

ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF DRUG TRAFFICKING ON NATIONAL SECURITY: A CASE STUDY OF GHANA.

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DECLARATION

I, Lft. Col. Rafat Awudu, do hereby declare that this dissertation is the end product of my own research under the supervision of Dr. Vladimir Antwi-Danso of the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), University of Ghana towards the award of a Master of Arts (MA) in International Affairs and that, to the best of my knowledge, it neither contains materials previously published by another person nor materials which have been accepted for the award of any other degree by this or any other university except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

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INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Almighty God and my family for their immense contribution, sacrifice and prayers in seeing to it that, this work becomes a reality and a success.



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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AQIM	-	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
ATS	-	Amphetamine Type Stimulants
BNI	-	Bureau of National Investigations
CEPS	-	Customs Excise & Preventive Service
DEA	-	Drug Enforcement Agency
DISECS	-	District Security Councils
DOVVSU	-	Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
FCUBE	-	Free and Compulsory Universal Education
GAFCSC	-	Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College
ICC	-	International Criminal Court
INCB	-	International Narcotic Control Board
KA IPTC	-	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
KIA	-	Kotoka International Airport
MDM	-	methylenedioxy-methamphetamine
NACOB	-	Narcotic Control Board (Ghana)
NDC	-	National Democratic Congress
NDLEA	-	National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (Nigeria)
NPP	-	New Patriotic Party
PNDC	-	Provisional National Defence Council
REGSECS	-	Regional Security Councils
UK	-	United Kingdom
UN	-	United Nations
UNDCP	-	United Nations International Drug Control Program

UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNODC	-	United Nations' Office on Drug and Crime
US	-	United States
WACD	-	West Africa Commission on Drugs
WAJU	-	The Women and Juvenile Unit
WHO	-	World Health Organization



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ABSTRACT

Historical account of drug cultivation and trafficking in West Africa suggests that the menace is not a recent phenomenon but has its roots dating to as far back as the 1920s and 1930s. However, the 1960s witnessed the emergence of large scale smuggling of African-grown marijuana from Nigerian and Ghanaian which attracted national, regional and global attentions. However, the early 1980s witnessed a paradigm shift towards cocaine and heroin business often handled by Nigerians and their Ghanaian counterparts. Therefore, this study focuses on analysing impact of drug trafficking on the National Security of Ghana; with central focus to human security dimensions. Though drug trafficking is a global phenomenon, the scope of this study focuses primarily on impacts of drug trafficking on Ghana's national security. Despite the fact that, the concept of national security encapsulates both state security and human security, this study focuses essentially on analysing the impacts of drug trafficking from the human security perspective. The study is purely qualitative and relies primarily on literature review and interviews for data collection and analyses. From the study, drug trafficking in Ghana affects the economic, health, food, personal, political, environmental and community securities of citizens in the country. It also affects National Security of the country including increase in crime and violence rates in the country. The study also reveals that NACOB is the main government institution in the country enjoined to address and tackle the prevalence and menace of drug trafficking in the country. However, NACOB and the Government of Ghana face certain challenges to be able to effectively tackling the growing menace of drug trafficking in the country. Paramount among these challenges includes financial constraints and poor coordination between NACOB and its supportive institutions to enable it carry out its core mandates. Following from the findings, the study concludes that, Drug Trafficking in Ghana, has significant implications on the national security of the country; especially the human security of its populace. Towards this end, the study recommends that, the government should increase the number of personnel as well as the financial base and logistics of NACOB to be able to carry their mandates effectively. In addition, it also recommends that, there is a need for vibrant coordination between NACOB and its supporting institutions, especially among the Ghana Navy, NACOB and National Security to be able to effectively clamp the menace in the country.



CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the general introduction and research design to the topic under study. It consists of background to the problem statement, the statement of problem, research questions, objectives of the research, scope of the study, rationale of the study, hypothesis, conceptual framework, literature review, sources of data and methodology and finally, an arrangement of chapters.

1.1 Background to Problem Statement.

The concern for National Security has attracted much attention and interest among states and scholars in contemporary International Relations. This is due to the responsibility of governments to ensure that their territorial boundaries, as well as human security of their citizens, are well protected and secured; which is the ultimate aim of national security. Security in this context may be defined as ‘a protective condition which statesmen either try to acquire, or preserve, in order to guard the various components of their polities from either external or internal threats.’¹ There is no standard definition for national security. A plethora of definitions have been advanced by several scholars in attempt to couch the notion of national security. However, Harold Brown defines national security as the ability of a state “to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its nature, institution, and governance from disruption from outside; and to control its borders.”² National security therefore connotes the condition of a

state to permanently protect and continuously enhance the most cherished values and beliefs of the country, its institutions of governance and unity, democratic way of life, as well as the welfare and well-being of the citizens in the country. Thus, National security deals with both state security and human security of citizens of a particular state.

Human security however presumes that, the traditional notion of security which focused on state security (i.e. ensuring the protection of territorial boundaries) was not providing enough welfare to citizens. Therefore, there was the emergence of people-centered security which targeted ensuring the safety of citizens within a state aside the boundary security. It is in this vein that the concept of people-centered security is also known as human security. Owen Tylor defines Human Security as ‘the protection of vital core of all human lives from the critical (level of seriousness) and pervasive (the extent of) economic, environmental, health, food, personal, community and political threats.’³ Inferring from Taylor’s definition, Human/People Centered security can be said to have two main aims. First, the concept focuses or aims at safety from such chronic and fatal threats as repression, diseases, depression and hunger. And second, it aims at protection from hurtful and sudden disruptions in the patterns of daily human behavior anywhere in a state including offices, homes, and communities.

The concept of human security has emerged slowly but steadily over the 1990s, a development with important implications for health and human development. Human security attempts to broaden security thinking from the traditional notion of ‘national security’ and the ‘military defense’ of political boundaries to a ‘people-centered’ approach of anticipating and coping with the multiple threats faced by ordinary people in an increasingly globalizing world.⁴ Promulgated by the United Nations (UN) and interested governments, the concept of People centered security has steadily gained ground, culminating in the establishment of an independent international commission on human security in 2001.⁵

The first major statement concerning human/people centered security appeared in the 1994 *Human Development Report*, an annual publication of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). “The concept of security,” the report argues, “has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust. Legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives were however forgotten with increasing concerns for state security.”⁶ This critique instigated proposal for a new concept of security (people-centered security).

The new conceptualization of security targets seven areas of focus for individuals within a state. These include economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, political security, personal security and community security. Notwithstanding the new conceptualization of security to focus on the welfare of individuals since the 90s, drug trafficking has however become a global challenge which poses threats to international peace and security, especially the human security. This is because, illicit activities of drug trafficking pose rapacious threats to the national security of states and especially, the human security of citizens in states where it is practiced; and Ghana is no exception to this fact.

The World Health Organization defines the term “drug” as any substance with the potential to enhance physical or mental welfare and any chemical agent that alters the biochemical or physiological processes of tissues or organisms.⁷ From, this definition, drugs clearly play a role in meeting the physiological demands of man or enhancing quality of life. It also presents to us the possibility that certain drugs that alter the biochemical processes of organisms could be detrimental to our health. The word “traffic” is defined by the Advanced Learners Dictionary as illegal, illicit or immoral trade. Therefore the United Nations’ Office on Drug and Crime defines Drug trafficking as “the global illicit trade involving the cultivation, manufacture, distribution

and sale of substances which are subject to drug prohibition laws.”⁸ Drug trafficking like other transnational organized crime threatens both National and Human securities of a state. In addition, drug trafficking also engenders violence and mass corruption, disregard for rule of law and good governance, stifles economic growth, and poses potential public health threats to citizens.⁹ The above mentioned points seek to capture the several dimensions of the drug trade and its alarming impact on regional and international stability.

The pursuit of materialism, coupled with worsening economic crisis and unemployment, and the accompanying effects of globalization have led to the use and trafficking of drugs to satisfy human needs and wants by a minority of the population. Drugs in the eyes of the trafficker, in the short term, could lead to a positive change in economic circumstances. Thus, people go at all lengths to trade in drugs without recourse to human health or environmental consequences. The users and traffickers of these drugs cut across the socioeconomic spectrum (e.g. lower class, middle-income, high income), age, gender and religion. Often times, these illicit drugs are abused to satisfy a particular need (e.g. economical or physical) and this is fuelled by the constant supply by drug traffickers. The drug trade generates billions of dollars for organized crime each year, imposing incalculable costs on individuals, families, communities, and countries worldwide.¹⁰

It can be inferred from the above that, the production, sale or use of some particular substances in some specific geo-political terrain causes the substance to become illicit under International norms and laws. In resolving this impasse, the United Nations Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs signed in 1961 established a framework which stipulated provisions prohibiting the adequate production, sale and use of some substances either for health or scientific purposes.¹¹ Production and use of these drugs have to be strictly regulated because of the documented health

repercussions on human life. The drug traffickers in their attempt to amass wealth to the detriment of human lives are always on the wrong side of the law because they fail to adhere to the basic tenets of the 1961 Convention.

To curb the global drug menace and its future implications, the Narcotics Control Board was established by the Government of Ghana in 1990.¹² The Board is an agency under the Ministry of the Interior with a Governing Board, an Executive Secretary and two Deputy Executive Secretaries, one in-charge of Services and Training and the other in-charge of Enforcement and Control to implement the policies of the Governing Board. Internationally, Ghana is a signatory to some United Nations Protocols and Conventions on drugs. These include the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances, the 1972 Protocol Amending the 1961 Single Convention and the 1988 Convention against Illicit Trafficking of Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

Notwithstanding the above institutional provision to check drug trafficking in Ghana, the illicit trade still remains a major challenge for the government to contend with. To Sakyi, drug trafficking in Ghana could pose a national security risk derailing the national agenda.¹³

The proliferation of drug trafficking in Ghana is not imagined but a social plague which could impact negatively on the present and future generations. This study thus assesses the impact of this trade on national security, and the efforts made by government and collaborative international and regional agencies in the inevitable war on drugs in the country.

1.2 Statement of Problem.

West Africa, by consensus through research conducted by national and international agencies has become a major transit route and also a final destination for drug trafficking (Aning & Pokoo, 2014; Sakyi, 2013; Goodwin, 2007; USDEA, 2006; UNODC, 2013). In a 2011 UNODC

assessment, looking only at four countries where comparable data are available (Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and Portugal), 30% of the foreigners arrested for cocaine trafficking were from West Africa.¹⁴ This is perturbing as it dents the global image and reverses the gradual gains being made by countries in the sub region. However, there is paucity in research literature to fully comprehend the nature and effects of drug trafficking from a theoretical perspective in West Africa. Much of the existing literature on the trafficking of illicit narcotic drugs (cannabis, heroin, and cocaine) has been from a policy perspective and funded by consumer countries in the West. It is thus imperative to conduct scientific research to ascertain the nature and impact of drug trafficking in West Africa with a case study from a specific country within the sub-region. It is not farfetched to think that the reasons for this trend are socioeconomic, geographical and political. It is also not uncommon to continually hear news of major drug trafficking offences and large seizures via radio and television. This is why Ghana is selected as a case study for this particular study.

Ghana is a very peaceful country that has transitioned from a dictatorship to a democracy in the past few decades. Ghana is often referred to as the gate way to West Africa and her democratic credentials are also unmatched. Ghana has also become a model for other West African countries. Thus, it becomes worrying when news breaks of our involvement in major drug trafficking reports worldwide. For example, the arrest of Mr. Eric Amoateng, a parliamentarian in Ghana's fourth republic seems to cast a doubt on the country's preparedness to deal with the drugs issue and the credibility of her state institutions in the fight against the global threat. The establishment of the regional headquarters of the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) in Ghana was thus well-timed to effectively monitor the operations of drug traffickers in Ghana and her neighbouring countries.

Governments and international agencies have recognized the importance of collaborating to end or reduce the impact of these highly organized complex crimes. In recent times, stringent monitoring and crackdown by the DEA on European and South American drug traffickers has coerced them to find alternate routes to ply their trade by forming organizations with other criminals resident in Ghana, Togo, Guinea Bissau and Senegal and turning these countries into their ports of trade.¹⁵ The global threat from drug trafficking has thus become a topical issue for not only member states but international law enforcement agencies and narcotics agencies as well.

While it is becoming increasingly clear that the drug trafficking network is expanding its territories across the West African continent, particularly in the case of Ghana, the negative implications for the country's security as well as the political stability and safety of its citizens should be a matter of concern for all. Despite government's resolve and unflinching support from drug enforcement agencies to stem the drug trade, there still remains some skepticism among the citizenry, think tanks, Non-Governmental Organizations and some top former government officials. The former Attorney General of Ghana, Mr. Martin Amidu, is one such person who has questioned President Mahama's quest to fight drug trafficking in an article titled "Mahama can't lead fight against drugs."¹⁶ He wrote this on the backdrop that Mahama as Vice President and now as the President of Ghana has been unable to offer a demonstrable plan to stem the menace of drug trafficking within the small territorial boundaries of Ghana. He thus questions his resolve to extend the drug trafficking fight to other member states within the West African sub region.

This study thus recognizes the magnitude of the problem confronting the West African sub region and Ghana in particular. As a resolve, the research attempts to assess the impact of drug trafficking on Ghana's national security within a conceptual framework of human security.

1.3 Research Questions

- a. What is the state or nature of drug trafficking in Ghana?
- b. What are the causes or favourable conditions which facilitates drug trafficking in Ghana?
- c. What are the impacts of drug trafficking on National security of Ghana; taking into consideration the Human Security Dimensions?
- d. What are the challenges faced by state institutions in Ghana, as well as collaborative international efforts, in effectively tackling drug trafficking in Ghana?
- e. What measures can be taken by the Ghanaian government in collaboration with international supports in her fight against drug trafficking in the country?

1.4 Objectives

- a. The study seeks to ascertain the state or nature of drug trafficking in Ghana.
- b. The study will also identify the causes or favourable conditions which facilitates drug trafficking in Ghana.
- c. In addition, the study will analyze the impacts of drug trafficking on the National Security of Ghana, taking into consideration the Human Security dimensions.
- d. More so, the study will reveal the challenges faced by state institutions in Ghana, as well as collaborative international efforts, in effectively tackling drug trafficking in the Ghana.
- e. Finally, the study will provide plausible postulations in terms of measures which can be taken by the Ghanaian government in collaboration with international supports to effectively tackle drug trafficking in Ghana and to a larger extent, West Africa.

1.5 Scope of the Study.

Though drug trafficking is a global phenomenon, this study will focus primarily on impacts of drug trafficking on Ghana's national security. Despite the fact that, the notion of national security covers both state security and human security, this study focuses essentially on analyzing the impacts of drug trafficking from the human security perspective. In this regard, the study will target the threats posed by drug trafficking to the economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, political security, personal security and community security to individuals within Ghana, and little attention to National security of the state.

1.6 Rationale of Study

Drug trafficking is a major threat to the stability and tranquility enjoyed by most countries. Various researchers reviewed have cautiously envisaged the direct and indirect link between drug trafficking and insurgency in some countries like Guinea Bissau and Mali (Aning & Pokoo, 2014; Bury, 2011; Bybee, 2006; Ellis, 2009). Ghana is one of such West African states used as a transit point for carting of drugs to Europe. What make Ghana's case distinctive are the large quantities of drugs that have been seized along our borders in recent times. There is a paucity of research on the drug trade in Ghana, thus the study will also serve as a reference point for international agencies in understanding the implications of the drug trade on national security.

Notwithstanding the inability of the international community as well state institutions in Ghana to effectively respond to the illicit trade of unlawful drugs in the country, collaborative efforts by some actors in the international system have helped to some extent, in minimizing the devastating rate of impact it would have on Ghana's national security, particularly the human security of individuals living within the country. Without this global effort, it would have been

very difficult and almost impossible for Ghana to cope and even manage the menace. The benefit of this study therefore is to contribute to knowledge on the topic by analyzing the impact on drug trafficking, within the context of human security from the Ghanaian perspective. It also seeks to make recommendations which policy makers, students, states, integration blocs and international organizations could rely on for future researches on the topic to make interventions in other regions across the globe where these illicit economic activities are manifesting.

The study will be useful for our security and drug enforcement agencies (NACOB, Police Service, Immigration & CEPS) in their effort to combat crime. This study will serve as a useful tool and a source of reference for persons interested in conducting research related to drug trafficking and national security. Further, it will help policy makers and government to be aware of the current state of affairs and guide them towards renewed efforts in combating crime.

1.7 Hypothesis

Drug Trafficking in Ghana, has significant implications on the national security of the country; especially the human security of its populace.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

This study utilizes the concept of Human Security in its analysis. Mahbub Ul Haq is usually ascribed as the major proponent of this theory. It was the Human Development Report which was crafted in 1994 by Mahbub Ul Haq which concentrated essentially on the detailed and systematic approach to human security, by outlining the dimensions of the new security conceptualization.¹⁷ The idea about human security came about under the Human Development Report of 1994, where two main issues were considered, i.e. freedom of fear which addresses protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life whether in homes, in jobs or in communities, and freedom from wants which centralized on safety from such chronic

threats as hunger, disease and repression.¹⁸ These issues aimed at addressing human hazards, torture and pain. It is in this vein that the 1994 Human Development Report defines human society as people “safety from chronic threats and protection from sudden hurtful disruptions in the pattern of daily life.”

Traditional conceptualization of security focused predominantly on state security, with the realist notion. The state is considered the dominant actor in the international system which has the sole prerogative of protecting its territorial boundaries to ensure the safety of its citizens. This means that, traditional conceptualization of security sought to perceive that, the individuals or citizens of a state are safe if the territorial boundaries are protected from external attacks of other states. However, Human Security is a paradigm shift which focuses essentially on individuals within a state and not protection of state boundaries or territories only.

Theorists of human security expound that, it is not really the case that, individuals within a particular state are free if their territorial boundaries are protected from external attacks. They posit that, there are other threats that may bedevil individuals in state although its territorial boundaries may be well protected and secured. These threats include poverty, hunger, torture and restrictions of basic rights from undemocratic leaderships, chronic diseases, among others. According to the Human Security Report 2005, human security is a new security concept which now widely accepted and used to describe the complex of international threats associated with genocides, poverty, hunger, refugee crisis and civil wars.¹⁹

The basic components of human security from the 1994 Human Development Report include the following:

- Economic security – emphasizes an appreciable basic income that could be obtain from productive work or public financial systems for individuals to be able to provide their basic needs.
- Food security – connotes having the physical and economic capabilities to obtain basic foods in their appreciable qualities and quantities.
- Health security - suggests minimum security from diseases and avoidance of lifestyles that are detrimental to the health of people.
- Environmental security – stipulates avoiding practices which lead to the deterioration of the natural environment and its associated consequences.
- Political security – stresses on the extent to which individuals within a state are allowed to exercise their political liberties, such as the freedom to vote for any political party of one's choice without coercion or restrictions.
- Personal security – focuses on the extent to which individuals within a state could be protected from physical violence or harm.
- Community security – expounds the efforts taken by government in protecting and enhancing the traditional relations and values which bonds together and promotes harmony among individuals in a state.

