finance,

Export, Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, and so on. Some respondents interviewed for the purpose of the study includes, Ambassador D.K Osei, President of the Council on Foreign Relations, Ghana, Mr. Maxwell Osei-Kusi, Director of the Ghana Export Promotion Authority (GEPA), Mr. Ashong Lartey, Director of the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), Mr. Dampety Asare, Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI) and Mr. Zakaria Issahaku, Group Head, Treasury, Ministry of Finance.

Interviews are commonly used by researchers to ensure they collect relevant data for primary data study. Specifically, unstructured interviews were conducted in-person to collect the necessary data for this analysis. A common research methodology involves interviewing participants and typing up their responses. These precautions not only ensure that the entire interview is preserved, but also make it simpler to categorize and analyze the resulting data. In order to conduct interviews, the researcher compiled a list of potential participants. Those on the list fulfill all requirements for inclusion in the study. The selected respondents are experts in the areas of International Trade and Export, Investment, Finance, Export, Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration. The ten participants were invited through email, and a short description of the study's goals and significance were included in the message. Interviewees heartily accepted the invitation to be interviewed and showed genuine interest and enthusiasm throughout the session. With unstructured interviews, the researcher has more leeway to ask participant's free-form questions about their personal experiences with the topic at hand. Researchers' unstructured interviews have a lot of benefits, but they may have issues with quality such as inappropriate questions, bad timing, and rude participants. By establishing and adhering to an interview protocol, researchers can hopefully head off any problem with the quality of their unstructured interviews.

After receiving the consent form through email, participants arranged their own interview times and locations. Before beginning the interview, they signed and returned the consent form to the researcher. People are more likely to be candid and open during a one-on-one interview. With participants' permission, the researcher conducted audio recordings of their interviews using a SONY ICD – UX560F digital voice recorder. The researcher made an effort to pick up on any nuances of facial expressions that might indicate nonverbal communication, and she also took brief, outline-style notes during the interviews. The interviewer's notes on the responses and less obvious facial expressions helped establish a connection between the two. She was unable to use these results in the data analysis or findings sections because they did not yield any significant results.

The image features a large, semi-transparent watermark of the University of Ghana crest in the center. The crest is a shield-shaped emblem with a blue background and yellow elements. At the top, there are three stylized yellow flames or torches. Below them are two yellow scrolls. The central part of the shield contains a yellow decorative scrollwork design. At the bottom, a yellow banner contains the Latin motto "INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS" in blue capital letters.

If the structure of the interview was flawed, the interview would be in danger. Instead, researchers should ask unstructured open-ended questions to draw out detailed descriptions and extensive information. Researchers can lessen the likelihood of collecting unreliable or irrelevant data by using a combination of member screening and semi-structured, open-ended questions. Researchers may not be able to find patterns and trends if they don't collect enough data because participants are afraid to submit honest information for fear of retaliation from their peers or superiors. Researchers are more likely to get honest answers from interviewees if they use unstructured interviews with member checking. To ensure accuracy, maximize study reliability, and ensure data saturation, the researcher transcribed interviews and discussed interpretations with participants through a prearranged phone call. Member interviews are another option for achieving data saturation. The transcription phase of the investigation proceeded without a hitch. By verifying the content's veracity, the participants released the researcher from further editing responsibilities. Before the data was saturated, the researcher planned to conduct follow-up interviews with

participants to revise the transcripts and explanations as needed. There was no longer a need for additional interviews because the researcher had collected sufficient data. Therefore, the study achieved data saturation

It is only through comparison to the study's conceptual framework and other relevant findings in the study literature that the data's overall significance can be determined⁶⁸. Finding commonalities and illuminating underlying processes through data analysis in qualitative studies allows researchers to gain a deeper understanding of the topic at hand⁶⁹. In order to analyze data, the following steps must be taken: Cleaning and interpreting data; performing statistical tests⁷⁰. This study's data analysis relied on responses from in-depth interviews and secondary data from journals and newspaper. When conducting interviews, all questions asked pertained squarely to the topic under scrutiny. All interviews were recorded and transcribed afterwards. Using thematic analysis, the study dug deep into the data at hand to reveal overarching themes and concepts to draw irrefutable conclusions. The researcher examined the following processes in order to analyze the qualitative data from the study: familiarization with the material, coding of the material, generation of potential themes, review of pertinent material, definition and identification of themes, and documentation of the findings. The researcher analyzed the study's data using an automated analysis program in order to determine its central themes.

ATLAS.ti was used to compile, analyze and draw conclusions from the data in this study. Participants spoke with the researcher for 10 minutes over the phone to ensure that their comments from the in-person interviews had been accurately reflected and understood. The final transcripts

⁶⁸ Vincent Ferraro (2016) – Political Realism

⁶⁹ Vincent Ferraro (2016) – Political Realism

⁷⁰ Vincent Ferraro (2016) – Political Realism

and interpretation were used for data analysis after we had confirmed the participants' statements. Reviewing the original data made it possible to recognize patterns, categorize them, and delve deeper into them, including in light of newly released information. The content was analyzed using ATLAS.ti to spot common themes. The first group of analytical codes was developed on the basis of the literature review. Prior to importing the data into the ATLAS.ti software for the coding phase of the study, the researcher documented study assumptions and biases in a reflective diary. This method simplified the process of using brackets and allowed for the researcher's bias to be factored into the content analysis. According to⁷¹, ATLAS.ti software aided in data organization by storing a list of codes and keywords to ensure uniformity and spot themes.

1.11 Limitations of the Study

The researcher encountered a couple of obstacles in the course of the study. However, they did not affect the findings, recommendations and conclusion of the study. The limitations included financial constraint and the COVID-19 pandemic, which made it difficult to get access to interviewees. Lack of funding for the study led to difficulty in meeting interviewees at their offices. Most times, the researcher had to visit the offices more than once and this created a financial burden on the researcher. COVID-19 and its restrictions, including lockdown caused much delay in gathering primary data from interviewees. The limited time between writing examinations and submission of the dissertation proved to be a major challenge as well. Despite these factors, the researcher successfully conducted the research arriving at a relevant finding, conclusion and recommendation of the study.

⁷¹ Vincent Ferraro (2016) – Political Realism

1.12 Arrangement of Chapters

The study will be divided into four (4) chapters.

Chapter One is the Introduction to the study.

Chapter Two presents an overview of Ghana's Foreign Policy Prior to the Fourth Republic.

Chapter Three is analysis of the data collected.

Chapter Four concludes the study with the findings of the study, draw conclusions and make recommendations.



CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF GHANA'S FOREIGN POLICY BEFORE INDEPENDENCE TO THE THIRD REPUBLIC

2.0 Introduction

This chapter conducts an in-depth overview of Ghana's foreign policy prior to the nation's Fourth Republic. The chapter begins with a brief analysis of Ghana's foreign policy before and after its independence. It discusses Ghana's foreign policies with other states under the first, second and the third republics, focusing on the actors, the formulation and implementation processes as well as the challenges encountered during the process.

2.1 Ghana's Foreign Policy Before Independence

Ghana's post-independence foreign policy obviously did not begin in a vacuum. Beyond those antecedents in the domestic struggle for power were more specific happenings as a result of the African and global context.⁷² In Africa, the most obvious and available frameworks for which Ghana could exert its influence and cooperation was that of the Interterritorial British West African Boards. It consisted of the Examination Council, the Cocoa Research Institute and the most crucial being the Currency Board controlling the common currency of the four territories, namely the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, the Gambia and Nigeria (including the British Cameroonians).⁷³ In the international context, there was the "Back to Africa" movement which was led by the Jamaican Pan-Africanist, Marcus Garvey who had become the provisional President of Africa. His writings were geared towards Marxism and his activism clearly had great influence on Nkrumah.⁷⁴

⁷² Thompson, W. S. (2015). *Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957-1966: Diplomacy Ideology, and the New State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Nkrumah's efforts in organizing a West African National Secretariat alongside his Pan-African colleagues such as George Padmore to implement the 1945 Manchester Resolutions which marked a significant advance in the participation of workers in the Pan African cause. The Resolutions demanded an end to colonial rule and racial discrimination, while it carried forward the broad struggle against imperialism, support for the respect of human rights and equality of economic opportunity.⁷⁵ The creation of a West African Student Union in London in which Kwame Nkrumah and other Ghanaians held offices also served as a platform in bringing many West African nationalists together. The Union was a platform to uplift the dignity of the black man that had been crashed through colonization. Hence, making it one of the early foreign policy statements of the Ghanaian government before independence.⁷⁶

One important aspiration of the Gold Coast government was to secure and maintain good relationship with its neighbors precisely; Togo, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and Nigeria (to a later end). This was to strengthen the geopolitical dilemmas of the sub-region and to collectively fight for the decolonization of the territories within the sub-region.

2.2 Ghana's Foreign Policy after Independence

This includes the foreign policies formulated and implemented post-independence prior to the Fourth Republic. It focuses on the various Heads of state under the three republics and their foreign policies towards other states. The impact of their foreign policies will also be discussed.

2.2.1 Ghana's Foreign Policy under the First Republic

2.2.1.1 Foreign Policy Under Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party (CPP)

⁷⁵ Katzenellenbogen, S. (1995). The Pan- African Congress and its Aftermath

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Ghana attained independence in 1957 under its first prime minister and subsequent president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah on the ticket of the Convention People's Party (C.P.P). His radicalism coupled with his vision of complete political emancipation and unification of Africa set him on collision course with moderate African leaders. By the early 1960s, President Nkrumah had embraced socialism, governed Ghana as a one-party state by 1964, and had established very cordial diplomatic relations with mostly Communist and Eastern European countries.⁷⁷ Under careful scrutiny, it can be concluded that his foreign policy environment was influenced by certain internal and external factors which were used as guiding principles to implement his foreign policies.⁷⁸

Nkrumah's foreign policies were influenced by his education and philosophy. He studied at Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania, both in the United States of America from 1935 to 1945. Nkrumah stopped at nothing to fight for the complete decolonization of his continent. He was an outstanding student who studied courses that would enlighten him on the way forward to achieve his dream. He taught Language and African courses like Greek and Negro History and Civilization as a teaching assistant and as an instructor to prepare other African leaders who will be interested to journey with him on his mission to decolonise Africa. The opportunity to develop his interest and enthusiasm about Africa was realized through his involvement in the activities of African and African American political and civil rights organizations such as the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) founded by Marcus Garvey, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Council on African Affairs

⁷⁷ Gebe, B. Y. (2008). Ghana's Foreign Policy at Independence and Implications for the 1966 Coup D'état. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 2(3), 160-186.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

(CAA), and the African Students Association (ASA).⁷⁹ Through his involvement with these movements, he met other Pan-Africanists like Amy Garvey, Claudia Vera Jones and W. E. B DuBois who were also freedom fighters⁸⁰. His desire for African Unity as a common front to fight for the independence and freedom of the black man from colonial and external influence and to fight against neocolonialism was another factor that influenced his foreign policy decisions. This desire gradually led to the creation of the Organization of African Unity.⁸¹ His desire to industrialize Ghana was another motivation. The colonialists made no efforts in the area of industrialization. There were no industries to turn raw materials to value-added commodities. Hence, importation remained higher than exportation. Nkrumah projected that if Ghana and the continent was free from external control, the black man could establish industries to produce secondary commodities at cheaper prices to reduce importation from Europe.⁸² The apartheid regime of South Africa was a great influence on his foreign policy choices. He helped to liberate South Africa and South West Africa (currently the Republic of Namibia) from discrimination and suffering.⁸³ In 1960, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly landmarked a Declaration on Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples across the globe. The Declaration was discussed in conferences held by Pan-Africanists, popular one being the 1945 Manchester Pact held in London.⁸⁴ This effort of the UN further inspired Nkrumah towards his foreign policy choices, ideology and the fight for the total liberation of the African continent.

⁷⁹ Marika Sherwood (1996) Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad 1935-1947. Freedom Publications, Legon, Ghana. 202p

⁸⁰ Thompson, W. S. (1971). Ghana: The First Republic.

⁸¹ Padelford, N. J. (1964). The Organization of African Unity. *International Organization*, 18(3), 521-542.

⁸² Nkrumah, K., Arrigoni, R., & Napolitano, G. (1963). *Africa must unite* (p. 97). London: Heinemann.

⁸³ Clark, N. L., & Worger, W. H. (2016). *South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid*. London: Routledge.

⁸⁴ Jensen, S. L. (2016). *The making of international human rights: the 1960s, decolonization, and the reconstruction of global values*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The level of Ghana's development and the strength of the economy at the time were the reasons he opted for the socialist system as against capitalism. Industries were owned by the state and the state provided for the whole citizenry so that no one is left out of the national cake. The Congo crisis and the nonchalant reaction from the West also played a role in his pro-East attribute.⁸⁵ Despite publicly adopting socialism, Nkrumah was also a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) which automatically made Ghana a member. Nkrumah used this medium to stay in the good books of both East and the West.⁸⁶ Nkrumah set the pace for regional integration by bringing together leaders of African countries to form the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963. The formation of this organization was in itself a stepping stone to a united Africa where prosperity for one country led to the progress of the entire continent in Nkrumah's vision. The objective of the organization was to promote the unity and solidarity of African States and to co-ordinate and intensify the cooperation and efforts of the black man to achieve a better life for the people of Africa. The OAU aimed to defend the sovereignty of African states, their territorial integrity and independence and to eradicate all forms of colonialism. It also aspired to promote international cooperation with international institutions and states. Nkrumah's foreign policies extended to the support of the United Nations (UN). Decolonization was Nkrumah's priority. The UN's effort in championing decolonisation of all European colonies attracted his support. The freedom of the black man to have control over its economic, political, social and cultural affairs without external influence was the vision of Nkrumah and his fellow Pan-Africanists. In 1960, the UN sent significant troops to Congo for peacekeeping missions in a bid to restore peace in the country. The organisation's role in the crisis also won Nkrumah's support.⁸⁷ Nkrumah's foreign

⁸⁵ Aluko, O. (1975) After Nkrumah: continuity and change in Ghana's foreign policy, *A Journal of Opinion*,

⁸⁶ Asante, K.B. (1997) *Foreign Policy Making in Ghana: Options for the 21st Century* Accra: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 13

relations with Lenin and the Soviet Union led to Ghana's electrification. A loan of 130million Pounds Sterling was acquired for the Volta River Project in 1961 and subsequently the Akosombo Dam. The Tema-Motorway was also a major benefit chalked by the country as a socioeconomic gain from Nkrumah's foreign policy relations. It was part of the 7 Year Development Plan Nkrumah put in place to boost the socioeconomic life of the citizens of Ghana.⁸⁸

2.2.1.2 Foreign Policy under the National Liberation Council (NLC)

The 1966 Coup D'etat by the National Liberation Council (NLC) led by Colonel Kwasi Kotoka, Major Abrefi Afrifa and Gen. J.A Ankrah against Nkrumah's government swayed the nation to a West leaning.⁸⁹ It was a joint force of the Ghana Police and the Ghana Armed Forces. It was accused of being supported by the West, precisely Britain under Prime Minister Harold Wilson and the USA's Lyndon Johnson to overthrow the Nkrumah administration. Nkrumah's refusal to acknowledge and support the West, their ideologies and their plans for Africa made him unpopular among the leaders of the West.⁹⁰ A letter dated 27th May, 1965 sent from Robert Komer, a U.S National Security member to McGeorge Bundy confirms that the West had foreseen the coup being organized by key persons in the country and were in total support of it.⁹¹ It reads:

FYI, we may have a pro-Western coup in Ghana soon. Certain key military and police figures have been planning one for some time, and Ghana's deteriorating economic condition may provide the spark. McGeorge Bundy

The plotters are keeping us briefed, and the state thinks we're more on the inside than the British. While we're not directly involved (I'm told), we and other Western countries

⁸⁸ Ibid.

