UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

GHANA-UK COLLABORATION IN COMBATING DRUG TRAFFICKING:
PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Umar Farouk Tahiru, do hereby declare that this dissertation is the end product of my own research under the supervision of Dr. Emmanuel Ken Ahorsu 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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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Almighty Allah without whose infinite mercies and benevolence I might not have come this far, and to 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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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BNI- Bureau of National Investigations

CMO- Comprehensive Multidisciplinary Outline

EOCO- Economic and Organized Crime Office

FDA- Food and Drugs Authority

GIS- Ghana Immigration Service

INCB- International Narcotics Control Board

IFAD- International Fund for Agricultural Development

KIA- Kotoka International Airport

NACOB- Narcotics Control Board

NSC- National Security Council

PNDC- Provisional National Defence Council

SEACOP- Sea Communications Project Unit

UK- United Kingdom

UNODC- United Nations Office on Drug and Crimes

USA- United States of America

WACD- West African Commission on Drugs
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ABSTRACT

In recent years, Ghana has become a major transshipment point of illicit drugs. This has attracted both domestic and global attention. The government of Ghana has instituted various approaches to dismantle the illicit drug industry, but has seen only marginal success. One strategy that has emerged as an effective pathway to tackling the drug trafficking menace is cooperation between/among countries. Due to the transnational nature of drug trafficking, various countries have explored collaborative strategies to combat drug trafficking. While the Ghana-UK collaboration called Operation West Bridge has existed for over a decade, very little is known about the extent to which that collaborative effort has helped to address drug trafficking particularly in Ghana. Following a thorough analysis of the data obtained from both primary and secondary sources, this study has established that the Operation West Bridge has chalked some successes and there is need to consolidate the gains made. Arrests and drug seizures have increased significantly since the inception of the collaboration. Using cooperation as theoretical framework, the study has also revealed that there exists an unequal relationship in the collaborative agreement. Notably, Ghanaian officials (NACOB) have no access to UK Airports but other hand; West Bridge officials have unfettered access to Airports in Ghana. Also, the collaboration is not holistic enough to serve the interest of both parties, as it looks as though it serves more the interest of British than their Ghanaian collaborators. The study further argues, among others, that the rise in drug trafficking is also a function of undue intermeddling in the work of state security agencies.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

The concept of security until the later part of the 20th century was focused on national security. The nature of security threats had often been seen as ensuing from external threat and more specifically external military threats (which requires a military response). With the end of the Cold War however, the concept of security has taken a broader dimension. It has been defined more and more in terms of transnational security or threats affecting the human security of the people of the world.

One key feature that threatens global security is the proliferation of illicit drugs (World Drug Report, 2010). The far-reaching consequences of drug trafficking has therefore attracted global attention for some measures to be taken to address it (Shehu, 2009). It is important to note that different actors have varied roles in the illicit drug enterprise. Whilst some actors are engaged in the production aspect, others deal with the distribution and some others engage in the consumption (World Drug Report, 2010). Hitherto, the African continent was relatively peripheral as far as illicit drug business was concerned but in recent times, it has assumed global significance due to its role as transshipment route of drugs to Europe and the Americas (Akyeampong, 2005; Aning, 2007). Indeed, Africa is the second largest producer of cannabis accounting for approximately 22% of production worldwide (UN, 2008). As observed by Bonsu (2011), the West African sub-region has become fertile ground for drug trafficking activities. Ghana finds itself within this arena that serves as transit routes for drug trafficking. Although production and consumption of illicit drugs in Ghana has not reached astronomical levels, it is increasingly used as a transit base (Atta-Asamoah, 2014). Notably, in 2005 Ghana was declared
as a major transit point for drugs trafficked to the United States of America, Europe, Asia etc. (US Department of State, 2005)

As Kofi Annan (2000) noted, “The demands we face also reflect a growing consensus that collective security can no longer be narrowly defined as the absence of armed conflict, be it between or within states. Gross abuses of human rights, the large-scale displacement of civilian populations, international terrorism, the AIDS pandemic, drug and arms trafficking and environmental disasters present a direct threat to human security, forcing us to adopt a much more coordinated approach to a range of issues.”

According to United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC] (2007) drug trafficking is global illicit trades involving the cultivation, manufacturing, distribution and sale of substances which are subject to drug prohibition laws. Globalization, the liberalization of international markets and the suppression of borders have allowed the drug trade to flourish (ibid). The development of satellite communications and other technical advancements have endowed trafficking networks with new and efficient working tools to adapt, and better exploit the international system. Over time, analysts have drawn home the linkages between globalization and the growth of transnational forms of crime, particularly drug trafficking (Passas 1999; Passas, 2003). Globalization has contributed to the rise of global drug trafficking through ease of travel, communication and free flow of capital across various borders (Passas, 2003). The advancement of the internet has led to an expansion in global demand for and access to drugs, by expediting drug-related communications, coordination, and virtual transactions. This facilitates easy access to some drugs hitherto alien to a geographical location (Shehu, 2009).
The devastating effects that drug trafficking cause to human or national security are unbearable. Drug trafficking affects the social, political and economic fiber of societies. West Africa is fast becoming a hub of drug trafficking (Aning, 2007; Shehu, 2009). Between 2001 and 2007, annual cocaine seizures in West Africa had increased from approximately 273 kilos to about 47000 kilos (James Cocayne, 2011). It is the above mentioned and many other dangers associated with drug trafficking that calls for better collaborations between/among countries particularly transit points and destinations on how to collaborate to help stem the tide on illicit drug trafficking.

1.1 Statement of The Research Problem

The drug menace has rendered some countries almost stateless or weak especially with the benefits that accrue to political elites. For example, Guinea Bissau is practically controlled by drug barons that wield “narco-cash” (Anning, 2010). In view of the threat illicit drug business poses, various governments in West African countries continue to explore mechanisms to address the challenge (ibid). The emergence and proliferation of drug trafficking in West Africa has grown at a very fast pace (Anning, 2010; Adam, 2016). There is growing consensus that drug trafficking is a transnational phenomenon that requires building of synergies among countries/states to tackle the problem. The main security threat arising from the growing incidence of trafficking into West Africa stems from corruption from politicians and public officials, weak institutions, porous borders and lack of financial muscle to confront the challenges head on. These have given rise to criminal networks and other drug cartels to infiltrate security and government setups to transform and influence officers’ sense of responsibility and patriotism by reorienting them towards the goodies of drugs, thereby compromising their
allegiance to the state and public good. Cokayne (2011) reiterates that drug trafficking has the notorious ability to shape relational dynamics between political actors, security officers, the citizens as well as the business community both locally and internationally. Cartels have the ability to infiltrate their ranks with mouthwatering cash, which can be used to fund political campaigns and put power in the hands of wrong people in society who in turn do the bidding of their paymasters (Cokayne, 2011).

Since the 1980s, Ghana has gained global attention as a major drug trafficking hub (Akeyempong, 2005). Owing to the fact that drug trafficking is a transnational activity involving different players with different roles; various approaches have been exploited to deal with the menace. As part of strategies to combat the drug menace, there have been cooperative efforts between Ghana and other countries. The United Kingdom is one of such partners that Ghana has collaborated with due to growing concerns of drug trafficking in and out of the country with the former serving as destination point. The cooperation, which was through an operation dubbed “Operation West Bridge”, was launched in November 2006, which allows British custom officers to be stationed alongside their Ghanaian counterparts at the Airport for intelligence technique sharing and mentoring on counternarcotic detection. The programme has facilitated the installation of sophisticated gadgets and other drug detection devices at the airport and offered refresher trainings to officers of the Narcotic Control Board (NACOB), Ghana’s lead state Agency for combating drug trafficking. Despite the collaborative efforts, there is however the need to re-examine the prospects and challenges of the collaboration in the wake of a World Drug Report by (UNODC, 2017); that suggests that Ghana is the second biggest transit point for trafficking of cocaine in Africa and 14th out of 115 biggest cocaine consuming nations in the world.5 Whilst the introduction of the Operation West Bridge have led to some arrests and
seizures, the increasing proliferation of drug trafficking in Ghana calls for re-examination of the collaborative arrangement. The above observation is also strengthened by the fact that despite the over a decade’s existence of this collaboration, there appears to be a research gap relating to this cooperative agreement. A study of this nature holds a good promise at enhancing understanding on whether there is the need to change course or certain aspects of the agreement be altered to meet the increasingly changing dynamics in drug trafficking.

1.2 Research Questions

The research seeks to answer the following questions

• How did the changing dynamics of drug trafficking shape the introduction and adoption of the Ghana-UK collaboration?

• To what extent has the Ghana-UK collaboration helped to combat drug trafficking in Ghana?

• What are the successes and challenges associated with the joint Ghana-UK collaboration in combating drug trafficking?

1.3 Objectives of The Research

The research seeks to attain the following objectives to,

• Examine the influence of the changing dynamics of drug trafficking on Ghana-UK collaborations.
• Understand the extent to which Ghana-UK collaboration has helped to address drug trafficking menace in Ghana

• Evaluate the success and challenges associated with the joint Ghana-UK collaboration in combating drug trafficking.

