COURSE CODE: (POLI 446)

COURSE TITLE: (GHANA’S FOREIGN POLICY)

SESSION#: (1) – TITLE: (Ghana’s Foreign Policy under the CPP government)

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UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

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<td>Teaching Assistant</td>
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# Course Instructor’s Contact

Provide the following information:

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<th>Dr. Charles Amo-Agyemang</th>
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<td>On top of the department of Political Science Department</td>
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<td>Office Hours</td>
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It sets out to describe the traditional foreign policy agenda which has been operated in Ghana. It deals with Nkrumah’s vision of African unity, together with the machinery he employed, to achieve his foreign policy objectives, the motivations, their impact, perceptions, and the strategies through which his political decisions were enacted is the focus of this session.

This session focuses on the foreign policy of the Convention Peoples Party under president Kwame Nkrumah, especially its relationships with Ghana’s neighbors, African policy, non-alignment policy, economic diplomacy, support for the UN, and the Commonwealth. Kwame Nkrumah as Ghana’s first Prime Minister and later President effectively succeeded in making the impact of African diplomacy felt in international forums and international organizations through his foreign policy initiatives. In this session we will also explore how Nkrumah adroitly employed the concept of African personality’ as a foreign policy instrument in his interaction within the international system. Most significantly we shall attempt to reflect on Nkrumah's characteristics and desires, his convictions, his perceptions of how the international system worked, and of his reactions to external events in order to assess Ghana's foreign policy from 1957-1966. And—lastly we will consider foreign policy failures (reverses) of the CPP government under Nkrumah which according to some scholars stems most evidently (and solely) from his lack of any sense of proportion, a balanced passion, and a sense of responsibility.
The key topics to be covered in the session are as follows:

- **Topic One**: Setting the agenda (Introduction)
- **Topic Two**: Objectives of Nkrumah’s foreign policy
- **Topic Three**: Nkrumah’s foreign policy achievements
- **Topic Four**: Why Nkrumah was effective in his foreign policy
- **Topic Five**: The concept of African unity
- **Topic Six**: Why Nkrumah’s Foreign policy Agenda failed
Session Learning Goals

- Objective One: Identify why Nkrumah was effective in his foreign policy
- Objective Two: explain how Nkrumah’s foreign policy initiatives became a standard bearer of an all-African nationalism
- Objective Three: analyze how Nkrumah’s foreign policy initiatives were driven by the ideological vision of Pan-Africanism
- Objective Four: Identify the formidable obstacles that gravely undermined Nkrumah’s aim in building African unity
Session Learning Objectives

• Objective Five: Explore the foreign policy achievements of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah
• Objective Six: Assess foreign policy failures of Nkrumah
Session Learning Outcomes

- Be able to discuss the objectives and achievements of Nkrumah’s Foreign Policy.
- Be able to examine the factors that led to Nkrumah’s effective foreign policy formulation and implementation.
- Be able to identify and discuss the policy failures of Nkrumah’s foreign policy. Identify reasons that gravely undermined Nkrumah’s approach to Pan-African unity.
- Be able to analyse the factors that shaped Nkrumah’s foreign policy decision making and thinking.
- Be able to assess the view that the concept of Pan African unity was a cardinal objective in foreign policy initiatives.
- Be able to analyse how the principle of nonalignment was germane to Nkrumah’s foreign policy decision making and thinking.
Session Activities and Assignments

This week, complete the following tasks:

• **Log onto the UG Sakai LMS course site:**
  – http://sakai.ug.edu.gh/XXXXXXXXX

• **Read**

• **Watch** the Videos for Session – Ghana’s foreign policy under the CPP government led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

• **Review** Lecture Slides: Session – Ghana’s foreign policy under the CPP government led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

• **Visit the Chat Room** and **discuss** the **Forum question** for Session 7

• **Complete** the **Individual Assignment** for Session 7
Creating Blended Assignment Instructions

Recommended eight (8) elements to include in written assignment instructions distributed to students online:

1. **Assignment title** (exactly the same as title used in syllabus and other course documents)
2. **Learning objective(s)** to which the assignment relates
3. **Assignment due date** (if receiving electronic submissions, include time/time zone also)
4. **Submission details** (electronic submissions only? required file format? via email? via assignment upload?)
5. **Scoring criteria/rubric**
6. **Level of group participation** (individual assignments, group or team projects, and entire class projects).
7. **Mechanical details** (number of words/pages, preferred style guide for citations, number/type of citations, etc.)
8. **Any supporting resources** necessary for assignment completion

O’Reilly and Kelly (2008)
Course Description: In this course, you will be examining the period of the Industrial Revolution to the American Modern Era.