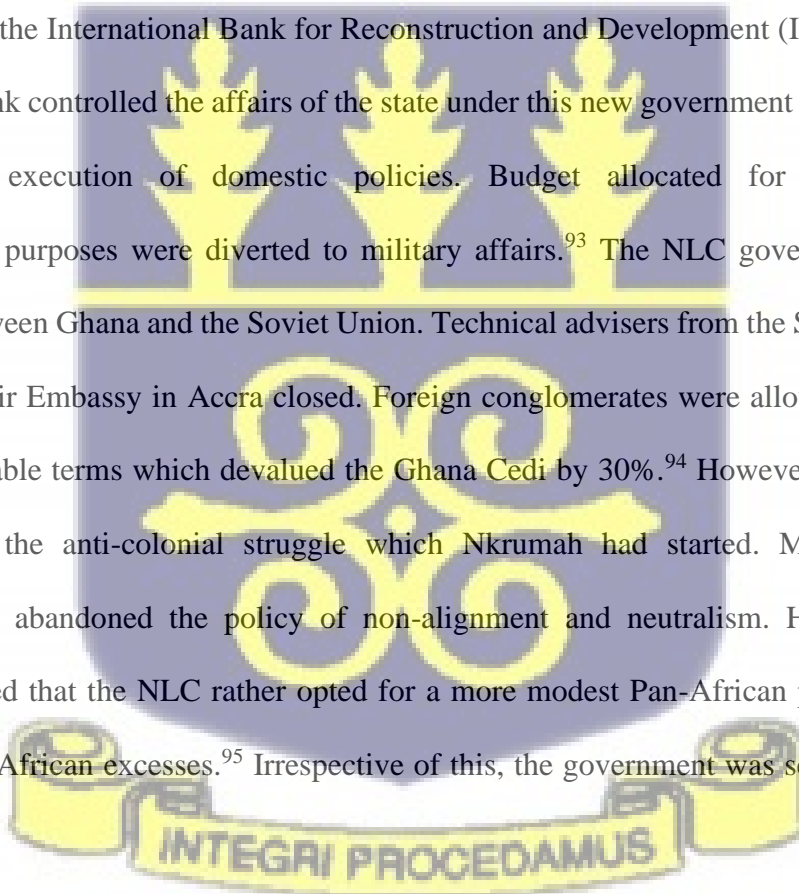
⁸⁹ Boafo-Arthur, K. (1989) Trends in Ghana's foreign policy after Nkrumah, in E. Hansen and K. Ninsin (Eds.), *The State Development and Politics in Ghana*. Dakar: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). 137-162.

⁹⁰ Mwakikagile, G. (2015). *Western involvement in Nkrumah's downfall*. New Africa Press.

⁹¹ Ibid.

(including France) have been helping to set up the situation by ignoring Nkrumah's pleas for economic aid. The new OCAM (Francophone) group's refusal to attend any OAU meeting in Accra (because of Nkrumah's plotting) will further isolate him. All in all, looks good. Robert W. Komer, Memorandum to McGeorge Bundy, May 27, 1965

The deteriorating economic conditions coupled with the people's agitation for better living conditions also created a loophole that proved possibility of an overthrow. The West realizing this gave their support to any group of persons ready to overthrow Nkrumah's administration, with the intention that the new government will govern Ghana through their lens.⁹² The socioeconomic recession, the sluggish growth and impoverishment of the state made it impossible for the country to make independent foreign policies devoid of external influence. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) also known as the World Bank controlled the affairs of the state under this new government in terms of budget allocation and execution of domestic policies. Budget allocated for agricultural and industrialization purposes were diverted to military affairs.⁹³ The NLC government ended the relationship between Ghana and the Soviet Union. Technical advisers from the Soviet Union were expelled and their Embassy in Accra closed. Foreign conglomerates were allowed to operate on extremely favorable terms which devalued the Ghana Cedi by 30%.⁹⁴ However, the government continued with the anti-colonial struggle which Nkrumah had started. Many claimed the government had abandoned the policy of non-alignment and neutralism. However, William Gutteridge argued that the NLC rather opted for a more modest Pan-African policies following Nkrumah's Pan-African excesses.⁹⁵ Irrespective of this, the government was seen as a supporter



⁹² Bofo-Arthur, K. (1989) op. cit.

⁹³ Ibid, 14

⁹⁴ Chazan, N. (1983) *An Anatomy of Ghanaian Politics: Managing Political Recession, 1969–1982* Boulder: Westview Press

⁹⁵ Ibid.

of the colonialists when they halted freedom fighters across the continent from meeting and organizing from the country.⁹⁶ According to K. B. Asante, the administration did not place so much importance on foreign policy because of the domestic issues such as decline in the standard of living of the people in the country.⁹⁷

2.2.2 Ghana's Foreign Policy under the Second Republic

2.2.2.1 Foreign Policy under the Progress Party (PP)

In 1969, the regime underwent a carefully managed transition to civilian rule. Elections held on 29th August, 1969 inaugurated a new government led by the NLC's chosen successor, Kofi Abrefa Busia of the Progress Party and this began the journey of the state's second republic.⁹⁸ While in power, Busia endorsed the principle of Non-Alignment and positive neutrality. That is, the support of peace and absence of tension. However, his relationship with the West was stronger than it was with the East.⁹⁹ Victor Owusu, then Foreign Minister stated that Busia's administration was not blindly pro-West. In his argument, relations with the West had improved better than under the NLC. Relations with China was also re-established, arguing that the absence of China in the UN was a travesty.¹⁰⁰ Busia like Nkrumah, supported the formation of the OAU, although he was not as radical as Nkrumah. His conservative personality influenced his option for functional cooperation at the regional level first before extending it to involve the whole continent. This was in contrast to the radical approach suggested by Nkrumah. Busia relied principally on the



⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 14

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 13

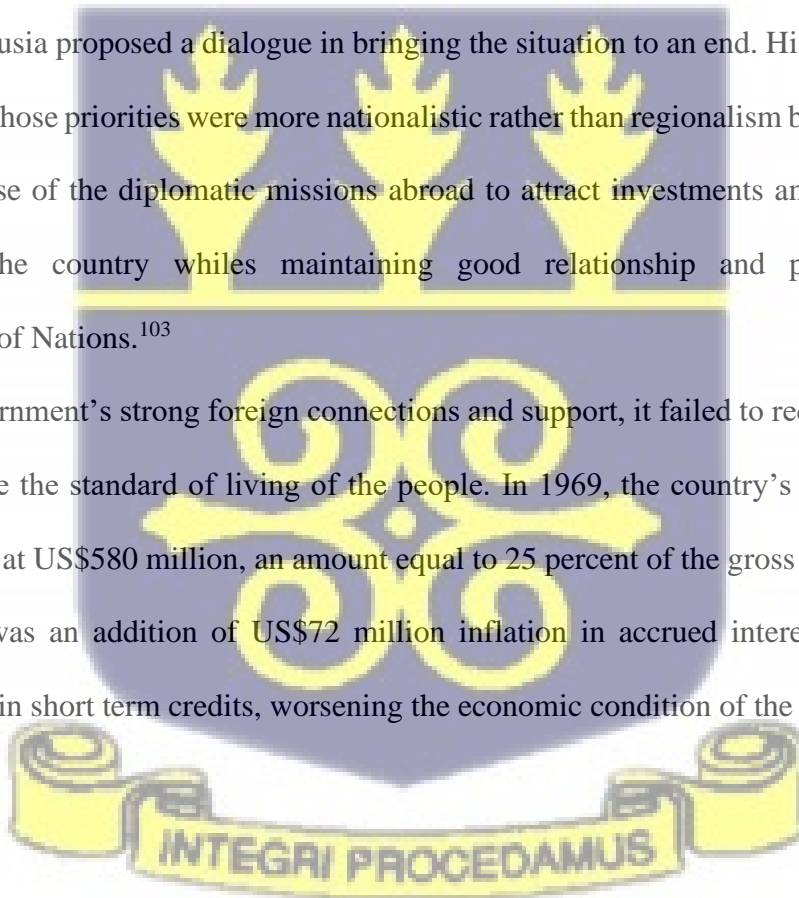
⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 14

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

mobilization of the country's internal resources such as the minerals and human capital. His government however believed that mobilization should be supplemented with substantial foreign economic cooperation to raise the living standard of the people. In his quest to stabilize the economic situation of the country, he adopted the policy of the Alien Compliance Order. The policy saw the deportation of half a million Nigerian citizens Ghana who were accumulating wealth at the expense of the nation's resource. To him, the survival of the black man should be achieved by countries individually and so each state had to provide for their own citizens.¹⁰¹

Moreover, his policy concerning the apartheid situation in Southern Africa made him very unpopular among his African counterparts. While Nkrumah had opted for an armed confrontation with the issue, Busia proposed a dialogue in bringing the situation to an end. His choice identified him as a leader whose priorities were more nationalistic rather than regionalism based.¹⁰² However, he made good use of the diplomatic missions abroad to attract investments and other economic ventures into the country while maintaining good relationship and policies with the Commonwealth of Nations.¹⁰³

Despite the government's strong foreign connections and support, it failed to reduce the country's debt nor improve the standard of living of the people. In 1969, the country's medium and long term debts stood at US\$580 million, an amount equal to 25 percent of the gross domestic product. In 1971, there was an addition of US\$72 million inflation in accrued interest payments with US\$296 million in short term credits, worsening the economic condition of the country.¹⁰⁴



¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Akokpari, J. (2005). Ghana: Economic Dependence and Marginalized Foreign Policy-Making. *Diplomacy and Developing Nations: Post-Cold War Foreign Policy-Making Structures and Process*, 181-199.

2.2.2.2 Foreign Policy under the National Redemption Council (NRC) and the Supreme Military Council (SMC)

The incoming National Redemption Council (NRC) seized power through a bloodless coup led by Col. Ignatius Kutu Acheampong against the democratically-elected Progress Party on January 12, 1972. The coup took place while Busia was in the United Kingdom for medical attention. The constitution was suspended and all political parties were banned. One of the leading causative factor of the coup had been the currency devaluations that had taken place under the PP regime.¹⁰⁵ According to Scott Thompson, the overthrow of the PP government revealed that Ghana was no longer the pacesetter in Africa's search for workable political institutions since both the radical left and the conservative right had failed in their administrations.¹⁰⁶ Upon assumption of power, the NRC had embarked on the continuation of Nkrumah's foreign policies. The administration pursued a vigorous and dynamic African policy which included fostering of the close and cordial relations with African states. They also pursued a vigorous support of the eradication of the last remnants of colonialism. While Busia preferred a dialogue with colonial masters to abolish apartheid, Acheampong vied for a radical approach towards its elimination as Nkrumah.¹⁰⁷ The NRC subscribed unreservedly to the Charter of the OAU. Like the CPP, the NRC supported the ideals of the OAU in its efforts to unite the entire continent and to empower Africans in political, economic and social fields which will put Africa on the world stage. The government

¹⁰⁵ Owusu, M. (1975). Economic Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and the Military: Ghana's National Redemption Council. *Africa Today*, 22(1), 31-50.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 1

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 21

diligently followed the policies of the NAM, ensuring that their policies did not create enmity with any of the blocs. It supported NAM, the UN and the Commonwealth, alongside other international institutions that were involved with matters of Ghana's interest.¹⁰⁸ Ghana took a leading part in the formulation of the first Lomé Convention which came into force in 1976. The Convention provided a new framework of cooperation between the then European Economic Community (EEC), (now the European Union (EU)) and developing African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries. It adopted the regional cooperation policy of Busia and encouraged the formation of the ECOWAS, a West African sub-regional union that was aimed at fostering interstate economic and political cooperation. The then Nigerian Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon and his Togolese counterpart Gnassingbe Eyadema toured the sub-region in soliciting support from West African states for the integration idea. This led to the establishment of the 1975 Lagos Treaty through which the ECOWAS was established. Though the Lagos Treaty was initially geared towards an economic initiative, subsequent political events led to its revision, thereby handling other issues such as political unrest in member states.¹⁰⁹

The NRC also built and maintained good relationship with the West African community, promoting and ensuring peace and unity in the sub-region. The NRC's foreign policy led to the administration adopting the Debt Repudiation Policy popularly known as the "Yentua Policy". This was a unilateral decision and an anti-Western behavior against Western creditors whom the Ghanaian government headed by the previous government owed loans. The NRC embarked on this initiative on the basis that the loans collected by the previous government was tainted with corruption and that 10% kickbacks of those loans inflated contract prices.¹¹⁰ It also argued that the

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 14

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

loans were not used for the purposes for which they were loaned. The NRC secured a 5-year grace period to pay back loans while outstanding debts contracted by previous administrations were given 28 years to be paid back. This made it possible for the government to retain some money for internal developments such as: Kpone Water Works, Kaneshie Market Complex, Tamale Teaching Hospital, Madina Estate and the Dansoman Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT) Flats.¹¹¹ In 1975, the NRC changed name to the Supreme Military Council (SMC). However, the SMC was divided into two eras, the first era SMC I was still headed by Colonel I.K Acheampong while the second era, SMC II was headed by Lieutenant Fred W. K Akuffo.¹¹² The council continued with the policies of the NRC government.¹¹³

2.2.2.3 *Foreign Policy under the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC)*

On June 4th 1979, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) overthrew Lt. Akuffo's SMC II from power through a coup d'état led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings and young commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the army and the police force.¹¹⁴

Upon assumption of power, the AFRC engaged mostly in domestic issues such as the fight against corruption. The coup was influenced by the mismanagement and corruption by the SMC government. The Flt. Lt. Rawlings-led administration engaged in a Popular Revolution or House-Cleansing which saw the execution of Gen. Akuffo and Gen. Acheampong along with five other senior officers deemed to have been found guilty of corruption. Numerous private entrepreneurs also had their properties tainted with corruption and as such had them confiscated.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 13

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Adedeji, J. (2001) The legacy of J. J. Rawlings in Ghanaian politics, 1979–2000, *African Studies Quarterly*, 5(2), 1–27

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

The AFRC conducted a couple of international activities. The execution of Gen. Akuffo created a sour relationship between Ghana and Nigeria. The then Head of State, Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo considered Gen. Akuffo a brother. This resulted in the government of Nigeria supporting Ghana with fuel and finances. After his execution, fuel supply and financial aid from Nigeria ceased. Prince Charles of the United Kingdom also pleaded mercy for Akuffo's life but it fell on deaf ears. In September the same year, Rawlings attended the Non-Aligned Summit in Cuba and used the platform to discuss the revolutionary aspirations of the AFRC to the Movement.¹¹⁶

Three months later, the AFRC allowed for the already scheduled elections to take place. Power was handed over to the Peoples' National Party (PNP) led by Dr. Hilla Limann who won the elections with 62.0% in a run-off against the Popular Front Party's Victor Owusu who finished off with 38% votes.¹¹⁷