1.4 Rationale of The Study

The study helps to gain insights into the nature of collaboration designed to address drug trafficking in Ghana and the effects envisioned when introducing such arrangements. The findings of this study will help to provide an insight and in-depth understanding on how various actors (government agencies and transnational actors) interacted to shape the adoption and implementation of the Operation West Bridge and more broadly collaborative programmes relating to drug trafficking. Additionally, it will deepen understanding about the successes and challenges concerning the Ghana-UK collaboration in combating drug trafficking. The application of the cooperation theory in relation to drug trafficking will help sharpen the application of the concept in relation to the need for transnational efforts to combat illicit drugs. The findings of the study will also help inform policy-makers on the need and ways to confront and manage the drug menace. Finally, in view of the dearth of empirical studies on Ghana-UK collaboration in relation to drug trafficking, this study will serve as a useful starting point for further academic inquiry to guide stakeholders in intelligence gathering and contribute to knowledge on drug trafficking management in Ghana.
1.5 Scope of The Research

The study examines Ghana-UK collaboration on drug trafficking from 2006 to 2018. Particular focus is on Narcotics Control Board (NACOB)-Operation West Bridge (UK) partnership. It begins with the global trafficking trends, proceed to highlight on the case of drug trafficking in West Africa, and in Ghana. Particular attention is paid on efforts towards the combat of drug trafficking in Ghana, and the Ghana-UK (Westbridge) collaboration in combating the menace.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The theory of cooperation is used in the study. There are various schools of thought on co-operation. International co-operation may be defined as the voluntary adjustment by states of their policies so that they manage their differences and reach some mutually beneficial outcome (Milner, 1992). Co-operation is encouraged in general by the existence of common interest, the participation of a small number of actors and a long shadow of the future. Co-operation will not occur unless states perceive some common interest in the co-operation. Fundamentally, this framework attempts to establish that shaping common understanding between/among parties requires adjustment of behavior to the actual or anticipated preferences of others, through a process of policy coordination.

Jenner (2011) holds the view that, although two states can be in conflict over certain issues, they still do cooperate on others. He further asserts that when they cooperate, they benefit from the creation of new values, material or non-material. When they are in conflict, they attempt to get values at each other’s expense. In cooperation, each actor’s behavior is directed towards the attainment of some goals, the goals may be varied but in the end it is assumed that the actors
behave rationally. Cooperation provides the actors with mutual gains of varying kind or magnitude.

Cooperation can occur under various forms. It can be implicit and could occur without formal communication or agreement. It can also occur through negotiation in an explicit bargaining process. Finally, cooperation can also be imposed. A stronger party in a relationship can force the other party to modify its stance. If the stronger party also alters its own policies in an attempt to achieve mutual gains, cooperation has occurred.

According to the realists, cooperation is a difficult feat to achieve precisely because, for them the international system is anarchical and lacks sovereign authority thus it is seemingly impossible for states to trust each other or cooperate with one another. A state’s main aim is power maximization, therefore without an authority to ensure that binding agreements are respected the international arena becomes an arena for survival. To safeguard their survival, states aim to protect themselves by seeking control by forming alliances and enhancing their military capabilities. However, this creates a situation of a security dilemma, where such actions by one state, intended to heighten its security, may result in other states taking similar measures, which will in turn generate more fear in the first state and a repetition of these activities by both states. For these reasons, realists believe that cooperation is difficult to achieve and to some extent impossible.

The liberals on the other hand believe that cooperation can be achieved provided the anarchical conditions are reduced. To do this, there is a need to create international institutions that can promote peaceful change, disarmament and international laws, which are key to making
cooperation possible. International institutions wield norms and rules that states are expected to comply by and uphold.

Applying the principle of cooperative to the Ghana-UK collaboration (Operation West Bridge) means that the two states have appreciated the existence of common interest hence made voluntary adjustments to their policies which in the end led to benefit from the creation of new values; material or non–material. Whilst cooperation may give impressions of mutual understandings and adjustments agreed by all sides, it is also important to mention that cooperation can be imposed as the stronger party in a relationship can subtly coerce the other party to alter its policies more to the advantage of the former. One such example the study found was the unfettered access to Ghana’s airports and other zones given to West Bridge officials whereas the same cannot said of NACOB officials to UK airports.

The appropriateness of cooperation theory to this study is also anchored on the fact that it offers an insight as to why two countries despite their different levels of advancements and varying degrees of interest will still find common grounds to cooperate. It further gives an understanding of how smaller states may adjust their interest in helping other bigger states achieve their interest and vice versa.

1.7 Literature Review

There is consensus that transnational nature of illicit drug means individual countries cannot combat the menace (Anning and Poko, 2014). Globalization and its trappings in the 21st century have led to a transformation of the world economy exponentially. Technological spreads have created new markets and broadening the scope of existing ones. The increasing connectivity
across countries has made flows of trades and communication more accessible. However, there exists other hidden dark side of globalization with a complex network of illicit drugs thriving. It is estimated that drug trade is worth $500 billion per annum and has been flourishing over four decades (Jenner, 2011). The ever-increasing and insatiable demands for illicit drugs serve as huge incentive to its producers and traffickers.

**Drivers of global drug trafficking**

History of emergence of drug trafficking can be traced to the late 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Afterwards, it suffered a decline by the start of World War 1 until the second quarter of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century when its influence re-surfaced on the global arena (Greenwald and Kahn, 2008). For many centuries, demand for illicit drugs has existed (Akyeampong, 2005). It however assumed global dimension from the 1960s when stigmatizations associated with drug use began to be relegated to the background (Jenner, 2011). This was mainly because it became a fashionable activity and represented a demonstration of social rebellion particularly in the US and other Western countries. With increases in demand for illicit drugs, cartels emerged to take advantage of the growing markets and thus production proliferated. Just as slave trade was embraced in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century in most parts of the world so did the drug trade.

By the end of the Cold War, the world began to witness changes in its political, economic, social and technological structures in line with the increasing influences of globalization (Engvall, 2006). Unprecedented trans-nationality of tangible and intangible goods, services, ideas, capital and people was widely experienced. According to Shelley (1995), there was an astronomical rise in global passenger volume by about six fold between 1960 and 1974, and more than fourfold by early 1990s. World trade rose to more than ten-fold within two decades from 1970 to 1990. An
equally increase in the use of diverse means of communication with electronics such as mobile phones, fax and the Internet was witnessed. This has led to the emergence of global village where economic, political and technological hindrance separating people in different parts of the world no longer existed. Thus, geographical location was no longer a hindrance to communication as it used to be. Forces of globalization succeeded in breaking down boundaries established by time and space. The removal of the boundaries has consequently improved information spread and dissemination among people and across different sectors (Atta-Asamoah, 2009).

The idea of territorial boundaries of states has since given way to the emergence of territorial fluidity implying that happenings or events anywhere is felt everywhere. As a result, movement of goods, services, ideas and people across boundaries has opened up to economic opportunities, cultural and political changes in both advanced and developing countries. Increasing phenomenon of globalization manifests in two phases. Apart from ease it gives by creating enabling avenues for genuine processes and activities to take place; it has also led to the opening up of national borders to the trans-nationality of threats and vulnerability of the states. This resonates with views of Atta-Asamoah (2009) that, the increasingly high risks and threats are what constitute the dark side of globalization the world needs to deal with.

Undoubtedly, in the same way as genuine businesses are taking advantage of globalization, modernizing and internationalizing into multinational entities in different continents and countries, organized criminals with illicit businesses are also taking their portion to establish and expand their operations across national borders (UNODC, 2005). With globalization and
technology removing somewhat high transportation costs and reducing trade barriers, drug trade has grown into a big industry attracting many actors. It must be emphasized that one important element about the drug industry that sets it apart from other industries is that drugs are illegal. It is plausible to argue that most countries in the world frown upon and criminalize the production, distribution and consumption of illicit drugs. The criminalization and prohibition of illicit drugs may largely explain the rise and growth of its black market. This has further caused the existence of fewer market suppliers leading to high monopolistic enterprises. Due to this monopolistic drives existing in the industry, suppliers and producers tend to set high prices creating huge profit margins (Jenner, 2011). The prospect of making huge profits and the high demands serve as magnetic element attracting many persons into the industry.

The most critical aspect of illicit drug trade is trafficking. It can be argued that without traffickers, it would be nearly impossible for the goods to be delivered to consumers. Trafficking process begins with identifying potential suppliers or producers and devising means of getting the illicit drugs to consumers leaving no traces of detection. The role of traffickers in the chain is perhaps the most difficult and crucial, hence the most rewarding.

**West Africa and the rise of drug trafficking**

Drug trafficking and its consumption are not new to West African countries. Endemic poverty and unemployment coupled with global economic downturn, declining overseas state and private remittance and a dramatic youth bulge have made many Africans especially the youth to explore desperate means of survival, including participating in drug trafficking (Cockyne, 2009). The West African Commission on Drugs (WACD) in its 2000 Report indicates that since the mid-2000s, drug trafficking through West Africa has taken on a dimension that poses a threat to the
security, governance and development of the Sub region. International drug cartels have exploited the desperate unemployment situation of the African youth, leading to the formation of West African criminal networks, which aid their international partners in using the region as transshipment hub to channel cocaine from South America, to Europe and North Africa.

