

**COMBATING ‘GALAMSEY’ IN GHANA AND
ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR GHANA-CHINA
RELATIONS: AN ASSESSMENT**

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**THIS THESIS/DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE
AWARD OF MA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEGREE**

LEGON

JULY 2018

DECLARATION

I, Mavis Kell Nyamekye-Acquah, hereby declare that with the exception of duly acknowledged references, this dissertation is an original research work by me under the supervision of Dr. Philip Attuquayefio. I also declare that this dissertation has not been submitted either in part or in whole for any degree elsewhere.

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DATE

DEDICATION

This work is first dedicated to God Almighty for without him this dream would not have metamorphosed into reality. Also to my Dad for inspiring me to climb up high on the educational ladder and for his financial help. To my mum for her prayers and to my siblings for their support.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My heartfelt gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. Phillip Attuquayefio who, through guidance and advice, influenced the perspectives that helped me complete the work on time. I am also grateful to the Director and Fellows at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy. I also acknowledge the time and attention given to me by these personalities who granted me the interview for this study; Madam Mercia Addo, Deputy Director, Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, Mr. Faisal Disu, Assistant Commissioner of Immigration, Head of PPMED and Madam Genevieve Apaloo, Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ASM	-	Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining
CGC	-	China Geo-engineering Corporation
CPCC	-	Chairperson of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
CSOs	-	Civil Society Organisations
ECG		Electricity Company of Ghana
EI	-	Executive Instrument
EPR	-	Economic Recovery Programme.
FDI	-	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GIPC	-	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre
GIS	-	Ghana Immigration Service
GRA	-	Ghana Revenue Authority
HIV/AIDS	-	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICT	-	Information and Communication Technology
IRS	-	International Revenue Service
LPG	-	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
LS	-	Large Scale
MC	-	Minerals Commission
MDA	-	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MFARI	-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
MLNR	-	Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources

NDC	-	National Democratic Congress
NGO	-	Non-governmental Organisation
NPP	-	New Patriotic Party
PNDCL	-	Provisional National Defence Council Law
PPME	-	Policy Planning Monitoring and Evaluation
SME	-	Small-to-Medium Enterprise
SODECI	-	Société de Distribution d' Eau de la Côte d'Ivoire
SS	-	Small Scale
USA	-	United States of America

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF ACRONYMS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
ABSTRACT	ix
CHAPTER ONE	1
RESEARCH DESIGN	1
1.1 Background to the Problem Statement.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem	4
1.3 Research Questions	6
1.4 Research Objectives	7
1.5 Scope of Study.....	7
1.6 Rationale of the Study.....	7
1.7 Conceptual Framework	7
1.8 Literature Review	14
1.9 Methods and Sources of Data.....	19
1.10 Arrangement of Chapters	20
Endnotes	21
CHAPTER TWO	23
REVIEW AND EVALUATION OF GHANA-CHINA RELATIONS SINCE 1992	23
2.0 Introduction	23
2.1 History of Ghana-China Diplomatic Relations.....	23
2.2 Review and Evaluation of Ghana-China Relations Since 1992	26
2.3 Major Chinese Developmental Aid Projects in some Key Sectors of Ghana’s Economy	28
2.3.1 Energy	28
2.3.2 Information and Communication Technology	30
2.3.3 Health/Water.....	30

2.3.4	Agriculture/Fishing	31
2.3.5	Education/Culture/Capacity Building	31
2.3.5	Technical Assistance	31
2.3.6	Sports.....	32
2.4	Conflicting Views over China’s True Economic Benevolence	33
	Endnotes	40

CHAPTER THREE..... 42

NATIONAL EFFORTS AT COMBATING “GALAMSEY” AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON GHANA – CHINA RELATIONS 42

3.0	Introduction	42
3.1	History of Gold Mining in Ghana	42
3.1.1	Evolution of Mining Sector Regulation/Policy Framework	44
3.1.2	Regulatory Framework.....	46
3.1.3	Modern Mining Sector Regulation.....	47
3.2	The Artisanal and Small Scale Mining Sector (ASM).....	48
3.2.1	Overview of the Artisanal and Small Scale Mining Sector in Ghana History	48
3.2.2	Chinese Participation in Artisanal Small Scale Mining	51
3.2.3	Analysis of Anti-Galamsey Activities.....	53
3.2.4	Causes of Anti-Galamsey Activities	53
3.2.5	Strategic Anti-Galamsey Activities.....	55
3.2.6	Operational Anti-Galamsey Activities	56
3.3	Combating “Galamsey” and the role of the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources.....	58
3.3.1	Mandate of the Ministry	58
3.3.2	Role of the Ministry	58
3.3.3	Strategies	59
3.3.4	Diplomatic Considerations	60
3.3.5	Way forward	62
3.4	The Ghana Immigration Service.....	62
3.4.1	Mandate of the GIS	63
3.4.2	Role of the Ghana Immigration Service	63
3.4.3	Arrest and Repatriation of Foreign Nationals engaged in “Galamsey”.....	63
3.4.4	Criticisms against the Service over ineffectiveness in the discharge of their Duties	64
3.4.5	Accusations of GIS Officers Colluding with Chinese Migrants	65
3.4.6	Way Forward	65