2.2.3 Ghana's Foreign Policy under the Third Republic

2.2.3.1 Foreign Policy Under the People's National Party (PNP)

Dr. Hilla Limann on 24th September, 1979 assumed office on the ticket of the PNP. The PNP was the only constitutionally elected government of the Third Republic. He worked as the Head of the Europe Desk at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ghana, between 1965 and 1968 and was a member of the Constitution Commission of the 1969 Constitution. Limann was an economic moderate and supported democratic values and Pan-Africanism.¹¹⁸ He was acknowledged as a successor to Nkrumah, and followed Nkrumah's foreign policies. If there was any government that had brought

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Damwah, A. K. (2011). *Dr. Hilla Limann 1934–1998: His life and times* (Doctoral dissertation, university of cape coast).

hopes to the country before its assumption of power, it was the PNP. This was because of the array of challenges, such as the suspension of international credit, a standstill of international trade, high unemployment rate, rapidly depreciating currency and low morale of nationals, among many others in the country. The Limann-led administration was expected to put the country back into normalcy. It employed regional integration to boost socioeconomic development through trade, partnerships, bilateral and multilateral cooperation. It sought foreign investors for the country. To win over investors, the administration paid off Ghana's outstanding debts on schedule, instituted a 108 investment code, and showed the government's preparedness to pay off short-term debts. This strategy opened international credit lines again and attracted foreign investors for the country. The government reduced the country's debts by \$165million within a year, while 109 imports were stream-lined to prevent accumulation of repayment arrears by settling all input import payments on due dates. These efforts made it possible for the country to be trusted again by foreign creditors.¹¹⁹ By 1980, foreign creditors in total had loaned \$812.59million to the country for its developmental activities. The government set up an Investment Task Force in April, 1980 headed by E. F. Anno to lobby for foreign investment.¹²⁰ In his bid to encourage foreign investment, he said

Unless large amounts of external capital can be attracted into Ghana within a reasonable short time, our current effort at economic recovery cannot succeed. Consequently, everything possible should be done to create the right kind of climate and give Ghana the kind of image that will attract foreign investors and inspire international confidence generally in the country.¹²¹

The main focus of Limann's administration was to foster a cordial relationship with all countries irrespective of the varying political ideologies. This was to restore Ghana's image and influence in the world to promote the national interests of the country. To do this, Dr. Limann embarked on

¹¹⁹ Ibid

¹²⁰ Ibid., p.14

¹²¹ Ibid, 43

a “fence-mending” goodwill tour around neighboring countries to promote good neighborliness. He also visited Burkina Faso to revive the good relationship the two countries had under Nkrumah and Sekou Toure.¹²²

The government took an active role in the ECOWAS and OAU after several years of the nation’s absence in activities of the organizations, by attending summits of the unions. This is evident in Limann’s attendance of the first OAU Economic Summit in Lome, Togo, and the Assembly of Heads of States of the OAU in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Since one of his objectives was to foster unity and solidarity within the African continent, he ensured to strengthen good relations with all members of the OAU.¹²³ In addition, he extended his visits to Europe where he visited Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Yugoslavia and Romania. His visits resulted in benefits like clarifying the economic perception and misunderstanding of Ghana’s economic situations, bilateral cooperation and substantial increase in the British Export Credit of 40million Pounds Sterling. Also, the Federal Republic of Germany agreed on a loan of 40million Deutche Marks (DM40m) for Ghana.¹²⁴

Limann diverted from the traditional South-North cooperation to South-South approach ensuring cooperation with the then Third World countries with resources and expertise. His Vice- President Dr. J. W.S de Graft Johnson led a delegation to the headquarters of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in Vienna and to the Gulf States, thus Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. This also resulted in financial support for the Kpong Hydro-electric Dam. He also built a relationship with India which earned the country a loan of \$6.5 million to acquire Tata Buses to aid commercial

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

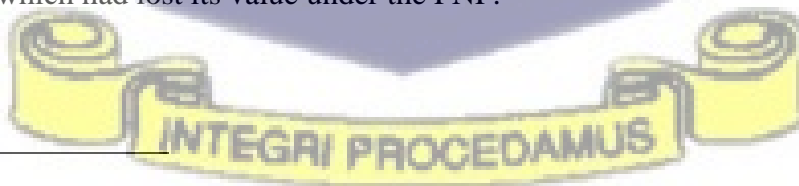
transport in the country, \$8.5m for Housing and Construction, and \$8.5million for small-scale agricultural and cottage industries.¹²⁵

From his foreign policies, it can be concluded that Limann's international objectives consisted of strands of Pan-Africanism started by Nkrumah at Ghana's independence that he modified to suit his developmental strategies for the country.¹²⁶ Yet again, Akokpari argues that from the international activities of the PNP, it can be concluded that the foreign policy direction of the PNP was pro-West.¹²⁷

The Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) led by Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings on 31st December 1981 overthrew the PNP government on the claims that the government failed to safeguard the ideals of the June 4th Uprising. The PNDC argued that the reason for the June 4th overthrow of the SMC II was to bring an end to corruption and abuse of power that had been characterized by the Akuffo-led administration. However, the PNP government exhibited the same characteristics hence the need for the overthrow.¹²⁸

2.2.3.2 Foreign Policy of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC)

The main objectives of the PNDC were to curtail the economic decay of the country, stabilise the economy and revive its economic growth. The overthrow of the PNP was necessary to restore effective leadership which the PNP failed to prioritize, and to revive the national economy as well as state services which had lost its value under the PNP.¹²⁹



¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

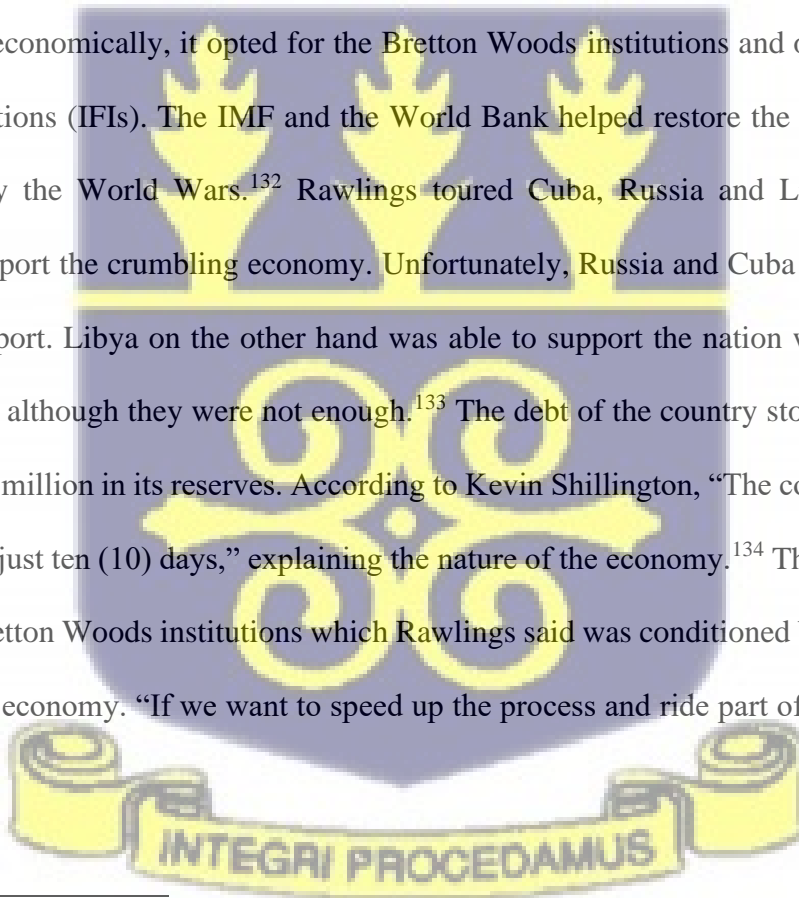
¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 14

¹²⁸ Ibid

¹²⁹ Bofo-Arthur, K. (1999a) Ghana's politics of international economic relations under the PNDC, 1982–1992, *African Study Monograph*, 20(2), 73–98

The PNDC in 1983 largely embarked on radical economic foreign policy and focused on investment policies and international trade.¹³⁰ They also focused on the elimination of colonialism and imperialism, promotion of African unity, and support of international organizations like the UN and the Non-Aligned Movement. Like Nkrumah and the CPP, the PNDC denounced American imperialism and neocolonialism whiles declaring socialist countries like Cuba, Libya and Russia the true friends of Africa. The government restored the Diplomatic Relations with Libya that had been ruptured by Limann's alleged intervention of Libya in Ghana's domestic affairs in the 1980's.¹³¹

Initially, the regime was aligned with socialist principles but after its socialist friends had failed to help the PNDC economically, it opted for the Bretton Woods institutions and other International Financial Institutions (IFIs). The IMF and the World Bank helped restore the economy that had been affected by the World Wars.¹³² Rawlings toured Cuba, Russia and Libya for financial assistance to support the crumbling economy. Unfortunately, Russia and Cuba could not provide any form of support. Libya on the other hand was able to support the nation with crude oil and medical supplies although they were not enough.¹³³ The debt of the country stood at \$348million whiles it had \$33million in its reserves. According to Kevin Shillington, "The country had enough maize to last for just ten (10) days," explaining the nature of the economy.¹³⁴ The situation led the regime to the Bretton Woods institutions which Rawlings said was conditioned by realism and the hard facts of the economy. "If we want to speed up the process and ride part of the way in a bus,



¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid .

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Shillington, K. (1992) *Ghana and the Rawlings Factor*. New York: St. Martin's Press

then we must pay the fare.”¹³⁵ The nation received \$6billion from the IMF and was able to pay \$600million of its debts in 1990.¹³⁶

The loans from the IMF came with policies and programs which the PNDC had to explore. The PNDC was regarded as a student of the IMF. The policies included the Economic Recovery Plan (ERP) under the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) which was geared towards making economic changes of governments of developing countries. It included identifying sectors which needed immediate attention and investment. The ERP was to reverse Ghana’s collapsed economy and subsequently revive the financial health of the country to generate positive economic growth.¹³⁷

In terms of support for international organizations, the regime continued to support the Non-Aligned Movement as it had done during the AFRC regime. The regime also championed the cause of South-South cooperation by reaching out to the revolutionary governments in Latin America. It established relationship with Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua.¹³⁸ The PNDC government after the death of Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso, trumped the revolutionary policy and embraced peace and cooperation. The regime re-affirmed its commitment to the OAU and lent \$5million to the organization in 1986 to support southern states to reduce dependence on the racist Apartheid regime. It also gave \$500,000 to support OAU’s Emergency Fund for Draught and Famine in Africa. By ensuring the promotion of freedom and independence for African states, Rawlings supported the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO) of South West Africa, in their liberalization efforts from South Africa. This was after a 1966 UN Order to withdraw from the



¹³⁵ Ibid.

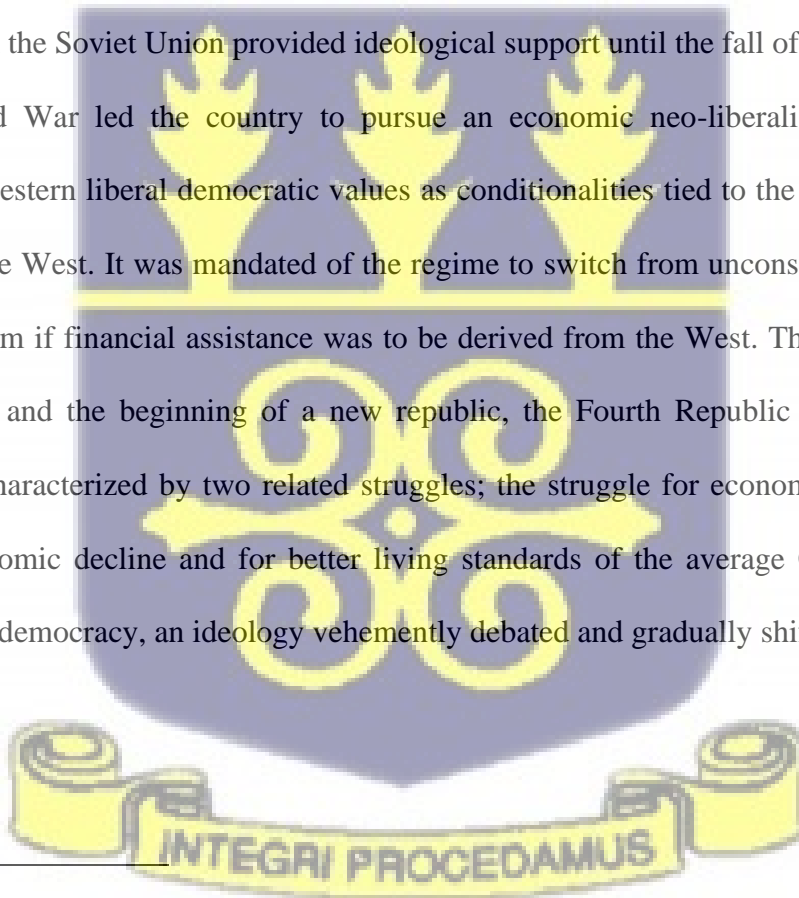
¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 44

¹³⁷ Ibid

¹³⁸ Agyeman-Dua, B. (1987) Ghana, 1982–6: the politics of the P.N.D.C, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 25(4), 613–642

trust territory but South Africa refused. It led to a radical approach and a quest for freedom for which Rawlings, a revolutionary, social justice and a freedom fighter could not look past, hence his support.¹³⁹ The PNDC supported the African National Party (ANC) in their protest against the racial discrimination and systematic oppression of black people in South Africa. Many years of protest and struggle which caused millions of black lives finally saw the abolishing of the apartheid system through series of negotiations between 1990 and 1993.¹⁴⁰

The hostile bipolar international environment restrained the regime's loyalty to a particular bloc. However, the regime used a pragmatic approach to deal with both blocs so as to continue enjoying assistance from both parties. The regime leaned on the West for economic assistance while its relationship with the Soviet Union provided ideological support until the fall of the Union.¹⁴¹ The end of the Cold War led the country to pursue an economic neo-liberalism and universal acceptance of Western liberal democratic values as conditionalities tied to the funds the country received from the West. It was mandated of the regime to switch from unconstitutional rule to a democratic system if financial assistance was to be derived from the West. This led to the 1992 general election and the beginning of a new republic, the Fourth Republic of Ghana.¹⁴² The transition was characterized by two related struggles; the struggle for economic recovery from decades of economic decline and for better living standards of the average Ghanaian and the struggle for true democracy, an ideology vehemently debated and gradually shifted over time.¹⁴³



¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Bofo-Arthur, K. (1993) Ghana's external relations since 31 December 1981, in E. Gyimah-Boadi (Ed.), *Ghana Under the PNDC Rule*.

¹⁴² Ibid..

¹⁴³ Ibid.