Anning (2010) highlights the trend of West Africa becoming a major transit hub for drugs such as cocaine and heroin. He asserts that even though the phenomenon is not a recent one, it gained much prominence from the middle of the year 2000, which saw much shift by Latin American drug syndicates diverting into West Africa, probably because of the suitability of its geographical location, which makes detection difficult and facilitates transit. The contributions of national actors such as politicians, businesspersons, judiciary, traditional leaders, clergymen as well as the youth in facilitating the drug trade exacerbate the challenge of combating the drug menace. Security officials tasked with the responsibility of preventing drug trafficking practices are not immune from blame as they help in the illicit business. In supporting Anning’s view on West Africa’s rise to notoriety as a major trafficking hub for drugs, Wabala (2012) makes the assertion that West Africa is not only a transit route for drug but also a final destination. Weaknesses in the justice delivery system which focuses on punitive custodial sentencing of drug convicts to the detriment of rehabilitation and social reintegration are partly responsible for the never ending phenomenon of drug trafficking.

Moreover, physical and social conditions such as porous borders, weak institutions, corruption and political patronage, poverty and ethnic identities makes traffickers establish and Operate informal social networks which makes it difficult for detection by formal security apparatus. Criminal networks’ illicit funding infiltrate security and government agencies, which transform, influence and re-orient them towards the spoils of drug trafficking (cockyane, 2012).
According to Anning and Pokoo (2014) a triangular connection among ethnic groups in South America from the period of slave trade created an enabling opportunity for the growth of the drug industry in West Africa. They further noted that this network links African drug trafficking activities with other African diaspora communities in Europe, North and South America from as early as 1980s when economic hardship led to the influx of West Africans into Europe.

The general perception of most Africans is another important factor that has contributed to the influx of drug trafficking activities in the West African sub-region. There exists a common understanding among majority of Africans that drug trafficking is an avenue where one could make substantial gains to provide for the family, relatives and friends (Bybee, 2012). This perception has often made most people view the drug industry in relation to the benefits, to the neglect of the far-reaching consequences associated with it (Atta-Asamoah, 2014). Unsurprisingly, drug traffickers are usually not seen to pose danger to society because they make available some benefits to their societies and communities. It is thus necessary to institute some mechanisms to bring about a paradigm shift, relative to the perception about illicit drugs among African societies. This would ensure a sense of national support for government policies towards eradicating or minimizing drug trafficking activities. To achieve this, Anning and Pokoo (2014) note that there is need for frequent state-society interface on matters relating to drug trafficking activities. They further observe that the seeming disconnects between citizens’ and the state in terms of official statements and perceptions about drugs does not instill collective responsibility to address the challenge.

Related to the issue of disconnection between citizens and the state is weak political culture concerning participation. The IFAD (2002) asserts that failure of many state policies to address
problems especially in developing countries is partly due to absence of adequate participatory mechanisms for citizens. To enhance participation of the public in decision-making processes, Huber and Stephens (2001) contended that bottom-up approaches and offering opportunities for initiatives and inputs of lower level groups promote the needed support, which is good for success of programmes. For instance, engagement of Ghanaians with their authorities has remained weak. An afro barometer survey by Sabates-Wheeler et al., (2017, p.31) indicates that “since 2002 majority of Ghanaians (from 72 per cent to 89 per cent) never interfaced with their elected national and local representatives, an official at any government ministry/agency or an official of a political party”.

In Ghana, decision-making has primarily focused on the higher-level design phase of establishing policies (Kpessah, 2011). This has relegated citizens’ inputs to the periphery and as such, it is unsurprising that there is widespread perception that policies are for government and not owned by the public/masses. There is therefore the need for programmes and policies to be strategically designed with inclusive spaces for citizens’ participation.

**Routes of drug trafficking**

Drug traffickers exploit many routes to link up with their targets; these are broadly characterized as air, road and sea routes. However, a careful consideration goes into selecting an appropriate medium. Drug cartels tend to use certain specific routes to traffic drugs probably due to relative advantage of such routes and low probability of detection. Reuter (2014) analyzes three models that explain the choice of routing of drugs. First model is premised on the idea that cost imposed by law enforcement authorities such as loss of shipments, confiscation of assets, incarceration etc. influence the choice of routes. Thus, the stiffer the application of these measures the less attractive a country would be to traffickers.
Another model is the use of geographical proximity to either producing or consuming countries. Long distance travels increase transportation costs, and risk of arrest or interception. For instance, proximity of Mexico to US, and the Balkan countries to Western Europe makes it play a pivotal role in cocaine and heroin trafficking. According to Jenner (2011), due to proximity, more than one-third of all illicit drugs consumed in the US are trafficked from Mexico and Columbia.

The third and final model argues that social ties such as migration patterns shape trafficking routes. Countries with lower risk of interception, which offers higher profits for traffickers, are more likely to be used for drug trafficking. Drug trafficking may seem to produce some economic gains to the economies of source countries when viewed from a distance, but on a more critical look, it’s devastating effects erodes any of such economic gains (Adam, 2016). Acheampong (2005) posits that whilst drug trafficking offers employment to the youth, through cultivation and processing of illicit crops (marijuana), it has contributed to rising inflation, currency destabilization and a general threat to foreign exchange earnings of a country.

1.9 Sources of Data and Methodology

To present this study, both primary and secondary data were used. For primary Data, Interviews have been conducted with key stakeholders in the security services; Key amongst institutions interviewed were NACOB, Bureau of National Investigations (BNI) Customs Division of Ghana Revenue Authority, Ghana Immigration Service (GIS), National Security Council, (NSC). Two security experts, Pojoo Jon of the Kofi Annan International Peace Training Centre (KAIPTC), and Col.(Rtd) Adsaye Gaisie, Airport Security Coordinator were interviewed. Head of the Chaucer/Hunter project (former West bridge) and other Officers that were part of the operation
Westbridge team were also contacted. The Nations office on Drug and Crimes (UNODC) Ghana office has also been and other relevant organizations have also been resourceful.

Information obtained from the interviews were used to compliment data obtained from literature reviews to present a complete picture of the topic under discussion. This is so due to the complexities attached to the topic which literature reviews alone might not give a comprehensive view.

With secondary data, Journal articles, books, Annual report of UNODC and INCB, internet sources have been used. Libraries of NACOB, LEClAD, and British Council have been of immense benefit.

The methodology the study adopted in the collection and analysis of data was the qualitative method of social research. In addition, the purposive sampling method was used to select respondents based on their expertise or knowledge of the subject matter. A semi-structured interview was conducted with a carefully selected sample size of ten respondents.

1.10 Limitations of The Study

Despite the use of primary and secondary data sources by the study, a major limitation was the difficulty in having access to classified information on drug trafficking from relevant Security institutions in Ghana. There was also limited access to information from the British government through the UK High commission in Ghana. The study therefore utilized relevant materials, books, reports, seminar papers, articles, written documents and other online materials on the subject matter to mitigate the shortcomings and the validity of the research as well as the findings of the study.
1.11 Organization of The Work

The research is organized into four chapters. Chapter one constitutes the introduction and research design. Chapter Two focuses on overview of Drug trafficking management in Ghana. Chapter three focuses on Ghana- UK collaboration in fighting drug trafficking. Finally, chapter four concludes the dissertation with summary of findings, conclusions and Recommendations.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of drug trafficking in West Africa, proceeds to highlight the menace of drug trafficking in Ghana, and ends with the role of state agencies in the combat of drug trafficking.

2.1 Overview of Drug Trafficking in West Africa

West Africa has long been part of global drug trafficking. Since the 1990s, the West African sub-region has been the hub and the foremost transit and repackaging area for illicit drugs, particularly heroin and cocaine, from Latin and Asian source countries to European markets. Yet, drug trafficking in the region gained more momentum around 2005 as Latin American drug syndicates turned focus on market demand in the USA (Anning and Pokoo, 2014). Today, it serves the dual-purpose of both a transit route for hard drugs and a final destination; West Africa is now considered a prime location for these activities. (ibid)

The production, trafficking and use of illicit drugs like cannabis or marijuana have always existed on the African continent. In countries like Ethiopia and parts of Southern Africa like Zimbabwe, its production has been in existence for centuries. It is argued that cannabis first originated from Sierra Leone (Locally called diamba), where it was cultivated and used for both medicinal and non-medicinal purposes. These include, traditional midwives using cannabis for therapeutic purposes during childbirth and as an aid to hard physical labour by the laboring class (Akyeampong 2005). In addition, according to the popularization argument, the
introduction of cannabis into the West African region is traced to the return of ex-servicemen who fought in Asia during World War II (Kumah- Abiwu, 2014). The region is ideal for its geographical reasons as it plays the role of a logistical transit center. For example, Guinea Bissau, which is described as the first ‘narco-state’ in the world has several deserted islands that make it easier to conceal illicit activity and expedites transit. Africa as a whole was not a well-known production hub for either heroin or cocaine. The supplies route through the continent by African couriers did not raise alerts at European and North American airports in the early 1980s. Further, a vulnerable political environment that highly promotes instability fosters this form of illegal activity, which plagues the region. The occurrence of civil wars, insurgency operations and coups d’état have led to waning of productive national development assets, human capital and social infrastructure. (Anning and Pokoo, 2014). Virtually all African countries are increasingly being used as transit routes particularly those with weak security apparatus and unstable internally (Shehu, 2009).