Course Goals:
- Demonstrate ability to recall of course material from 7 major American historical events from 1877 to the present
- Develop and demonstrate proficiency in writing and verbal skills
- Demonstrate ability to produce quality historical analysis

Objectives:
- Demonstrate the knowledge to chronologically order historical events
- Demonstrate the knowledge to properly identify key figures and issues
- Produce quality historical analysis via assignments and a paper
- Produce a presentation that demonstrates quality verbal skills
- Produce quality historical analysis via assignments and group participation

Learning Outcomes:
- Assignment #1
- Assignment #3
- Assignment #2
- Assignment #4
- Assignment #5
- Wiki Project
- Oral Presentation
- Group Participation
- Wiki Project
- Project

SOURCE: The Course Blueprint is part of the Blended Learning Toolkit prepared by University of Central Florida (UCF) and the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) with funding from the Next Generation Learning Challenges (NGLC). It is provided as an Open Educational Resource under a Creative Common Attribution-NonCommercial ShareAlike 3.0 Unported License.
Course Blueprint – Course Title (Template)

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Topic One

SETTING THE AGENDA
**Introduction:**

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was Ghana’s first Prime Minister and later President. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as the first president of Ghana, laid the foundation for the country’s foreign policy direction. He is indisputably Ghana’s most effective president on foreign policy since independence. As president of Ghana, Nkrumah’s foreign policy increased the international prestige of the country. He is indisputably Ghana’s foremost president when it comes to foreign policy. Indeed as a pioneer in foreign policy formulation, Nkrumah had no local or African precedent to guide. According to S. E. Quarm Nkrumah had the advantage and disadvantage of formulating Ghana’s foreign policy from the scratch (). On his African policy, Nkrumah felt free to pursue his objective with single-minded determination.
• Nkrumah’s concept of African unity was ‘plainly chimerical an essentially a mirage like chasing the whirlwind’. Discuss.
• The formation of the OAU in 1963 was an anti-climaxed to Nkrumah’s Pan-African agenda”. Discuss.
• Discuss the objectives and achievements of Nkrumah’s Foreign Policy.
• Examine the factors that led to Nkrumah’s effective foreign policy formulation and implementation
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Topic Two

OBJECTIVES OF NKRUMAH’S FOREIGN POLICY
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- Vision of Pan-African unity: An ideological and intellectual movement which was geared towards cultivating unity among black people throughout the world. His concept of Pan-Africanism is rooted in the thought that a United Africa is destined to be a great force in world affairs. Nkrumah’s pan-African agenda or promotion of pan-Africanism can be traced back to his days at Lincoln University in the US, where he organized expatriate African Students and built it into African Students Association of America and Canada, which he later became its president.

- Africa’s total liberation: the decolonization of the entire African continent; the struggle for a free and democratic Africa.

- Fighting and overcoming the destructive forces of neocolonialism and imperialism: Nkrumah saw neo-colonialism and imperialism as the number one enemy of Africa’s development. The urgency of the need to construct the African society free from new-colonialist controls and interference and to end the European exploitation of Africa.

- Projection of the concept of African personality: The underlying thrust of Nkrumah’s concept of African personality lays with Africa speaking with one voice within the international community in order to command. The concept of African personality was to free Africa from colonial intellectual enslavement and inferiority complex to restore pride in indigenous African values.

- At the height of the Cold War tensions, Nkrumah advocated the principles of non-alignment and positive neutralism. Non-alignment upheld nonpartisanship in the context of superpower rivalry and ideological conflict. To this end, he sought to free Ghana from the entanglements of the East-West conflict and insisted that Africa is not going to become a cockpit of the Cold War.

- He reaffirmed his commitment to the charter, spirit and ideals of the United Nations and the OAU in particular those relating to noninterference in the internal affairs of other states and friendship among states. Nkrumah saw the UN as an international forum and the right platform to express his views, as well as to preach his message of world peace.