2.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, as revealed in the preceding discussion, Ghana's foreign policy since independence has been shaped by the complex interactions of domestic and external factors. Through the foreign policy directions of the various governments, the country has either enjoyed some level of socioeconomic growth or suffered from the decline of socioeconomic development as a result of the decisions of the leaders. Regardless, it is possible to agree with Akokpari who argues that the ideological Cold War politics greatly shaped the foreign policy directions of most governments, irrespective of the country's Non-Alignment affiliation.¹⁴⁴



¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 14

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF GHANA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN ITS SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE FOURTH REPUBLIC FROM 1993 TO 2008

3.0 Introduction

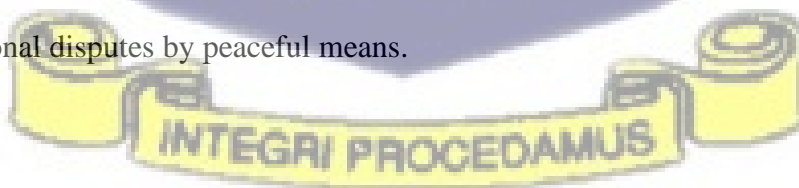
Foreign policy has been used since independence by various governments to promote Ghana's socioeconomic development.¹⁴⁵ Foreign policy is the extension of domestic policy on the international scene.¹⁴⁶ The benefits derived from partnerships, cooperation, bilateral and multilateral negotiations with other countries are used to upgrade the welfare of citizens and to ensure that every citizen gets a share of the national cake. Foreign policy plays a significant role in Ghana's socioeconomic development, as it was evident with the various regimes from independence to the Fourth Republic.¹⁴⁷ For this reason, this chapter highlights and compares the impact of its foreign policies on its socioeconomic developments between 1993 and 2008 under the NDC and the NPP regimes.

Article 40 of Ghana's Constitution states the country's foreign policy agenda under the Fourth Republic 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 interest for international law, treaty obligation and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.



¹⁴⁵ Siaw, K. E. (2015). *Change and Continuity in Ghana's Foreign Policy: Focus on Economic Diplomacy and Good Neighbourliness under Rawlings and Kufuor* (MA dissertation, University of Ghana).

¹⁴⁶ Asare, D. B. (2020) Personal Communication

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

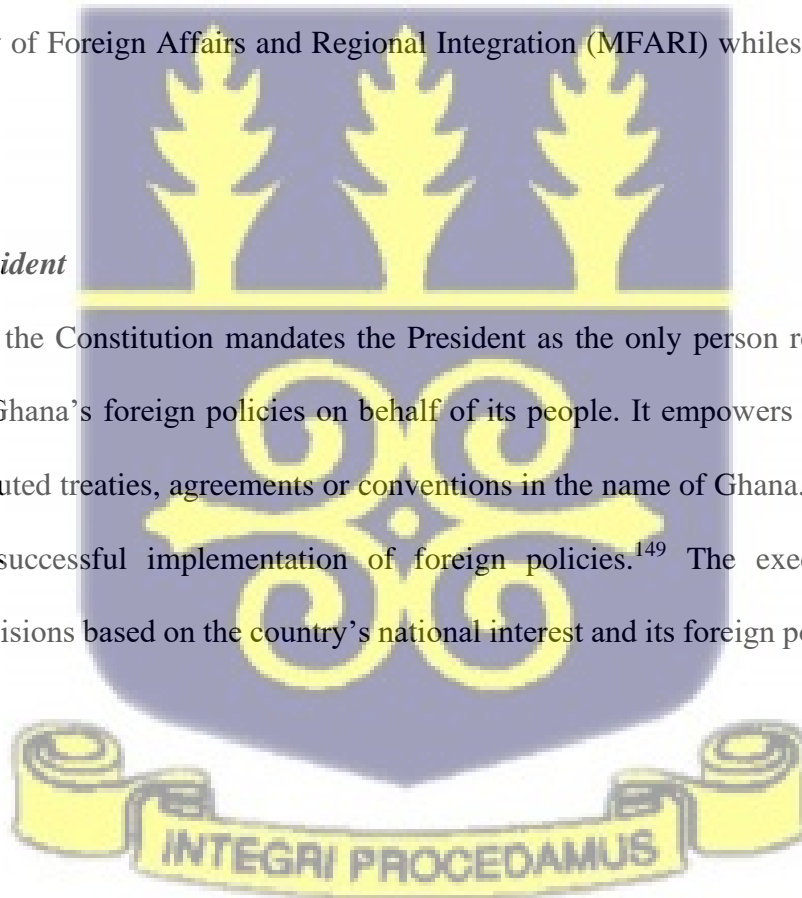
Adherence to the principles enshrined in, or as the case may be, the ideals of: The Charter of the United Nations; the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (now the Constitutive Act of the African Union); the Commonwealth, the Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); and many other international organizations of which Ghana is a member.”¹⁴⁸

3.1 Actors Involved in the Implementation of Ghana’s Foreign Policy

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana outlines the actors responsible for Ghana’s international decision making. These include the Executive and the Legislature. The Executive consist of the President and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI) while the Legislature is the Parliament.

3.1.1 The President

Article 75(1) of the Constitution mandates the President as the only person responsible for the formulation of Ghana’s foreign policies on behalf of its people. It empowers him to execute or cause to be executed treaties, agreements or conventions in the name of Ghana. It is also his duty to see to the successful implementation of foreign policies.¹⁴⁹ The executive also takes international decisions based on the country’s national interest and its foreign policies stated in its manifesto.



¹⁴⁸ 1992 Constitution of Ghana

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

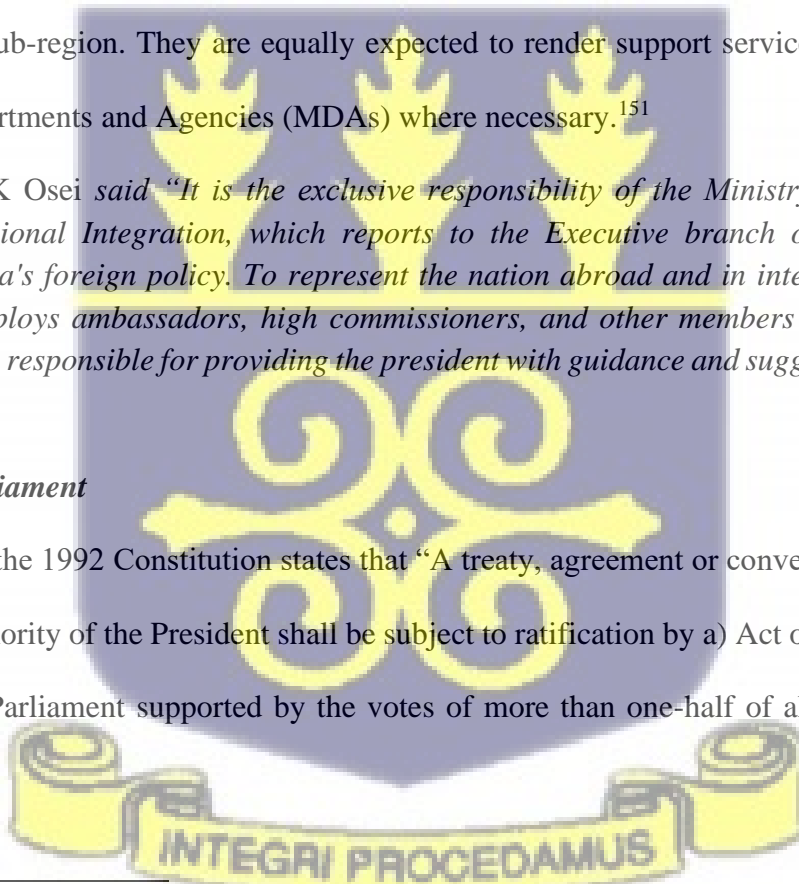
3.1.2 *The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration*

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration under the Executive arm of government is the central pillar and the only umbrella responsible for the implementation of the Ghana's foreign policies.¹⁵⁰ The Ministry is made up of ambassadors, high commissioners and Foreign Service officers who represent the country in other countries and at international organizations. Their duties include advising, assisting and making recommendations to the president in relation to the formulation and implementation of foreign policies. They also promote friendly relations between Ghana and other nation's whiles encouraging economic cooperation between them. By virtue of their membership with ECOWAS, they are expected to promote and maintain peace and stability in the sub-region. They are equally expected to render support services to international Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) where necessary.¹⁵¹

Ambassador D.K Osei said *"It is the exclusive responsibility of the Ministry of International Affairs and Regional Integration, which reports to the Executive branch of government, to implement Ghana's foreign policy. To represent the nation abroad and in international forums, the Ministry employs ambassadors, high commissioners, and other members of the diplomatic service. They are responsible for providing the president with guidance and suggestions on foreign policy matters"*

3.1.3 *The Parliament*

Article 75(2) of the 1992 Constitution states that "A treaty, agreement or convention executed by or under the authority of the President shall be subject to ratification by a) Act of Parliament or b) a resolution of Parliament supported by the votes of more than one-half of all the members of



¹⁵⁰ Bluwey, G. K. (2002). Foreign Policy and Decision-making Process in Ghana: Issues, Ground Rules and Actors. *University of Ghana, Legon Centre for International Affairs, eds. Ghana's Foreign Policy Options. Accra: Legon Centre for International Affairs, University of Ghana, 43-53.*

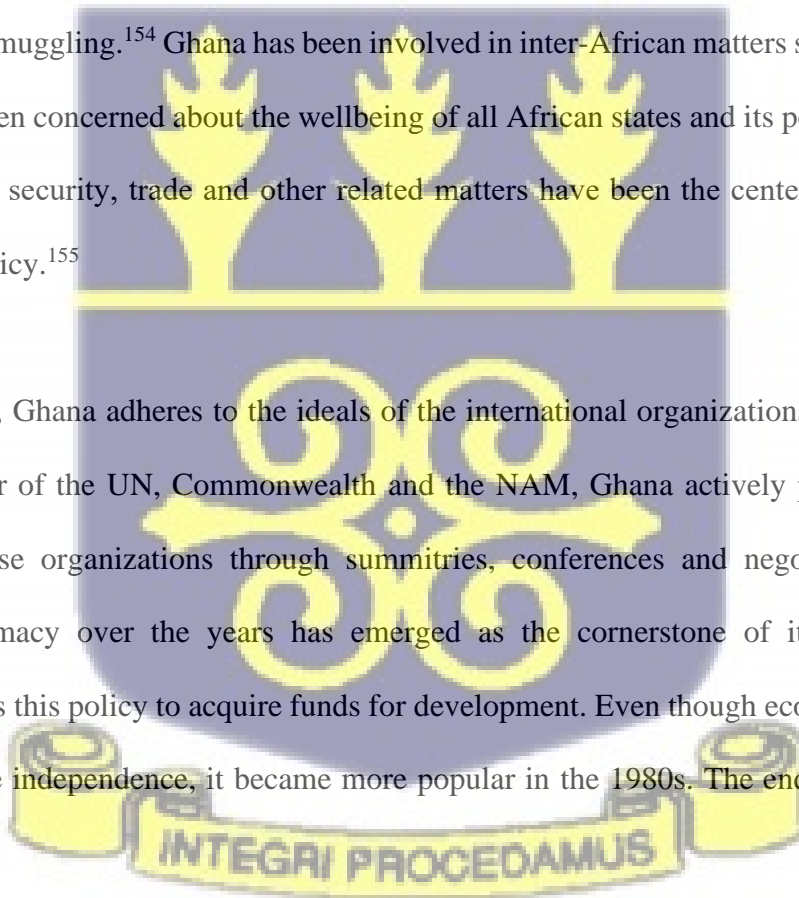
¹⁵¹ Mbaporkar, M (2015) An Assessment of the Challenges in the Implementation of Ghana's Foreign Policy Under the Fourth Republic (1993-2015) MA Dissertation. Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) University of Ghana, Legon

Parliament”.¹⁵² The parliament plays an oversight responsibility in the country’s foreign policy formulation and implementation. They are also vested with the power to determine the budget and allocate funds for the implementation of the foreign policies.¹⁵³

3.2 The Foundation of Ghana’s Foreign Policy

Ghana’s foreign policy is founded on four fundamental elements. They include promoting good neighborliness, inter-African relations, extra-African diplomatic relations and economic diplomacy. Ghana uses the policy of good neighborliness to promote cooperation and harmonious living with her neighbors. This helps in resolving territorial disputes and addressing other border challenges like smuggling.¹⁵⁴ Ghana has been involved in inter-African matters since the Nkrumah regime. It has been concerned about the wellbeing of all African states and its people. Continental unity, peace and security, trade and other related matters have been the centerpiece of Ghana’s inter-African policy.¹⁵⁵

As stated earlier, Ghana adheres to the ideals of the international organizations she is a member of. As a member of the UN, Commonwealth and the NAM, Ghana actively participates in the activities of these organizations through summitries, conferences and negotiations. Ghana’s economic diplomacy over the years has emerged as the cornerstone of its foreign policy. Government uses this policy to acquire funds for development. Even though economic diplomacy has existed since independence, it became more popular in the 1980s. The end of the Cold War



¹⁵² Ibid., p.4

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p.1

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

and globalization played a significant role in propelling the apex of economic diplomacy in Ghana's foreign policy.¹⁵⁶

Mr. Maxwell Osei-Kusi confirms that foreign policy in Ghana is predicated on four pillars. Among them are efforts to foster good neighborliness, diplomatic ties within Africa, and connections with countries outside of Africa, and trade and investment negotiations. To encourage neighborly cooperation and peaceful coexistence, Ghana employs a policy of good neighborliness. This is useful for settling border disputes and combating issues like smuggling.

3.3 The National Interest of Ghana

Ghana's foreign policy is driven by its national interest. National Interest is the promotion of political, economic, social and cultural wellbeing of the state and its people. From a security perspective, it is the protection of the borders of the state. This means that, decisions and goals pursued internationally by the government are done to directly and indirectly serve the aspirations of the people of Ghana while protecting them from attack.¹⁵⁷ The aspirations of the people of Ghana can be categorized into four, namely political aspirations, economic aspirations, social aspirations and cultural aspirations. These come together to fulfil the needs and desires of the people of Ghana to guarantee their satisfaction and happiness.

3.3.1 Political Aspirations

Article 35(1) of the 1992 Constitution states that "Ghana shall be a democratic state dedicated to the realization of freedom and justice; and accordingly, sovereignty resides in the people of Ghana from whom Government derives all its power and authority through this Constitution. In Article 35(2), it says "The state shall protect and safeguard the independence, unity and territorial integrity

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 1

of Ghana, and shall seek the well-being of all her citizens”.¹⁵⁸ These make up the political aspirations of Ghana’s national interest.¹⁵⁹

3.3.2 Economic Aspirations

The economic aspirations of the people comprise of the equal opportunities given to individuals to initiate and create economic activities in an enabling environment. This is affirmed by the Constitution in Article 36(1) which states that “The state shall take all necessary actions to ensure that the national economy is managed in such a manner as to maximize the rate of economic development to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every person in Ghana and to provide adequate means of livelihood and suitable employment and public assistance to the needy.”¹⁶⁰ This confirms development theory, which claims that progress is linear and development is curvilinear. In modern thinking and economies, Pieterse also argues that development is affiliated to economic growth, as in economic theory and the Big Push Theory. Again, he argues that the alternative modern understanding and definition of development is the societal and community growth as well as “human flourishing”.

Despite the varying views of the scholars on development, it is obvious that development is a solution to backwardness and the promotion of growth and improvement of the society and the individuals living in it. These features help to better appreciate the concept of development.