More so, the region has well-established networks of smugglers and crime syndicates that make it conducive for this form of activity to thrive. The West African drug networks wield unique characteristics compared to other global networks. They are more business oriented and are focused on a plethora of other genuine businesses on the surface. A typical drug trafficker in the region does not focus solely on drugs, but is a genuine businessperson publicly and a criminal drug baronsecretively (Kumah-Abiwu, 2014)

Global attention on the West-African sub region heightened following the surge in narcotic drug trafficking in the mid-2000s. The 2010 report of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
(UNODC) estimates that 20-40 tons of cocaine per year (20 tons valued at approximately US$ 1 billion) have passed through West Africa since the mid-2000’s and Comparatively this is far more than the continent’s combined total of less than a ton per year in the pre-surge period (ibid).

2.1.1 Trafficking Flow of drugs

(a) Cocaine: Cocaine is trafficked from South American countries like Peru, Bolivia and Colombia, through West Africa enroute to European consumer markets. There are two distinct hubs for cocaine trafficking in West Africa. The northern hub involves Guinea Bissau and Guinea Conakry as entry points, with Liberia, Mali and Sierra Leone as air destinations. In the southern hub, it is trafficked into the Bight of Benin, and then routed into Togo, Benin, Ghana and Nigeria. The largest seizure of cocaine in Ghana was made in May 2006 when 1900kg were seized in the fishing village of Prampram. Other large seizures include 588kg seizure in 2005 and 388kg seizure in 2008, 193kg in 2009 in the port of Tema, coming from Brazil in a sugar cargo shipment and another 72kg of cocaine in a container from Ecuador in the same year. This shows significant role Ghana plays in this criminal activity. According to (Ellis and Anning, 2007) there are several reasons accounting for the increased evolvement of cocaine trafficking in Ghana since 1980s. External factors like increased cocaine consumption in Europe, falling demand in American market and tighter control of direct route between Latin America and Europe. Internal factors such as economic downturn or youth unemployment, the increased influence of cocaine barons in political campaigns, coupled with high economic prospects of drugs, has made Ghana and West Africa attractive to traffickers.

(b) Heroine: About 92% of the world’s heroin is produced in Afghanistan. West Africa geographically does not lie between Afghanistan and any major destination country. This makes West Africa geographically less suited for trafficking of heroin. However, West African
Networks have access to heroin produced in Myanmar because of the huge presence in Bangkok, Thailand. In 2007 for example, the government of Thailand said West Africans were responsible for air couriering heroin via India to China, using female Nigerian, Congolese, Ghanaian, Filipino and Thai couriers. The only conceivable way of accessing the region for heroin transport would be by air, using either cargo or passenger planes. Heroin has indeed been shipped to the United States that way, through Ghana. In October 2007, Ghanaian authorities arrested two Afghans for allegedly conspiring to import 100 kilograms of heroin for re-export to the US. Further, in March 2010, 80kg of heroin was seized in an air cargo shipment, originating from Iran and destined for the United States. Observers point to a traditional linkage between the Lebanese community in West Africa and opium or heroin trafficking though the region, as ‘‘Lebanese smugglers were using West Africa as a transit point to transport heroin into the USA as early as 1950’’ (Ellis 2009). Another account shows that heroin trafficking is in the hands of West African nationals, including Ghanaians. This is due to the presence of Nigerian and Ghanaian Diasporas in producing countries in central Asia (Pakistan) and southern Asia (Thailand), as well as in consuming countries in Europe and the United States.

2.1.2 Cannabis trafficking flows

Cannabis trafficking has been known in West Africa since the early 1920s when the drug, mainly originating in Sierra Leone was traded throughout the region and in a particular within British West Africa (Akyeampong 2005). The vast majority of cannabis produced in West Africa is consumed within the region. Nevertheless, over the past years, there have been several quantities of cannabis originating from Ghana bound to Europe. Main destination of shipments is the UK although there have been seizures made in Germany and Belgium.
2.2 Menace of Drug Trafficking in Ghana

2.2.1 History of Drug Trafficking in Ghana

The trafficking of cannabis in Ghana can be traced back to the 1960s, which saw an expansion in demand of the drug. (Bernstein 1999). Not until the year 2004 to 2005 did trafficking in cannabis, cocaine and heroin reached exponential levels (Burry 2011). For example, the largest cocaine seizure in West Africa happened in the Ghanaian Port of Tema. Ghanaian authorities from the Narcotics Control Board and Ghana Police Drug law enforcement agencies, acting on intelligence from their British counterparts made the largest seizure of cocaine in west Africa up to that point; a 588kg of cocaine. It is suspected that drug trafficking cartels have their accomplices and agents among a wide spectrum of Ghanaian officials, including politicians, diplomats, high ranking clerics, Customs Officers, Airport Security officials, the police, just to mention but a few. As observed by (Sakyi 2013) there is a looming danger of politicians in Ghana that are financed by drug cartels and syndicates outside the country.

The drug trafficking menace is not a recent phenomenon in West Africa, as it dates to as far as 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 (Ellis 2009).

Ghana is a major producer of cannabis (second only to Nigeria in West Africa) (INCB 2004) In Ghana, regular or occasional use of cannabis by the populace is estimated at 15% and exports
estimated at 50% of domestic production (ibid). 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 serves to conceal cannabis plants).

In recent years, Mr. Akrasi Sarpong, a former Executive Secretary of NACOB reports that some farmers in the hinterlands are cultivating cannabis at the expense of foodstuffs which are needed to supplement our food basket. 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 (Akrasi 2014).

According to Akyeampong (2005), 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). 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. Akrasi 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. 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 (Akrasi 2014).

As Olukoshi, Arbisala and Olaniyan noted, Ghana ‘s involvement in cannabis cultivation and trafficking can be traced back to the Post World War II era, particular during times of worsening economic conditions. This is attributable 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 of structural adjustment programmes of the IMF and the World Bank. 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. From various accounts of scholars, Cannabis cultivation flourished by 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 history in the late 1980s as direct commercial flights were established between Ghana and Europe and law enforcement measures were increasing on the commercial airline trafficking routes between Southeast Asia and Europe.

The most common means of drug trafficking in Ghana are air transport and through sea routes. Indeed, most drug trafficking incidences have taken place at the two major harbours in the country namely Takoradi and Tema. For air transport drug seizures occur at the Kotoka International Airport. Notably, the infamous MV Benjamin vessel in 2006 was intercepted at the port. It is equally important to note that other drug trafficking activities take place via road transports which usually are in the form of movement of illicit drugs to and from neighbouring countries such as Togo, Burkina Faso, and Nigeria among others. The porous nature of the
country’s borders and the availability of many illegal routes dotted across the country make it possible for this transnational movement of illicit drugs to thrive.

2.2.2 Legislation on illicit drugs in Ghana

In order to give meaning to various international conventions and protocols of which Ghana is a signatory, the government of Ghana in November 1990 passed the Narcotics Drugs (control, enforcement and Sanctions) Law 1990/PNDC Law 236.

Sections 55 of this law establishes the Narcotic Control Board, a state agency under the Ministry of Interior, as the lead and coordinating agency for drug law enforcement to effectively address illicit production, manufacture, trafficking, possession and use of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.

2. 3 State Agencies and Their Roles in Combating Drug Trafficking in Ghana

2.3.1 Narcotics Control Board

PNDC law 236 of 1990, places the responsibility on NACOB as the central coordinating body in dealing with the menace of illicit drugs. Legislative Instrument 1507 thus spells out the functions of NACOB among other things to; collect, collate and disseminate for use of government information on narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances; Receive and refer for investigation any complaint of alleged or suspected prohibited drug activity or narcotic drug abuse; Examine in consultation with appropriate bodies the practices and procedures for importation of, and dealing in narcotic drugs or psychotropic substances by any person or authority; Liaise with foreign and international agencies on matters relating to narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances; advise government on suitable methods for reduction of drug abuse and on provision of treatment and rehabilitation facilities for persons addicted to narcotic drugs and disseminate information to educate the public on the evils of the use of narcotic drugs, the effect of drug
abuse generally and the punishment for offences under the law, particularly in relation to seizure of property acquired from narcotic dealings.

2.3.1.2 Role of NACOB in combating drug trafficking

One of the principal roles performed by NACOB is the combat of illegal trafficking in and out of the country; this is described as supply reduction. The organization’s Supply Reduction Division has the principal aim of dismantling national and trans-national networks with links to Ghana. A secondary aim is to decrease the quantity of narcotic drugs available in the illicit drug market. These activities include collection of intelligence, assessing the intelligence, processing the intelligence and acting on the intelligence acquired to arrest and prosecute cultivators, traffickers, peddlers and users and thus controlling the supply of narcotic drugs to the minimum. The Enforcement and Operations department is responsible for making sure that, supply of narcotic drugs are brought under control. It is made up of Units such as The Kotoka International Airport (KIA) Unit, Sea Communications Project Unit (SEACOP) unit, Joint port control Unit at Tema Port, Aviance Cargo village Unit, Border post Units, Canine Unit (joint operations with the Ghana armed forces) and precursor Control and Forensic support Unit. The various units contribute individually and severally towards the achievements of the objectives of the division and the organization in general.