The main argument of human security is that, conceptualization of security issues should be broadened so as to cover ensuring the protection and safety of individuals within a state, rather than focusing only on the protection of territorial boundaries, which has been the traditional notion of security. Thus, theorists of human security believe that the traditional notion of security has been over – simplified and it was about time a broader consideration to security issues which will also give attention to individuals within a state, rather than focusing entirely on the protection of territorial boundaries.

The concept of Human Security has been criticized or challenged on several grounds. Most critics of human security assert that, the concept is vague and does not qualify to be accepted as an effective theoretical framework for analysis in International Relations. For instance, Chandler in his work, *Human Security: The Dog that Didn't Bark*, suggests that human security has been reinforced but have had little impact on policies formulation.²⁰ He added that, human security is normative rather than being descriptive, i.e. human security suggests 'what should be' rather than 'what is actual happening.'²¹ In addition Chandler establishes that, the concept of human security has been an exaggeration and location to human security threats are usually identified to be centralized in developing countries, particularly those in Africa.²² He also points out that, human security theorists looks at short-term knowledge rather than long-term strategic solutions to so called 'human security threats.'²³

Owen in his work, *Human Security: Conflict, Critique and Consensus* also criticize the concept of human security on some grounds. He identifies that, there is no threshold definition of the concept, and also points out that, concentrating on individuals only proliferates the concept without adding any analytic value.²⁴

In response to the above criticisms, Paris explains that Human Security is not totally useless, but has rather led to some beneficial achievements to human survival. These include changing the nature of war-fares where non-combatants are supposed to be protected during wars and combatants who are also captured by victor states are not supposed to be killed instantly or treated inhumanely as done in the past.²⁵ He also reveals that, the call for human security has led to the formation of ICC to ensure that governments do not subject their own citizens to torture, pain and hunger.²⁶ In addition, he identifies that, concerns for human security has led to Land

mines treaties which bans the use, production, stockpiling and transfer of antipersonnel mines and places.²⁷

Notwithstanding the above criticism leveled against the concept of Human Security by the above scholars, I still consider the concept as an ideal framework for the study. This is because, it fits perfectly into the topic by helping to better appreciate and understand the impacts that drug trafficking has on the national security of Ghana, with much emphasis on economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, political security, personal security and community security of individuals within the country. This will help present a detailed analysis of the state of the menace in the country, and informed recommendations based on finding that will be derived from the study.

1.9 Literature Review

Some scholarly works have been done in recent times on the topic under study. However, little attention has been given to the implications of drug trafficking on the national and human securities of specific countries in West Africa, with special emphasis on Ghana. It is in this vein that some of these works will be reviewed to indicate how they contribute significantly to the topic under study, and also identify some gaps, which this study attempts to fill. For the purpose of clarity and better understanding of this study, the literature review has categorized into six (6) broad areas which include conceptualizing the dimensions of national security, conceptualizing the dimensions human security, global drug trafficking phenomena, drug trafficking in Africa, drug trafficking in West Africa and drug trafficking in Ghana. Each section contains a review of two scholarly works.

1.9.1 Conceptualizing the Dimensions of National Security

Boafo-Arthur in Bluwey and Kumado's work on *Ghana in Search of National Security* explains that, the objectives of classical national security focused on state security towards protection of the territorial boundaries of a state, people within the state, institutions as well as values of the state, and these to him are the sole responsibility and objectives of a state.²⁸ In this sense, he establishes that, traditional notion of security meant state security or international security which aimed at "protection of a state from physical assault and ideological subversions."²⁹

Boafo-Arthur also identifies other dimensions of national security which are of great priority to a state. These include self- preservation or the survival of the nation as a whole; protection of territory and natural resources confined within its borders, protection of individuals of the country; protection of investments at home and abroad, safeguarding the core interests of the nation; its prosperity and economic well-being, protecting the nation's external image and prestige and finally safeguarding the institutions of the nation including the entire systems of government.³⁰

He also posits that, a state may intentionally include in its foreign policy, efforts and mechanisms to stabilize its neighbouring countries politically, culturally, militarily and economically. This to him is done in an attempt to mitigate or stop the influx of political and economic refugees who could pose threats to the national security of the state.³¹ He therefore concludes that, the core interests of national security extend beyond the protection of the territorial boundaries of a state to also ensuring the safety of neighbouring states.³²

Jennifer Chacón in her work, Unsecured Borders: Immigration Restrictions, Crime Control And National Security, asserts that, immigration and crime controls especially through checks and

removal of non-citizens have become critical issues of focus to the National Securities of states in contemporary times.³³ She reveals that, most governments in recent times use National Security as a justification for the removal of non-citizens who may actually pose no threats to a state or individuals within the state.³⁴ This practice to her does little in enhancing the concept of National Security, and also undermines the important objectives of National Security which includes protecting civil liberties.³⁵ She therefore concludes that, “formulating immigration policies while gazing through a distorted lens of National Security perversely results in ill-suited laws which are unable to achieve either their main objectives or other immigration policy goals to be able to effectively monitor, prevent and control transnational threats of which, drug trafficking is no exception.”³⁶

The above scholarly works in this section contribute significantly to the topic under study by revealing and throwing more insights into some dimensions and objectives of National Security. However, they all have a common gap by failing to identify how some transitional threats such as drug trafficking, may have significant implications on the National Security of a state and how this threat could be prevented, managed or controlled. This is a gap in the above literature which this study seeks to fill by utilizing the concept of Human Security to analyse the implications of drug trafficking on the National Security of Ghana.

1.9.2 Conceptualizing the Dimensions of Human Security

In his work, The Idea of Human Security, Gasper Des explores other aspects of security nexus rather than prioritizing role of any security concept, i.e. not restricting security nexus exclusively to state security or threats to territorial boundaries of states. He explains that, Human Security conveys a visceral, lived feel fears and feelings.³⁷ Thus, Human Security evokes a sense of real

lives and persons. In addition, he asserts that, Human Security focuses on human priorities to avoid losses rather than making gains.

He also points out that, Human Security adds substance to the notion of development by addressing concerns of human insecurity which includes inequality, deprivation and social exclusion.³⁸ Towards this end, Gasper Des posits that, Human Security connects a series of ideas; objectively and subjectively felt security with normative priorities for human concerns. In this vein, he argues that, the connection of the series of ideas about Human Security gives a discourse to it rather perceiving it as a mere a concept which does not contribute significantly to the security nexus as opposed by some critics.³⁹

With the perception of Human Security as a discourse rather than a mere concept, Gasper Des identifies some components of Human Security. These include focus on individuals' lives in regards to access to basic needs, freedom and ability to achieve values and outcomes, and concerns for stability. He also adds that, Human Security focuses on the ideas of human development, human needs and human rights in relation to the individuals within a state rather than protection of territorial boundaries.⁴⁰

Gasper identifies some attacks on Human Security which includes attacks on its definition, lack of influence in policy making and decisions in security discourse, broader scope of the concept and lack of explanatory force for effective analysis in International Relations. However, he reveals that, at the supra-individual levels, human security thinking stresses the interaction of economic, social, political, cultural, military, epidemiological and other systems which have been conventionally addressed differently in policies and researches. He also points out that, Human Security approach has been employed in multilateral actions to address priority threats to individual humans.

In response to criticisms against the relevance of Human Security in Contemporary International Relations Studies; especially with regards to its ineffectiveness for better analysis in Security discourse, Gasper Des explains that, the concept provides new perspectives in investigation, guides evaluations in human concerns, guides positive analyses through emphasis on outcomes and values and therefore motivates policy formulations and implementations.⁴¹ He also establishes that, the broader scope of Human Security “inspires the more concrete and specific research policy; and as such promotes integration across boundaries; organizational, ideological and disciplinary.”

Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh in his work, Human Security: Concepts and Implications, posits that, Human security as a concept, represents a re-scoping to traditional understandings of security and development aimed at addressing new security challenges that threaten human existence beyond those that are military, including factors such as human rights abuses and underdevelopment.⁴² He identifies that the scope of Human security requires: “the recognition of interconnections between development, security and human rights; the adoption of multi-dimensional solutions based on an inter-disciplinary approach; and making use of academic research in the framing of policy proposals.”⁴³

He points out that, Human Security puts individuals at the center of both analysis and action and this provides an effective means to evaluate threats, foresee crises, analyze the cause of discord and propose solutions entailing a redistribution of responsibilities. Towards this end, Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh asserts that, human security is not only an analytic concept but also signifies shared political and moral values. He explains that, although human security analysis may not have

provided explanations of how insecurity originates, it has called attention to the importance of recognizing the interconnections between hosts of factors that in combination produce insecurity.

In response to critics of Human security, Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh explains that Human Security provides an effective approach for preventing the human rights abuses and underdevelopments that which threaten the human securities of individuals. He also adds that, Human security should not be given a narrow definition, but should remain flexible enough to develop as our understanding of how the roots of worldwide insecurity deepens and develop capacity to address these roots causes. He concludes by suggesting that, “though human security is frequently accused of being too broad an approach and too ambitious, its essence remains quite humble: to ensure that the worst does not come to pass, and as such, it is call to reason.”⁴⁴

The above scholarly works in this section also corroborate the topic under study by revealing and throwing more insights into some dimensions and objectives of Human Security by focusing on the safety of the individual in terms of human rights, development and security, rather than safety on territorial boundaries. However, they all have a common gap by failing to identify how some transitional threats such as drug trafficking, may have significant implications on the Human Security of individuals within a state and how this threat could be prevented, managed or controlled. This lacuna in the above literature is what this study seeks to fill by utilizing the concept of Human Security to analyse the implications of drug trafficking on the National Security of Ghana.

1.9.3 Global Drug Trafficking Phenomena

In his work, International Drug Trafficking and National Security of Turkey, Ekici, Behsat, establishes that, Drug trafficking is an ever growing international security conundrum. He identifies that, transnational crime syndicates have proved to be extremely resilient to counter-

narcotics initiatives. He further explains that, despite national and global efforts garnered towards tackling the menace, drug trafficking continues to persist and threatens the national and human security in countries where it is practiced.⁴⁵ He reveals that, governments increasingly controls over existing drugs have induced some transnational crime syndicates to manufacture new psychoactive substances. He also identifies that, annual death tolls from drug-related issues have increased to 250,000 globally, and that illicit drug trade has proven to be a major threat to global human security since it engenders mass corruption, terrorism, economic development challenges and threats to state security.⁴⁶

Using Turkey as a case study, he identifies that, counter-narcotics policy is often subdued by counter-terrorism and geopolitical conflict in some countries across globe since drug trafficking is not really considered a national threat issue.⁴⁷ However he points out that, high-level security officials perceive narcotics threat as serious security issue just as the counter-terrorism campaign of governments.

Felbab-Brown, Vanda, in his work, Shooting Up: Counterinsurgency and the War on Drugs, explains the effects of illicit economies on military conflict across the globe. He reveals that illicit economic activities have other profound and dire consequences for states.⁴⁸ He points out that, most high level drug traffickers are able to secure official positions of power as well as wield influence from behind the scenes. He also explains that, politicians bankrolled with illicit money achieve greater success, and established political actors are tempted to participate in the illicit economy, leading to endemic corruption as observed in Afghanistan, Guatemala, and El Salvador. He asserts that, large illicit economies dominated by powerful traffickers also have pernicious effects on the quality of law enforcement and the judicial system as traffickers

increasingly appear to be above the law.⁴⁹ Using a case of Mexico and Colombia, he propounds that drug trafficking can corrupt and paralyze law enforcement and this can devastate the judicial system.

In addition, to the above, Felbab-Brown, Vanda elaborates on the negative effects of drug trafficking on economies. He asserts that, on one hand, drug trafficking by cultivation and processing of illicit crops has generated employment for some rural poor population but points out that, a burgeoning drug economy also contributes to inflation and destabilizes a nation's currency, thereby posing threats to legitimate, export-oriented industries and foreign exchange earnings to a state.⁵⁰ To him, drug trafficking also encourages real estate speculation and displaces production of legitimate goods and services. Finally, he points out that, more often than not, profits from illicit drug trade are sometimes dissipated into unprofitable ventures rather than productive economic investment.⁵¹

The above scholarly works are of great essence to the topic under study by revealing the nature and some impacts of global drug trafficking phenomena. However little is said in their works with regards to the situation as pertaining to the Africa continent. This gap in their work is work this study will fill by analyzing the impact of drug trafficking on the National Security from the Ghanaian perspective.

1.9.4 Drug Trafficking in Africa

Ashley Neese Bybee in her work, The Twenty-First Century Expansion of the Transnational Drug Trade in Africa, examines trends and factors contributing to the expansion of illicit drug trade in some African states in the twenty-first century, and the impacts of such trade on states and their populations.⁵² She opines that, Africa's involvement in global drug trade was before the mid-2000s; which was generally limited to West African heroin distribution networks but has

now witnessed an unrelenting expansion throughout the continent. She further asserts that, the rise in illicit narcotics trade across Africa could be as a result of the African's world view on drugs. She suggests that, Africans perceive illicit drug trade as a way to provide for their families, friends and other members of their social networks rather than considering it as a serious crime.⁵³ Her statement even though partly true rather offers a simplistic view of the proliferation of illicit drugs in West Africa as only a minority is actively involved.

Byee identifies rising addiction rates and terrorist financing as alarming consequences of drug trafficking in Africa, but points out that, the drastic dangers of drug trafficking on nascent democratic institutions and government officials and raises the most cause for concern. Moreover, she explains that, drug revenues have facilitated and deepened ethnic cleavages and divisions and most often contributed to the chaos situations in some states in recent times. Furthermore, Byee identifies that, the twenty-first Century expansion of the transnational drug trade in Africa undermines the rule of law and legitimate economic growth necessary for development and stability. To her, one of the most fascinating situations which raise concerns for Africa, is the growing the increasing trends of illicit drug trade on the continent.⁵⁴

In relation to the above, Byee explains that, drug trafficking in Africa has now extended beyond West Africa to East, Central and Southern Africa with the arrival of new drugs such as heroin and Amphetamine Type Stimulants (ATS, commonly referred to as synthetic drugs), accompanied by the discovery of local manufacturing facilities to process them. She also highlights that, the growing level of involvement by Africans who initially served as facilitators but now appear to be taking a more proactive role and this raises concerns to tackle the challenge with urgency.

Byee therefore concludes that, many Africanists believe that illicit drug trade will be the major issue which would plague the African continent in the near future rather than internal conflicts and underdevelopments.⁵⁵ This is because, the integration of the African continent to other parts of the world through the mechanisms and processes of globalization, could facilitate and ensure the continuity of illicit drug trade on the continent. This therefore behoves the international community to channel more resources into curbing the situation now before it escalates into a global threat which may be very difficult or almost impossible to tackle.

Gail Wannenburg in his work, Organised Crime in West Africa explores the development of organised crime such as drug trafficking in Africa with particular reference to West Africa and its socio-political and economic status quo that facilitated the illicit trade in the sub-region. He posits that, there were three factors that facilitated African involvement primarily in the heroin trade. These include the global economic downturns that resulted in extreme poverty and joblessness, the existing smuggling routes in a resource-rich continent, , and the massive African (namely Nigerian) diaspora with a presence in eighty countries around the world.⁵⁶ Farmers grow cannabis as an alternative to other crops, such as cocoa, because prices for the latter are volatile on the world market.

Wannenburg also explains that, political and economic governance is in flux in most parts of Africa, particularly West Africa. He identifies that, the factors that have contributed significantly to organized crimes such as drug trafficking in Africa is absence of good governance and mass corruption.⁵⁷ He therefore concludes that, the above factors coupled with harsh economic conditions facing the continent, means it will be very difficult to curb and eradicate completely the incidence of illicit drug trade from the continent in the short term.⁵⁸

The above scholarly works are also of great relevance to this study. This is because, they highlight the nature and some impacts of drug trafficking on the African continent. There is however a dearth of theoretical exploration in analysing the impact of drug trafficking on the national security of individual states on the continent. This gap is what this work seeks to fill by employing the Human Security concept in elaborating the impact of drug trafficking on Ghana's National Security.

1.9.5 Drug Trafficking in West Africa

Aning and Pokoo in their work, Understanding the Nature and Threats of Drug Trafficking to National And Regional Security in West Africa, observe that, West Africa since the 1990s became a major transit and repackaging hub for cocaine and heroin originating from Latin America and Asian producing areas to European markets. They explain that, a rapid infiltration of illicit drugs occurred in the mid-2000s in West Africa as a result of the robust global anti-narcotic policies by the US amidst increasing demands for illicit substance in Europe.⁵⁹ Their study focuses on the correlation between crime, terrorism and illicit drug trade in West Africa. In this vein, they argue that, profits obtained from illicit drug trade are usually use to empower insurgence groups which poses security threats to fragile states in the West African sub-region.⁶⁰ Their analyses focus mainly on how drug trafficking in the Sahel region, particularly Mali has contributed to exacerbate the levels of crime, corruption and poor governance in the region.