3.3.3 Social Aspirations

With social aspirations, Article 37(1) says “The state shall endeavor to secure and protect a social order founded on the ideals and principles of freedom, equality, justice, probity and accountability

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 4

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

as enshrined in Chapter 5 of the Constitution; and in particular, the state shall direct its policy towards ensuring that every citizen has equality of rights, obligations and opportunities.”¹⁶¹

3.3.4 Cultural Aspirations

Cultural aspirations include the protection of historical values and artefacts of the people, the development of norms as an integral part of the growing needs of the people. Article 39(1) says that “Subject to clause (2) of this article, the state shall take steps to encourage the integration of appropriate customary values into the fabric of national life through formal and informal education and the conscious introduction of cultural dimensions to relevant aspects of national planning”.¹⁶²

In clause 3, it adds that “The state shall foster the development of Ghanaian languages and pride in Ghanaian culture”.¹⁶³ This is to ensure preservation in the midst of integration of other appropriate culture into the Ghanaian culture.

3.4 Determinants of Ghana’s Foreign Policy

Ghana’s foreign policy is determined by a number of factors. These determinants are taken into consideration when formulating policies due to their ability to endanger or protect the state and its citizens during the implementation of the policies. These factors determine the scope of a state’s foreign policy. The determinants are grouped under two categories, that is, domestic and international determinants.¹⁶⁴

3.4.1 Domestic Determinants



¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Anku, J.H (2012). Major Actors in Ghana’s Foreign Policy Making: An Appraisal (Masters Dissertation, University of Ghana, Legon)

Domestic factors play key roles in the formulation of foreign policies. Henry Kissinger outlined the significance of domestic factors when he stated that “the domestic structure is not irrelevant in any historical period. At a minimum it determines the amount of social effect which can be devoted to foreign policy”.¹⁶⁵ The domestic factors include: geographical location, military capabilities, government system and the economic status of the state.

3.4.1.1 Geographical Location

The location of a state is an important factor to consider when formulating international policies. Ghana is a landlocked country bordered by three francophone countries, on the east by Togo, on the west by Cote D’Ivoire and on the north by Burkina Faso. This constrains the state to maintain friendly relations and live harmoniously with her neighbors. The country is able to make use of the seaports of its neighbors to transport goods out of and into its neighboring countries. This helps to promote cooperation and collectively resolve border issues and challenges on the sub-region.

¹⁶⁶

Mr. Ashong Lartey said “Geographic location is vital for choosing foreign policy. Ghana is surrounded by Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, and Burkina Faso. Therefore, the state must respect its neighbors and ensure regional peace. When shipping, the country may use neighboring seaports. This improves cross-border communication and helps discover answers”.

3.4.1.2 Military Capabilities

The military capabilities of the country propel it to consider diplomacy as a prudent policy option as compared military resorts. Strong military economies like the US and Britain have a high propensity to apply force in the acquisition of state goals but Ghana’s weak military strength

¹⁶⁵ Bluwey, G. K. (2002), op. cit.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

influences its unpreparedness to employ force in achieving its interests, hence the government's resort to diplomacy and negotiations on international issues.¹⁶⁷

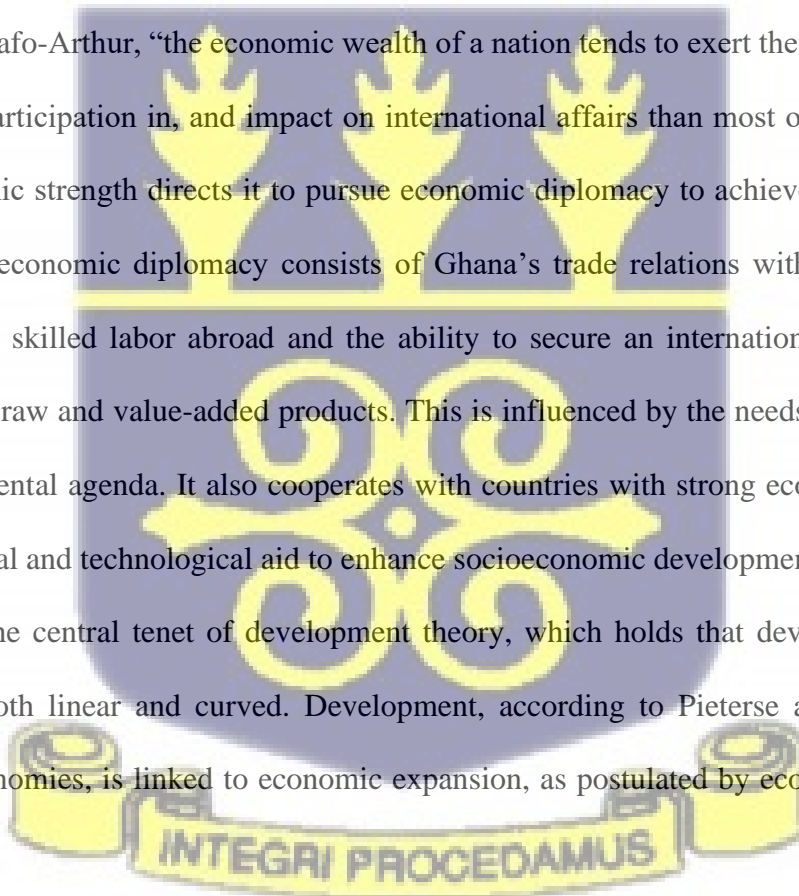
3.4.1.3 *Governmental System*

Ghana's democratic system of government allows it to formulate foreign policies based on bargaining and consensus building. It uses actors and employs various factors in the formulation process. It allows for the opinions of other actors to shape its decisions while giving a fair hearing to the actors on the opposite end of the negotiation table.¹⁶⁸

3.4.1.4 *Economic status*

According to Boafo-Arthur, "the economic wealth of a nation tends to exert the greatest influence on its level of participation in, and impact on international affairs than most other variables".¹⁶⁹ Ghana's economic strength directs it to pursue economic diplomacy to achieve its set goals and objectives. The economic diplomacy consists of Ghana's trade relations with other states, the promotion of its skilled labor abroad and the ability to secure an international market for the promotion of its raw and value-added products. This is influenced by the needs of its people and its set developmental agenda. It also cooperates with countries with strong economies to enable access to financial and technological aid to enhance socioeconomic development.¹⁷⁰

This supports the central tenet of development theory, which holds that development may be thought of as both linear and curved. Development, according to Pieterse and contemporary thought and economics, is linked to economic expansion, as postulated by economic theory and



¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Boafo-Arthur, K. (1989). Trends in Ghana's foreign policy after Nkrumah. *The State, Development, and Politics in Ghana*, 137-162.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 21

the Big Push Theory. Once again, he argues that the alternative modern view and meaning of development is the expansion of both communities and societies, and the "flourishing" of their individual members. While different academics may have different perspectives on development, we can all agree that progress toward a better society and better lives for all people is what development is all about. These additions enhance our understanding of the meaning of development.

Mr. Zakaria Issahaku buttresses Bofo-Arthur's *statement on the need for economic prosperity*. He said, *when it comes to a country's involvement and impact on international events, economic prosperity is the most important factor*.

3.4.2 International Factors

States operate within an international arena that limits the scope and nature of foreign policy choices. Ghana's international policies are sensitive to the dynamics of the international system and formulates policies in line with changes that may occur as and when the formulation is in process. The limitations may occur in the form of international law, power of other states.¹⁷¹

Mr. Dampety Asare confirms that *conducting operations within an international arena sometimes restricts the range and character of their foreign policy options*. "We may encounter barriers in the shape of international law, political constraints, or other factors", he said.

3.4.2.1 International Law

As stated earlier, Article 40(c) of Ghana's 1992 Constitution states that the government shall "promote respect for international law, treaty obligations and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means".¹⁷² The anarchic nature of the international system allows for international organizations to regulate the relations and operations of states to enhance a world

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 4

order, hence the existence of international laws.¹⁷³ Ghana's membership to these organizations places obligations on the state while it provides rights and benefits to be enjoyed as well. For instance, in Article 2(4) of the UN Charter, it says "all members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations".¹⁷⁴ This is an obligation that attracts sanctions when breached.

3.4.2.2 Power of other states

States consider the economic, military and sometimes the population of other states when formulating foreign policies. These attributes inform Ghana's foreign policy in terms of scope and nature. Ghana's foreign policy with an economically and militarily weaker state may differ from a state endowed militarily and economically. This is influenced by its needs and aspirations towards the states.¹⁷⁵

3.5 Ghana's Foreign Policy and its Impact on Socioeconomic Development Under the National Democratic Congress (NDC) 1993-2000

The fall of the Wall of Berlin in 1989 and the end of the Cold War between Eastern and Western bloc in 1991 had enormous implications on global politics and international relations. This implication transformed a bi-polar international system into a uni-polar world. It brought about a new paradigm shift in foreign policy orientations of countries, and Ghana was no exception to this.¹⁷⁶ This halted Ghana's swing between the East and the West leading to economic neo-



¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 21

¹⁷⁴ United Nations, The Charter of the United Nations, (New York, United Nations)

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 21

¹⁷⁶ Bofo-Arthur, K. (2008). *Regime Change and Foreign Policy Orientation in Ghanaian Politics: The Post-Nkrumah Years in Perspective*. University of Ghana.

liberalism and universal acceptance of Western liberal democratic values. African countries adopted these democratic values in line with the global changes and the democratic values of the West. This change was also influenced by the financial aid tied to the adoption of democracy. After the 1992 elections and victory for the NDC, the administration led by Jerry John Rawlings continued with the foreign policies of the PNDC.¹⁷⁷ As stated by Boafo-Arthur, the victory for the NDC did not endanger continuity in the foreign policy direction of the country.¹⁷⁸

The NDC government embraced democratic values and promoted the respect of human rights. This birthed the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. The Constitution set the principles and agenda of the country for its operations home and abroad. This began the Fourth Republic in the history of the nation.¹⁷⁹ According to Boafo- Arthur, the foreign policies of the NDC government witnessed continuity from the previous regime.¹⁸⁰ Under the NDC, foreign policy was mainly geared towards an African Policy and an Economic Diplomacy. Regardless, the regime implemented other policies that enhanced socioeconomic development.

Mr. Dampety Asare *again agrees with* Boafo- Arthur who concluded that “*African countries acquired these democratic principles in line with the global trends and the democratic values of the West. This transformation was also affected by the financial help connected to the acceptance of democracy. After the 1992 elections and victory for the NDC, the administration led by Jerry John Rawlings proceeded with the foreign policy of the PNDC*”.

3.5.1 Economic Diplomacy

The interaction between the NDC government and the West was primarily influenced by two reasons; to ensure access to continuous international economic aid and for the continuation of the

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

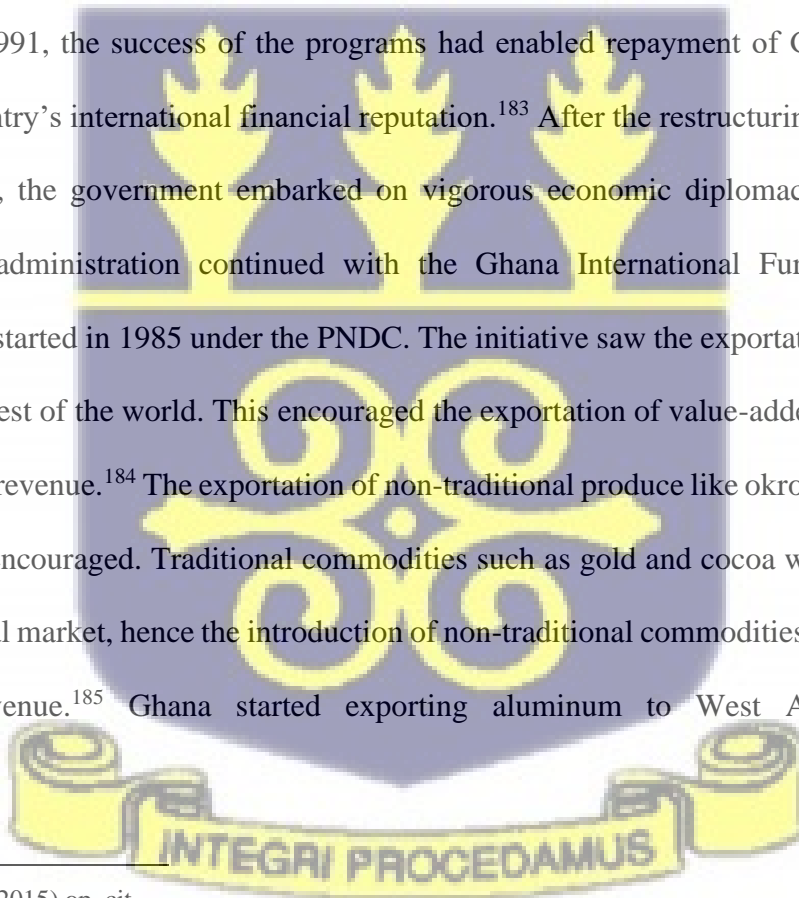
¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 32

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Boafo-Arthur, K. (1999). Ghana: Structural adjustment, democratization, and the politics of continuity. *African Studies Review*, 41-72.

balanced relations in the international community.¹⁸¹ By 1992, Rawlings had become the darling of the West and his government a student of the IMF. The Rawlings-led administration restructured the foreign ministry and posted trade and information officers abroad to secure trade and investment opportunities. This led to the creation of the Trade and Investment Bureau at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the establishment of Investment Promotion wings at foreign missions abroad.¹⁸² Antecedents before this development was the introduction of the Economic Recovery Plan (ERP) and the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) in 1983 under the guidance of the IMF and the World Bank to mitigate the country's debts and improve its trading position in the international community.

By the end of 1991, the success of the programs had enabled repayment of Ghana's loans and restored the country's international financial reputation.¹⁸³ After the restructuring of the country's foreign ministry, the government embarked on vigorous economic diplomacy to stabilize the economy. The administration continued with the Ghana International Furniture Exhibition (GIFEX) which started in 1985 under the PNDC. The initiative saw the exportation of furniture to Europe and the rest of the world. This encouraged the exportation of value-added commodities to increase foreign revenue.¹⁸⁴ The exportation of non-traditional produce like okro, cassava and shea butter was also encouraged. Traditional commodities such as gold and cocoa were already doing well on the global market, hence the introduction of non-traditional commodities as another source to increase revenue.¹⁸⁵ Ghana started exporting aluminum to West African countries.



¹⁸¹ Mbaporkar, M (2015) op. cit.