2.3.1.3 Arrests and seizures

According to the 2016 Annual report of NACOB, a total of 2568.1kg of drugs were seized in that year alone. 2557.35 of this number was cannabis (marijuana) .5.72k cocaine, 3.58kg of speedball and 1.45kg of heroin. In all 24 males and 2 females were arrested. Ghana topped the list of the nationality of traffickers arrested with seventeen of its citizens caught in the illegal business.
Four Nigerians and one each for Tanzania, Malaysia, Britain, Guinea and Benin were arrested for trafficking various categories of drugs.

The figure below shows arrest and seizures, gender distribution of drugs related cases and nationality distribution of suspects arrested.

Table 1: Arrest and Seizures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Drug</th>
<th>Place of arrest</th>
<th>Weight of Drugs(kg)</th>
<th>Mode of Concealment</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cocaine</td>
<td>KIA</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>Ingestion</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocaine</td>
<td>KIA</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>In Bottles</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocaine</td>
<td>KIA</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>Luggage</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total weight of cocaine seized</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heroin</td>
<td>KIA</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>Ingestion</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total weight of Heroin seized</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed ball</td>
<td>KIA</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>Ingestion</td>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speedball</td>
<td>KIA</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>Luggage</td>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total weight of Speed ball</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannabis</td>
<td>KIA</td>
<td>64.23</td>
<td>Baggage</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannabis</td>
<td>KIA</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>Cooking Utensils</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Finland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannabis</td>
<td>KIA</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>Wrapped in cello tape</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Dubai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannabis</td>
<td>Aviance Cargo Village</td>
<td>214.99</td>
<td>Boxes</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannabis</td>
<td>Aviance Cargo Village</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>Cartons containing Fresh Vegetables and yam</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannabis</td>
<td>Aflao Boarder, Volta Region</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>Back pack Bag</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Togo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannabis</td>
<td>Honuta Border, Volta Region</td>
<td>1730.53</td>
<td>Fertilizer Bags containing local Rice</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Togo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannabis</td>
<td>Aflao Border, Volta Region</td>
<td>9.42</td>
<td>Two ladies Hand Bags</td>
<td>Aflao Volta Region, Ghana</td>
<td>Accra- Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannabis</td>
<td>Asikuma-Volta Region</td>
<td>352.85</td>
<td>Fresh Banana and Okro</td>
<td>Asikuma, Volta Region</td>
<td>Accra- Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannabis</td>
<td>Ghana post office</td>
<td>Car parts</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>China</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Weight of cannabis seized</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2557.35kg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total weight of drugs seized</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2568kg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From January to July 2018, the enforcement and control department of NACOB has recorded significant arrests and seizures, all aiming at managing drug trafficking and bringing it to its barest minimum. This included the arrest of a Tanzanian woman with 2.3kg of speed ball; a mixture of cocaine and heroin with street value of $70,000.00 in a two parcels of false compartment in her luggage. Further, in April, a Ugandan was arrested, by NACOB officials, at KIA for ingesting sixty-seven pellets of cocaine. Again two Nigerian nationals were arrested for attempting to traffic 21.7kg methamphetamine, a whitish crystalized synthetic stimulant concealed in stockfish locally referred to as “kako”. They attempted trafficking the illegal substance through the post office. Another significant success recorded was an arrest involving 3 different nationals, who attempted trafficking 111 pellets of cocaine, 35 pellets of speed ball and two slabs of compressed dried leaves into Ghana from Sao Paolo, Brazil, Nairobi Kenya and from Ghana to China respectively. Finally, yet importantly, 22 persons were arrested by a joint operation between NACOB, police and counterpart security agencies in Nigeria. A statement released to the media from NACOB states “This operation resulted in the arrest of 22 suspects,
the seizure of substantial quantities of drugs, namely 15.7kg of cocaine, 9.21kg heroin, 8.17kg of methamphetamine, 596.338kg cannabis, 4kg of khat, and 267 tramadol pills.

2.3.1.4 Demand Reduction role of NACOB

The Demand Reduction Division of the organization undertakes a number of activities mainly in education and sensitization programmes on the negative effects of the cultivation, trade, possession and usage of the narcotic substances in various institutions and communities. The Education and Prevention Department undertakes sensitization programmes to educate the public on the harmful effects of drug abuse. Visitations are organized to basic schools, senior high schools, tertiary institutions, faith-based institutions and communities, all in an attempt to reduce the rate at which people demand for the illicit drug.

According to NACOB Annual report of 2016, across the country, three hundred and ten (310) first cycle institutions, sixty-eight (68) second cycle institutions and thirty-five (35) tertiary institutions were sensitized. A total audience of fifty-eight thousand four hundred and seventy (58,470), forty-seven thousand four hundred and seventy (47,470) and sixteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-one (16,721) respectively were reached.

Three (3) security institutions with a total audience of five hundred and ten (510), forty nine (49) faith based institutions with a total audience of eleven thousand three hundred and forty-eight (11,348) and thirty-four (34) communities were also educated on drug abuse and illicit drug trafficking.

Four (4) other institutions (corporate institutions) with a total audience of seven hundred and forty-five (745) were also sensitized during the period under review.
Forty (40) radio and five (5) TV programmes were also held in some radio and television stations by some Regional Commands to sensitize the general public on the effects of drug abuse and illicit drug trafficking.

2.3.1.5 Treatment, Rehabilitation Social Re-Integration Role of NACOB

As part of the management of the drug menace in the country, NACOB through its counselling and referral department offers counselling services to drug addicts and refer serious cases to various rehabilitation centers. It gives interventions to residents of psychiatric hospitals and rehabilitation centres. It also holds group interactions and psycho education at the various centres. In 2016, for example according to NACOB Demand Reduction Directorate annual report, 234 addicts in three rehabilitation centres were helped through counselling.

2.3.1.6 Monitoring of psychotropic substances and precursor chemicals

There is a dedicated unit at NACOB responsible for the control and monitoring of precursor chemicals and psychotropic substances imported into Ghana. Companies which deal in (import, distribution, re-export) of precursors are monitored. The monitoring helps to prevent the companies from over stocking and diverting precursors in the manufacture of illicit drug.

2.3.2 Role of Other State Agencies in Drug Combat

(a) Drug law enforcement unit of the Ghana Police: The Ghana Police Service, through its Drug law enforcement unit of the Criminal Investigations Department, complements the role of NACOB in the fight against drug trafficking. According to its 2015 Annual report, the unit recorded 663 cases of Indian hemp (cannabis), 23 cocaine and 12 heroin. In similar vein, 349 cases of Indian hemp, 7 cocaine and a case of heroin was recorded by the Unit from January to June of 2016.
(b) Ghana Prisons Service: The Ghana prisons service supports the fight against drug trafficking by providing security for incarcerated accused persons as well as convicted ones. The service also serves as a means of Rehabilitation and Integration for persons convicted of crimes relative to drugs. Available data from the service puts the number of persons on remand and those convicted of drug offence, from January to December 2015, at 143 and 310 respectively. Similarly, 72 prisoners were on remand with 187 convicted from January to July 2016 respectively.

(c) Bureau of National Investigations (BNI): According to Article 12 of the Security and Intelligence Agencies Act 1996 (Act 526) the role of the BNI is to protect the republic against the threat of espionage, sabotage, terrorism, drug trafficking and similar act. The BNI plays a significant role in drug combat in Ghana. This it does by sharing intelligence with NACOB on issues related to trafficking of illicit drugs. It also helps by providing prison facilities for accused persons on trial for drug related offences to ease pressure on the traditional prisons. It also serves as a check on officers of NACOB who may be complicit in aiding and abating crimes of narcotic drugs. Finally, it provides training facilities for NACOB officers to train on intelligence gathering, covert operations and other assistance as deemed necessary.

(d) Ghana Immigration Service: The Ghana Immigration service cooperates with NACOB and other security agencies by providing intelligence and tip-offs on suspicious passengers that may be trafficking drugs. They also cooperate with officers of NACOB to have easy access to passengers suspected to be trafficking drugs, for further testing and
screening. Deportees returning into the country who have been convicted of crimes related to drug trafficking are also handed over to NACOB and other security services first on arrival for debriefing and other security clearance.

(e) Customs Division of Ghana Revenue Authority: Customs contributes its quota to the drug fight through its narcotic unit. This unit is represented at air and seaports. Seizures and arrests in narcotic cases are passed on to NACOB for investigation and further actions. Narcotic drugs are number one on the list of forbidden items on the customs list. For industries and pharmaceutical companies who import raw materials containing elements of drugs or psychotropic substances, they are mostly referred to NACOB and Food and Drugs Authority (FDA) by Customs for permit, this helps to prevent diversion of such products into illicit uses.