Aning and Pokoo's main argument is that there is an apparent 'citizen disconnect' in terms of the 'official' statements and 'citizen perceptions' about drugs.⁶¹ They point out that, citizens can play a vital role in charging appropriate stakeholders to formulate and implement effective policies which would be geared towards addressing the canker. Where violence has existed, revenue illicit drug trade has contributed in fuelling the crisis. They therefore conclude that, the

physical and social conditions in the sub-region require innovative strategies that invite local people and communities to develop a common perspective to the challenges of drug trafficking in the sub-region. Views of citizens in West Africa could play vital role in combating the menace in the sub-region.⁶²

David Brown in his work, The Challenge of Drug Trafficking to Democratic Governance and Human Security in West Africa, reveals that the geographic location of West Africa which lies between Latin America and Europe made it an ideal transit zone for illicit drug trade. He points out that, the main factors favourable for drug trafficking in West Africa includes other factors such as poor democracy and governance, mass corruption and low economic standards, aside the region's favourable location.⁶³ In addition, he identifies that, the major and most important international criminal networks are from Latin America; primarily from Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela, who partner with West African criminals.⁶⁴ According to Brown, most drug criminals from West Africa in recent times are Nigerians and Ghanaians. He explains that, individuals from Nigeria and Ghana, since decades have been involved in active global drug trade previously in cannabis and later switched to heroin. He also reveals that, "there are strong evidence linking terrorist organizations or state sponsors of terrorism to the West Africa drug trade, including Colombia's Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Hezbollah (allied with elements in the Lebanese diaspora), Venezuela, and Iran."⁶⁵

Brown's main argument is that, notwithstanding the remarkable progress some states in West Africa have made in terms of economic development and democracy, the phenomena of illicit drug trade in the region have been a bane to such remarkable efforts.⁶⁶ This is because, activities

of drug trafficking are fuelling mass corruption, disregard to law and order and rule of law, sometimes resulting in civil wars or coup d'états and human right abuses. He adds that, the “problem has worsened to the point that these networks represent an existential threat to the viability of already fragile states in West Africa as independent, rule of law based entities.”⁶⁷ He also asserts that, drug trafficking in West Africa is eroding West Africa’s traditional social fabric and creating a public health crisis, with hundreds of thousands of new drug addicts. Brown therefore concludes that, on net, drug trafficking has posed very great challenge to the national and human securities of some states in West Africa since the early-1990s till date.⁶⁸

The above scholarly works also corroborate this study. This is because, they highlight the nature and some impacts of drug trafficking in the West African sub-region. There is however a dearth of theoretical exploration in analysing the impact of drug trafficking on the national security of individual states in West Africa. This gap is what this work seeks to fill by employing the Human Security concept in elaborating the impact of drug trafficking on Ghana’s National Security.

1.9.6 Drug Trafficking in Ghana

Emmanuel Akyeampong in his work, Diaspora and Drug Trafficking in West Africa: A Case Study of Ghana, analyses within the context of a global political economy, the emergence of drug trafficking in contemporary Ghana and West Africa, from a historical perspective. He reveals that, Ghana’s involvement in drug trafficking dates back to the early 1980s.⁶⁹ He points out that, at the beginning of the 1980s, only a negligible proportion of Ghanaians knew about heroin, cocaine and other complex synthetic drugs. He adds that, the situation changed entirely by 1990 and between 1984 and 1990, as many as 1744 illegal deals in narcotics in Ghana was

recorded. He further reveals that, in the 1990s ‘cocaine money’ and ‘cocaine houses’ were very much evidenced in Ghana as people engaged in illicit drug trade displayed their wealth. He explains that, most Ghanaians’ involvement in drug trafficking at this period was in cocaine and heroin in the capacity as couriers and intermediaries for Nigeria syndicates.

Akyeampong reveals that, in 1992, about 42 Ghanaians had been convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in Thailand for drug trafficking and a further 60 were awaiting trial. In relation to this, he explains that, Ghana’s involvement in global drug trade during this era was due to the political economy of the country. He points out that, the political economy of Ghana in the 1990s suffered a recession which resulted in devaluation of the Cedis significantly. In addition, free trade opened the economy of Ghana to cheap exports from Asia; Taiwan and Dubai, which had become supply sources for Ghanaian traders. He explains that, this situation made Ghana’s economy uncompetitive on the global market during this period which caused several small business owners and some big owners to turn their attention to drug trafficking.⁷⁰ Akyeampong therefore concludes that, “the concept of an ideological diaspora could shed light on a shared global popular culture, which constitutes a counter culture and rationalizes criminal activities.”⁷¹

Kwesi Aning in his work, Are there emerging West African criminal networks? The case of Ghana, discusses the emerging African Criminal Networks (ACN) with special to Ghana, and West Africa generally, and presents the initial results of an empirically based study on the activities of transnational organized criminal (TOCs) groups in Ghana. He argues that, the government systems in Africa coupled with the inability of states to establish comprehensive regulatory mechanism have largely contributed to the burgeoning and expansion of illicit drug trade on the

continent.⁷² It begins by situating the Ghanaian and West African criminal groups within the context and framework of international crime syndicates. Furthermore, he makes an in-depth analysis of three types of crimes; namely “computer and internet crime, drug trafficking and (artisanal) small arms manufacture and smuggling in Ghana.” By applying a set of standard variables and criteria, he evaluates “the growth of TNCs in these three issue-areas and how such activities potentially undermine public institutions like the Ghana Police Service (GPS), customs, excise and preventive services (CEPS), judiciary, banking and political parties and political institutions in Ghana.”⁷³ He therefore concludes that, “the growth and acceptance by local communities of the activities of organized crime such as drug trafficking in Ghana is often due to the cultural ethos and the social welfare roles played by those involved in such crimes.”⁷⁴

The above scholarly works also corroborate this study. This is because they highlight some factors that have contributed to the burgeoning drug trade in Ghana. There is however a dearth of theoretical exploration in analysing the impact of drug trafficking on the human security of the citizens of the country. This lacuna is what this work seeks to fill by employing the Human Security concept in elaborating the impact of drug trafficking on Ghana’s National Security.

1.10 Sources of Data and Methodology

This study relied on data from both primary and secondary sources. The secondary sources included data from books and published journal articles as well as some news sites such as The Narcotics Control Board (NACOB), The World Health Organization (WHO) and Ghana Police Service (Police Narcotics Unit) websites where I obtain relevant data pertinent to the topic, to know the realities of the implications of drug trafficking on Ghana’s national security; particularly the human security of individuals within the country.

Also, primary data was also obtained through unstructured interviews from some key personalities from NACOB, Ghana Navy and some Security experts. Paramount among them include Mr. Mark Ewuntomah (Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board - NACOB), Captain (Navy) Dr. Kamal Deen (Head of Research Department - Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College – GAF CSC) and Dr. Kwesi Aning (Security Expert at Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre – KAIPTC). These personalities were selected for interview to provide more detailed analyses about the realities pertaining to the implications of drug trafficking on Ghana's national security; particularly the human security of individuals within the country, outside most rhetoric and speculations making waves in the media.

Information obtained from the interviews were used to synchronize and complement data obtained from literature review in order to provide a more holistic and in-depth analysis of the responses. This is because the topic under study is an on-going phenomenon and will require most recent data for better analysis and recommendations. Data from the above sources indicated was also analyzed through the lens of the Human Security to provide a better insight into the implications of drug trafficking on Ghana's national security; with focus on human security and used that to make recommendations based on the outcomes of the study.

In the case of methodology, the study relied purely on qualitative research method for data collection and analysis. The analysis was based on an exploratory and descriptive design to provide information where limited information exists, to show gaps in existing literature and to finally provide recommendations based on findings from the study for future studies and interventions on drug trafficking in Ghana, West Africa, Africa and any other region across the globe where the menace is manifesting.

Exploratory design was employed due to the flexibility or non-rigid nature of qualitative research method. The method connotes exploring other avenues of obtaining data without any strict restrictions and applications as in the case of quantitative research method. Exploratory design most often relies on secondary research such as reviewing available literature or data and also conducting in-depth interviews, case studies, pilot studies etc.⁷⁵ The Exploratory design helps in formulating a more precise problem statement and developing a good hypothesis.⁷⁶ The exploratory design also helps in investigating a social phenomenon without explicit expectations.⁷⁷ This is because, the design aided the researcher in investigating and making a holistic analysis about data obtained from sources indicated earlier without any prejudices or personal idiosyncrasies. The descriptive design was used to establish facts and relationships; by describing into details the impacts of drug trafficking on the National Security of Ghana, with much focus to Human Security dimensions.

1.11 Arrangements of Chapters

Having the objectives of the topic in mind, this work was divided into the following four main chapters.

Chapter 1 will consists of research design of the study.

Chapter 2 will cover an overview of the drug trafficking phenomena on the global scale (the world at large), the continental scale (Africa), regional level (West Africa) and national levels (Ghana to be precise)

Chapter 3 will cover the analysis of the implications of drug trafficking on the national security of Ghana, with much emphasis on the human security of individuals within Ghana.

Chapter 4 which will be the final chapter will cover Summary of findings, Conclusion and Recommendations based on findings of the study.



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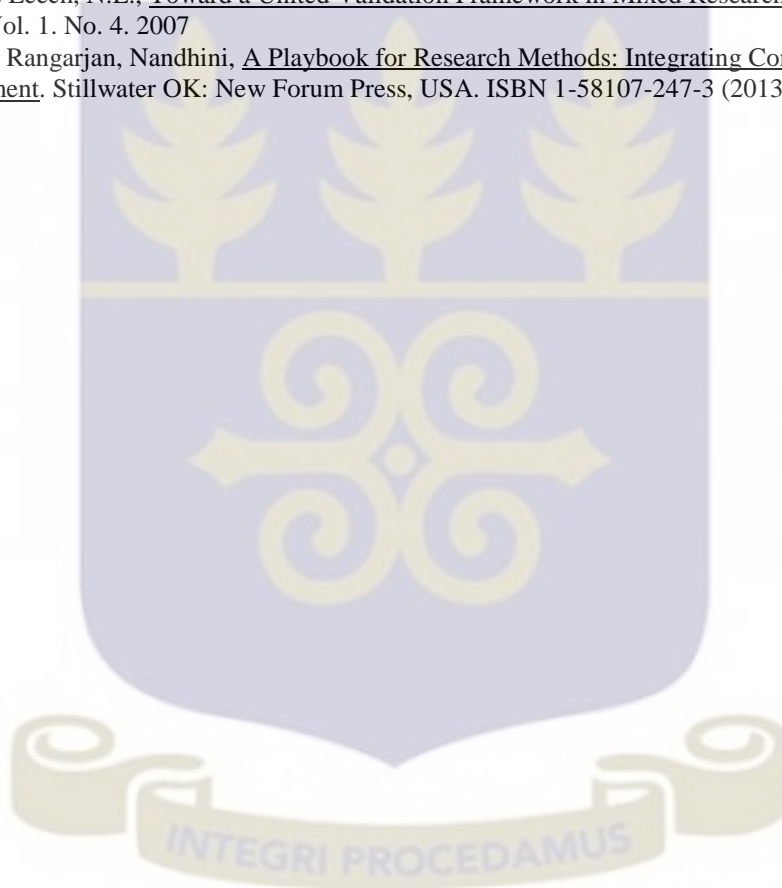
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CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF DRUG TRAFFICKING PHENOMENA ACROSS THE GLOBE, WEST AFRICA AND GHANA.

2.0 Introduction.

The phenomena of drug trafficking is a global challenge which is not only restricted to Ghana. It is in this vein that this Chapter makes an overview of drug trafficking phenomena across the globe, with particular emphasis on West Africa and Ghana.

2.1 Overview of Drug Trafficking Across the Globe.

Drug trafficking has become a global challenge which necessitates a collective global action or efforts towards tackling it. The main illicit drugs which are usually trafficked across the globe include cannabis, heroin, cocaine, opiates, coca, methylenedioxy-methamphetamine (MDM) and temazepam. However cocaine is considered the most expensive drug at mean global single gram purchase price of 100 euros / gram (ranging in price from 50 in parts of Europe to over 250 in NZ, which also had the most expensive MDM as well.¹ Notwithstanding the above fact, Adam Winstock establishes that, cocaine is considered the worst value for drug money in the world whilst methylenedioxy-methamphetamine (MDM) is considered the best for drug money in the world.²

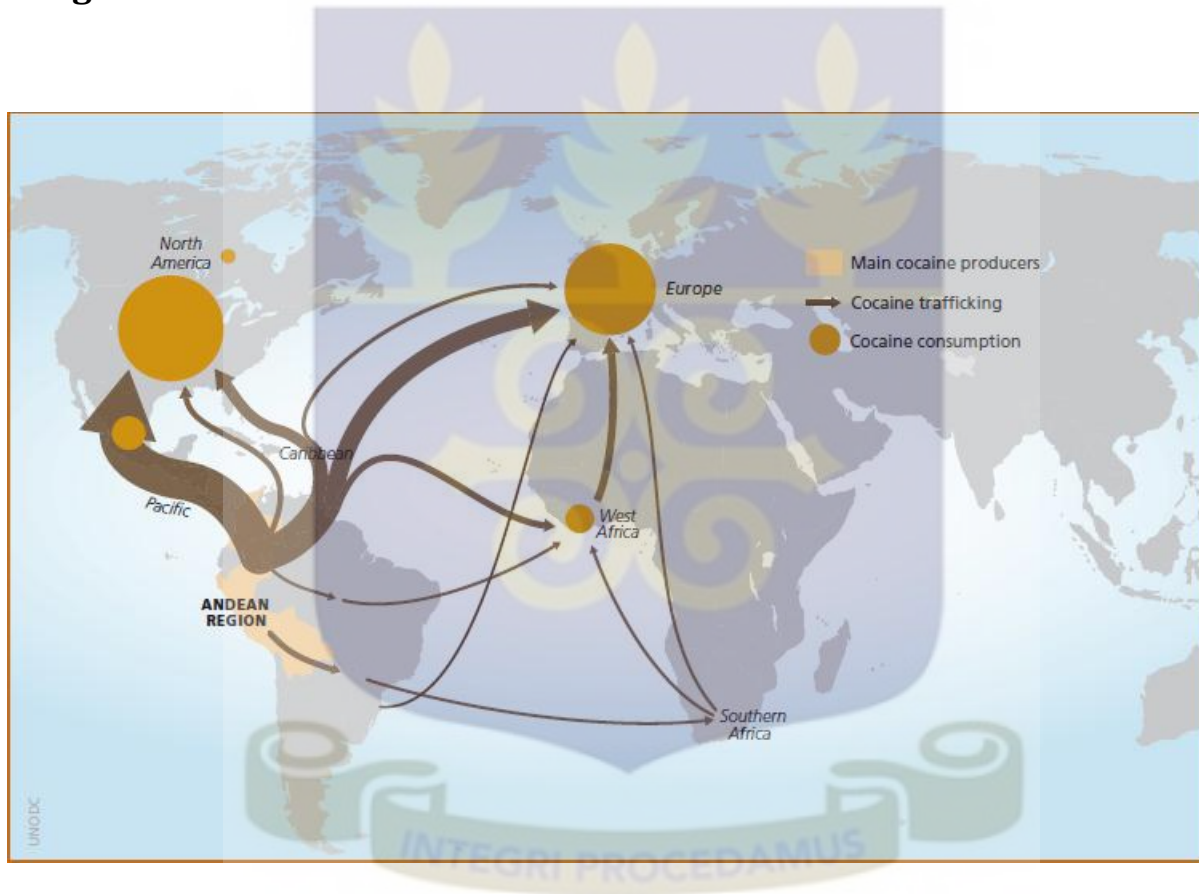
The U.N. Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimated that there are roughly 50 tons of cocaine being smuggled a year, worth almost \$2 billion.³ The UNODC attributes growth in global drug trafficking to vast and porous borders and coastline, high support for illicit economies as well as weak governance infrastructure, including poorly regulated airfields and limited law enforcement capacity.⁴

The World Drug Report 2014 estimated that, “in 2012, between 162 million and 324 million people, corresponding to between 3.5 percent and 7.0 per cent of the world population aged 15-64, had used an illicit drug; mainly a substance belonging to the cannabis, opioid, cocaine or amphetamine-type stimulants group, at least once in the previous year.”⁵ The impact of organized crime and drug trafficking on society thus has far-ranging consequences that bother on the mental or physical ruin of the individual drug user to questions of national security and sovereignty of states. An “estimated 183,000 (range: 95,000-226,000) drug-related deaths were also reported in 2012.”⁶ That figure corresponds to a mortality rate of 40.0 (range: 20.8-49.3) deaths per million among the population aged 15-64.⁷ The 2012 World Drug Report highlights the association of drug users with acquisitive crimes as well as behavioural challenges including aggression or violence.⁸

The main source and route of illicit drugs into Asia and Central America has been identified to be Afghanistan whilst the Caribbean such as Mexico, Columbia, Jamaica, Venezuela and Belize are connected to North America in terms of illegal drug trade.⁹ Additionally, with regards to illicit drug trade, a range of trafficking routes exists across the Sahel: cocaine is trafficked from the coastal countries into the Sahel and onwards towards Europe through both land and air transit.¹⁰ Cannabis resin is trafficked from Morocco towards Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula via Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Algeria and Libya.¹¹ Unfortunately, Walker reveals that, the experiences of other transit states, such as Tajikistan, Turkey, and some states in West Africa such as Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Nigeria demonstrate that, over time, the deleterious effects of the drug trade will not diminish sooner as expected by international organizations and states, rather consumption will continue to increase on a global scale.¹²

Map 1 shown below provides a pictorial illustration of the main global flows for cocaine in 2010. The exact nature of the relationship that exists between West African and Latin American criminal organizations is not a clear cut one, but what is apparent is that due to the stringent counter-drugs measures taken in other regions of the world, traffickers of illicit narcotics have mapped out new routes through West Africa.

Fig 1: Main Global Cocaine flows 2010



Source: UNODC 2013

To be able to control the menace of drug trafficking on the global scale, the United Nations Conference for the Adoption of a Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs was held in 1962.¹³ In

more contemporary times, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) was established in 1997 as the Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention by combining the United Nations International Drug Control Program (UNDCP) and the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Division in the United Nations Office at Vienna.¹⁴ The UNODC was established to assist the UN “in better addressing a coordinated, comprehensive response to the interrelated issues of illicit trafficking in and abuse of drugs, crime prevention and criminal justice, international terrorism, and political corruption.”¹⁵ Notwithstanding these international provisions and mechanism aimed at addressing drug trafficking across the globe, the phenomenon continues to manifest in West Africa and Ghana in particular.

2.2 Overview of Drug Trafficking in West Africa

2.2.1 Early History of Drug Trafficking in West Africa

A historical account of drug cultivation and trafficking in West Africa suggests that the menace is not a recent phenomenon but has its roots dating to as far back as the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁶ To address this shortfall, many West African states (such as Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Gambia), have drug law enforcement legislation dating, dealing mostly with the cultivation and use of cannabis but have focused more on cocaine and heroin in recent times.¹⁷ Sierra Leone appears to have started the cultivation of cannabis for domestic consumption in the West African sub region, and later the return of ex-servicemen from Asia after the war transformed the social map of cannabis use within the sub region.¹⁸ Sierra Leone later became a leading marketer because of Freetown’s importance as a major port, the presence of her inhabitants as sailors on steamships, and others in the diaspora who served as stevedores along the West African coast.¹⁹ The 1960s saw the emergence of Nigerian and Ghanaian smugglers who began exporting

African-grown marijuana to Europe on a scale large enough to attract sustained official attention.²⁰

Ellis traces the cultivation of the coca plant to as far back as 1934 in Nigeria (which later emerged as the hub of West African's illicit drug trade).²¹ He also observes that the colonial authorities were then experimenting with the cultivation of the coca plant in the botanical gardens in Calabar and at various other stations.²² The early 1980s witnessed a paradigm shift towards cocaine and heroin business often handled by Nigerians and their Ghanaian counterparts.²³ Nationals from other African states aside Ghana and Nigeria were also involved in the international trafficking of cocaine and heroin.