- He demonstrated his strong support for the Commonwealth of nations. In fact Nkrumah thought highly of the Commonwealth as “an association of free and independent sovereign states, equal in all respects and bound together by a common drive to work together for the good and well being of its members; an important platform to project an African perspective on global issue.

- Economic Independence: He upheld that Africa needs a form of economic development that would empower Africa and African peoples as a whole.
Topic Three

NKRUMAH’S FOREIGN POLICY ACHIEVEMENTS
Economic diplomacy yielded dividends:

- Nkrumah through his foreign policy initiatives was able to successfully court American foreign capital for his most ambitious and most treasured economic project, such as the Volta River Project (VRP), Bui Dam and Atomic Energy Complex. These projects were intended to ensure that Ghana will be able to obtain cheap electric power and irrigation of regions as the basis for the expansion of industrial development in the country and ultimately to industrialize and diversify the Ghanaian economy and in his wisdom, as a lever for continental development as a whole.

- For Ghana play significant role in the internal scene Nkrumah established first national airline, Ghana Airways, and then a national shipping fleet, the Black Star Line, Ghana’s new shipping line, to pay homage to Marcus Garvey’s shipping enterprise as a symbol of both national and Pan- African pride.

- Nkrumah supported African liberation movements across the African continent by providing practical assistance to freedom fighters in colonial territories through the apparatus of the Bureau of African Affairs and the African Affairs Secretariat.

- Massive infrastructural development: heavy public investment, modernizing infrastructure, and building new roads, factories and clinics. He believed strongly in the expansion of the the provision of education; ensuring the continued expansion and diversification of agriculture; which in view will create needed springboard for Ghana’s economic development an industrial base.

- Created a positive image for Ghana in international affairs as Nkrumah provides the lead as an example to be emulated across other continents of the world. Nkrumah marshalled state as well as diplomatic resources in making Ghana the epicentre of the African struggle against colonialism.

- Nkrumah's foreign policy initiatives sowed the seed for sub-regional integration such as OAU. Nkrumah played a major role in the establishment of Organization of African Unity. Nkrumah saw the birth of Organization of African Unity in May 1963 as a permanent machinery to realize his vision of African unity.
Topic Four

WHY NKRUMAH WAS EFFECTIVE IN FOREIGN POLICY
WHY NKRUMAH WAS EFFECTIVE IN FOREIGN POLICY

• **STRENGTH OF GHANA’S ECONOMY:**
• Nkrumah inherited huge foreign reserves at independence that was expected to last for a long time. This was to help the new country start on a good economic footing. Encouraged by the strength of the Ghanaian economy, Nkrumah embarked on his expressed ambition of ensuring a decolonized and united Africa. The African liberation and unity project proved to very expensive and very costly to Ghana. Nkrumah was very effective in his African project largely due to the abundant resources at his disposal. He used the foreign reserves to support newly independent African countries and financed liberation struggles all over Africa. Ghana became the Mecca of African nationalist struggle where freedom, fighters from East to West, North to South journeyed on pilgrimage for moral, financial and inspirational support. Guinea Conakry, Mali and Congo were prominent among beneficiaries of Nkrumah’s largesse.
• **CLARITY OF HIS VISION**

Nkrumah had a clear vision of Ghana’s foreign policy objectives. There were no doubts in his mind what role Ghana, the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence should play in the decolonization of the African continent. He set the tone of his foreign policy when he stated in his maiden independence address on 6th March 1957 that the independence of Ghana was meaningless unless it was linked to the total liberation of Africa. For the next nine years, every calculation, strategy and tactic on Ghana’s external relations was informed by Nkrumah’s vision of a united Africa. To this end, Nkrumah surrounded himself with people that he trusted to help him effectively formulate and implement policies that would lead to the realization of his vision. It is said that Nkrumah’s vision for Africa was influenced to a large extent by the philosophy of Marcus Garvey and the thinking of W.E. Dubois.
Charisma and communication skills