(f) Economic and Organised Crime Office (EOCO): The purpose of EOCO as a specialized agency is to monitor and investigate economic and organized crime, to prosecute these offences under the authority of the Attorney –General, and to facilitate the confiscation of proceeds of crime. Offences include drug trafficking, money laundering, human trafficking computer fraud and any other predicate crime to money laundering. EOCO collaborates with NACOB in investigating and confiscating proceeds related to drug trafficking. In 2016 for example, NACOB in collaboration with EOCO and with the leave of the court, has identified and confiscated some properties identified as proceeds of crime related to illicit drugs. Such properties included Volvo 4x4 with registration number GE 4030 Y, Benz truck with registration number GR 494 F, DAF truck with
registration no. XU 216-AKD, Night Angels Enterprise belonging to Nayele Ametepe
and Plot no.2A, Mango close, Dansoman, Accra which belongs to Edward Macauley.

2.4 Challenges of Drug Management in Ghana

(a) Legislation: The current law governing the combat of drugs in Ghana is not holistic. This
has made it a daunting task for NACOB, the lead and coordinating Agency in the fight
against the menace to carry out properly its mandate. Thus, the passage of the Narcotics
Control Commission Bill which was laid before the 6th Parliament of the 4th Republic to
review the Narcotic Drugs (Control, Enforcement and Sanctions) Law, 1990 (PNDC law
236) would have been a major step in strengthening state institutions in the management
of drug menace. It will not only make NACOB autonomous body, which is free from
interference, but also ensure conformity with International Laws on Narcotic Drugs,
Psychotropic Substances and Precursor Chemicals. Unfortunately, the delay in passing
this bill is militating against the holistic fight against drug trafficking in Ghana. As a
senior officer at NACOB donated “This bill is what will make NACOB have the teeth to
bit and make it properly placed to fight the menace of drugs”. It will also make it a fully
fleshed security organisation under the security and Intelligence Agencies Act 1996 (Act
526).

(b) Insufficient budgetary allocations: Another challenge faced by NACOB and other
security agencies is lack of enough funds to cover the yearly budget of the organisation.
The cutting down of the organisations budget by the supervising ministry and sometimes
the delay in accessing such subventions makes it difficult to plan and map out a
comprehensive strategy in dealing with the menace. A senior officer of NACOB for
example laments the limited financial support by government by saying “even all the sniffer dogs we use are donated to us. Government has not bought even a single dog for us.”

(c) Inadequate logistics: For a security organisation like NACOB to deliver effectively on its mandate of winning the drug war, it requires sophisticated equipment and gadgets such as scanners, itemizers, drug test kits, sniffer dogs effective communication network and fully furnished offices at vantage entry and exit points and other locations nationwide. The limited availability of these makes the task very daunting. The organization largely relays on the benevolence of bilateral partners in the provision of logistics. This has made the organisation’s international collaborators to have an upper hand in determining the nature and form of operational plans under any collaboration.
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction
This chapter addresses Ghana-UK (Westbridge) collaboration. It begins with the history, and objectives of the collaboration, proceeds to highlight the prospects of the collaboration and ends with challenges/ criticisms of the collaboration.

3.1 History of Ghana -UK (West Bridge) Collaboration
During the mid-2000s, trafficking of drugs in and out of Ghana to the Americans and European countries especially the UK was on the ascendancy. A case in hand was in April 2006, when about 2300 Kilograms of Cocaine on board Maritime Vessel Benjamin (MV Benjamin) that was offloaded at Tema Port got missing. This was in spite of the fact that both NACOB officials and officials of the Ghana police Service had received intelligence about the consignment. Even more worrying was the fact that only 30kilograms was seized of which five kilograms disappeared from police custody and the remaining twenty-five used as evidence. This raises concerns about the effectiveness of NACOB and thus exposes weaknesses in the systems put in place to deal with illicit drug trafficking. The government of Ghana therefore in an attempt to unravel the mystery surrounding the disappearance of the MV Benjamin set up a committee of inquiry called Georgina Wood Committee to investigate the circumstances leading to the unfortunate disappearance of the narcotic drug. Following the findings of the Georgina Wood Committee, the owner of the vessel, a crewmember and five other suspects and three Ghanaians were arrested for their involvement in transporting the cocaine from the MV Benjamin into Ghana.
Five accused traffickers were convicted based on the evidence gathered. Three policemen were also convicted and imprisoned. Two NACOB officials were also suspended for negligence of duty. A major restructuring and expansion exercise was undertaken to strengthen the capacity of the NACOB to deal more efficiently with the drug trade. New directorates and special units were created and tasked with specific functions in Finance and Administration: Demand Reduction and Supply reduction (Enforcement and control). Further, Operations of the NACOB were decentralized into northern, middle and western zones.

In November 2006, the government of Ghana sought the collaboration of the UK in helping it combat the menace of drug trafficking which was fast becoming a dent on the image of the country. The UK readily responded to the call, due to the growing concern of the influx of illicit drugs from West Africa and the Sahelian regions to Europe in general and the UK in particular. This is a view supported by a senior government official at the Ministry of Interior who elucidated that:

``Ghana more or less placed an SOS call to our British partners to collaborate with us in the drug fight``

This culminated in the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the two countries and the collaboration which known as Operation West bridge was launched on 15th November 2006.

3.2. Aims/ Objectives of The Ghana-UK (Westbridge Collaboration)

The main aim/ Objective of the collaboration was to stem the tide on the influx of drugs from Ghana to the UK. Ghanaian authorities were perturbed by the growing arrest of drug couriers from Ghana, which involved its nationals and the dent on the image of the country, albeit been
touted as the beacon of democracy in Africa. In making a case for Operation Westbridge, Ghana’s National Security Minister at the time, Mr Albert Kan Dapah, noted "the ready availability of drugs, the disturbing abuse of drugs by significant sections of the population and the arrest and imprisonment of Ghanaians abroad, notably Europe, the United States of America and South East Asia, are clear indicators that there is a problem". In supporting the Ghanaian initiative to seek help from the British through Operation Westbridge, Beryl St James, a senior HRMC officer noted:

"Ghana quickly recognised that their country was being targeted. Many Ghanaians were being arrested while carrying drugs through European airports. The country does not want to gain a reputation as a drugs gateway."

For the British, their main aim of entering into the collaboration was to prevent the influx of drugs into their country, which would be costlier than the cost of interdiction outside the UK. In making a case for the cost effectiveness of the collaboration to the UK, St James of the HRMC argued that even though Operation Westbridge cost £250,000 in its first year, it is money well spent.

"It costs £35,000 to lock someone up in the UK but if you arrest them abroad you are already saving money."

3.3 Modus Operandi of Operation Westbridge

The Operation entailed stationing officers from Her Majesty’s Revenue and Customs (HMRC) alongside their Ghanaian counterparts at the Airport for intelligence sharing, mentoring on counter narcotic detection and intelligence techniques and joint operations to clamp down on
couriers of drugs. HRMC officers and that of NACOB jointly profile passengers, with the latter been trained on indicators to look out for in passengers who are likely to carry drugs, or shipments likely to have drugs concealed therein. Further, NACOB officials are trained on the use of some sophisticated gadgets and other drug detection devices such as scanners, field test kits and itemizers and sniffer dogs at the airport and seaports.

Operation Westbridge was built on the success of a similar initiative, Operation Airbridge, in Jamaica. This operation focused on arresting drug couriers with internal concealments of Class A drugs in Jamaica bound for the UK. In Jamaica for example the impact has been substantial, over four years; the numbers of Jamaican couriers detected at UK airport has fallen from almost one thousand per year to five. The Operation targets passengers and cargos that traffic drugs through the airport and the seaport destined primarily to the UK. Even though it covers illicit drug trafficking into Ghana, it is not given as much priority as it should. Further, the collaboration does not tackle the growing incidence of consumption of drugs in the country.

3.4 State Support for The Operation Westbridge

To ensure the successful operation of Westbridge in Ghana, the government of Ghana, mandated agencies under the Ministries of Interior National Security to be the lead agencies to collaborate with their counterparts from the UK. Thus, the NACOB, the state’s lead agency in the fight against drug trafficking worked closely with, and supported their counterparts from the West bridge. Other agencies like the GIS, The BNI, Customs Division of GRA; all cooperate with and aid the Operation Westbridge. For example, Customs Division of GRA supports the Westbridge Operation by ensuring that Narcotic drug is the number one on the list of forbidden items for import or export. Vigilant custom officers at air and seaports seize items suspected to be
narcotics and pass on to NACOB and/or Westbridge officials for investigation and further actions. For industries and pharmaceutical companies who import raw materials containing elements of drugs or psychotropic substances, they are mostly referred to NACOB and Food and Drugs Authority (FDA) by Customs for permit, this helps to prevent diversion of such products into illegal uses or re-export.

Further, the Ghana Immigration service supports the Westbridge operation by facilitating the free movement of Westbridge officials in and out of Ghana. Issues of permit and visas do not constitute a problem at all to such officials. Officials of GIS promptly refer suspected passengers to the Westbridge and or NACOB for further interrogation.

Additionally, the state cooperates with the Westbridge team by providing personnel to be mentored by the Westbridge team. They are largely selected from NACOB officers, and the police Narcotic Units under whose mandate the fight against narcotics falls. Such officials are trained in both Ghana and the UK on counternarcotic techniques and better profiling methods or strategies. This makes them not only confident and efficient but mentors to their colleague officers.

