PREFACE
P R E F A C E

In a state that has emerged independent after a sustained struggle against colonialism, foreign policy has a significant bearing on the process of 'nation-building'. The foreign policy of the new state has a dual role: of projecting the aspirations of the leadership and the people to establish an identity of their own in world politics while asserting the nation-state's independence and sovereignty; as also of conducting its external relations in a manner that would effectively contribute to its economic development.

The task is not easy for a new state and its leadership because the colonial experience had left behind fragile and economically unproductive socio-economic and political structures. These structures possess a character that mainly serves foreign interests and they are almost exclusively dependent on external forces for their sustenance.

The choices for the leadership are limited. It can follow an active and independent foreign policy to promote national interests while attempting to overcome structural constraints. Or, it can pursue a foreign policy that is in consonance with the interests of external forces in the expectation of attracting resources conducive to economic development of the country. The choice of the course adopted has varied among the new states. In the case of African states which engaged in the task of nation-building general problems of 'underdevelopment' are augmented by another problem unique to the continent. During the colonial phase, the ruling powers had
divided African territories into administrative units, amalgamating central power and traditional authorities. From this arrangement, the national liberation movements emerging in these areas acquired a dual character--of being determined by the distinct territories in their spheres of operation as well as by a close bond and cooperation between various movements both within and outside Africa. The conflict between these two aspects came strongly to the surface at the advent of independence. The establishment of sovereign nation-states and the existence of a strong pan-African sentiment needed to be reconciled to each other. The conflict between nationalism and pan-Africanism has been a major characteristic of post-independent Africa.

Advocates and protagonists of both the trends have dominated the African scene, leaving their impress upon the major issues facing the continent. The states adhering to the system of nation-states as sacrosanct and jealously guarding their newly won kingdoms, accepted the existing structures. The leadership of these states also advocated a foreign policy of continuing close political and economic links with the former metropolis, as the means of developing their respective units. There were other states who considered that the mere existence of nation-states as independent territorial units would not solve the structural problems of underdevelopment as they were non-viable. The need, according to these states, was for collective and coordinated efforts for development. The leaderships of such states advocated ambitious policies of reforming domestic structures and adopted an active foreign
policy with the goal of expanding contacts in the world to reduce dependence and thus asserting greater independence from the advanced countries. The unity or a union of African states was their goal for Africa.

The study of Ghana's foreign policy from independence in 1957 till 1969 is relevant and as well as significant not only in the framework of its structural problems of underdevelopment. It is also because of two different kinds of experiments followed by the leadership while conducting foreign policy. The period 1957-69 can be divided into two phases representing the two courses. The first phase (1957-66) was one, in which the leadership stressed the reform of politico-economic structures and followed a foreign policy that envisaged an active role for Africa in the world and a continental union in Africa as means of overcoming underdevelopment. The second phase (1966-69) followed the overthrow of a civilian regime by the armed forces, when pan-African perceptions gave way to more pragmatic and nationalistic policies in order to tackle the immediate economic problems of Ghana. Accordingly the leadership geared the foreign policy to meet this goal, assuming a low profile course within the continent and rallying support for the west in the expectation of aid and assistance for Ghana's economic recovery. There was, thus, a total shift and reorientation of policies in Ghana with the change of regime.

In both the phases, the foreign policy with distinct orientations played a lead role trying to grapple with the problems of nation-building. The focus in this study will be
the foreign policy of Ghana during 1966-69 when the military-police regime named the National Liberation Council (NLC) brought an end to the government and policies of the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. The change of leadership in this case signified changes, not so much in the administrative structure or decision-making process, as in the total perception and direction of the foreign policy.

The NLC's course in foreign policy, it was claimed, was determined by their primary concern to solve economic problems and set Ghana on a path of distinct economic development. The interests of Ghana as a nation-state, according to the NLC, were paramount and foreign policy was to be conducted with a view to securing these national interests. Foreign Policy was, thus, considered to be a direct contributory factor in the process of nation-building.

This dissertation is divided into five chapters each dealing with the major aspects of Ghana's foreign policy. The first chapter deals with the evolution of Ghana's foreign policy since independence which remains the most significant though controversial period in its history. An attempt is made to offer an analysis of the foreign policy under Kwame Nkrumah's leadership while focussing mainly on the nature of constraints that Ghana faced due to the opposition by some African states, western powers and even at home. It was under Nkrumah and in his pursuit of an active independent foreign policy that Ghana, an insignificant state of Africa emerged as a most prominent on in the first decade of Africa's independence. This is what made the change of
regime in Ghana and the subsequent shift in its foreign and domestic policies crucial in Africa.

The second chapter attempts to analyse the shifts in Ghana's role in Africa as brought about by the military regime. The NLC not only revised the pan-African role but also Ghana's stand on all the issues facing Africa. The third and fourth chapters deal with Ghana's relations with the superpowers, its role in the United Nations and the Commonwealth and specifically its relations with Britain. The fifth chapter deals comprehensively with the economic policies of both Nkrumah's as well as of the military regime. The economic structures and respective strategies to undertake development of Ghana by both the regimes are extremely relevant in the study of the foreign policy. The last and concluding chapter draws upon the experiences of a developing nation in its process of development and linkage between economic strategies and foreign policy.

Special mention is to be made with regard to the availability of relevant materials. Whereas vast material is available on Nkrumah's period there is great paucity of similar material on the subsequent period. Access to most of the primary source material including interviews with the military leaders was denied to me during my field trip to Ghana. I could only consult the material in terms of newspapers and a few official publications available in the libraries of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. The study hence is essentially based on newspaper coverage and few publications. I am extremely grateful to the Director and other staff of this Institute. As far as the secondary source material is concerned there is nothing substantial
that has been written on this period except one book and a couple of articles.

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