Nkrumah mostly adopted the elitist and communication approaches in his foreign policy formulation. The effectiveness of this approach requires certain skills. Nkrumah had the charisma to win the admiration of his contemporaries and the ability to communicate his vision to the masses. These two qualities worked effectively to his advantage in foreign policy and to a large extent in domestic politics. Some may argue that Nkrumah was not articulate in his delivery, but he was very effective in capturing the attention of his audience. He had the power of persuasion rooted in the strong conviction of his vision. Nkrumah succeeded in convincing the Casablanca Group to support his concept of African unity.
• **The Nature of the International System**
  
  Some scholars have argued that Nkrumah was effective in his foreign policy because of the nature of the international system prevailing at the time. The global system was highly favorable and fertile for decolonization. Nkrumah could not have implemented his decolonization agenda at a more opportune time. Moreover, the clear distinction in East/West cold war politics made it somehow easier for African leaders to formulate the direction of their foreign policy. It was much effective to conduct a nonaligned foreign policy at the time. However, it must be noted that Nkrumah ultimately became a victim of cold war power politics.
• **Absence of a Viable Opposition**

The absence of a viable strong opposition to Nkrumah’s policy making in the Ghanaian parliament made it easy for him to conduct his foreign policy. His Convention Peoples Party controlled more than two-thirds of parliament, and as chairman and Secretary General of the party, the president had the members of his party solidly behind his policies in parliament. By 1964, Nkrumah’s policy agenda was approved by a single party parliament. He was, therefore unimpeded and unchecked on how he spends the country’s reserves in pursuit of his personal ambition of leading the fight for a united Africa. It is argued that Nkrumah increased the tempo of his Pan-African agenda after consolidating power at home and silencing his critics by using the Preventive Detention Act (PDA). The leader of the opposition in parliament, Dr. K. A. Busia fled into exile in 1959 to escape detention.
CONCEPT OF AFRICAN UNITY

- Fundamentally, Nkrumah’s foreign policy within Africa was aimed at implementing his Pan-African agenda: namely African liberation and African unity. Nkrumah’s agenda of African unity was to formulate concrete plans in forming a union of African states. To him the concept of African unity is an article of faith and a cardinal objective in his foreign policy initiatives —the idea of a political union as the solution to Africa’s myriad economic, social and political problems (Mazrui 2004: 22). His famous declaration that, “the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked to the total liberation of Africa” sums up Nkrumah’s commitment to African liberation. In line with his Pan-African agenda, Nkrumah established the African Affairs Secretariat Bureau of African Affairs to help train, co-ordinate, formulate, direct and strategize on the liberation movement.

- Nkrumah wanted a continental union African government (African union) with its own parliament, its own flag, and a single national anthem. Another significant development under the concept of African unity was his call for a joint military high command where “...an injury to one is an injury to all of us”; the urgent call for the formation of an African High Command, a strong military force to deter any foreign aggressor.

- He called for a economic union with a common market that will galvanize and speed up his ambitions for the establishment of a union government for Africa. For him there is no the other way round the political kingdom of Africa except through social and economic development among African states. He cited social power and material wealth of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as a result of political decisions to come together.

- He again advocated a borderless Africa where all the artificial boarders will disappear, so that a person can move freely to any part of Africa without any proof of documents. To Nkrumah, therefore artificial divisions and territorial boundaries in Africa are deliberate attempt by the colonialists to obstruct the political unity of African peoples. It was an attempt to transform the political map of Africa which he thought have been erected by the colonizers. He advocated for the abolishment of the artificial boundaries so that the weak, fragmented, small and underdeveloped African states can come together as one strong state so that Africa can make meaningful impact in the community of nations. A common foreign policy and by extension a common national interest for the continental union; in fact a coordination of foreign policies in Africa through the formation of All Africa Committee of Foreign Ministers which Nkrumah opined will serve as a machinery for effective African Union.
WHY NKRUMAH’S AFRICA AGENDA FAILED

Nkrumah had to contend with a lot of impediments and obstacles in his radical proposal for African unity. His passionate dream for Continental Union Government for Africa or a United States of Africa never became a reality due to stiff opposition from African leaders, most of whom feared the loss of their sovereignty, and the West, due to selfish interest. Nkrumah’s mission for Pan-Africanism failed essentially because of the following reasons:

One of the most significant obstacles to African unity was Nkrumah’s arrogance and sense of superiority — according to Scott Thompson, Nkrumah’s greatest failure was his inability to see the limits of the influence of one man bound to one small state (Thompson, 1969). Nkrumah again failed to acknowledge or recognize his limitations, observes Thompson.