¹⁸² Ibid

¹⁸³ Sowa, N. K., Baah Nuakoh, A., Tutu, K. A., & Osei, B. (1992). *Small enterprises and adjustment: the impact of Ghana's economic recovery programme on small-scale industrial enterprises.*

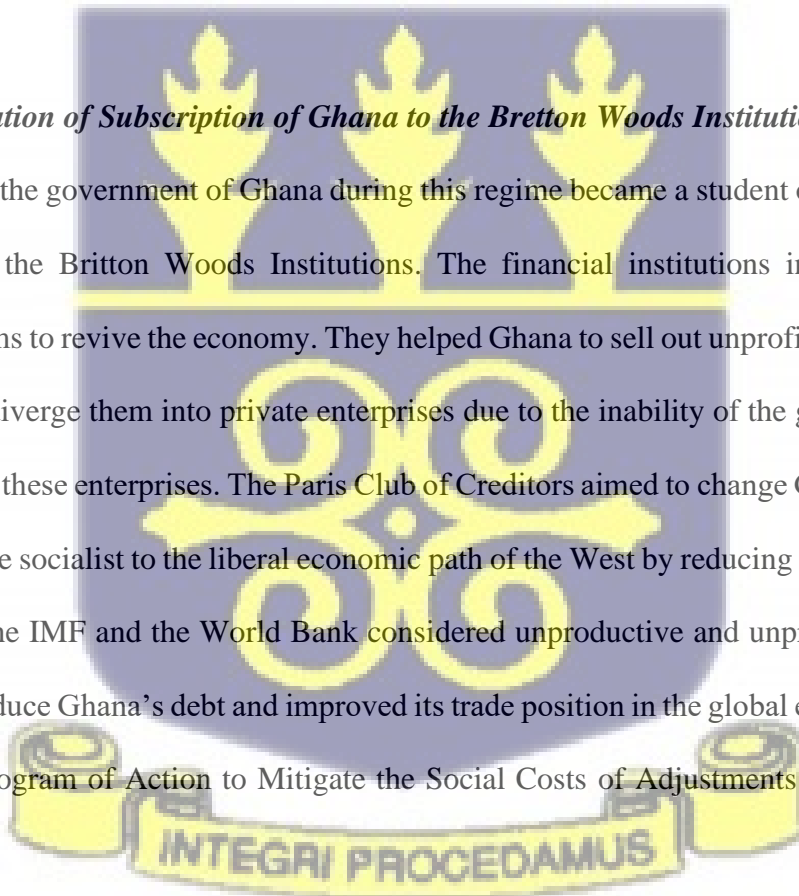
¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

US\$42million plus was generated from the exportation to Cameroon alone in Central Africa.¹⁸⁶ In the case of the African Diaspora, he began a rediscovery of the Diasporas. The Pan-African Historical Theatre Project also known as Pan-African Festival (PANAFEST) was used to promote Ghanaian tourism and products. Tourists from all walks of life attended the festival. The fairs focused on agriculture, furniture, fabrics, among many others. Tourists patronized hotels, restaurants, tourist sites and transport systems which generated foreign revenue.¹⁸⁷ According to the Ghana Export Promotion Authority (GEPA), the country generated US\$22,234,089 in tourism and US\$2.3billion in agriculture, handicrafts, semi-processed and processed products in between 1994 to 2000.¹⁸⁸

3.5.2 Continuation of Subscription of Ghana to the Bretton Woods Institutions

As stated above, the government of Ghana during this regime became a student of the IMF and the World Bank of the Britton Woods Institutions. The financial institutions introduced various recovery programs to revive the economy. They helped Ghana to sell out unprofitable State-owned enterprises and diverge them into private enterprises due to the inability of the government to run the operations of these enterprises. The Paris Club of Creditors aimed to change Ghana's economic direction from the socialist to the liberal economic path of the West by reducing state interventions in areas which the IMF and the World Bank considered unproductive and unprofitable.¹⁸⁹ These efforts helped reduce Ghana's debt and improved its trade position in the global economy. In 1993, as part of the Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustments (PAMSCAD), an



¹⁸⁶ Kpessa, M. W. (2011). Socio-economic transformation in Ghana: comparative analysis of approaches to development in the Nkrumah and Rawlings years. *Institute of African Studies Research Review*, 27(1), 1-34.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ghana Export Promotion Council, 2020

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

initiative which was to mitigate the social effects of adjustments, Gh10billion was allocated for the rehabilitation of social infrastructure. The program improved water supply, sanitation, primary education and health care. An additional 51billion Cedis was set aside for redeployment and end of service benefits for those who had lost their jobs in civil service and parastatal organizations.¹⁹⁰

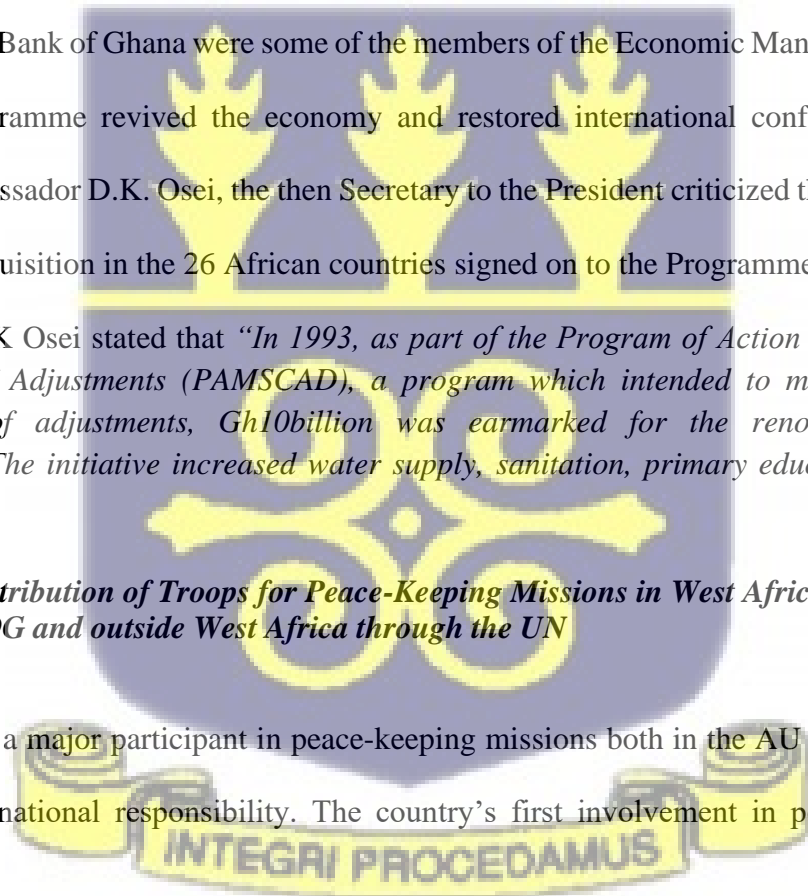
The government revised existing laws to encourage private investment. It restructured state enterprises and broadened the scope of banking sectors. It also liberalized the administrative framework and strengthened public sector management. Basic education and primary health-care were to receive attention over the long period as well.¹⁹¹ Dr. Kwasi Botchwey, the then Minister of Finance, Dr. Joe Abbey, the late Kenneth Dadzie, Kwame Peprah and Dr. G.K Agama, the then Governor of the Bank of Ghana were some of the members of the Economic Management Team.¹⁹²

In all, the Programme revived the economy and restored international confidence in Ghana. However, Ambassador D.K. Osei, the then Secretary to the President criticized the Programme for its low FDIs acquisition in the 26 African countries signed on to the Programme.¹⁹³

Ambassador D.K Osei stated that *“In 1993, as part of the Program of Action to Ameliorate the Social Costs of Adjustments (PAMSCAD), a program which intended to mitigate the social consequences of adjustments, Gh10billion was earmarked for the renovation of social infrastructure. The initiative increased water supply, sanitation, primary education and health care”*.

3.5.3 The Contribution of Troops for Peace-Keeping Missions in West Africa through ECOMOG and outside West Africa through the UN

Ghana has been a major participant in peace-keeping missions both in the AU and ECOWAS as part of its international responsibility. The country’s first involvement in peace-keeping and



¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 36

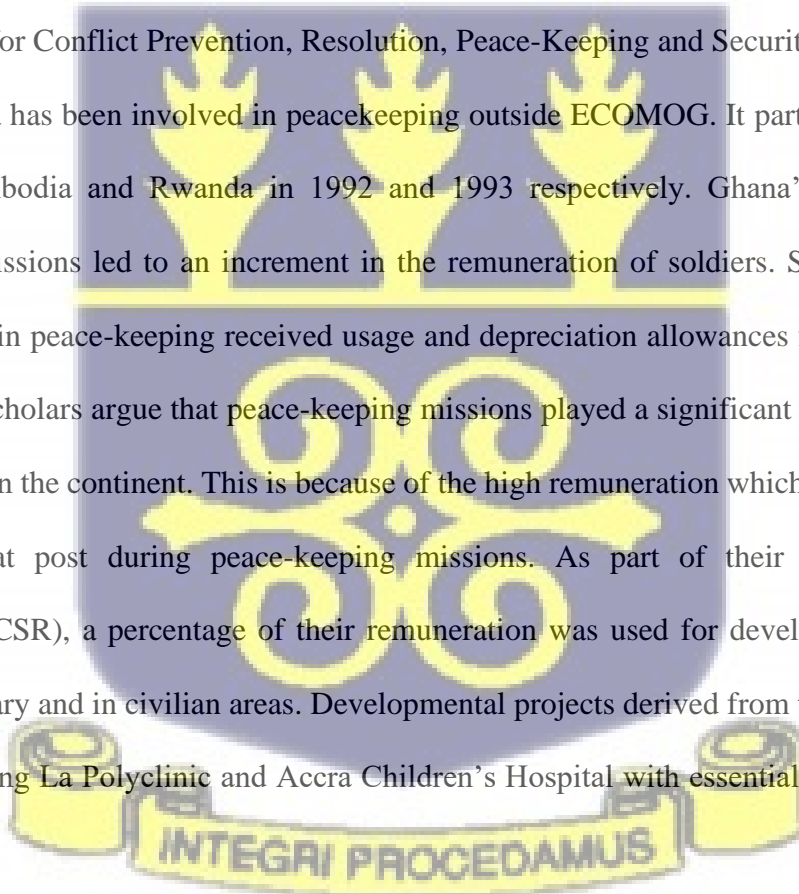
¹⁹¹ Ghana: The Economy Recovery Programme, Country studies www.countrystudies.us/Ghana/70.htm

¹⁹² Personal Interview with Ambassador D.K Osei, President of the Council on Foreign Relations, Ghana.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

intervention can be traced to the 1960's during the Congo Crisis.¹⁹⁴ Since then, the country has been noted for its remarkable contribution to peace-keeping and peacemaking both on the continent and globally. The ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was created in 1990 for peacekeeping and peacemaking in West Africa. The NDC regime was a time when the region was going through international intervention fatigue. Ghana was among the first five countries to deploy its troops to Liberia for peace-keeping during the Liberian Crisis. In 1998, it participated in peace-keeping in Sierra Leone.¹⁹⁵ Between 1994 and 1995, the Rawlings-led NDC championed several peace agreements in Ghana, notable among them was the September 12 Peace Accord aimed at ending the Liberian War. The NDC was consistent to the ECOWAS Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security.

However, Ghana has been involved in peacekeeping outside ECOMOG. It participated in peace-keeping in Cambodia and Rwanda in 1992 and 1993 respectively. Ghana's participation in peacekeeping missions led to an increment in the remuneration of soldiers. State weapons and equipment used in peace-keeping received usage and depreciation allowances from international organizations. Scholars argue that peace-keeping missions played a significant role in the decline of coup d'etats on the continent. This is because of the high remuneration which was paid soldiers to keep them at post during peace-keeping missions. As part of their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), a percentage of their remuneration was used for developmental projects both in the military and in civilian areas. Developmental projects derived from this foreign policy included supplying La Polyclinic and Accra Children's Hospital with essential medical supplies.



¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

Part of the peacekeepers on international peace support operations' remunerations were also sometimes used to maintain Ghana's foreign missions abroad.¹⁹⁶

According to Mr. Dampety Asare, "*Ghana's military received a pay rise as a result of the country's participation in international peacekeeping operations. International organizations provided used and depreciation allowances for state-owned weapons and equipment used in peacekeeping operations. Some academics believe that the fall of coup d'etats on the continent can be attributed in large part to peace-keeping operations. This is because soldiers were incentivized to stay at their posts during peacekeeping operations by generous pay*"

3.5.4 The Resumption of Permanent Joint Commission for Cooperation between Ghana and Togo

A dominant preoccupation between Ghana and Togo before independence has been national security. The defeat of Germany in 1918 led to the division of its colony, the German Togoland which was inhabited by the Ewes into British Togoland (modern day Volta Region) and French Togoland. By the 1980's, the border countries repeatedly accused each other of harboring dissidents to destabilize their governments. In 1992, tension still existed under Rawlings and Gnassingbe Eyadema and efforts to subdue hostility between the Heads of state failed. The foreign ministries of both countries resorted to other mechanisms.¹⁹⁷ Ghana's Minister of Interior Obed Asamoah and Togo's National Chief Security, Kpotivi Lakle met on several occasions to discuss how to settle the dispute. Success of the resolution led to the establishment of a Ghana-Togo Joint Border Commission for Disputes on Border Demarcation. In August 1994, Togo supported the nomination of Rawlings for the position of ECOWAS Chairman. Thereafter, the commission was

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

set up to examine border challenges. A Ghanaian ambassador successfully took up a foreign mission's residence in Togo since the 1980's. Gradually the two countries opened up their borders which led to improvement of trade between the neighbors. Economic activity improved immensely and encouraged movement of goods, services and persons across the borders.¹⁹⁸

Ambassador D.K Osei and Mr. Zakaria Issahaku both agree that *German Togoland, colonized by the Ewes, was split between the British (what is now the Volta Region) and the French after Germany's defeat in 1918. By the 1980s, neighboring countries frequently accused one another of providing safe haven to spies and other government opponents. Rawlings and Gnassingbe Eyadema's efforts to defuse antagonism between the two nations in 1992 were unsuccessful.*

3.5.5 Public and Cultural Diplomacy

Public and cultural diplomacies have played significant roles in promoting states influence abroad. It involves the influence of public attitudes on foreign ideas and policies. The NDC government largely employed it as a strategy to promote Ghanaian culture and products in the diaspora. During international conferences, the President was mostly seen in "Batakari" or "Tye and Dye", popular Ghanaian made fabrics aside 'Kente'. Non-Ghanaians familiarized with the Ghanaian culture and fabrics and largely integrated them into diasporic activities. Foreigners who visited the country passed through the Osu Oxford street and other art centers to patronize Ghanaian-made products. This increased patronage, promoted export and augmented the country's foreign revenue. Local producers largely benefited from this initiative.