West African crime groups in the 1980s were one of the primary groups to popularize illicit drug trade across international borders through commercial passenger flights.²⁴ To avoid be detected and arrested, 'West African crime groups usually plant decoy couriers who intentionally draw the attention of law enforcement personnel and therefore increase the chances of one or more couriers on the same flight often couriers trafficking greater amounts of the contraband substance.'²⁵ West African crime groups also "recruited low profile couriers, such as Caucasians, women with children, the elderly, or the disabled, who may be less likely to draw the attention of authorities."²⁶

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) report for 2008 suggests that, Nigerians have gained notoriety in the drug trade and are regarded as key couriers.²⁷ The report also mentions that Nigerian nationals are the single most detected group on flights from every country in the region, except Guinea-Bissau.²⁸ West African cocaine traffickers, especially those from southeast Nigeria, have long been active in global cocaine markets, including retail markets in many European countries.²⁹

The first documented use of West Africa as a staging post for heroin smuggling dates from 1952 when US officials noted that parcels of the drug were being transported by a Lebanese syndicate from Beirut to New York through Kano and Accra, using couriers on commercial airlines.³⁰ Some scholars are of the opinion that the advent of the drug trade in West Africa was as a result of the general economic decline experienced in the 1970s.³¹ Austerity measures introduced by government backed IMF programmes they contend led to harsh economic conditions thereby resulted in high rates of unemployment, social inequality and crime rates.³² The drug trade in effect sought to cushion the harsh economic conditions faced by majority of the populace.³³

Other scholars also provide a more detailed account of structural and institutional characteristics unique to many African countries which seeks to enhance the trafficking of various illicit substances. Characteristics identified include the following: “poor internal transport and communications systems (which impede tracking and monitoring of drug trafficking) and large, sparsely populated, remote zones; porous land borders, frequent, often long-established patterns of unrecorded or illicit cross-border trade.”³⁴ Other notable factors stated include: “lack of maritime, air, and land surveillance and interdiction technical capacities, institutionally weak law enforcement and judicial systems that, in some cases, are subject to corruption or political influence, widespread public sector corruption, and high rates of poverty and unemployment.”³⁵

The trafficking of illicit narcotics in West Africa predominantly occurs in weak states where social and political structures have collapsed to the point where the government has little or no control. Traffickers saw failed states of West Africa as ideal regions to facilitate their activities.³⁶ In West Africa, failed states have seen civil wars, operations of insurgency, and coup d'états that led to reduction of human capital, weakening social infrastructure and wearying of productive national assets of development.³⁷ These states are saddled by extreme poverties, disregard to

human right abuses, poor government systems and mass injustices.³⁸ In such states, criminal organizations have the liberty to operate freely and smoothly due to existing subversion of government officials or institutions.

Among the many security threats posed by organized criminal networks, the one of gravest concern presently is the aptitude of criminal networks to “infiltrate security and government agencies, metamorphose or influence the motivations of its members, reorient objectives towards the activity of trafficking spoils of drugs thus influencing questions of state legitimacy and the legitimacy of democratic processes.”³⁹ However, Sakyi also contends that the large expanse of sea along the West African Coast, the Gulf of Guinea, facilitates the smooth movement of drug traffickers through their use of both small and large vessels.⁴⁰

The preliminary findings of the West African Commission on Drugs report in 2013 re-echo the frequently cited reasons by scholars and international drug enforcement agencies for the advancement of drug trafficking in West Africa. They point out the region’s favourable location between Latin America and Europe coupled with weak or poor political systems in most states as the basis for their argument.⁴¹ Furthermore, they highlight “the widespread tolerance of smuggling among both elite and ordinary people, widespread poverty and high youth unemployment, and the sheer allure of apparently easy wealth to be gotten through participation in the drug trade,” as factors contributing to the never ending drastic situation of illicit drug trade in the region⁴²

In summary, drug trafficking and drug consumption (especially cannabis) in West Africa is not a recent occurrence, but dates back to the 1920s and 30s. The upsurge of drug trafficking in West Africa could be traced to our involvement with colonial masters, worsening economic conditions, the geography of the region and our system of governance.

2.2.2 The Present state of Drug Trafficking in West Africa

The West African coastal states (Ghana inclusive) have clearly become key regional hubs for cocaine smuggling in contemporary international system.⁴³ The UN World Drug Report 2007 confirms this assumption by indicating that while drug production, trafficking, and consumption have remained constant world-wide, they have increased dramatically in West Africa. Some scholars indicate that, the sheer volumes of drugs have resulted in the carving out of the sub region by narco-barons into two hubs, with Guinea-Bissau servicing a northern hub while Ghana and Nigeria services the southern hub.⁴⁴

The main routes of drug trafficking in West Africa involve maritime and/or air shipments. Small quantities of drugs are flown in small planes to West Africa, whereas larger quantities are put in ships that sail into West African waters where smaller vessels transport them and are further delivered inland by agents. Once in West Africa, the drugs go to Europe through Morocco using fast boats or couriers who swallow or conceal it in their luggage and use commercial flights to Europe. However, Ghana, Nigeria and Guinea Bissau have been discovered as new viable routes for this international illicit trade.

The West African Commission on Drugs (2013) in their report mention that, modes of conveyance for cocaine from South America to Europe through West Africa have shifted over time in response to enforcement efforts, and much of the cocaine which heads to West Africa today comes from Brazil, where Nigerian crime groups are exporting the drug. Furthermore, the report observes that, these groups have been moving into containerized consignments and maritime shipping, adopting these methods in addition to their traditional methods of air courierring and postal shipments.

The war on drugs, has witnessed some significant strides through collaborative sustained efforts between West African states and international drug enforcement agencies and countries. INCB report in 2012 that, “9 of the 14 large seizures in 2011 were made in Benin, Cameroon, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Togo and the main destinations of cocaine consignments coming through Ecuador were Benin and Côte d’Ivoire.”⁴⁵ In November 2011 it was reported that, “530 kg of cocaine were seized from a sea freight container in Brazil destined for Europe via Benin.”⁴⁶ In October 2011, “a record seizure of 1.5 tons of cocaine was made in Cape Verde. Furthermore, 480 kg of cocaine destined for Nigeria were seized in Brazil in October 2011, and 145 kg were intercepted in Cameroon on a ship coming from Brazil.” In July 2012, “Argentine customs officials at the Buenos Aires international airport seized more than half a ton of cocaine destined for Nigeria”.⁴⁷

Nonetheless, the war has not been won entirely due to the huge expenditure involved in curtailing the drug trade. For instance, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) Threat Assessment report for 2013 states in unequivocal terms that, the entire military budget of many West African countries is less than the wholesale price of a ton of cocaine in Europe. This revelation is not surprising as many West African states remain underdeveloped and strive to even meet the basic demands of health, shelter, and food for its citizens. For those that are developed and have achieved middle income status (e.g. Ghana and Nigeria), the facts on paper do not necessarily reflect the reality on the ground as many of their citizens continue to live in abject poverty and mass exploitation by corrupt government officials.

Guinea-Bissau has become a major regional transit for illegal drugs in contemporary times in the West Africa region, having links with Venezuelan and Colombian traffickers, with some even becoming resident in the country.⁴⁸ Similarly, reports come from Accra, Conakry, Monrovia, and

other capital cities having links with other organized drug traffickers outside Africa. Throughout West Africa the Latin Americans' key local partners are often Nigerian drug traffickers who have longstanding connections in South America, and who are paid for their logistical services with cocaine in lots of up to 200 kilograms.⁴⁹ The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has reported that almost 400kg of heroin was trafficked through West Africa in 2011. Cocaine trafficking alone generates some US\$900 million every year for criminal networks in Central and West Africa.⁵⁰

The UNODC Threat Assessment report for 2013 reveals that West Africa has long been the focus of United Nations attention, but it is only recently that the international community recognized organized crime as a key issue for the region. This recognition, the report suggests stems primarily from a single contraband flow of cocaine into the region (a flow so large that its wholesale value on arrival in Europe would exceed the national security budgets of many countries in West Africa). West African international airports have become major redistribution exit points towards the new cocaine markets of Europe, South Africa and the Middle East.⁵¹

European law enforcement records reveal that West Africans account for about 90% of all Africans arrested for drug trafficking related offences.⁵² According to the West Africa Commission on Drugs Report in 2013, West African countries under the surveillance of international drug enforcement agencies include: Benin, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Senegal, Nigeria, and Mauritania.⁵³ West African countries have also signed protocols under the WACD with the aim of curbing illicit drug trade in the sub-region. However, despite protocol signed to deal with drug trafficking by member states in West Africa, the trade has assumed an alarming proportion. A major seizure of narcotics is reported frequently in one of the member states of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Large cocaine seizures along the West African coast and cocaine couriers detected on commercial flights suggest a flow of cocaine worth over 1 billion dollars on arrival at its destination.⁵⁴ Map 2 as displayed provides a pictorial representation of major cocaine seizures in West Africa (2005-2011). Some gains have therefore been made in arresting the drug traffic situation. Nonetheless, others are of the view that much could still be achieved through sustained cooperation by governments and international drug enforcement agencies. For example, Nigeria within a certain time frame convicted 21,871 drug traffickers, an achievement that so impressed the government of the United States that it removed Nigeria from the 'Drug Majors List' in 2010.⁵⁵ Despite the significant gains made, the International Narcotics Control Board (ICNB) 2012 report placed Nigeria at the top of its list for drug trafficking and drug consumption in West Africa, followed closely by Guinea Bissau.⁵⁶

Guinea-Bissau is broadly referred to in present times as a 'narco-state', that is, a state whose governance has been neutered by the imperatives of international drug trafficking.⁵⁷ For a country to be declared as a 'narco-state', Bybee delineates the following to make the term reasonably applicable: senior state officials must be complicit (either tacitly or actively) in facilitating the trade, the state in question must also be an extremely violent environment, where general human security is compromised and there should be to some extent 'drug-funded insurgencies' where competing traffickers and or dealers fight one another for control of the market.⁵⁸ Moreover, according to Bybee, the term can even connote a public health issue where a significant portion of the population may be addicted to a locally-cultivated drug.

and Niger into Europe or the Middle East.⁶⁰ The Latin American-West African collaboration increased significantly during the over the last decade. If logistics are taken into serious consideration, West Africa is the ideal choice for a transit hub for illicit narcotics traffickers, since, as the West Africa Commission on the Impact of Drugs on Governance, Security and Development (WACD) points out, “its geography makes detection difficult and facilitates transit; the region boasts well-established networks of West African smugglers and crime syndicates; and a vulnerable political environment facilitates avenues for operation.”⁶¹

Table 1 below shows comparative prevalence of illicit drug use in various regions of Africa and the world. Based on data presented in the 2013 World Drug Report (UNODC, 2013), the table shows that the estimated prevalence of cannabis use in the adult population is highest in West and Central Africa (12.4 percent), compared to the African average of 7.5 percent and 3.9 percent globally.

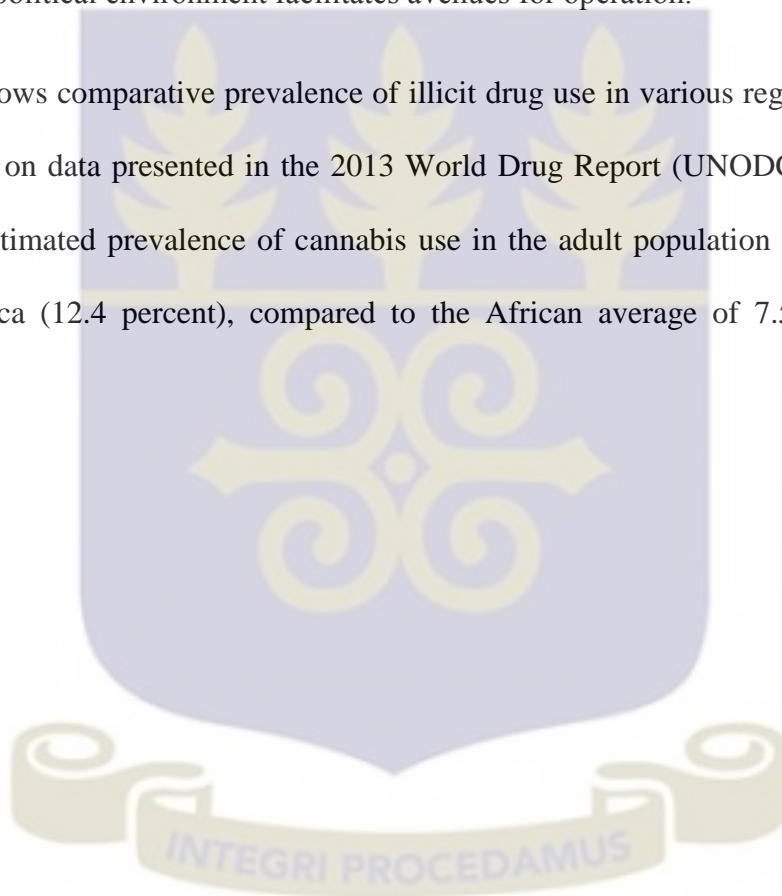


Table 1 - Prevalence (%) of drug use in different regions of Africa (adults 15-64 years, 2011)

Region	Cannabis	Opioids (synthetic narcotics)	Opiate (naturally occurring narcotic)	Cocaine	ATS
East	4.1	0.17	0.2	-	-
North	4.4	0.25	0.3	0.02	0.6
South	5.0	0.41	0.3	0.8	0.7
West/ Central	12.4	0.44	0.4	0.7	-
Africa	7.5	0.33	0.3	0.4	0.9
Global	3.9	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.7

Source: World Drug Report 2013 (UNODC, 2013)

The INCB 2013 report lists that the largest producers of cannabis herb in Africa are countries in West and Central Africa (the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and Togo), North Africa (Egypt and Morocco), East Africa (Ethiopia, Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania) and Southern Africa (Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland and Zambia). Processing equipment for cocaine and ecstasy has been seized throughout the sub-region.⁶² However, the narcotic of choice for gaining control of the trade is methamphetamine, which is reported to be immensely profitable and manufactured using readily obtainable legal ingredients such as ephedrine, an organic compound which is used in decongestants and not stringently regulated in West Africa and difficult to track.⁶³ There is evidence of large-scale

methamphetamine production particularly in Nigeria.⁶⁴ UNODC thus warns that the production of methamphetamine should be of the “utmost concern” for West Africa⁶⁵ and this is the next niche for criminal groups in West Africa because you can easily cook it at home, and can be easily adjusted for demand and distribution as it is steadily spreading in the region.⁶⁶ There are a lot of evidence to back such developments as reports suggest that Mexican criminal organizations are providing, at the very least, advisors and possibly chemists who assist with the large scale production of methamphetamine.⁶⁷

2.3 Overview of Drug Trafficking in Ghana

Bernstein is of the view that the trade in cannabis trafficking in Ghana appeared only to have expanded significantly in the 1960s.⁶⁸ Bury however asserts that, Ghana’s exponential growth in cocaine, cannabis, and heroin trafficking occurred during 2004-2005.⁶⁹ For instance, the Ghanaian law enforcement (Narcotics Control Board and the Ghana Police Service Drug Enforcement Unit) agencies in 2004, acting on a tip from British intelligence organized the largest drug seizure (588 kg of cocaine) in West Africa up to that point, on January 7, 2004. The operation was carried out in the port city of Tema and led to the arrest of six persons who were later convicted and sentenced to long prison terms.

To curb the global drug menace and its future implications, the Narcotics Control Board was established by the Government of Ghana in 1990.⁷⁰ The Board is an agency under the Ministry of the Interior with a Governing Board, an Executive Secretary and two Deputy Executive Secretaries, one in-charge of Services and Training and the other in-charge of Enforcement and Control to implement the policies of the Governing Board. On the International front, Ghana is a signatory to the following United Nations Conventions and Protocols on drugs, the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances, the 1972

Protocol Amending the 1961 Single Convention and the 1988 Convention against Illicit Trafficking of Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

At both the national and international fronts, drug trafficking is a major force to contend with. It is a threat to national security and thus high on the radar of government agencies and other regional bodies. This necessitated the establishment of the head office of the United States Drugs Enforcement Agency (DEA) in Ghana to serve the needs of other member West African States to track the shipment and distribution of drugs.⁷¹

It is suspected that the cartel or syndicate of drug dealers have their accomplices and agents among a wide spectrum of Ghanaian officials, including politicians, diplomats, high ranking church officials, Customs Officers, Airport Security officials, the police, among others.⁷² As noted by Sakyi, there is a looming danger if politicians in Ghana are financed by drug cartels and syndicates outside the country.⁷³

2.3.1 Early History of drug trafficking in Ghana

A plethora of studies reviewed point to the fact that the drug trafficking menace is not a recent phenomenon in West Africa and has its roots to as far back as the 1920s and 1930s. The upsurge of the drug trade in Ghana is not surprising as the country moved from a simple agrarian economy to an industrial one many decades ago. Thus, the quest for globalization and the challenges that face already developed economies were expected to hit the Ghanaian scene. Ellis is of the view that while globalization has been lauded for fostering free trade and economic prosperity, its so-called dark side has also created opportunities for criminals and non-state actors to enrich and empower themselves by taking advantage of lucrative illicit markets, or by creating new ones.⁷⁴ One of the many challenges which bothers on national security and regional stability and that is of sole interest to this study will be the area of drug trafficking.