3.5 Dividends of The NACOB-Westbridge Collaboration

One of the significant dividends accrued to both parties under the collaboration is an improvement in intelligence sharing. This has significantly led to arrest and interception of narcotic drugs and further helped to ease the works of both NACOB and Westbridge officers. This view was collaborated by a senior officer at NACOB who had this to say,

"Obviously the collaboration has helped us more by way of access to information and intelligence which has been very helpful to our work".
3.5.1 Increased Number of Arrest/Seizure

The operation West Bridge–NACOB collaboration, which was instituted to combat the drug trade, has yielded significant results both in its formative years and in later days by way of arrests and seizures. Before the advent of the collaboration, from 2004 to 2006, total arrest and seizures recorded at the Kotoka International airport for example was 106 cases. By the first year of the operation, 69 arrests and £40 million in narcotic seizures was made. The haul comprises 244 kilograms of cocaine, 1.2 kilograms of heroin and 1,148 kilograms of cannabis with street values of £37 million, £280,000 and £3.4 million respectively. The 69 arrests comprised 20 Ghanaians and 49 foreigners, mostly Nigerians British and Dutch. Of the arrests, 16 were made in the UK while the rest were made in Ghana. By the year 2010, four years into the collaboration the number of recorded cases was 302.

The table below represents arrest and seizures between 2004 and 2010, before and after the collaboration:

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<tr>
<th>PERIOD BEFORE WEST BRIDGE</th>
<th>PERIOD AFTER WEST BRIDGE (NOV 2006- 2010)</th>
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<td>2004</td>
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It is significant to point that the Ghanaian security agencies had a successful record of interdiction of traffickers owning to enforcement capabilities and some technical assistance
training and bilateral collaborations with the US, in the years prior to the launch of Operation Westbridge. Beginning in 2007, however, there was also clearly an increase in the overall number of drug seizures and arrest at KIA indicating that the introduction of Operation Westbridge had a positive impact on interdiction of narcotics. The success of the programme however largely depends on the cooperation and efforts put up by enforcement officers on the part of Ghana. As senior official at the UNODC recounted:

“Ghana is quite well trusted by the international partner. The Ghanaian law enforcement officials who are involved in these operations are relatively easy to cooperate and coordinate with”.

**Installation of Sophisticated equipment:** Further, the UK government under the operation Westbridge made significant investment in equipment such as drug detection scanners that are capable of detecting concealments in any part of the body, itemizers, which detects drug through sweat or Saliva and Urine test kits, which detects drugs through urine samples. Furthermore, under the collaboration, the UK government helped in procurement of canine (sniffer dogs) trained to detect drug concealments in humans, equipment, food items and many other concealment methods. This complements the works of human intelligence and machines used in the drug interdiction process.

**Capacity building programs/refresher trainings:** Under the collaboration, officers of NACOB are taken through refresher trainings, train the trainer programmes both in Ghana and in the UK on counter narcotic interdiction, profiling methods among others. This is aimed at building the capacity of officers to improve efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery. As reiterated by Bridget Prentice, the UK Parliamentary Undersecretary of State, “We want to do more to help
build local capacity to fight drug trafficking, building on our work in recent months with the Narcotics Control Board and the Ghana Police Service.

3.6 Challenges of The NACOB-Westbridge Co-Operation

Despite the many successes in drug interdiction that could be attributed to the joint partnership, there are some challenges that confront both partners in the collaboration.

3.6.1 Language and cultural barriers

Westbridge officers who are stationed at KIA to profile passengers alongside their Ghanaian counterparts face communication barriers as they have to fall on the latter group for interpretation when dealing with native Ghanaian passengers. This may lead to distortions that arise from inadequate translation and understanding could hamper the work of officers. Further, some cultural elements like some traditional Ghanaian dressing, which sometimes make passengers demeanor look unusual, avoiding eye contacts while profiling, and many others may easily be misinterpreted by west bridge officials who do not understand the cultural context as suspicious and be wrongly targeted as drug couriers. These signs are however seen as normal by the local authorities who understand the cultural underpinnings in interaction with not only Ghanaian passengers but also a wide range of African passengers.

3.6.2 Mistrust leading to break in intelligence sharing

Intelligence sharing, a key component of the collaboration is sometimes compromised due to mistrust that shared intelligence may be abused by the Ghanaian counterpart to leave couriers or barons off the hook. As Kwesi Anning, a Security Expert noted, "international collaboration and partnership are based on trust, respect and transparency and I think over time some of these things are challenged” a case in hand was in 2014 when drug baron, Nayele Ametefe was
arrested with 12 kilograms of cocaine at Heathrow airport which she tried smuggling to the UK from Ghana. Ghanaian authorities claimed that the arrest was through collaboration with British partners (Westbridge), a claim that was denied publicly by the British authority. The difference in the stance of NACOB and their British counterparts undermined not just the operation Westbridge but also is an embarrassment to Ghana. How such sensitive information was not shared by the partners points only to the trust deficit that exists. Again as quizzed by Anning, "the challenge relates to trust". How much can the two organisations share sensitive intelligence information about our operations? Further, the British partners have continued to indict some members of NACOB accusing them of compromising their positions. They cite a wiki leaks report, which suggested that some security officials were aiding and abetting the drugs trade in the country. Such accusations tend to undermine the collaboration.

3.6.3 Unequal privileges enjoyed by both parties

Another critical set back or challenge of the collaboration is the unevenness of access provided by the parties in the drug fight. While the Ghanaian counterparts (NACOB) provided unlimited access to Westbridge officers to its airport to freely profile and arrest culprits in the illicit trade, not a similar access is provided to NACOB officers in Heathrow or any other airport in the UK. This raises issues of mutual respect and holistic approach to the drug interdiction process.

3.6.4 Logistic challenges

Despite the huge investment made by the British government under the collaboration, there are still logistical challenges suffered by partners in the collaboration, more especially the Ghanaian counterparts. Officers have to make do without test kit, gloves and other basic tools needed in the operation. This is largely due to delays by the British partners to send these items in time when needed. The British partners however expect local authorities to also meet parts of such
demands and not to relax and be spoon-fed. As a senior Westbridge official the research spoke to had this to say “Collaboration involves commitments from both parties, it should not be seen as a one way traffic.”

3.7 Conclusion

The Ghana–Westbridge collaboration despite the many gains that could be pointed, does not holistically address the menace of drug trafficking in Ghana. For example, many observers point to the narrow nature of the collaboration. It does not address the many boarders and unapproved routes that are been exploited by drug traffickers.

Further to this, the regime largely concentrates on drugs leaving Ghana to the UK and other European countries. It does not boarder much about drugs that are been imported into Ghana. This gives rise to local consumption of some drugs hitherto alien to Ghana. As the Head of Operations at NACOB noted, “When Westbridge officers come to the airport, their concentration is largely on passengers on board British Airways to London and not other flights”.

This chapter addressed Ghana UK (Collaboration) in combating drug trafficking. Whiles the study found that both parties have benefited from the collaboration, there are plethora of challenges that goes against the success of the collaboration, which have been highlighted. This includes logistical challenges, language and cultural barriers, unequal privileges enjoyed by both parties in the collaboration as well as mistrust, leading to break in intelligence sharing. Lastly, observers point to the fact that the collaboration is not holistic enough to cover the aspirations of both parties.
CHAPTER FOUR
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents summary of findings and analysis of data. Conclusions and appropriate recommendations were given based on empirical findings. The study was carried out within the theory of international cooperation with the hypothesis that, Ghana-UK collaboration on drug trafficking management has been effective. Theory of International cooperation was selected amidst other concepts or theories because of its strength in explaining why two countries or entities of varying degree of advancement and global recognition will find common grounds to cooperate in achieving mutually beneficial outcomes. The theoretical framework fits appropriately into the study as it helps us understand for example, that cooperation is driven by goal-oriented action that rests on mutual policy adjustments in order to make all parties better off than they would have otherwise been.

4.1 Summary of Findings

As drug trafficking has assumed global dynamics and complexities, there is the need to explore various collaborative mechanisms to deal with it. One popular example of collaborative effort is the Ghana-UK collaboration called operation Westbridge. The study sought to attain the following objectives:

- Examine the influence of the changing dynamics of drug trafficking on Ghana-UK collaborations.

- To understand the extent to which Ghana-UK collaboration has helped to address drug trafficking menace in Ghana
To evaluate the success and challenges associated with the joint Ghana-UK (NACOB-WEST BRIDGE) collaboration in combating drug trafficking

Below is summary of key findings 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 has revealed that Ghana has responded appropriately and joined hands with the international community in the fight against drug trafficking by being signatory to international conventions such as The 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic drugs, The 1971 Convention on Psychotropic substances and The 1988 convention against illicit trafficking of Narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. The country has domesticated such treaties and conventions leading to the promulgation in November 1990, of the Narcotics Drugs (control, enforcement and Sanctions) Law 1990/PNDC Law 236. This law led to the setting up of NACOB the lead and coordinated agency in the fight against drug trafficking.

- The study found that NACOB continues to perform its mandate of combating drug trafficking through policies and programmes leading to considerable success in demand reduction, supply reduction and Treatment, Rehabilitation Social Re-integration of drug addicts.