3.6 Ghana's Foreign Policy and its Impact on Socioeconomic Development under the New Patriotic Party (NPP) 2001-2008

The Kufuor-led NPP inherited an economy that was near collapse. By 2000, the Cold War had long ended which prevented Ghana from playing the East against the West for economic gain. The Apartheid regime had also ended and economic liberalism had become the new mantra.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

Economically, the deterioration of world prices of commodities and the depreciation of the cedi against the dollar affected the economic situation in the country.¹⁹⁹ The country's gross international reserve could not cover a month's imports while external debt kept increasing. Inflation stood at 41%. By 2000, economic growth had declined to 3.7% and the debt burden had increased to 158% under structural adjustment from 103% in 1993. At this point, the country was considered a Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC). The realities of the economy informed the government's vigorous economic diplomacy to stabilize the economic decline.²⁰⁰ The government's socioeconomic visions were embedded in infrastructure development, enhanced social services, good governance, private sector participation and modernization of agriculture for rural development. Interaction with the international community played a tremendous role in reviving the economic and increasing socioeconomic development in the country.²⁰¹

Mr. Ashong Lartey stated that *"the economy was on the verge of collapse when Kufuor and the NPP took office. By the year 2000, the Cold War was over and Ghana could no longer use its economic stance to push the East against the West. Economic liberalism had replaced the old ideology of apartheid. Commodity price declines throughout the world was greatly felt and the cedi's fall against the dollar hurt Ghana's economy"*

3.6.1 Economic Diplomacy

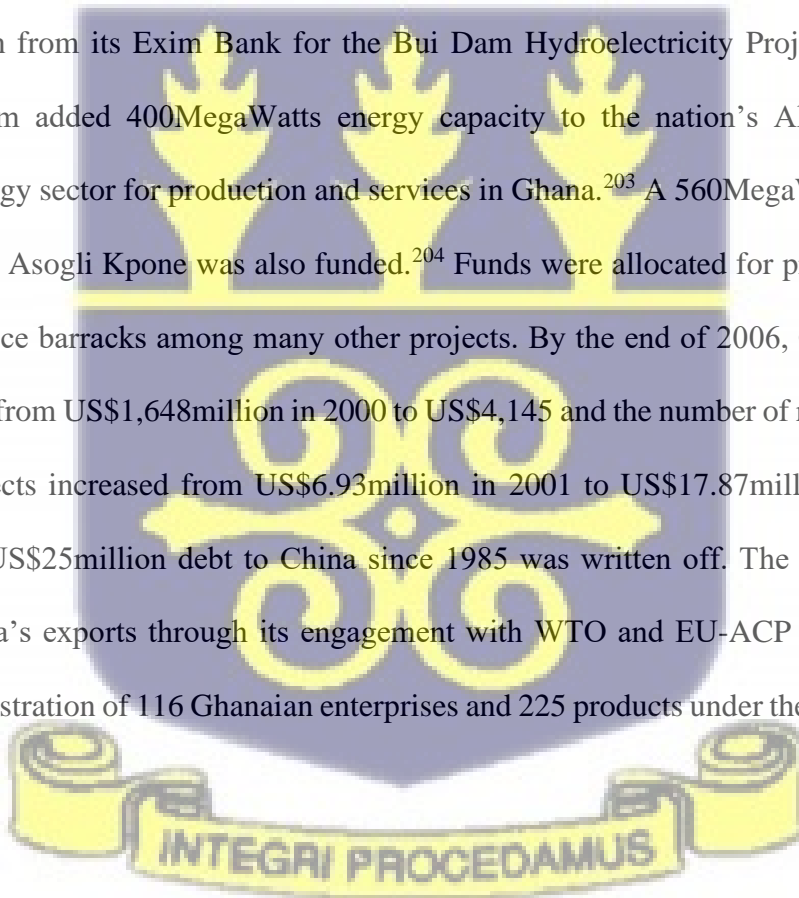
As stated above, when the NPP assumed power, Ghana needed an economically driven foreign policy to improve the state's economic situation. The government emphasized the need to fortify bilateral relations with her developmental partners, and therefore embarked on several economic trips to attract foreign investments and financial assistance for developmental projects. His numerous official visits to these states improved Ghana's bilateral cooperation and augmented foreign aid

¹⁹⁹ Yeboah, S. A. (2019). Economic Diplomacy And National Development Ghana Under Kufuor (2001-2008): 'Mammon' and Good Neighbourliness. *International Journal of New Economics and Social Sciences IJONES*, 10(2), 201-221.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

and technological transfers into the country. For example, Ghana's bilateral relation with Spain yielded a US\$40million soft loan and a promise of US\$120million provided significant socioeconomic results were seen from the previous loan. The loan was used for the improvement of the cardiothoracic unit of the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital and the completion of the maternity block at the Okomfo Anokye Teaching Hospital.²⁰² The country's South-South Partnerships with India and China witnessed remarkable achievements. The bilateral relation with India led to the electrification of many rural areas and derived financial assistance for building the Presidential Complex also known as the Jubilee House, and the Kofi Annan Centre for Excellence in IT in Accra. On the part of China, Ghana received US\$263.5million from the Chinese government and US\$298.5million from its Exim Bank for the Bui Dam Hydroelectricity Project in the Eastern Region. The dam added 400MegaWatts energy capacity to the nation's Akosombo Dam to improve the energy sector for production and services in Ghana.²⁰³ A 560MegaWatts Power Plant Project in Sunon Asogli Kpone was also funded.²⁰⁴ Funds were allocated for projects in Ghana's military and police barracks among many other projects. By the end of 2006, Ghana's export to China increased from US\$1,648million in 2000 to US\$4,145 and the number of registered Chinese investment projects increased from US\$6.93million in 2001 to US\$17.87million in 2005.²⁰⁵ In 2007, Ghana's US\$25million debt to China since 1985 was written off. The NPP also secured access for Ghana's exports through its engagement with WTO and EU-ACP arrangements and procured the registration of 116 Ghanaian enterprises and 225 products under the ECOWAS Trade



²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/08941920.2017.1422062?src=recsys>

²⁰⁴ www.gh.china-embassy.org

²⁰⁵ Tsikata, D., Fenny, A. P., & Aryeetey, E. (2008). *China-Africa relations: A case study of Ghana*. AERC Scoping Studies on China-Africa Economic Relations.

Liberalization Scheme. This provided the country a wider market and recognition for Ghanaian producers and traders.²⁰⁶

Mr. Zakaria Issahaku goes on to say that “*the then administration made a number of economic travels abroad in an effort to drum up international investment and financial aid for developmental projects, while also strengthening bilateral connections with her developmental partners. The President’s frequent travels to these countries on official business boosted bilateral ties, increased inflows of foreign aid and technology, and bolstered Ghana’s economic standing.*”

3.6.2 Subscription to the HIPC Initiative

The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) was established by the Paris Club of Creditors for a group of 39 developing countries, including Afghanistan, Benin, Burundi, Chad and DR Congo with high rate of poverty and debt portfolio. It was a joint IMF-World Bank approach that forgave debts of countries with overwhelming debts. Its purpose was to create a relief to enable states channel repayment of loans into developmental projects. The Club consists of France, Japan, Austria, Spain, Sweden, USA, among many others.²⁰⁷ The economic conditions of the country and its overdue heavy loans influenced the Kufuor administration to sign Ghana on to this initiative in 2001 despite the President’s cabinet and ministerial advice against it. This jeopardized Ghana’s economic relations with Japan causing the latter to withdraw from continuous financial assistance to Ghana because its policy did not allow funding for HIPC countries.²⁰⁸

By 2001, the country’s public debt had reached US\$7,547 million with US\$382 as debt per capita which was 61.72% of the its GDP standing at US\$12,227 million. An increase of 3.8% from year 2000’s US\$11,467 million GDP, a percentage of 3.6% and a public debt of US\$9,077million, a percentage of 79.19% of the country’s GDP and a per capita debt of US\$471.²⁰⁹ Through this

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ www.countryeconomy.com

initiative, the government received US\$3.7 billion, equivalent to US\$2.186 billion in Net Present Value (NPV) terms and 56% of total outstanding debts after the full use of traditional debt relief mechanisms.²¹⁰ The Cardiothoracic section of the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital, the Olusegun Obasanjo Way and High Street, Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pits (KVIPs), many classrooms and health facilities across the region were but a few of the projects the nation derived from the funds of the HIPC Initiative.

Mr. Zakaria Issahaku says that, *“despite opposition from the president's cabinet and ministers, Ghana signed on to this program in 2001 owing to the country's economic situation and its backlog of large, unpaid debts. As a result, Japan cut off its steady flow of financial aid to Ghana because it would not support the HIPC initiative”*.

3.6.3 The Policy of Good Neighborliness

Kufuor inherited Rawlings' sour relationship with Ghana's neighbors. He therefore sought to create and renew friendships with countries which hitherto had marred relationships with Ghana. To change the narrative and encourage cooperation on the sub-region, he visited Togo, Burkina Faso, Cote D'Ivoire, Nigeria and other African countries to promote friendliness and cooperation. The NPP's 2000 manifesto stated the foreign policy objective to “establish and deepen friendly relations with other countries, respecting their values and customs and ensuring reciprocal treatment.”²¹¹ According to Asare and Siaw, the government's democratic and conservative nature encouraged cooperation and promoted peace between Ghana and her neighbors. The NPP government resolved the Ghana-Togo border disputes and encouraged trade relations and

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

movement of persons across both countries.²¹² Export trade volume from Ghana to Togo was recorded at US\$88,063.91 from 2001 to 2008.²¹³ The Ghana-Burkina Faso relationship witnessed streamlined bilateral talks on peace, security, stability, economic growth and trade. Between 2001 and 2008, Ghana's trade export to Burkina Faso had reached US\$710,779.8.²¹⁴ The relationship between Cote D'Ivoire and Ghana improved after Kufuor's mediation role in the 2002-2007 Ivorian conflict. This led to Kufuor leading the signing of the Peace Accord between the aggrieved factions.²¹⁵ Export from Ghana to Cote D'Ivoire reached US\$104,823.68 by the end of 2008.²¹⁶ These trade opportunities increased foreign revenue and provided capital for the promotion of socioeconomic development.

Mr. Ashong Lartey *argued that government's liberal and traditionalist policies fostered collaboration and helped keep the peace between Ghana and her neighbors. The NPP government ended border conflicts between Ghana and Togo, facilitating commerce and travel between the two nations.*

3.6.4 Ghana's Relationship with Nigeria

Ghana's relationship with Nigeria rekindled under the NPP administration. In 1999, Nigeria transitioned from military rule to civilian governance under the leadership of General Olusegun Obasanjo. Obasanjo's goodwill and friendliness towards Kufuor was influenced by the latter's conservative personality and democratic background. The two countries cooperated in several ways to improve their long-aged socioeconomic development, particularly in Ghana.²¹⁷ The frequent visits between the two governments resulted in multiple financial and material assistance

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ <https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/country/GHA/startyear/2004/endyear/2008/tradeflow/Export/partner/BFA/indicator/XPRT-TRD-VL>

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Otoghile, A., & Obakhedo, N. O. (2011). Nigeria-Ghana relations from 1960 to 2010: Roots of convergence and points of departure. *African Research Review*, 5(6), 131-145.

for Ghana.²¹⁸ This was a period where the previous Nigerian government under Shehu Shagari had placed an embargo on Ghana. Oil supply ceased as Ghana's fuel debt to Nigeria increased. Ghana owed an overdue oil debt standing at US\$150 million. However, Obasanjo's regime lifted the embargo and oil supply to Ghana commenced again with favorable payment conditions.²¹⁹ An interview with Ambassador D.K Osei revealed that, the number of oil barrels available when the Kufuor-led administration took over could last for less than two weeks.²²⁰

Ghana received oil supply on credit with a concessionary interval of 180 days to make payments. That was enough time for Ghana to sell the oil and make payments.²²¹ In addition, Obasanjo assisted Ghana with US\$40 million to pay its share of the overall US\$500 million for the West African Gas Pipeline, the first regional natural gas transmission system supplying gas from Nigeria's Niger Delta to Ghana, Togo and Benin.²²² The Nigerian government granted a loan of US\$13 million to the NPP administration for the purchase of 1,150 police patrol vehicles for operations.²²³ Their friendship resulted in the establishment of many Nigerian businesses in Ghana including Zenith and Fidelity Banks in 2005 and 2006 respectively. Export trade between the two countries stood at US\$525 million in 2008, with Nigeria's volume at US\$89 million while Ghana's stood at US\$25 million.²²⁴ To a larger extent, the relationship between the two governments brought notable socioeconomic improvement to Ghana. During an honorary event organized at the Presidential Library in Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria, Kufuor described Obasanjo

²¹⁸ Ibid

²¹⁹ Ibid

²²⁰ Personal Interview with Ambassador D.K Osei, President of the Council on Foreign Relations, Ghana, op. cit.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Asare, B. E., & Siaw, E. (2018). Understanding the dynamics of good neighbourliness under Rawlings and Kufuor. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 25(2), 199-217.

²²³ Otoghile, A., & Obakhedo, N. O. (2011). Nigeria-Ghana relations from 1960 to 2010: Roots of convergence and points of departure. *African Research Review*, 5(6), 131-145.

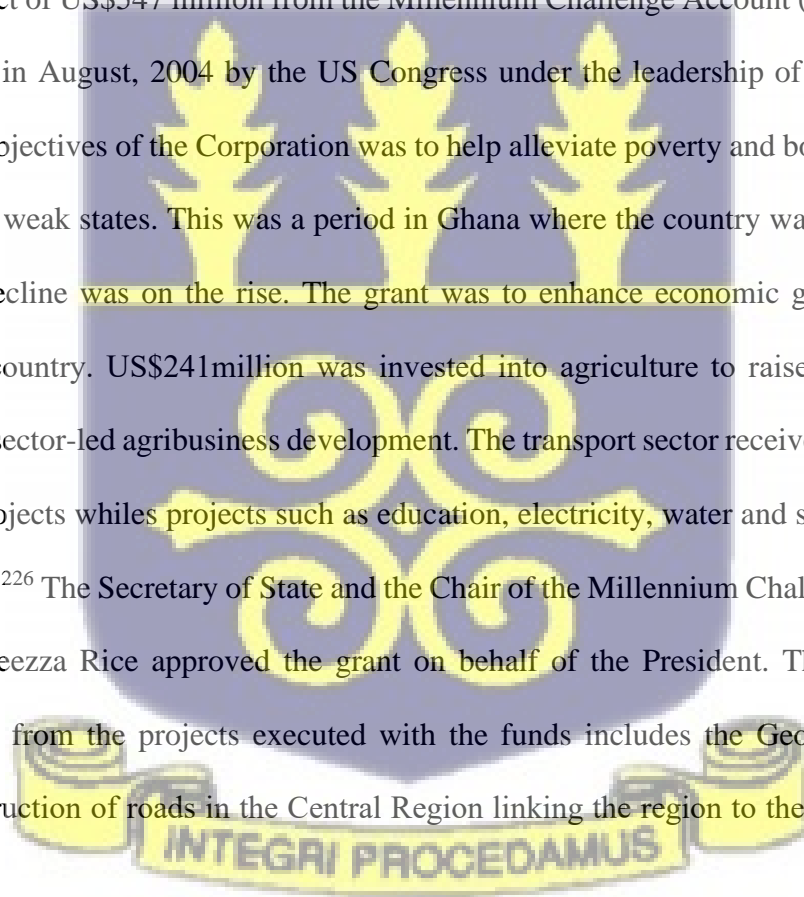
²²⁴ Ibid.

as a “Messiah”, a “Prophet” and a “Living Legend”. The Olusegun Obasanjo Way in Accra was named after the former president to honor him for his terrific assistance towards the country.²²⁵

According to Mr. Ashong Lartey, *the relationship between Ghana and Nigeria were revived during the NPP's tenure. General Olusegun Obasanjo led Nigeria's peaceful transition to civilian administration in 1999. Obasanjo's warm feelings toward Kufuor can be attributed to Kufuor's conservative demeanor and democratic upbringing. “The two nations worked together in a number of ways to boost the long-term socioeconomic growth of Ghana in particular”, he concluded.*