Ghana's involvement in cannabis cultivation and trafficking dates back to the Post World War II era, particular during times of worsening economic conditions. Olukoshi, Aribisala and Olaniyan attribute the involvement in drug trafficking to the onset of economic crises across Africa from the early 1980s onwards, and the immediate imposition by governments of home-grown austerity measures, followed by the universal acceptance across the sub-region of the deflationary stabilization and structural adjustment programmes of the IMF and the World Bank.⁷⁵ They note that these austerity measures took a huge toll on individual and household livelihoods and welfare, thereby providing fertile social ground for all manner of vulnerabilities, including the entry of drug and other criminal networks.⁷⁶

Notwithstanding the paucity of data on Ghana's drug export and domestic use, Bernstein has identified that the drugs of choice in Ghana cited for trafficking and domestic consumption are cannabis, cocaine and heroin among the most dynamic of Africa's non-traditional exports and re-exports.⁷⁷ Cannabis cultivation from the account seems to have blossomed after the 1960s; cocaine and heroin gained grounds in the 1980s through the extension of Nigerian drug smuggling networks to Ghana. Heroin and cocaine became part of the West African narcotics trafficking portfolio in the late 1980s as direct commercial flights were established between Ghana and Europe and law enforcement pressures were increasing on the commercial airline trafficking routes between Southeast Asia and Europe. Despite the high level of risks involved in cocaine and heroin smuggling, couriers were often enticed with large rewards which enabled them to meet the extravagances of life (posh cars, expensive clothes and wines, mansions, travels to exotic destinations, etc.).⁷⁸

Ghana is a major producer of cannabis (second only to Nigeria in West Africa). In Ghana, regular or occasional use of cannabis by the populace is estimated at 15% and exports estimated

at 50% of domestic production.⁷⁹ The appeal of marijuana by Ghanaians to other regional markets is as a result of its often touted high quality (high delta-9-tetrahydrocannabinol or THC levels). Bernstein emphasizes that information on cannabis cultivation is rather sparse. Nonetheless, he reveals that cannabis is grown both in pure stands, typically in remote clearings, and intercropped with cassava and okra (which serve to conceal cannabis plants).⁸⁰

In recent times the NACOB boss, Mr. Akraasi Sarpong, reports that some farmers in the hinterlands are cultivating cannabis at the expense of foodstuffs which are needed to supplement our food basket.⁸¹ For instance, cocoa or cash crop farmers do not have to wait for long periods of harvest but instead decide to grow marijuana in between seasons which relatively takes a shorter time to harvest (4 to 5 months). The cultivation of this illicit drug thus provides them with additional income despite the enormous threats from security agencies. Furthermore, majority might never be apprehended as Bernstein observes that police swoops are often targeted at street sellers, who are not the major sources of production. This argument still holds as majority of drug trafficking stories (especially marijuana) reported in the media regularly cite young men (and to some extent women) arrested in hideouts or slum areas.

According to Akyeampong, the use of cannabis, locally known as ‘wee or abronsam tawa’ (‘the devil’s tobacco’) was associated with ex-servicemen, and certain occupations noted for arduous and dangerous work (e.g. stevedores, night soil men, prostitutes, criminals, fishermen and farmers).⁸² The gruesome nature of their work was such that marijuana helped to offset the stress and helped them cope better. The association of marijuana smoking to majority of those listed above could be quite misleading as the reality on the ground points to a drug that cuts across all social backgrounds. The NACOB boss, Mr. Akraasi Sarpong, expanded this list by naming students, politicians, doctors, teachers, lawyers, journalists and other professionals as regular

users of marijuana during the launch of the International Narcotics Control Board annual report for 2013.⁸³ He further expressed the worry that children as young as five and six were exposed to the drug by teachers and adults who sent them to make purchases.⁸⁴ Not surprising, a police swoop around Ridge in Accra led to the arrest of eight persons; drugs seized included marijuana, cocaine and heroin along with firearms. Amongst the eight persons busted were two high profile journalists, Patrick Osei Agyemang (Asempa FM) and Bismark Brown (Happy FM).⁸⁵ Cocaine and heroin on the other hand was mostly seen as the preserve of the upper and middle class, including, Ghanaians who first experienced it while abroad, children of wealthy families, foreign students (including diplomats) and some tourists.⁸⁶

2.3.2 Ghana's involvement in drug trafficking from the mid-2000s

Ghana is located in West Africa, bordering Burkina Faso in the north, the Gulf of Guinea in the south, Côte d'Ivoire in the west, and Togo in the east. It is populated by an estimated 24.7 million inhabitants representing a vast array of large and small ethnic groups such as the Akan, Mole- Dagbane, Ewe, Ga-Adangbe, Guan, Gurma, and Grus. The country was formerly known as the Gold Coast, and was a British colony until her independence on 6th March, 1957 (making Ghana the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to achieve such a feat). From 1966 after the overthrow of the first president Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana suffered a number of political revolutions in the form of military coup d'états. Since 1992, Ghana has made significant advances in democratic governance and the country is highly regarded for its relative stability and democratic culture in a rather violent and unstable West African sub-region.

In a 2008 interview with the authoritative London-based newsletter *Africa Confidential*, the Executive Director of the UNODC, suggested that Ghana might now be transformed from a Gold

Coast into a ‘coke coast.’⁸⁷ This assertion is not surprising as the country witnessed an upsurge in drug related activities from the mid-2000s.

In 1993, the country experienced a remarkable transition from a military government of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) headed by Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings to a democratically elected government under the same leadership but this time heading the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Since then, Ghana has experienced several peaceful elections and change of governments, notably in the year 2000 when power was handed to an opposition party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) headed by John Agyekum Kuffuor and quite recently in 2008 back to the NDC under the leadership of Prof. John Evans Atta Mills. After his untimely death, his Vice President took over the reins of power and was subsequently sworn in as president on January 2013 after having won the elections held in December, 2012.

Ghana, often seen by donors as a ‘virtuous’ state (high growth rate, freedom of speech, and democratic politics), has been extensively penetrated by drug money.⁸⁸ According to some Ghanaian law-enforcement officers, many of the country’s politicians have interests in the drug trade, and some of Accra’s impressive building boom is being financed with the proceeds of drug deals.⁸⁹ Successive governments on the other hand have been slow to adopt measures that can help buffer the political and security threats from illicit activity such as drug trafficking, while corruption at all levels of the administration remains a significant challenge.

Drug trafficking within the mid-2000s reached unprecedented levels. The Georgina Wood Commission of inquiry set up to investigate the MV Benjamin cocaine case concluded that drug trafficking had taken root in Ghana and that sadly, the country was gaining notoriety as a transit point for drug trafficking hence posing a real threat to the stability and security of the State.⁹⁰

According to Bonsu, Ghana is currently playing three different roles in the international drug

trade.⁹¹ The first role is as a producing country for cannabis; second, as a transit country for cannabis, heroin and cocaine; and finally, as a consumption/market country for cannabis, heroin and cocaine. The Kotoka International Airport (KIA) in Accra, the Tema and Sekondi ports, and the Aflao, Elubo, and Sampa border posts located at the Togolese and Ivorian borders, respectively, are used to transit drugs into and throughout the country.⁹² Cocaine is often smuggled via deep sea and in order to avoid entry via the major ports is then transported to coastal towns by local fishermen.⁹³

In 2010, UNODC estimated cocaine use in Ghana – a country with a rising middle class – among Ghanaians of 15 years and older at 1.1 percent of the population, almost as high as that in the UK (1.7 percent of the population), which is one of the most flourishing markets for such drugs in the world. This figure is higher than the African average; and UNODC's World Drug Report for 2013, issued in February, estimates cocaine use in West Africa as “likely significantly higher than the global average”.

Nine thousand nine hundred and twenty four (9,924) drug-related cases were recorded from 2010 to mid-year 2013, the Chairman of Narcotics Control Board (NACOB) Governing Board, Captain Baffour Assasie-Gyimah (Rtd), disclosed during the World Drug Day celebration.⁹⁴ These figures were recorded from four hospitals and he noted that the highest figures were recorded in 2012, at three thousand seven hundred and eighty-two (3,782).⁹⁵ Out of this, three thousand six hundred and ninety three (3,693) were males, whereas eighty nine (89) were females, representing 98% and 2% respectively.⁹⁶ The gender differences are not startling as figures at the Accra Psychiatric hospital point to a male dominance in drug usage across the country.⁹⁷

Field interviews conducted by Bonsu provide reasons for the choice of Ghana as a destination for drug traffickers. Amongst the reasons cited include the fact that the quest for investment has led to the economy being ‘over liberalized’.⁹⁸ That is, some people under the pretence of conducting legitimate businesses end up serving as conduits for major drug traffickers. Mention is also made of the minimum background checks and proliferation of banks across the length and breadth of the country which serve as a convenient haven for monies accrued from drug trade. Bonsu also suggests that the citing of the Kotoka International Airport in Accra connects Ghana to international destinations, thus facilitating the fast movement of drug traffickers outside the country.⁹⁹ Moreover, the high cost of living and rising unemployment rates pushes both the young and old to serve as couriers for drug traffickers.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, during an interview on Joy FM’s Top Story, Dr. Kwesi Aning, a leading security expert with the Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre, cited rapid urbanization, poverty, income inequality, under developed institutions and criminal justice system, as facilitating the drugs trade. Further, he mentioned the open borders and well established smuggling organizations.

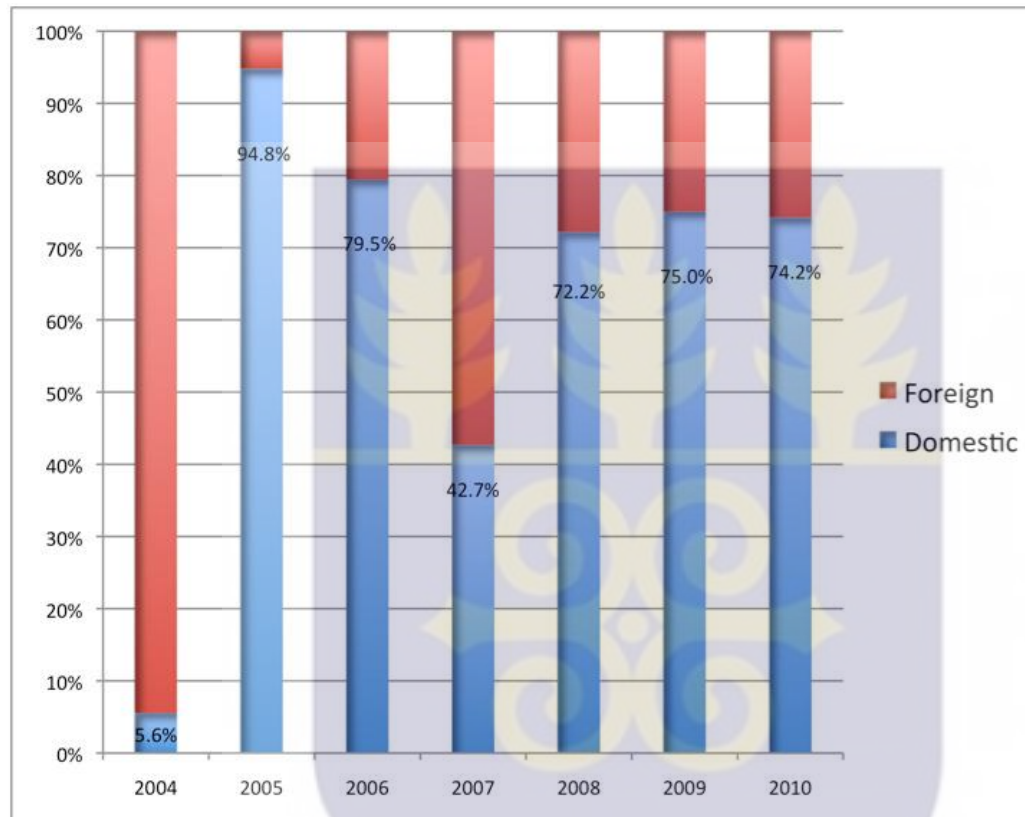
Notwithstanding, the notoriety gained globally as a result of the somehow consistent reports of drug trafficking in Ghana, some significant gains have also been made to stem the trade. This includes various interdictions partly due to the collaborative effort of international agencies. The ECOWAS Commission in collaboration with INTERPOL has successfully carried out joint police operations along the West African coast and borders to help in the fight against drug trafficking. Major drug busts have also been achieved throughout the period. For example, in 2004, Ghanaian police arrested ‘an international drug smuggling gang with 675 kilograms of cocaine with a street value of USD 140 million.’¹⁰¹ This was followed by “the 2005 arrest of Eric Amoateng, a Member of Parliament for Ghana’s then-ruling New Patriotic Party, in the US for conspiracy to transport and distribute heroin to the United States.’ In addition, anti-narcotics

officials at the Tema Port seized three containers carrying hard drugs from Brazil, Ecuador, and Panama (via the US), while police in Kumasi also intercepted a vehicle that had passed through the Brong-Ahafo region with an unspecified amount of cocaine. The ‘Managing Director of Sohlin Security Company, (which provided security services at the Kotoka International Airport) Solomon Adelaquaye, was recently convicted in the US for drug trafficking.’¹⁰² Mr Adelaquaye was ‘arrested together with two Nigerians and a Colombian in May last year for their role in a drug trafficking syndicate which had been operating in the West African sub-region.’¹⁰³



The Fig below shows the contemporary records of Ghanaian Drug Cases Seized Domestically Vs. Foreign.

Fig 3 shows the contemporary records of Ghanaian Drug Cases Seized Domestically Vs. Foreign



Source: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2004-2010.

Notwithstanding, the gains made the war on drugs has not always been a smooth one. The issue of the MV Benjamin vessel in April, 2006, where 76 out of 77 parcels of cocaine were declared missing upon arrival readily comes to mind. The case of the missing cocaine highlighted the culpability of security agencies in the drug trade. It is in this vein that Sakyi recognizes the logistical challenges of the Ghana Navy and Air Force in their quest to effectively patrol our territorial waters.¹⁰⁴

In summary, this Chapter made an overview of drug trafficking phenomena across the globe, with particular emphasis on West Africa and Ghana.



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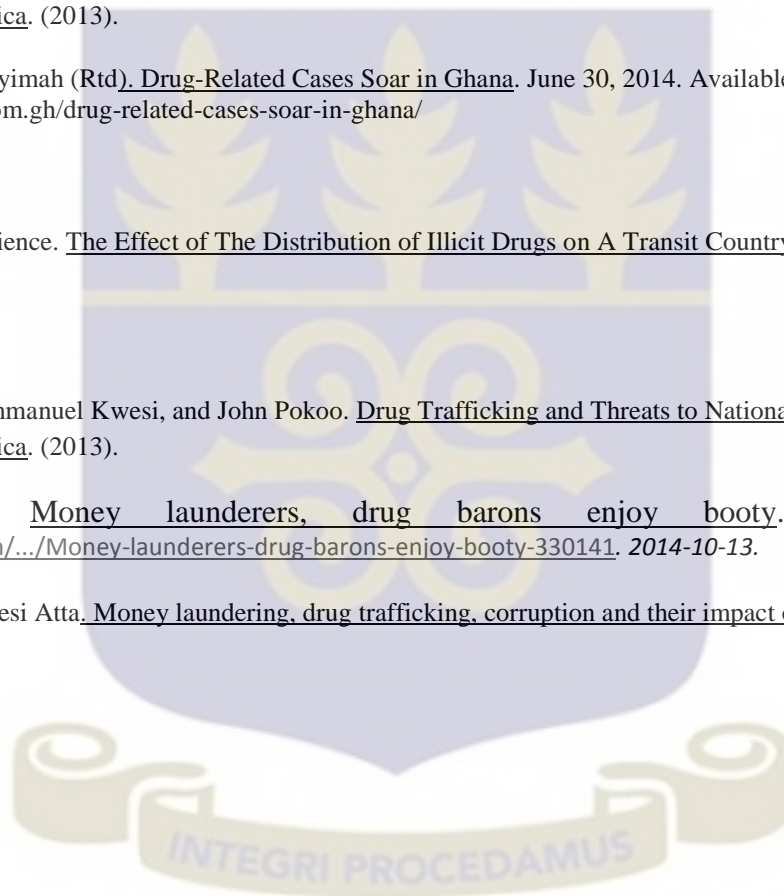
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CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSES OF THE IMPACT OF DRUG TRAFFICKING ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF GHANA; FOCUS ON HUMAN SECURITY DIMENSIONS.

3.0 Introduction

The impact of drug trafficking is greatly felt on the National Security of a country where illicit practice is perpetuated, but more especially the Human Security of the citizenry. It is in this vein that this chapter is devoted essentially to analyzing the impacts of drug trafficking on the National Security of Ghana; taking into considerations the impacts on the Human Security dimensions of the Ghanaian citizenry. These will include some National Security Dimensions in Ghana, some Human Security Dimension in Ghana, changing patterns of Drug Trafficking in Ghana, favourable conditions which facilitate drug trafficking in Ghana, impacts of Drug Trafficking on the Human Security of Ghana, impacts of Drug Trafficking on the National Security of Ghana, , the Ghana Narcotics Control Board and finally the Challenges faced by NACOB and the Government of Ghana in their Fight against Drug Trafficking in the country.

3.1 Some National Security Dimensions in Ghana.

From Chapter two, it could be inferred that, the concept of National Security focuses on the protection of individuals, society and the state from both internal and external aggressions. Towards this end, there are some provisions and institutions in Ghana which ensure that, the national security of the country is well safeguarded. These include The Ghana Armed Forces (made up of the Ghana Air Force, the Ghana Navy and the Ghana Army), the Ghana Customs,

Excise and Preventive Service, the Police and other Security and Intelligence Agencies such as the Ghana Narcotic Control Board (NACOB).

The pursuance of National Security in Ghana has been placed under the National Security Council. The Council is responsible for the coordination of all the activities of security agencies in Ghana and primarily charged with the protection of the state both internally and externally.¹ To effectively discharge its duties, the National Security is backed by the 1992 Constitution with its functions enshrined under Articles 83 and 84.² This is also supported by the Security and Intelligence Service 1996 Act 526.³ The major functions of the National Council as enshrined by Acts 526, Section 4 includes;⁴

- a) Conducting and taking appropriate measures to safeguard the internal and external security of Ghana.
- b) Ensuring the collection of information relating to the security of Ghana and the integration of domestic, foreign and security policies relating to it so as to enable security services and other departments and agencies of Government to co-operate more effectively in matters relating to National Security.
- c) Assessing and Appraising the objectives, commitments and risk of Ghana in relation to actual and potential military power in the interest of the National Security of Ghana.
- d) Taking appropriate measures regarding the consideration of policies on matters of concern interest to the departments and agencies of the Government connected to National Security.

To carry out its functions effectively of protecting individuals and state institutions throughout the country, Acts 526 also makes provisions for the establishment of Regional and District Security Councils. Article 5(1) of the Act stipulates that,⁵

- There shall be a Regional and District Security Council for each region and district in the country.
- The Regional and District Security Councils are referred to as REGSECS and DISECS respectively. Article 7 of the Act stipulates that, the REGSECS have the primary role of providing early warnings to the Government of the existence or likelihood of any security threat to the region, to the Government or to the country. On the other hand, Article 9(b) stipulates that DISECS have the primary role of

providing early warnings to the Government of the existence or likelihood of any security threat to the district, to the Government or to the country.