- Further, the study observed that there have been appreciable support from other security agencies such as the customs, division of Ghana Revenue Authority, Ghana Immigration Service BNI, Drug law enforcement unit of the Ghana Police Service, Ghana Prisons Service, EOCO, in complementing NACOB’s role in the management of drug trafficking in Ghana.
The study has shown that NACOB–West bridge collaboration has led to improvement in combating drug trafficking through improved intelligence sharing, logistical support, better training in drug interdictions and access to data of drug traffickers globally which has led to better service delivery by officers of NACOB.

The study also noted that NACOB- West bridge collaboration has yielded significant arrest and seizures of drugs both in Ghana and the UK. Key amongst them was the arrest of British Teenagers in 2006 with 96 Kilograms of Cocaine, seizure of 400kgs of cocaine on maritime Vessel Atiya and the arrest of Nayele Ametefe who tried to smuggle 12 kilograms of cocaine into the UK from Ghana in 2014.

In addition, the study further revealed that NACOB-Westbridge collaboration has to a large extent met the aspirations of both parties as the extent to which illicit drugs enter the UK from Ghana has reduced largely due to the proactiveness of the two partners, leading to improved international image of the two countries.

Again, the study realized that the NACOB-Westbridge collaboration has led to the implementation of recommendations largely from the British partners which have led to improvement in Salary and conditions of Service of NACOB officers, leading to improved commitment by officers in the fight against drug trafficking, at least better than the period prior to the collaboration.

The study also noted the rate of investments the UK government has made into the operations of the NACOB, is not commensurate with such investments the government of Ghana has made through budgetary allocations and provision of logistical support.
It was also found out that the rate of drug trafficking in and out of Ghana has significantly reduced, better than the period prior to the coming into force of the collaboration.

It was further found that Ghana remains a transit point of drug trafficking to other neighbouring countries, and drug use in the country is high albeit the NACOB-West bridge collaborations.

Notwithstanding the above successes the study found out that there exist significant challenges encountered by the NACOB West bridge collaboration and the combat of illicit drug trafficking in Ghana which are worth highlighting:

- Politicization of drug trafficking in the country is a challenge especially relating to when arrests are made and how big men try to influence trials or releases of drug barons thereby frustrating efforts of security agencies and this serves as disincentive to the combat of drug trafficking.

- The collaboration is not holistic enough, as many areas such as the boarders and illegal routes are not covered by the cooperation.

- There is a limited support from the judiciary in expediting trials of drug trafficking, coupled with intimidation of officers by some judges when they appear in court to give evidence against drug traffickers. Further, poor handling of dockets of accused persons by state attorneys mostly leads to acquittal and discharge of some drug traffickers for lack of evidence after officers have gone through the trouble of arresting such culprits.

- Lack of follow up, through controlled deliveries to get hook of the main perpetrators of drug trafficking, who are the barons. Often those arrested are couriers who traffic drugs.
on behalf of their paymasters (the barons). Some barons indeed do not see drugs; they have freelance operation because their money does the work for them.

- There is a limited political will by government to effectively equip NACOB in the fight against the menace of drug trafficking. The bill to make NACOB autonomous and better placed to fight drug keeps shuffling between Attorney Generals Department and Parliament of Ghana since 2014.

- The study also reveals that motivation amongst officers of NACOB, despite huge support from the British government is still low. Officers spend more working hours without compensation, accommodation for officers poses a challenge and there seem to be limited transparency in selection of officers for capacity building programs and other courses.

- Further the study identifies that no properly defined managerial structures exist in NACOB. Issues about promotion and further studies are not properly spelt out, leading to low level of commitment among officers, which invariably affect their output when it comes to arrests and seizures of drugs.

4.2 Conclusion

The study has demonstrated that the Ghana-UK collaboration has helped in fighting drug trafficking in the country. Evidence has shown the need to consolidate the gains chalked by eliminating undue political interferences in the work of security agencies in the country and also improving their conditions of service. Through an analysis of the operation West bridge, the study has revealed the primacy of cooperation as key driver towards the fight against drug trafficking. It has argued that the changing dynamics in the global drug trade demands that
collaborative approaches are very effective means in achieving success. In addition, it is concluded from the study that the youth stand the risk of drug trafficking the most, in the face of rising youth unemployment in the country, if the government does not make any conscious effort in tackling youth unemployment.

Contrary to suggestions that the operation West bridge will eliminate all forms of drug trafficking activities affecting the two countries; the study observed that the collaboration has not entirely solved the drug trafficking menace affecting the two countries. The two countries will be better off if other collaborative options are explored. Again, there appears to be a lack of effective coordination among agencies of state involved in combating drug menace in the country. And this has been exploited by drug traffickers to escape arrests and seizures. On the basis of the findings, the study concludes that the hypothesis that “Ghana- UK collaboration on drug trafficking management has been effective” has been proven to be true. This is because, there have been evidence to show that interdiction of drug traffickers have been effective with the collaboration.

4.3 Recommendations

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

Recommendations to the Government of Ghana

- The government of Ghana must continue with the NACOB-Westbridge collaboration, whiles at the same time try other actors or similar collaborations with other countries and international agencies, in order to have a holistic approach to the combat of drug trafficking.
Government of Ghana must show a great commitment to the fight against the drug menace through expediting the passage of the Narcotics Control Commission bill to make NACOB an autonomous commission to have the teeth to bite.

Government should endeavor to increase budgetary allocations to NACOB, support the board with logistics to effectively deliver on its mandate and facilitate the provision of affordable housing for officers of NACOB and generally ensure improved conditions of service of officers to increase morale of officers to avoid been unduly influenced by drug cartels and fight the menace head-on.

The government should increase the staff strength of NACOB and, ensure transparency in recruitment of officers into the Board. Politically motivated recruitments and transfers only results in recruiting unqualified officers. At all material times, vetting of officers’ background to ensure they pass integrity test, academic qualifications, and other requirements for recruitment must be strictly adhered to.

**Recommendations to the judicial service**

The judicial service should 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 deterrent to others from risking to venture into drug trafficking in Ghana.

The Judicial service should cooperate with NACOB and other agencies in the fight against drug trafficking by setting out special courts to handle drug cases with dispatch. Further, in-camera hearing should be provided to officers who give evidence in court so as to protect their identities, to mitigate risk of attack on the life of such officers, from the families and allies of victims of drug trafficking. Judges must protect witnesses and
make it easier for officers to provide evidence without unnecessary tensions and fear been created in court.

**Recommendations to NACOB**

- There is a need for vibrant coordination between NACOB and its supporting institutions especially among the Police drug law enforcement unit, Ghana Navy, and National Security and other institutions to eliminate turf war among such agencies and institutions with NACOB.

- NACOB should set up a research unit, tailored towards addressing new trends in drug trafficking and drug abuse, which should inform its operational tactics and strategies.

- NACOB should make a deliberate effort to build on the expertise of officers for long service. The board should continue to partner with other organizations, national and international to seek training programmes to enhance the capacity of its officers.

- NACOB should embark on an inter-agency collaboration for the management of data, human resource and intelligence sharing.

- NACOB must endeavor to dedicate a significant percentage of its budgetary allocations to support joint collaborations with other foreign counterparts, which would give it the right to demand equity in the design and modus operandi of such joint operations.

- NACOB must ensure that, there should be a clear cut plan not only to sustain collaborations with foreign partners, but also retain and harness the expertise of its staff who are beneficiary of trainings under such collaborations after the tenure of the collaborations have elapsed.
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3. Col (RTD) Adsaye Gaisie, Head of Security, KIA (11/07/18)
4. Mr John Pokoo, Security Expert KAIPTC (16/07/18)
5. Joel Appiah, UNODC Ghana office (19/07/18)
6. DCNA Stanley Ayo, Head of operations, NACOB (20/08/18)
7. DSP David Hukporti, Police Drug Law Enforcement Agency (22/08/18)
APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE

How effective are drug trafficking management mechanisms in Ghana

1. How are drugs trafficked in and out of the country?

2. What conditions or factors are responsible for drug trafficking in Ghana?

3. In what ways does the country combat the drug trafficking menace?

4. What specific drug management mechanisms do you consider most effective and why?

5. What drug management strategies do you view as ineffective and why?

To what extent has the Ghana-UK collaboration helped to address drug trafficking menace in Ghana

6. How did the idea of the Ghana-UK collaboration in combating drug trafficking emerge?

7. What were the specific incentives that drove the adoption of the Ghana-UK collaboration in drug trafficking?

8. How involved was Ghana in the design and implementation of the collaborative agreement with UK? Please explain your answer

9. In what ways has the Ghana-UK collaboration contributed to addressing the drug trafficking menace in Ghana?

10. Would any of the two countries (Ghana or UK) be or have been able to better address drug trafficking without the collaboration? Please explain your answer
What are the successes and challenges associated with the joint Ghana-UK collaboration in combating drug trafficking?

11. What are the major gains made in combating drug trafficking as a result of the Ghana-UK collaboration?

12. What would be your rating of the performance of Ghana relative to drug trafficking combat before and after the collaboration with UK and why?

13. What are the new challenges that have arisen due to the Ghana-UK collaboration in the drug trafficking combat?

14. In your view do you believe the Ghana-UK collaboration sufficiently addresses each country’s peculiar drug trafficking issues? Please explain your answer.

15. Would you encourage a continuation of the Ghana-UK collaboration or a review of specific aspects and why?