3.6.5 Ascension to the Millennium Challenge Account

Ghana’s promotion of democracy, respect for human rights and its good governance qualified it to receive a compact of US\$547 million from the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA). The MCA was established in August, 2004 by the US Congress under the leadership of President George Walker Bush. Objectives of the Corporation was to help alleviate poverty and boost developments in economically weak states. This was a period in Ghana where the country was under HIPC and the economic decline was on the rise. The grant was to enhance economic growth and reduce poverty in the country. US\$241million was invested into agriculture to raise farmers’ income through private sector-led agribusiness development. The transport sector received US\$143million to support its projects while projects such as education, electricity, water and sanitation received US\$101 million.²²⁶ The Secretary of State and the Chair of the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), Condoleezza Rice approved the grant on behalf of the President. The socioeconomic benefits derived from the projects executed with the funds includes the George Walker Bush Highway, construction of roads in the Central Region linking the region to the state’s capital for



²²⁵ Kufuor, a living legend <https://www.pmnewsnigeria.com/2013/01/18/obj-a-living-legend-kuffuor/>

²²⁶ www.mcc.gov

vegetable transportation, building a national refrigerator storage for preserving the vegetables at Tema and the Airport before they are exported, among many others.²²⁷

Mr. Maxwell Osei-Kusi argued that *the objectives of the Corporation was to help reduce poverty and stimulate advancements in economically challenged states. This was an era in Ghana where the country was under HIPC and the economic collapse was on the increase. The gift intended to stimulate economic growth and eliminate poverty in the nation.*

3.6.6 Ghana's Bilateral Relationship with Japan

The Ghana-Japan relationship started when Dr. Hideyo Noguchi visited Ghana to conduct a research into Yellow Fever in the 1920s. Since then, official diplomatic relations between the two countries have chalked six decades. A memorial medical institute was built in his honor on the University of Ghana, Legon Campus after his demise.²²⁸ Japan has maintained colossal relationship with the country for six decades, assisting in various financial and technological initiatives. As stated earlier, the Japan government withdrew from rendering assistance in any form to the Kufuor-led regime due to Ghana's association with HIPC. This led to the cancellation of YEN loans given to SME's to support their businesses and scholarships for Ghanaian students.²²⁹ However, Kufuor's personal intervention strategy succeeded in acquiring a grant from the Japanese government for the construction of the Accra-Yamoransa road. The findings of the study indicated that, the Japanese Prime Minister, Koizumi Junichiro after a road trip on the dilapidated road with Kufuor convinced the Japanese government to hasten a grant for the construction of the road.²³⁰ Ghana also benefitted US\$286million for Universal Health Coverage in 2006 and received clinical equipment in regional hospitals. Two blood screening equipment were donated for blood

²²⁷ Personal Interview with Ambassador D.K Osei, op. cit.

²²⁸ Allotey S. (2019) Ghana-Japan Relations. LECIAD Seminar

²²⁹ Ibid.

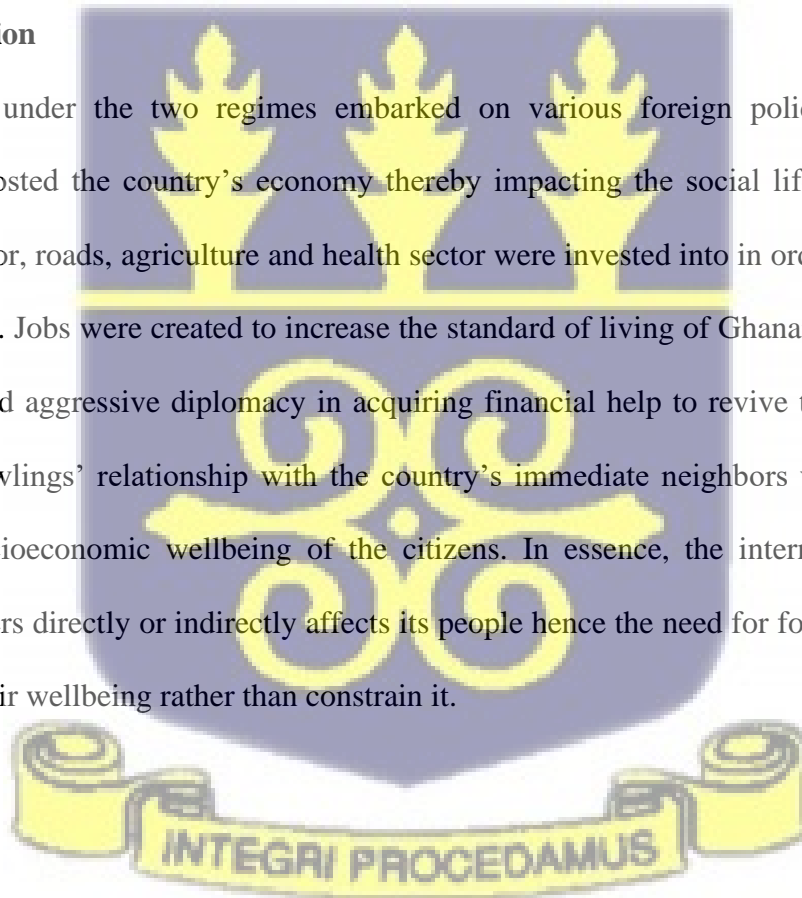
²³⁰ Ibid.

transfusion. Doctors, laboratory technicians and nurses were trained by Tokyo experts, a Centre for the aged was built in Koforidua and volunteers from Japan were sent to provide assistance to health departments.²³¹ In 2001, the two countries signed and exchanged notes on a Gh18billion Japanese food aid grant to reduce hunger in the country.²³² Japanese intervention in Ghana played significant role in the country's socioeconomic development.

Mr. Ashong Lartey and Mr. Dampety Asare both agree that *for almost 60 years, Japan has maintained a massive relationship with the country, contributing to several financial and technical projects. To recap, Japan cut off all aid to the Kufuor administration because of Ghana's HIPC status. As a result, YEN loans provided to small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in Ghana to help them grow were canceled, as were YEN scholarships for students in that country.*

3.7 Conclusion

The Presidents under the two regimes embarked on various foreign policy strategies that significantly boosted the country's economy thereby impacting the social life of citizens. The educational sector, roads, agriculture and health sector were invested into in order to improve the life of its people. Jobs were created to increase the standard of living of Ghanaians. Though both leaders employed aggressive diplomacy in acquiring financial help to revive the economy, it is evident that Rawlings' relationship with the country's immediate neighbors was sour and this affected the socioeconomic wellbeing of the citizens. In essence, the international decisions enacted by leaders directly or indirectly affects its people hence the need for foreign policies that will improve their wellbeing rather than constrain it.



²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Accra-Yamoransa Road Funding converted to grant
<https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Accra-Yamoransa-road-funding-converted-to-grant-24342>

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDING, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides summary findings of the study, draws conclusions, proposes recommendations and sought to compare the roles foreign policy played in Ghana under the Rawlings and Kufuor's regimes, from 1993 to 2008. The research however was based on the premise that foreign policy plays a role in Ghana's socioeconomic development.

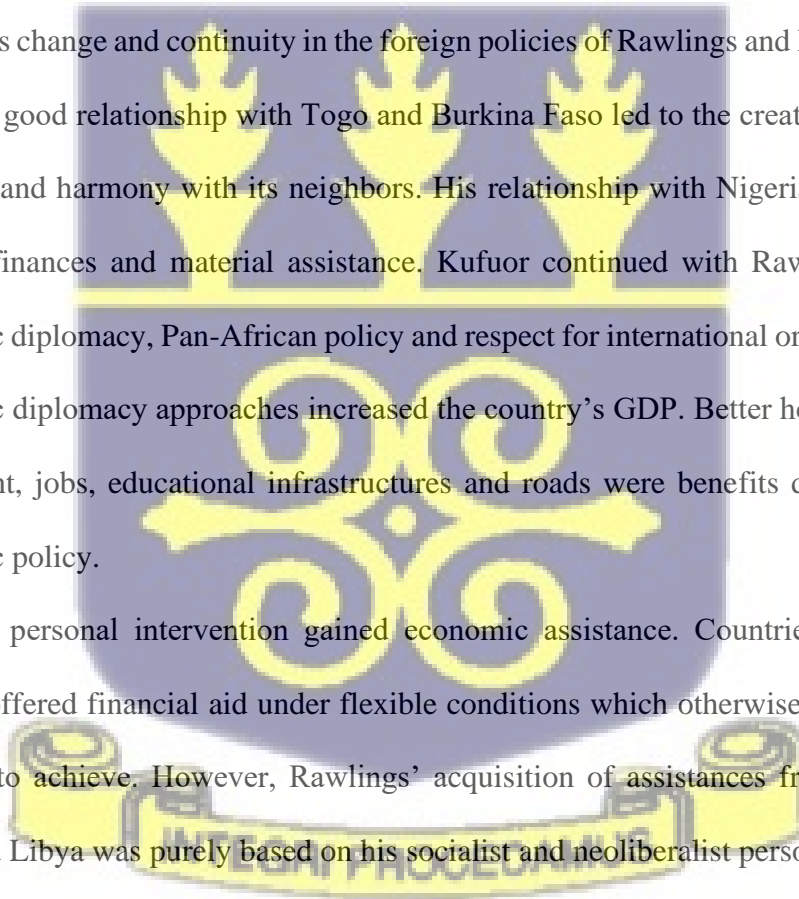
4.1 Summary of Findings

The study was on the role of Ghana's foreign policy in its socioeconomic development under the Fourth Republic from 1993 to 2008. It found that;

- The principal national interest guiding the foreign policy formulation of Ghana includes the political, economic, social and cultural aspirations of the country and its people. The national interest prioritizes the safety and territorial integrity of Ghana and wellbeing of her citizens in foreign policy formulation. Economically, the state maximizes development to provide suitable livelihood to all Ghanaians. In the social context, the state promotes justice, equality and accountability so that all persons enjoy the same rights, opportunities and obligations. With cultural aspirations, the state protects and preserves the history of its people and encourages the integration of appropriate and diverse cultural values into national life.
- Ghana's foreign policy is determined by both domestic and international factors. Domestically, the country's foreign policy is guided by the country's geographical location, its military capability, economic status and its system of governance. Ghana's

geography informs its relationship with its neighbors. Kufuor adopted good neighborliness to ensure harmony and cooperation in the sub-region. The country's economic status influences its economic diplomacy policies. Internationally, Ghana respects the principles of international law and its ethics.

- Foreign policy played a huge role in Ghana's socioeconomic development within the years under study. A significant number of socioeconomic developments such as the Bui Dam, the George Walker Bush Highway, water and sanitation under the PAMSCAD, increased revenue from non-traditional exports, the cardiothoracic department of the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital, among others, were some of the benefits derived.
- There was change and continuity in the foreign policies of Rawlings and Kwame Nkrumah. Kufuor's good relationship with Togo and Burkina Faso led to the creation of better trade relations and harmony with its neighbors. His relationship with Nigeria garnered for the country finances and material assistance. Kufuor continued with Rawlings' aggressive economic diplomacy, Pan-African policy and respect for international organizations. Their economic diplomacy approaches increased the country's GDP. Better health facilities and equipment, jobs, educational infrastructures and roads were benefits derived from their economic policy.
- Kufuor's personal intervention gained economic assistance. Countries like Japan and Nigeria offered financial aid under flexible conditions which otherwise would have been difficult to achieve. However, Rawlings' acquisition of assistances from countries like Cuba and Libya was purely based on his socialist and neoliberalist personality.



4.2 Conclusions

The research draws a number of conclusions which includes:

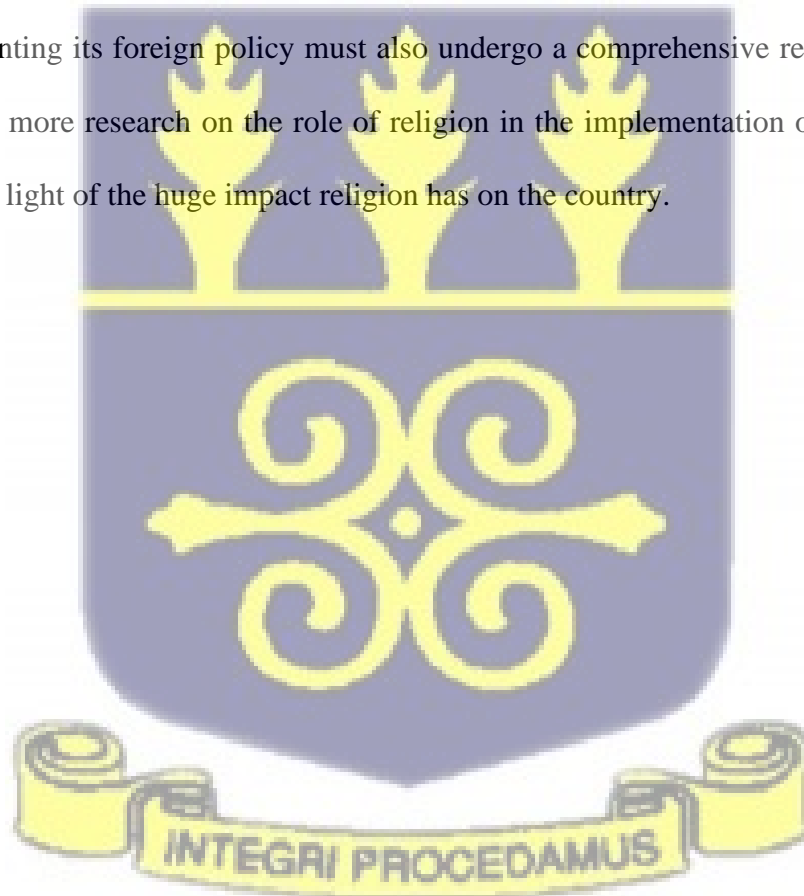
- That Ghana's foreign policy directions were influenced by both internal and external factors at the time. The needs of the people and the hardship in the country, and the world politics and the position of Ghana in world politics, respectively.
- That the end of the Cold War greatly influenced the foreign policy direction of Ghana. The exigency diverted foreign policy markedly to neo-liberal economic policy and economic diplomacy.
- The two governments employed economic diplomacy to acquire financial and technical aid from developed economies with great successes. Public and cultural diplomacy was used to promote indigenous commodities and culture abroad.
- Both leaders used soft power to advance the country on to the international arena that increased the country's aid acquisition.

4.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings, the study makes the following recommendations;

- Diplomacy being the principal instrument for implementing Ghana's foreign policy, it is essential that newly appointed ambassadors have proper training in the field of diplomacy. In addition, the government should make a concerted effort to bridge the gap between political appointees and professional diplomats when selecting ambassadors. The importance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the coordination and implementation of the nation's foreign policy must be acknowledged. Enhancing the Ministry's personnel and resource capabilities should be a priority.

- In addition, there is a need for inter-ministerial coordinated bodies that operate effectively. This suggests the need for more frequent and multi-level meetings to analyze measures already adopted at the national level, assess the level of implementation of Ghana's foreign policy objectives, identify needs, make all levels of the state hierarchy aware of the need for national implementation, and plan future action.
- Keeping in mind that Ghana's foreign economic policy has been impacted by the requirement for external financial assistance, efforts should be implemented to encourage economic development in order to lessen the nation's reliance on other players in the international system. To meet the demands of the 21st century, Ghana's plans for implementing its foreign policy must also undergo a comprehensive revision. The report proposes more research on the role of religion in the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy in light of the huge impact religion has on the country.



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