In addition to the above, the Act provides for the existence of security and intelligence agencies whose operations could be covert or overt. In Ghana, such agencies include the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI), the Research Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ghana Narcotic Control Board (NACOB), just a few to mention. Their general functions as stipulated by the Act include the following;⁶

- Collect, analyze, retain and disseminate appropriate information and intelligence regarding activities that may constitute threats to the security of individuals of Government of the country.
- Safeguard the economic well-being of the state against threats posed by acts or omissions of persons or organization both internally and externally.
- Protect the state against terrorism, sabotage, espionage, piracy, hijacking, and similar offences which may pose threats to the security and well-being of citizens of the Government of the country.
- Prevent and protect the state against activities of persons both nationals and foreigners intended to overthrow the government of Ghana or undermine the constitutional order through illegal politics, military, industrial or other means or unconstitutional methods.

Aside the above provisions, the 1992 Constitution of Ghana also provides for the establishment of the Ghana Armed Forces to enhance National Security. These include the Ghana Army, the Ghana Air Force and the Ghana Navy. The main function of the Ghana Armed Forces is to protect and defend the territorial integrity of the Ghana from any external aggressions.

3.2 Some Human Security Dimensions in Ghana.

Aside ensuring the safety of the National Security of Ghana, there are also some provisions and institutions in the country which are mainly concerned with the Human Security of the citizenry. For instance, Chapter 5 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana is devoted to fundamental human rights and freedoms.⁷ For instance Article 13 (1) is concerned about the

Right to life and emphasizes that, no man shall be intentionally deprived of his or her life unless in respect of a criminal offence under the laws of Ghana of which he has been convicted. Also Article 15(1) stipulates that, dignity to all men shall be inviolable with respect to torture, cruel acts or degrading treatments and punishments. Article 16 (1) also emphasizes that no one shall be held in slavery or servitude. Also Article 17 (1) stipulates that, no one shall be discriminated against on the grounds of gender, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed and social or economic status. Some of the basic freedoms enshrined in Article 21 include freedom of speech and expression, freedom of thought, conscience and belief, freedom of practice of religion, freedom of assembling, freedom of movement, and also all persons shall have equal right to educational opportunities and facilities. In addition to this, Article 26 (1) emphasizes that all customary and cultural practices which dehumanize or are injurious to the physical and mental well-being of an individual are prohibited.

To improve the human security of Ghanaian, the government has put in place certain provisions which include

- Free and Compulsory Universal Education (fCUBE) to guarantee basic education to all Ghanaian children.
- There is also the Department of Social Welfare which is primarily concerned with the welfare of the disadvantaged, vulnerable and destitute aged.
- There is also Right of Persons with Disability enshrined in the Persons with Disability Act 715 and Act 2000 to cater for the needs of disabled Ghanaians.
- There is also National Health Insurance Scheme backed by National Health Insurance Act, 2003 Act 650. This is to facilitate improvement in the health delivery and health care to all Ghanaians.
- There is also the Domestic Violence Act, 2007, Act 732 which provides protection from abuses and domestic violence, especially for women and children.
- There is also National Disaster Management Organization Act, 1996, Act 517. This agency is responsible for management of areas and victims affected by disaster through the provision of reliefs and compensations.

In addition to the above, there are some government institutions such as Ghana Fire Service, the Ghana Red Cross Society, the Ghana Police Service and DOVVSU- Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit (formerly known as WAJU- The Women and Juvenile Unit); a department within the Ghana police service that deals with human right abuses towards women and children, which help the Government of Ghana to ensure, maintain and improve the human security of the citizens. Also there are some Non-Governmental Organizations such as World Vision International, Care International and the Catholic Relief Services which partner with government to improve the Human Security in the country.

3.3 Changing Patterns of Drug Trafficking in Ghana.

Drug trafficking in Ghana is not a recent phenomenon. It dates back as far as the 80s and has evolved with passage of time in terms of actors, modus operandi in transporting the drugs and countries where illicit drugs are obtained. In a personal interview with Captain (Navy) Dr. Kamal Deen (Head of Research Department - Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College – GAF CSC), he reveals that,

“The dynamics and coming into lime light of drug trafficking in Ghana dates back the 1980s and 1990s along the maritime corridors basically between Ghana and Nigeria. Traffickers at the time engaged in such illicit activities for subsistence. Drug trafficking was more prominent in Nigeria in 1970s but gained grounds in Ghana in the 1980s, mostly from Brazil and Nigeria. The larger quantities that came or passed through Ghana ranged from 2 and 8 kilos. The 1980s and the last decades witnessed large movements of illicit drugs through air transportation road and maritime corridors to Ghana. However, the maritime was more preferable due to flexibility involved since traffickers could outwit security agencies and also conceal large quantities among fishes, clothing and wheat which were very difficult to be detected. Maritime transportation for drugs involved the use of fishing vessels, canoes and ships. Road and air transportation was not mostly preferred due to tighter security scrutiny on luggage, and difficulty to outwit or influence security personnel at destination points. Indian herb was the most predominant during the 80s but in contemporary times cocaine is the dominant illicit drug trafficked in Ghana, followed by methaphyne and heroine which are not mostly common in the West

African sub-region. Trafficking patterns have also shifted significantly from predominant trafficking between Ghana and Nigeria as observed in the 80s, to establishing triangular trafficking routes among America, Europe and West Africa.”⁸

Also in a personal interview with Dr. Kwesi Aning (Security Expert at Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre – KAIPTC), he asserts that,

“Drug trafficking in Ghana in the 80s was mostly practiced by petty traders who traded between Ghana and Nigeria and wrapped Indian herbs around their waists to go and sell in Nigeria. During this time, no major transports of illicit drugs were made, since it was clandestinely transported by individuals and not by road, maritime or air transport means. With time and in contemporary era, drug trafficking in Ghana has evolved very fast from the transport of Indian Herbs to other drugs including Cocaine, Heroin, Cobel, Methaphyne, Natura from northern Ghana, among others. The actors have also evolved with from petty women traders to students, businessmen/women, politicians and even top diplomats. In addition, mode of transport has also evolved from individuals to transport by road, maritime or air transport means and quantities have also evolved greatly from small scale drug trafficking to large scale trafficking.”⁹

In relation to the above, in an interview with Mr. Mark Ewuntomah – Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB), he reveals that,

The hip period for drug trafficking in Ghana was between 2004 and 2008. Drug trafficking in Ghana gained major attention in the country and in the international system with the Goman case in 2004. Goman was a British national who came to Ghana to deal in drugs at Tema in Community 11 using the maritime transport means till was arrested in 2004 and sent back to the United Kingdom (UK) for prosecution. Other similar huge trafficking cases dealt with by NACOB included the MV Benjamin Cocaine Saga in 2006, in which 30 slabs of cocaine were confiscated.¹⁰

According to the facts of the case, “about midnight on April 26, 2006, a vessel, the MV Benjamin, reportedly carrying about 77 parcels of cocaine, with each parcel weighing 30 kilogrammes, docked at Kpone/Tema and discharged the cocaine. The 77 parcels were unloaded into a waiting vehicle which carried them away. According to the prosecution, in the course of investigations, Darkey’s name featured prominently as the importer and/or owner of the drug.”¹¹

Mr. Mark Ewuntomah explains that, “the most recent merge International Drug Trafficking saga engaged in by a Ghanaian is the Nayele Ametefeh’s Case who was arrested at UK for carrying

12 kilograms of cocaine in a diplomatic suit.”¹² He also reveals that “other small trafficking attempts which included about 299 kilos of cocaine which was being brought into Ghana from Cote d’Ivoire in 2006 and the traffickers were arrested at Cape Coast.”¹³ There was also a case of about 399 kilos of cocaine which was brought into the country from Guinea Bissau and the traffickers were arrested at Nsawam in 2007. There are other internally practices of drug trafficking carried out in hoods and ‘ghethos’ in some areas of the capital of the country including Tudu, Ashiaman, Nima, James Town, Fadaman, among others.”¹⁴

Mr. Mark Ewuntomah also points out that, the most predominant drug trafficked in Ghana in contemporary era is cocaine, followed by Indian herbs, heroin, methaphyne among others.¹⁵ Drug trafficking routes between Ghana and the rest of the world has also diversified. Cocaine is usually received from South Africa and South America, especially Brazil, whilst heroin is obtained from Afghanistan, Iran and Thailand.¹⁶ However, heroin is really scarce in sub-Saharan Africa due to its high market value and difficulty in obtaining due to distance between Middle East countries and the region, including Ghana.¹⁷

3.4 Favourable Conditions which facilitates Drug Trafficking in Ghana.

3.4.1 Economic Hardship coupled with High Rate of Unemployment.

Ghana is a country in the West African sub-region experiencing youth bulge; a situation where significant proportion of the population are youth. However, majority of these youth; some who tertiary graduates are either under-employed or unemployment. This situation amidst increasing prices of goods and services coupled with the inability to deliver public goods by the states make life unbearable for some of these youths to resort to drug trafficking as a panacea to make ends meet. As explained by Mr. Mark Ewuntomah – Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics

Control Board (NACOB) in an interview, “though the minimum sentence for a drug trafficker in Ghana is ten (10) years, the greatest motivational factor which induces people to take the risk of engaging in such illicit drug trade is money.”¹⁸ He adds that, “1 kilos of cocaine values \$35, 000. Therefore gaining access to several kilos of such stuff could make one wealthy overnight.”¹⁹

Consequently, the productive potential of the country is jeopardized since the viable youth who could contribute meaningfully to development in the country through efficient productivity are the people who venture into trafficking of illicit drugs.

3.4.2 Favourable climatic conditions and vegetation which favors the growth of some illicit drugs.

As revealed in an interview by Mr. Mark Ewuntomah – Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB), “Cannabis usually referred to Indian Herbs is mostly cultivated in the Volta, Eastern and Brong- Ahafo regions of Ghana along rivers where those who cultivate them use water pumps to irrigate throughout the year. The Northern region also favours the growth of ‘Natura’ which is considered as illicit drug in Ghana.”²⁰ Therefore, in the wake of economic hardships and high rate of unemployment in these regions, most farmers alternatively divert into the cultivation of these illicit herbs at the expense of crop production, since such herbs give them much wealth as compared to agricultural produce, though considered illicit. Also, the vegetation and climatic conditions in these regions favour the growth of such illicit herbs which induce farmers to engage in their production although consider illicit.

3.4.3 Porosity of Harbours and Borders in the country.

Gilberto Gerra, Chief of Drug Prevention and Health branch at the UNODC, asserts that, Africa's rising illegal drug consumption is due to political instability as well as porous borders, adding: "West Africa is completely weak in terms of border control and the big drug cartels from Colombia and Latin America have chosen Africa as a way to reach Europe."²¹ As explained by Dr. Kwesi Aning (Security Expert at Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre – KAIPTC), "some borders and harbours in the country are porous which allow drug trafficking to use such venues as transit of drugs to and fro the country. This is because, there is lack of equipment to ensure effective surveillance and checks at such harbours and borders, coupled with high rate of corruption, which incite drug traffickers to use such venues for the business transactions."²²

3.4.4 Corruption.

In relation to the above, Dr. Kwesi Aning asserts that, the very moral fibre of the Ghanaian society; especially in the government institutions is collapsing. He points out that, where most officials or personnel working for government institutions such as the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI), the Police Narcotic Unit, the Ghana Narcotic Board (NACOB), and the Interior Ministry do not receive adequate salaries and benefits, it is very easy to influence them to bend the rules in favour of 'Drug Lords.'²³ This is because, such drug traffickers have the capacity in terms of wealth and connections to buy off officials of such government institutions enjoined to clamp down the menace in the country.

Dr. Aning also reveals that,

“The way justice is administered in Ghana sometimes encourages trade of illicit drugs in the country. This is because, when top politicians or relations of top politicians are caught in illicit drug cases, the issue is sometimes not made to come to public at all, let alone to be prosecuted. In instances where such cases go public, the courts through the judicial systems bend the law to either free such culprits or reduce their sentence significantly to some short time.”²⁴ This gives the impetus and temerity to some politicians and their relations to engage in illicit drug trade in the country without fear or favour.

3.4.4 Institutional Failure and Lack of Will Power by Governments to tackle the menace.

In relation to the above point, Dr. Kwesi Aning reveals that, there exist institutional failures in tackling the menace of drug trafficking in Ghana. This is due to poor internal mechanisms and some government officials deliberating ensuring that the system does not work.²⁵ He also points out that, some governments of Ghana have shown great concerns towards tackling the menace of drug trafficking in the country, whilst others have shown lackadaisical attitude in the fight against the illicit drug trade in the country.²⁶ This is evident in the extent to which officials or personnel at institutions responsible for tackling the canker are motivated and empowered and also, the extent to which government does not interfere with judicial processes when top politicians or their relations are found guilty of illicit drug business in the country.²⁷ He further points out that, though countries such as Senegal, Burundi, Rwanda and Morocco were experiencing significantly rates of illicit trade, systems were put in place which controlled or curb the menace to the barest levels, which Ghana could also follow suit.²⁸

3.5 Impacts of Drug Trafficking on the Human Security of Ghana.

3.5.1 Economic Security

The impact of drug trafficking in Ghana is felt adverse productivity in the country. This is because; the viable youth who are supposed to engage in meaningful productivity to accelerate and sustain development in the country are the group most found susceptible to drug trafficking. In this vein, the economy could be bereft of active labour force which could contribute meaningfully to development. This is because drug trafficking in the country increases the tendency for drug abuse among the youth which mostly leads to mental and health problems among the youth, hence making them unemployable.²⁹ This could worsen the poverty gap in the country; since Ghana is experiencing a youth bulge, where majority of the population are the youth. According to statistics, as at 2016, 48% of Ghanaian youth are unemployed.³⁰ Those youths including tertiary graduates who cannot cope with such situation have resort to drug trafficking which brings illicit quick money.³¹

The consequence of such a situation will result in adverse repercussion of the productivity, which would ultimately affect the general economic status-quo of the country. Once the economic is affected, standard of living may fall and development could also be stifled. This could instigate social vices for survival, hence a threat to national security. Drug trafficking by extension derails the government of revenue which could be channeled into other productive ventures for national development. This is due to cost of drugs, efforts to combat them, cost of treatment, loss of productivity and the social and health complications it has on the citizens which intend induce other National Security threats

3.5.2 Health Security

The use of hard drugs in Ghana will definitely have severe consequences on the health needs of people who patronize such illicit drugs. This is because, there is a high propensity of increasing drug abusers in the country due to the illicit drug trade, hence tendency of high drug abuse cases reported from various hospitals across the country. Statistics generated by the United Nations' Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) reveals that 200 million people are addicted to illicit-drugs and trafficking of cocaine, cannabis, hallucinogens, opiates and sedative hypnotics.³² In West Africa, UNODC estimated that, there is above 1.5 million people who abuse cocaine in West Africa.³³ Also, it is reported that, West Africa including Ghana has prevalence rate of cannabis abuses, rating about 12.4 per cent but about 14.3 per cent in Nigeria.³⁴

Ghana has not only become a transit route for illicit drugs in recent times but also, consumption of such illicit drugs. The most vulnerable people who become victims of such illicit drugs are those from broken homes, as well as poor and unstable backgrounds, who may consider drugs as an escape from life's pressures.³⁵ Mr Ben Dadzie, Ashanti Regional Commander of the Narcotic Control Board, said "a research it conducted revealed that about 70 per cent of youth from junior and senior high schools are facing the risk of drugs abuse."³⁶ He also points out that, the study showed that, "about 70 per cent of inmates in the country's psychiatric hospitals were youth from the ages of 18 and 35, mostly as a result of illicit drug abuse, usually cannabis."³⁷ Drug trafficking in Ghana results in abuse of illicit drugs, which result in physical deterioration of bodies and also causes mental retardation to addicts. Dr. Akwasi Osei, Chief Psychiatrist at the Accra Psychiatry Hospital, indicated that, "about 30 per cent of out-patient visits to the health facility each year, were marijuana-related and about 10 per cent of admissions were connected to the drug."³⁸

Drug abuse in Ghana is not only considered only as a social and health problem, but as a development issue, because it is consuming the human resource base, especially able-bodied youth who could contribute meaningfully to development. There are evidences to prove that the emergence of hard drugs on the African scene including Ghana has contributed enormously to the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases on the continent.³⁹ This is because abuse of illicit or hard drugs could result in impaired judgments which increase the tendency for rape and defilement cases. Abuse of illicit drugs also causes kidney, chest, viral hepatitis, heart infections and diseases and sometimes causes death.⁴⁰ It also leads to poor impulse control, emotional instability and poor intellectual functioning.⁴¹ Cannabis for example, affects spacial and temporal orientation, and impairs fine memory functions.⁴² It is also a major cause of poor performance at work and play as well as a major contributor of mental disorders.⁴³ The health repercussions of illicit drug trade in Ghana poses other developments and National Security challenges as elaborated above.

3.5.3 Political Security

As identified in Chapter One, Political Security stresses on the extent to which individuals within a state are allowed to exercise their political liberties, such as the freedom to vote for any political party of one's choice without coercion or restrictions. It also influences the extent to which citizens are allowed to echo their views of issues that borders on their security and well-being. Drug Trafficking is prohibited under the laws of Ghana, and as such its practice is considered is punishable by law. As explained by Mr. Mark Ewuntomah – Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB), the minimum sentence one can receive for engaging in drug trafficking in Ghana is ten (10) years. However, evidence show that, the prevalent rate of drug trafficking in Ghana had led to some youth instigating electoral violence and tensions during bye and national elections in Ghana, hence denying certain section of the

populace their political rights during such periods. While electoral violence is sometimes spontaneous, politicians can also purposefully incite violence or play up societal divisions, thereby increasing the chances of conflict if it serves their interest.⁴⁴ Politicians might attempt to suppress voter turnout by employing youth, mostly victims of drug trafficking to incite violence, which is shown to disproportionately prevent women's participation in elections, hence denying them of their political liberties.⁴⁵

Therefore, the prevalent rate of drug trafficking in the country till the extent that, even top diplomats, government officials, politicians and state security personnel are involved, is a clear indication of 'no confidence' in the government to tackle the menace of drug trafficking and other security threats in the country. It also shows that, state institutions and security personnel who are charged with the responsibility to ensure the well-being and security of individuals in the country are ineffective and inefficient in discharging their duties. This makes some section of populace to lose confidence in the government and state institutions to provide maximum security to the citizens, hence resorting to other means of ensuring their security such acquisition of illegal weapons to the country. This in effect could lead to the proliferation of small-arms and weaponry, which may pose greater National Security threats to the country. It is in this vein, that, Former President Atta Mills of Ghana allowed security personnel at the Kotoka International Airport in Ghana to search him thoroughly and his luggage, including that of his entourage on the May 6, 2009, before travelling outside the country. This was a display to show his competence and readiness to tackle acts of smuggling illicit drug outside the country through diplomatic luggage.