Nor is that all, Nkrumah’s proposal of African unity was utopian — premature, wholly unattainable in the foreseeable future, and too radical— perhaps too ambitious— to be of lasting benefit or in the opinion of Ahmed Ben Bella, was a “pie in the sky.” If he had embarked on a union government that is based on a federation, perhaps he could have succeeded partially.

Furthermore Nkrumah’s lack of intellectual capacity were to contribute to many of the impediments that prevented continental unity (Professor K.A.B. Jones-Quartey).

His elitist and unorthodox style to foreign policy relegated the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the background. That is to say little coordination existed between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Nkrumah’s foreign policy objectives because of his distrust of civil servants trained under the colonial administration. To fulfill his foreign policy objectives, Nkrumah set up parallel institutions such as the African Affairs Centre and the African Affairs Secretariat to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This adversely affected Ghana’s foreign policy because the professional diplomats at the ministry had no influence on Nkrumah. The foreign ministry, in Scott Thompson’s words, “was reduced to helplessness”.

Nkrumah’s resentment and rejection of the ‘Monrovia group of powers created an ideological rift and differences on the African continent. The two rival ideological groups, the more radical Casablanca group and Monrovia group the moderate conflicting perspectives on a Union Government for Africa. In essence, actions of these groups caused disgruntled feelings among African leaders and, more important, sabotaged efforts towards continental unity as the Monrovia group of States rejected the idea of surrendering part or all of each State’s sovereignty for the benefit of the Union of African States.
• Nkrumah was unrealistic about the limits of Ghana's resources (natural and human) and of its geopolitical significance. In the view of Peter Omari Ghana’s prosperity was “sacrificed on the altar of Pan-Africanism.” More important, Nkrumah’s neglect of domestic issues and his grand foreign policy objectives for Africa created an immense tension in Ghana.

• In regards to Nkrumah’s African policy, some African leaders particularly Sir Tafawa Belewa, prime minister of Nigeria resented and suspected Nkrumah’s actions and accused him of been egoistical by employing the notion of union government for his selfish agenda or merely to satisfy his political end. (Biney 2008: 131)

• The Congo crisis and its effects on Nkrumah’s foreign policy: The Congo crisis gravely undermined Nkrumah’s grand strategy for continental unity as Ghana- Congo agreement for the establishment of a union of African states was dashed following the murder of Patrice Lumumba, the Congolese prime minister. Put differently, the Congo crisis seriously affected Nkrumah’s grand Pan-African design to negotiate political union with as many states as possible to serve as the starting point for his proposed United States of Africa.

• Strategies Nkrumah employed to fulfill his foreign policy objectives it is argued caused intense disaffection, conflict and bitterness among some of his contemporaries, such as Felix Houphouet- Boigny of Ivory Coast, Sylvanus Olympio of Togo, and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. Nkrumah was accused of subversive actions and coups orchestrated to overthrow legitimate governments which resulted in antagonistic positions among his contemporaries. The charge that Nkrumah harboring and accommodating political refugees from Ivory Coast, Niger, Nigeria, Upper Volta, and Togo contributed to Nkrumah’s hostile relations with his West African neighbors.

• Opposition by Western powers: the Cold War ideological confrontation between the superpowers played a major role in frustrating African vision for African unity. To the extent that the Western powers which depends on Africa’s resources felt threatened by the African common government advocated by Kwame Nkrumah and therefore tried all avenues possible to ensure that Africa remains politically marginalized and balkanized in the global economy.
CONCLUSION

• This notwithstanding, Nkrumah’s mooted idea of unity government is still the best option if Africa will be able to overcome her precarious socioeconomic and political tragedies of intermittent wars and conflicts, poverty and exploitation of her natural resources by the West; even in the face of daunting challenges. Indeed only a union government could enable Africa to compete favorably with other political and economic blocs in this age of globalization and continental integration process going on in various other continents of the world.
Reading List


• Kanu, I. A. (2010). The political philosophy of Azikiwe as an ideology of political regeneration for Nigeria. *Professor Andah Journal of Cultural Studies. 3. 146-156*