3.5.4 Environmental Security

Environmental Security involves the protection of basic elements that make human habitation and existence possible. It includes protection of the land, water bodies, minerals, vegetation and general atmosphere (air) of the environment. Therefore any activity or practice that is considered a security threat to the environment, also poses threats to the habitation and existence of the citizens in the country. As already indicated above, Ghana is no longer a transit route for hard and illicit drugs, but also, consumption of some of these substances takes place in the country. Therefore, some farmers and individuals are engaged in the cultivation of some of illicit substances such as cannabis, since it fetches them quick money, although illegal. The cultivation and smoking of some of these illicit drugs including cannabis, ‘Natura’ among others, pollutes the geo-spatial quality of the areas or regions where they are practiced, hence making life unbearable for inhabitants of those areas. This intends result in more health threats which aggravate other National Security threats.

3.5.5 Food Security

Food security as already highlighted in Chapter One connotes having the physical and economic capabilities to obtain basic foods in their appreciable qualities and quantities. However with the prevalent rate of Drug Trafficking in Ghana, Captain (Navy) Dr. Kamal Deen (Head of Research Department - Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College – GAFSC), reveals through an interview that, in the face of unemployment amidst illicit quick money derived from Drug Trafficking, most fishermen in Ghana now synchronize trade in illicit drugs at seas together with the traditional fishing occupation.⁴⁶ Mr. Mark Ewuntomah – Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB), also reveals that Cannabis usually referred to Indian Herbs is mostly cultivated in the Volta, Eastern and Brong- Ahafo regions of Ghana along rivers where those who cultivate them use water pumps to irrigate throughout the year. The Northern

region also favours the growth of ‘Natura’ which is considered as illicit drug in Ghana. This has caused some farmers in these areas to divert from their traditional cropping production to the production of some of these illicit herbs. The net effect of these is that, there would be food shortage in the country. When the food shortage reaches extreme cases, cannibalism could become the “Order of the Day,” since individuals may have the means to purchase, but there will be insufficient agricultural produce including fish, to march up the demands of the never ending growing population. As a result, the situation may cause more National Security threats to the country.

3.5.6 Personal Security

Personal security as already indicated in Chapter One focuses on the extent to which individuals within a state could be protected from physical violence or harm. However, as indicated by Dr. Akwasi Osei, Chief Psychiatrist at the Accra Psychiatry Hospital, most victims of hard drug abuse as a result of the prevalent rate of Drug Trafficking in the country suffer impaired judgments. Consequently, most of these victims cause physical harm and torture to themselves as a result of severe illnesses and diseases, mental disorder and sometimes commit suicide. Some of these victims become addicts known as ‘Jonkies,’ and are mostly un-kept and malnourished. This could result in more severe National Security threats to the state.

3.5.7 Community Security

Community security as already indicated in Chapter One expounds the efforts taken by government in protecting and enhancing the traditional relations and values which bonds together and promotes harmony among individuals in a state. Closely related to the above point, most victims of hard drug abuse as a result of illicit drug trade usually distort the peace and

harmony in the community through practices and acts such as rape, defilement, domestic violence abuses and torture, arm-robbery and murder. In view of this, Mr. Mark Ewuntomah – Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB) explains that, some areas in Ghana have been touted dangers zones due to the prevalence of drug trafficking in those areas and the rippling security threats they pose to community harmony and peace in the country.⁴⁷ Paramount among these areas includes some sections of Nima, Ashiaman, Fadaman, La, Sukura in Accra and Ash-Town in Kumasi.⁴⁸ The status-quo if not changed or properly addressed would result in more National Security threats to the country.

3.6 Impacts of Drug Trafficking on the National Security of Ghana.

Notwithstanding the above Human Security dimensions that could be jeopardized by the prevalence of Drug Trafficking in Ghana, there are some real threats it could pose to the National Security of the country. Paramount among them includes the following;

3.6.1 Proliferation of small-arms and other weaponry.

As noted by Mr. Mark Ewuntomah, Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB) through an interview, “Drug Lords” who are actively engaged in illicit trade sometime ship into the country small-arms and weaponry which are used as means to provide security for the running of their operations.⁴⁹ This is because, there are instances where state security personnel would not cooperate with these traffickers and would like to cause an arrest. However, to resist arrest, some of these traffickers depend on small-arms and other weaponry to escape from any danger of arrest. This poses a great deal of threat to the National Security of Ghana.

3.6.2 High Tendency for ethnic, religious, electoral and civil violence and extremism in the country.

In relation to the above, the proliferation of small-arms and other weaponry which usually end up in the wrong hands are sometimes used to instigate and perpetuate violence in some parts of the country. As already indicated, most addicts of illicit drugs in Ghana suffer impaired judgments and these are usually the youth. Therefore, this category of people become susceptible to violence with the slightest provocation in community, or desire to change the existing status-quo if it is not favourable to them or to push an agenda for a religious, political or ethnic group.⁵⁰ It could be asserted that, one major consequence of drug trafficking in Ghana is spring-up of political and ethnic vigilante groups whose activities sometimes threaten the peace and security of the country. This is because such vigilante groups usually depend on the abuse of illicit drugs to become hyper to carry out their operations. In effect, drug trafficking in Ghana poses great challenge to the National Security of the country.

3.6.3 Threat to International Terrorism

Closely related to the above, International terrorist groups perceive the prevalent rate of drug trafficking and the spring up of vigilante groups in a country as a fertile ground to establish themselves and carry out their operations. Consequently, activities of international terrorist groups in relation to drug trafficking also results in money laundering activities which ultimately affects the economy of a country. For instance, “three suspected al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) members were charged with plotting to traffic cocaine in order to fund Islamic terrorism. These 3 Malians were arrested in Ghana and extradited to the US.”⁵¹ Therefore, drug trafficking poses great danger to the National Security of the country if the menace is not tackled immediately and effectively.

3.6.4 Widespread Culture of Corruption

Most drug traffickers have their agents and accomplices among a wide spectrum of Ghanaian officials, including top diplomats, government officials, politicians, high ranking church

officials, Customs Officers, Military personnel, Airport Security officials, ordinary Ghanaian citizens, the police, among others. The palms of such of people are usually ‘greased’ to help facilitate and sustain the activities of drug traffickers. This is why Dr. Kwesi Aning asserts that, the very moral fibre of the Ghanaian society especially the government institutions is collapsing. This is so because, drug trafficking in the country undermines state institutions and personnel and make most become corrupt. Some government institutions and personnel, as well as ordinary Ghana citizens allowed themselves to be maneuvered by the dictates of drug traffickers (usually ‘Drug Lords’) due to harsh economic conditions of the country to bend the law in their favour. This is generating a culture of corruption as a way of life for survival in contemporary Ghanaian society. Consequently, drug trafficking in Ghana poses a great threat to the National Security of the country.

3.6.5 Increase in Crime rates and other social vices in the country.

Obviously, the prevalent rate of drug trafficking in Ghana with its association with the proliferation of small-arms and weaponry and the high tendency to instigate violence has increased crime rates and other social vices such as prostitution in Ghana. This is because, as already indicated, most victims of hard drug abuse as a result of illicit drug trade usually distort the peace and harmony in the community through practices and acts such as rape, defilement, domestic violence abuses and torture, arm-robbery and murder. This poses a great threat to National Security in the country.

3.6.6 Poor Global Image in the Fight against Drug Trafficking

Ghana is noted and recognized internationally as one of the countries in the West African sub-region to have consolidated its democratic practice and instituted policies towards ensuring and sustaining the Human and National Securities of the country. In addition, Ghana is touted for its great contribution to international peacekeeping operations and humanitarian assistance across

the globe and particularly in the West African sub-region. However, the prevalence of drug trafficking in the country taints the globe image of Ghana as a state failing to uphold and fulfill the mandates of its Human and National Security provisions. As explained by Captain (Navy) Dr. Kamal Deen (Head of Research Department - Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College – GAFCSC), “fishing vessels and canoes are cannibalized for the transportation of illicit drugs. Therefore the ‘Good Order’ or Maritime space of the country is affected. As a result, Drug Trafficking affects the maritime space or corridors of Ghana.”⁵² This draws attention of terrorist groups and money launderers to the country to carry out their clandestine operations. The situation could deter foreign investments in the form of Foreign Direct Investments since drug trafficking is believed to be associated with such dangers such as money laundering and terrorism. Therefore, drug trafficking in the country tarnishes the global image of Ghana, which also affects her National Security.

3.6.7 Extra Burden on Government expenditure to curb the menace

The last but not the least, the prevalence of drug trafficking in Ghana, if not tackled now has severe repercussion on future government expenditure. This is because, much revenue which could be channeled into other developmental projects for the benefit of Ghanaians, would have to be diverted into fighting the menace of illicit drug trade in the country. As revealed by Mr. Mark Ewuntomah, Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB) through an interview, “the United States uses about \$ 4 billion to fight the drug world and this is about twenty times what Ghana is expending in its fight against drug trafficking both in the country and in the West African sub-region.”⁵³ Therefore, the National Security of Ghana cannot be sustained if the people are bereft of other developmental projects and needs.

3.7 The Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB) and its Fight against Drug Trafficking in Ghana.

3.7.1 The Main Functions of NACOB

NACOB is the main government institution which has been established to help tackle the menace of drug trafficking in Ghana. The main mandates of NACOB as enshrined in Legislative instrument (L. 1) 1507 include;

- Collect, collate and disseminate for use by government information on narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.
- Receive and refer for investigation any complaint of alleged or suspected prohibited drug activity or narcotic abuse.
- Liaise with foreign and international agencies on matters relating to narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.
- Advice government on suitable methods for reducing drug abuse and on provision of treatment and rehabilitation facilities for addicts.
- Disseminate information to educate the public on the evils of drug use and punishment for offence under the drug law.

3.7.2 Practical Operations of NACOB

The practical operations of NACOB include Local Operations and International Operations.

The Local Operations include Education, Enforcement through Period Swoops or arrests of drug traffickers, and finally Treatment and Rehabilitation.⁵⁴ The International Operations include cooperation with International Drug Control Agencies such as United Nations' Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) and the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP); which constitute the most vibrant and active international institutions

involved in drug control, and also cooperation with the Narcotic Control Bodies of other countries such as Nigeria's National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA).⁵⁵

3.7.3 Supporting Government Institutions which collaborates with NACOB

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| - Ministry of Interior | - Ghana Police Service |
| - Ministry of Health | - Ministry of Education |
| - Ministry of Justice | - Customs Service |
| - Ghana Prisons | - Ministry of Employment |
| - Trade Union Congress | - National Council on Women |
| - Ministry of Finance | - Research Department (Foreign Affairs) |
| - Ghana Pharmacy Council | - National Control Board Secretariat |
| - The Ghana Navy | - The Ghana Army |

3.8 Challenges faced by NACOB and the Government of Ghana in their Fight against Drug Trafficking in the country.

3.8.1 Financial Constraints

The cost of providing security is expensive as more equipment and personnel are required to clamp the menace. As already revealed by Mr. Mark Ewuntomah, Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB) through an interview, “the United States uses about \$ 4 billion to fight the drug world and this is about twenty times what Ghana is expending in its fight against drug trafficking both in the country and in the West African sub-region. However, tackling drug trafficking requires much revenue to acquire sophisticated surveillance machine and security personnel or intelligence at the ports and harbours, airports and borders to ensure. Officials working with NACOB and other supportive institutions or security agency should be rewarded well to minimize the challenge of becoming corrupt. However, governments' revenue

and resource challenges towards the course of fighting drug trafficking is insufficient to meet the changing patterns and trend of the illicit trade in the country.

3.8.2 Personnel Constraints

Tackling Drug Trafficking requires a large number of trained or expertise security personnel due to the changing pattern or dynamics of the illicit trade and the modus operandi adopted by traffickers in contemporary times. However, as indicated by Mr. Mark Ewuntomah, Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB) through an interview, “Whereas Nigeria’s National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) constitutes about 6,000 trained personnel, Ghana’s NACOB consist of only about 500 trained personnel who are really dedicated and loyal to the course of their responsibilities.”⁵⁶ This makes it very difficult for them to carry out their core mandates they are enjoined to.

3.8.3 Ineffective/Poor collaboration between NACOB and its Supporting institutions

Mr. Mark Ewuntomah, Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB) also explains that, due to government’s intervention or politics coupled with widespread corruption in the country, it sometimes becomes difficult for NACOB to collaborate with its supporting institutions to be able to carry out its mandate effectively.⁵⁷ He explains that, top officials of most of these institutions rather give updates to drug traffickers on every move of the government to clamp them, instead of providing NACOB with relevant information of drug traffickers to arrest and punish by law.

3.8.4 Difficulty in obtaining reliable information

Closely related to the above, NACOB’s functions and operations thrive on informants. However, there is difficulty in obtaining reliable information on the clandestine moves and tactics of drug peddlers in Ghana. Mr. Mark Ewuntomah, Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics

Control Board (NACOB) reveals that, out of about 100 informants that could be received in a year, only 2 out of them will be genuine or reliable.⁵⁸ Captain (Navy) Dr. Kamal Deen (Head of Research Department - Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College – GAFCSC) also explains that, “there is limited in-flow of information. The Ghana Navy usually relies on tip-off from NACOB before they act, instead of ability to access first-hand information for their monitoring processes at sea.”⁵⁹ This makes it difficult for the Navy to better assist NACOB in its operations.

3.8.5 Limitations by International Law

Captain (Navy) Dr. Kamal Deen (Head of Research Department - Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College – GAFCSC) points out that, “there is a challenge of limitation to territorial waters or legal zones of the sea which Ghana can claim access to and beyond which we have no control over the waters and resources of the sea. Therefore, there is a limit to the search to other vessels and activities of fishermen in other parts of the waters of the sea, though might be closer to Ghana.”⁶⁰ Also, Mr. Mark Ewuntomah, Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB) reveals that, “Diplomatic Immunity granted to some local and international top diplomats, government officials and politicians prevents or limit the extent to which such diplomats could be searched before travelling in and out of the country.”⁶¹ This however could make the country vulnerable to the prevalence of drug trafficking if such category of people is engaged in such illicit trade of drugs.

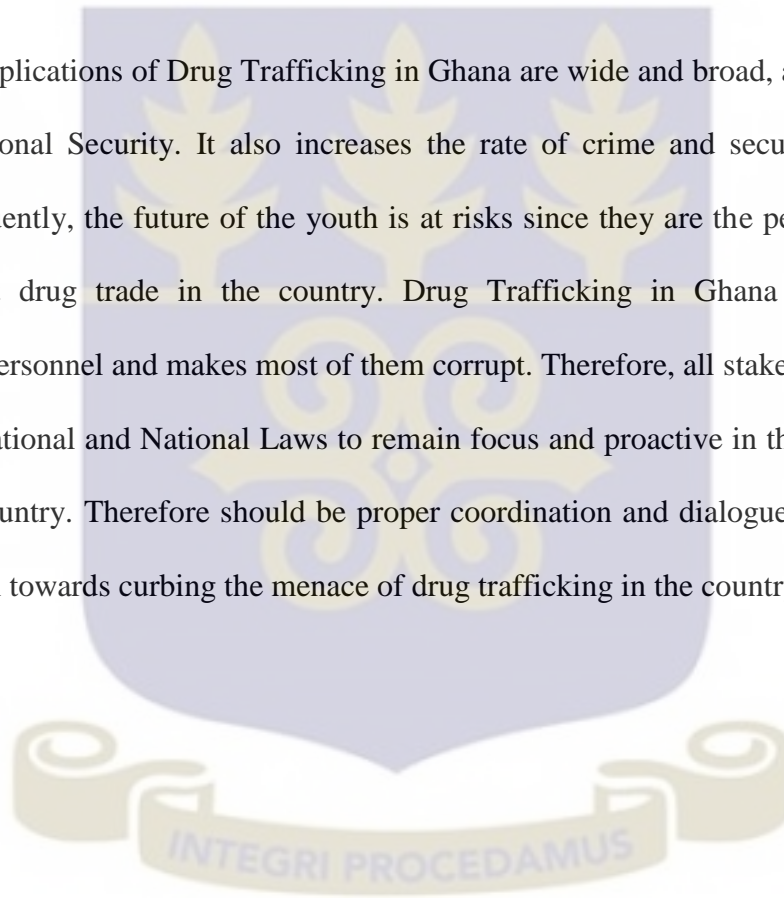
3.8.6 Economic Hardship and Insufficient Job Opportunities in the Country.

As already identified in the study, the World Bank asserts that, the current unemployment rate among the youth in Ghana is 48 per cent. If the situation is not tackled by the government now

and becomes worse, most of youth who find themselves in the unemployed category would resort to all manner of activities (mostly usually crimes) for survival. This has largely contributed to increase in the prevalent rate and menace of drug trafficking experienced in the country currently.

Conclusion

Generally, the implications of Drug Trafficking in Ghana are wide and broad, and affect both the Human and National Security. It also increases the rate of crime and security threats to the country. Consequently, the future of the youth is at risks since they are the people who become victims of illicit drug trade in the country. Drug Trafficking in Ghana undermines state institutions and personnel and makes most of them corrupt. Therefore, all stakeholders need to be guided by International and National Laws to remain focus and proactive in the fight against the menace in the country. Therefore should be proper coordination and dialogue at all levels for a formidable action towards curbing the menace of drug trafficking in the country.



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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION.

4.0 Introduction

The study was carried out within the Conceptual framework of Human Security with the hypothesis that, “Drug Trafficking in Ghana, has significant implications on the national security of the country; especially the human security of its populace.” Human Security was selected amidst other theories and concepts because it is particularly strong in explaining the impact of drug trafficking on the National Security of Ghana, with central focus on the security of individual within the state. Traditional conceptualization of security focused predominantly on state security, with the realist notion. The state is considered the dominant actor in the international system which has the sole prerogative of protecting its territorial boundaries to ensure the safety of its citizens. This means that, traditional conceptualization of security sought to perceive that, the individuals or citizens of a state are safe if the territorial boundaries are protected from external attacks of other states. However, Human Security is a paradigm shift which focuses essentially on individuals within a state and not protection of state boundaries or territories only. The Conceptual framework fits perfectly into the topic by helping to better appreciate and understand the impacts that drug trafficking has on the national security of Ghana, with much emphasis on economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, political security, personal security and community security of individuals within the country.

Though drug trafficking is a global phenomenon, this study will focus primarily on impacts of drug trafficking on Ghana's national security. Despite the fact that, the notion of national security covers both state security and human security, this study focuses essentially on analyzing the impacts of drug trafficking from the human security perspective. In this regard, the study will target the threats posed by drug trafficking to the economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, political security, personal security and community security to individuals within Ghana, and little attention to National security of the state.

4.1 Summary of Research Findings.

The following findings were derived from the study based on the analysis of data gathered from literature reviews and interviews; bearing in mind the statement of the problem, research questions and objectives of the study.

- ❖ The study identifies that, the concern for National Security has attracted much attention and interest among states and scholars in contemporary International Relations. This is due to the responsibility of governments to ensure that their territorial boundaries, as well as human security of their citizens, are well protected and secured; which is the ultimate aim of national security. Security in this context may be defined as 'a protective condition which statesmen either try to acquire, or preserve, in order to guard the various components of their polities from either external or internal threats.
- ❖ The study further identifies that, Human security presumes that, the traditional notion of security which focused on state security (i.e. ensuring the protection of territorial boundaries) was not providing enough welfare to citizens. Therefore, there was the emergence of people-centered security which targeted ensuring the safety of citizens

within a state aside the boundary security and this is what has been conceptualized as Human Security or People-Centered Security.

- ❖ The study shows that, Drug trafficking has become a global challenge which necessitates a collective global action or efforts towards tackling it. The main illicit drugs which are usually trafficked across the globe include cannabis, heroin, cocaine, opiates, coca, methylenedioxy-methamphetamine (MDM) and temazepam. However cocaine is considered the most expensive drug at mean global single gram purchase price of 100 euros / gram (ranging in price from 50 in parts of Europe to over 250 in NZ, which also had the most expensive MDMA as well.
- ❖ Following from the above, the study unearths that, The U.N. Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimated that there are roughly 50 tons of cocaine being smuggled a year, worth almost \$2 billion. The UNODC attributes growth in global drug trafficking to vast and porous borders and coastline, high support for illicit economies as well as weak governance infrastructure, including poorly regulated airfields and limited law enforcement capacity.
- ❖ The study reveals some National Security and Human Security Dimensions in Ghana and explains how Drug Trafficking affects these dimensions of security in the country. The impact of drug trafficking in Ghana is not only felt on the National Security of the state but also the Human Security of the general populace.
- ❖ Some National Security Dimensions in Ghana include The Ghana Armed Forces (made up of the Ghana Air Force, the Ghana Navy and the Ghana Army), the Ghana Customs, Excise and Preventive Service, the Police and other Security and Intelligence Agencies such as the Ghana Narcotic Control Board (NACOB). However, the pursuance of National Security in Ghana has been placed under the National Security Council. The

Council is responsible for the coordination of all the activities of security agencies in Ghana and primarily charged with the protection of the state both internally and externally.

- ❖ Some Human Security Dimensions in Ghana include Chapter 5 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana which is devoted to fundamental human rights and freedoms. For instance Article 13 (1) is concerned about the Right to life. Also Article 15(1) stipulates that, dignity to all men shall be inviolable with respect to torture, cruel acts or degrading treatments and punishments. Article 16 (1) also emphasizes that no one shall be held in slavery or servitude. Also Article 17 (1) stipulates that, no one shall be discriminated against on the grounds of gender, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed and social or economic status. Some of the basic freedoms enshrined in Article 21 include freedom of speech and expression, freedom of thought, conscience and belief, freedom of practice of religion, freedom of assembling, freedom of movement, and also all persons shall have equal right to educational opportunities and facilities.
- ❖ The study also show that, to improve the human security of Ghanaian, the government has put in place certain provisions which include Free and Compulsory Universal Education (fCUBE) to guarantee basic education to all Ghanaian children, there is also the Department of Social Welfare which is primarily concerned with the welfare of the disadvantaged, vulnerable and destitute aged, there is also Right of Persons with Disability enshrined in the Persons with Disability Act 715 and Act 2000 to cater for the needs of disabled Ghanaians, there is also National Health Insurance Scheme backed by National Health Insurance Act, 2003 Act 650. This is to facilitate improvement in the health delivery and health care to all Ghanaians, there is also the Domestic Violence Act, 2007, Act 732 which provides protection from abuses and domestic violence, especially

for women and children. there is also National Disaster Management Organization Act, 1996, Act 517. This agency is responsible for management of areas and victims affected by disaster through the provision of reliefs and compensations.

- ❖ In addition to the above, the study reveals that, there are some government institutions such as Ghana Fire Service, the Ghana Red Cross Society, the Ghana Police Service and DOVVSU- Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit (formerly known as WAJU- The Women and Juvenile Unit); a department within the Ghana police service that deals with human right abuses towards women and children, which help the Government of Ghana to ensure, maintain and improve the human security of the citizens. Also there are some Non-Governmental Organizations such as World Vision International, Care International and the Catholic Relief Services which partner with government to improve the Human Security in the country.
- ❖ The study shows that, a historical account of drug cultivation and trafficking in West Africa suggests that the menace is not a recent phenomenon but has its roots dating to as far back as the 1920s and 1930s. To address this shortfall, many West African states, such as Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Gambia have drug law enforcement legislation dating as far back as the 1930s, dealing mostly with cannabis use and cultivation and more recently, cocaine.
- ❖ More so, the study reveals that, The 1960s saw the emergence of Nigerian and Ghanaian smugglers who began exporting African-grown marijuana to Europe on a scale large enough to attract sustained official attention. However, the early 1980s witnessed a paradigm shift towards cocaine and heroin business often handled by Nigerians and their Ghanaian counterparts.

- ❖ Furthermore, the study reveals that, the pattern and dynamics of drug trafficking in contemporary Ghanaian society since the beginning of the illicit trade in the country has revolved over time. It dates back as far as the 80s and has evolved with passage of time in terms of actors, modus operandi in transporting the drugs and countries where illicit drugs are obtained.
- ❖ In addition, the study shows that, Drug trafficking was more prominent in Nigeria in 1970s but gained grounds in Ghana in the 1980s, mostly from Brazil and Nigeria. The larger quantities that came or passed through Ghana ranged from 2 and 8 kilos. The 1980s and the last decades witnessed large movements of illicit drugs through air transportation road and maritime corridors to Ghana. However, the maritime was more preferable due to flexibility involved since traffickers could outwit security agencies and also conceal large quantities among fishes, clothing and wheat which were very difficult to be detected.
- ❖ The study also found that, Maritime transportation for drugs involved the use of fishing vessels, canoes and ships. Road and air transportation was not mostly preferred due to tighter security scrutiny on luggage, and difficulty to outwit or influence security personnel at destination points. Indian herb was the most predominant during the 80s but in contemporary times cocaine is the dominant illicit drug trafficked in Ghana, followed by methaphyne and heroine which are not mostly common in the West African sub-region. Trafficking patterns have also shifted significantly from predominant trafficking between Ghana and Nigeria as observed in the 80s, to establishing triangular trafficking routes among America, Europe and West Africa.
- ❖ In addition, the study also identifies that, the actors have also evolved with from petty women traders to students, businessmen/women, politicians and even top diplomats. In

addition, mode of transport has also evolved from individuals to transport by road, maritime or air transport means and quantities have also evolved greatly from small scale drug trafficking to large scale trafficking.

- ❖ It could also be found from the study that, the hip period for drug trafficking in Ghana was between 2004 and 2008. Drug trafficking in Ghana gained major attention in the country and in the international system with the Goman case in 2004. Goman was a British national who came to Ghana to deal in drugs at Tema in Community 11 using the maritime transport means till was arrested in 2004 and sent back to the United Kingdom (UK) for prosecution. Other similar huge trafficking cases dealt with by NACOB included the MV Benjamin Cocaine Saga in 2006, in which 30 slabs of cocaine were confiscated. The most recent merge International Drug Trafficking saga engaged in by a Ghanaian is the Nayele Ametefeh's Case who was arrested at UK for carrying 12 kilograms of cocaine in a diplomatic suit.
- ❖ The study also indicates that, favorable conditions which have facilitated the trade of illicit drugs in Ghana include economic hardship coupled with high rate of unemployment, favourable climatic conditions and vegetation which favors the growth of some illicit drugs, porosity of harbours and borders in the country, corruption and institutional failure and lack of will power by governments to tackle the menace.
- ❖ In terms of economic security, the study shows that the impact of drug trafficking in Ghana is felt adverse productivity in the country. This is because; the viable youth who are supposed to engage in meaningful productivity to accelerate and sustain development in the country are the group most found susceptible to drug trafficking. In this vein, the economy could be bereft of active labour force which could contribute meaningfully to development.

- ❖ In addition, the study shows that, the use of hard drugs in Ghana will definitely have severe consequences on the health needs of people who patronize such illicit drugs. This is because, there is a high propensity of increasing drug abusers in the country due to the illicit drug trade, hence tendency of high drug abuse cases reported from various hospitals across the country. It leads to kidney, chest, viral hepatitis, heart infections and diseases, physical and mental damages to the health of victims and sometimes causes death.
- ❖ The study also points out that, in terms of political security, the prevalent rate of drug trafficking in Ghana had led to some youth instigating electoral violence and tensions during bye and national elections in Ghana, hence denying certain section of the populace (particular women), their political rights during such periods.
- ❖ The study also points to the fact that, in terms of environmental security, the cultivation and smoking of some of these illicit drugs including cannabis, ‘Natura’ among others, pollutes the geo-spatial quality of the areas or regions where they are practiced, hence making life unbearable for inhabitants of those areas.
- ❖ The study reveals that, most fishermen in Ghana now synchronize trade in illicit drugs at seas together with the traditional fishing occupation. Also, some farmers in have diverted from their traditional cropping production to the production of some of these illicit herbs. The net effect of these is that, there would be food shortage in the country, hence posing treat food security in the country.
- ❖ The study shows that in terms of physical security, most victims of illicit drug abuse cause physical harm and torture to themselves as a result of severe illnesses and diseases, mental disorder and sometimes commit suicide.
- ❖ In terms of community, the study reveals that most victims of hard drug abuse as a result of illicit drug trade usually distort the peace and harmony in the community through

practices and acts such as rape, defilement, domestic violence abuses and torture, arm-robbery and murder.

- ❖ The study shows that, Drug Trafficking in Ghana could result in the proliferation of small-arms and other weaponry, high tendency for ethnic, religious, electoral and civil violence and extremism in the country, threat to international terrorism, widespread culture of corruption, increase in crime rates and other social vices in the country, poor global image in the fight against drug trafficking and Extra Burden on Government expenditure to curb the menace; all of which pose threat to the National Security of the country.
- ❖ In addition, the study also reveals that, NACOB is the main government enjoined to help curb the prevalence and menace of drug trafficking in Ghana. Its main tasks include collect, collate and disseminate for use by government information on narcotic drugs and psychotropic substance, receive and refer for investigation any complaint of alleged or suspected prohibited drug activity or narcotic abuse, liaise with foreign and international agencies on matters relating to narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, advise government on suitable methods for reducing drug abuse and on provision of treatment and rehabilitation facilities for addicts and disseminate information to educate the public on the evils of drug use and punishment for offence under the drug law.
- ❖ To achieve the above, the study shows that NACOB engages in both local and international operations. The local operations include education, enforcement through period swoops or arrests of drug traffickers, and finally treatment and rehabilitation. The International Operations include cooperation with International Drug Control Agencies such as United Nations' Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) and the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP); which constitute the most vibrant and

active international institutions involved in drug control, and also cooperation with the Narcotic Control Bodies of other countries such as Nigeria's National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA).

- ❖ The study however reveals that, NACOB and the Government of Ghana face some challenges which prevent them from effectively tackling or addressing the prevalence and menace of drug trafficking in the country. Paramount among them include financial constraints, personnel constraints, ineffective/poor collaboration between NACOB and its supporting institutions, difficulty in obtaining reliable information, limitations by International Law and economic hardship and insufficient job opportunities in the country.

4.2 Conclusions

Following the findings obtained from the study, the researcher reached the following conclusions;

- ❖ It is concluded from the study that, the implications of Drug Trafficking in Ghana are wide and broad, and affect both the Human and National Security of the country.
- ❖ Based on the analysis of the study, it is concluded that the future of the youth and the economy is at great risk if conscious efforts are not taken by the government and all stakeholders to address or tackle the prevalence and menace of drug trafficking in the country now.
- ❖ The study also concludes that, Drug Trafficking in Ghana undermines state institutions and personnel and makes most of them corrupt. This could tarnish the global reputation or image of the country in terms of efforts at promoting good governance and development for the citizens of the state.

- ❖ The study again concludes that, though the international community's response to drug trafficking in West Africa and Ghana in particular may have been tardy and inadequate, the situation in Ghana would have been worse off but for the interventions of some international agencies such as United Nations' Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) and the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP), and also support from other states such as the U.S and Nigeria. This proves the point that, though international agencies and states are confronted with some challenges, they are still relevant in contemporary international system. This is because they help in addressing or tackling transnational threats (such as drug trafficking); which are sometimes beyond the capabilities of a single state to tackle.
- ❖ It is also concluded from the findings of the study that, there is still hope for resolving the prevalence and menace of drug trafficking in Ghana, if conscious efforts would be taken by the governments and all stakeholders to resolve or address the challenges identified in this study.
- ❖ Based on the above findings of the study, it is concluded that, the hypothesis that "Drug Trafficking in Ghana, has significant implications on the national security of the country; especially the human security of its populace." has been proven. This is because there are evidences shown in this study to prove the devastating impact drug trafficking in Ghana is having on both Human and National Security of the country.

4.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings from the study and suggestions made by respondents during interviews, the following recommendations are made;

4.3.1 Recommendations to the Government of Ghana.

- ❖ There should be a legal framework that really speaks to the issue in order to also curb terrorist financing, money laundering and human trafficking which are also associated with the prevalence of drug trafficking in the country.
- ❖ In addition to the above, there should be a Public Health and Intelligence Approach to increase the sensitization of the general public on the menace or dangers of drug trafficking to both Human and National Security of the country.
- ❖ Also, the government should take a bold step in the fight against corruption in the country, so as to discourage some government institutions and personnel from facilitating the activities of illicit drug peddlers in the country.
- ❖ The government should also take bold steps towards providing job opportunities for youth to discourage most of them from falling into the tempting dictates of drug trafficking in the country.
- ❖ The Judicial system in the country should also be revamped to carry out their mandates without partiality and considerations especially in terms of prosecuting offenders of drug trafficking laws of the country. This will serve as a deterrent to others from risking to venture into drug trafficking in Ghana.
- ❖ The government should increase the number of personnel as well as the financial base and logistics of NACOB to be able to carry out their mandates effectively.
- ❖ The government should also provide arms and weapons to NACOB personnel since their work sometimes involves great risks and threats.

- ❖ The government should also take a firm stance against the Legislation of Marijuana as legal in Ghana. This is due to the Human and National Implications such a move will have on the country, as elaborated in this study.
- ❖ The government should also collaborate effectively with other international agencies and states to be able to effectively tackle the menace. This is because drug trafficking has become a transnational threat and as such will be difficult for the government to only rely on its capabilities and resource in the fight against the menace.

4.3.2 Recommendations to NACOB.

- ❖ NACOB should Threat Assessment Response underpinned by fundamental periodic researches which will unravel the dynamics and impact of the illicit drug trade on the Human and National Security of the country. This is because NACOB and its stakeholders need to understand the dynamics and complexity of drug trafficking in Ghana to be able to effectively tackle it.
- ❖ There is a need for vibrant coordination between NACOB and its supporting institutions, especially among the Ghana Navy, NACOB and National Security.
- ❖ In relation to the above, NACOB should collaborate effectively with International agencies and other Narcotic Control Board of other states to be able to share and acquire new ideas of tackling the menace in the country.
- ❖ NACOB as the main stakeholder in tackling illicit drug trade in the country should be more robust in their operations.
- ❖ Recruit of personnel to work at NACOB should not be based on politics, but rather on competence, merits and people who are really ready to sacrifice, devote and dedicate towards addressing the menace of illicit drug trade in Ghana

- ❖ NACOB should be consistent with International Laws on Drug Trafficking to be able to effectively counter the menace in the country.



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Interviews

Interview with Captain (Navy) Dr. Kamal Deen (Head of Research Department - Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College – GAF CSC) on the August 30, 2016 at GAF CSC at 3:00 pm.

Interview with Dr. Kwesi Aning (Security Expert at Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre – KAIPTC, on July 29, 2016 at KAIPTC at 12:00pm.

Interview with Mr. Mark Ewuntomah – Deputy Executive Secretary of Ghana Narcotics Control Board (NACOB) on the August 27, 2016, at NACOB Headquarters in Accra, at 12:00 pm..



APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE

TOPIC: IMPACT OF DRUG TRAFFICKING ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF GHANA; WITH SPECIFIC FOCUS ON HUMAN SECURITY

The purpose of these questions is to obtain your opinion and views about the Impact of Drug Trafficking on the National Security of Ghana; with Specific Focus on Human Security. This is solely for an academic research as a further requirement for a Post-graduate MA degree certification. Responses to the following questions will be treated with high confidentiality and solely for the purpose of the research.

1. What has been the nature of drug trafficking in Ghana in the 90s when West Africa as a region started to explore the venture as a source of revenue in illicit economies?
2. What is the nature of drug trafficking in contemporary Ghanaian society?
3. What conditions or factors are responsible for drug trafficking in Ghana?
4. What are the state security threats or implications of drug trafficking in Ghana to contemporary international system?
5. What are the main human security threats of drug trafficking in contemporary Ghanaian society? i.e. economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, political security, personal security and community security.
6. What roles do you think law enforcement agents and agencies play in addressing the increasing menace of drug trafficking in Ghana?
7. What challenges are faced by law enforcement agents and agencies in addressing the increasing phenomena of drug trafficking in Ghana?
8. What are the challenges faced by the government of Ghana in addressing the increasing phenomena of drug trafficking in Ghana?
9. What short term measures have been taken by Ghana in addressing the incidence of drug trafficking in Ghana?
10. What long term measures have been taken by Ghana in addressing the incidence of drug trafficking in Ghana?
11. Do you think Ghana has done enough in addressing the issue of drug trafficking both in Ghana?
12. How bleak or bright is the future of the Human Security of the Ghanaian society, taken into account, the increasing incidence of drug trafficking in the country?
13. What do recommend as the way forwarded for addressing the phenomena of drug trafficking in Ghana?

Thank you so much for your time and co-operation. I hope this information will provide a useful and reliable source of data to help me carry out my research successfully. I am highly grateful for your contribution.