3.5	Media reportage on Chinese involvement in illegal mining and its effect on Ghana- China Relations: Diplomatic, Economic and Security Implications	65
3.5.1	Media Reportage on the Issue of Chinese Involvement in “Galamsey” and its Diplomatic Implications	68
3.5.2	Media Reportage on the Issue of Chinese Involvement in “Galamsey” and its Economic Implications	69
3.5.3	Media Reportage on the Issue of Chinese Involvement in “Galamsey” and its Security Implications	69
3.6	Ascertaining Diplomatic, Economic and Security Implications on Ghana-China Relations Arising from the Combat of “Galamsey” from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration	70
3.6.1	Mandate of the MFARI	71
3.6.2	Functions of MFARI	71
3.6.3	Current State of Ghana China Relations	72
3.6.4	The Ministry’s Perspectives on Government’s Anti-galamsey Activities	72
	Endnotes	75
	CHAPTER FOUR	79
	SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	79
4.0	Introduction	79
4.1	Summary of Findings.....	79
4.2	Conclusions	82
4.3	Recommendations.....	84
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	87
	APPENDICES	93

ABSTRACT

This study was an assessment of Government of Ghana's anti-galamsey activities on Ghana-China diplomatic relations. The focus of the study was to determine whether anti-galamsey activities of the government have had any strain on the diplomatic relations between the two countries. The study relied on both primary and secondary sources of data for analysis. Widespread damage to Ghana's environment, water bodies, farmlands and wildlife due to "galamsey", a local referent for illegal mining, had become a grave concern. While those involved in "galamsey" includes both Ghanaians and foreigners, the introduction of sophisticated equipment and use of dangerous chemicals by Chinese migrants in the extraction of Gold through illegal means had resulted into a "galamsey" narrative directed heavily at the Chinese. With widespread media reportage on the issue mostly highlighting damages to the environment, water bodies, conflicts and deaths, the government was forced to act, hence the decision to combat "galamsey" of which the majority of foreigners involved are Chinese migrants. While this decision was welcomed by many, other experts feared the consequences of this decision on Ghana-China diplomatic relations due to the latter's economic contribution to the development of Ghana. Findings from the study revealed that Ghana-China diplomatic relations have not been significantly impacted by Government of Ghana's 'anti-galamsey' activities and that these activities have no current or future negative implications on the diplomatic exchanges between Ghana and China and that the current state of Sino-Ghana relations remains friendly.

CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Background to the Problem Statement

Few years after Ghana's independence in 1960 marked the beginning of official diplomatic relations between Ghana and China. Subsequently, the two countries signed the Peace Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the climax being the newly appointed Ghana's ambassador to Beijing moving in to Beijing in 1961 the same year the peace treaty was concluded.¹ Since this event, relations between Ghana and China have been consolidated by strong personal relationships between the political elites of the two countries, particularly during the era of Ghana's first President, "Dr. Nkrumah and Premier Zhou Enlai, and by high-level official visits, including visits by Ghana's President John Kufuor to China in 2002 and China's President Hu to Ghana in 2003."²

Ghana has provided substantial diplomatic support to China such as joining the lobby for China's reinstatement into the United Nations and supporting China in the Sino-Indian war of 1962.³ China, on the other hand, has reciprocated with material and financial support for Ghana's development. Consequently, within the last two decades, China has had an overwhelming influence in Ghana, affecting virtually every sector of the national economy. These include trade and investment, participation in the sale and marketing of consumer goods, exploitation of natural resources, infrastructure and agriculture. In agriculture for instance, exchanges have been facilitated in agro-processing, agricultural technology, agricultural infrastructural technology and irrigation.⁴ According to the Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC), Chinese investment

activities in Ghana stretches across a wide variety of sectors such as construction, tourism, manufacturing service, and resource –based sectors.⁵

During the period, China has also increased development assistance to the Ghanaian economy with significant projects, including the Nsawam stretch of the Accra-Kumasi Road, the office block of the Ministry of Defence, the Complex of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Atuabo Gas project and the Bui hydroelectric dam, one of the biggest Chinese-funded projects in Ghana, and a host of others.⁶ In 2007, China agreed to write off \$25 million of Ghana’s debt, accumulated since 1985.⁷ Additionally, Ghana also benefited from about \$170 million supplier’s credit from the Chinese government to enable the Electricity Company of Ghana extend electrification to about three hundred thousand households in 2009.⁸ Ghana’s resilient democracy has ensured that Chinese development assistance to the country generally benefits the general population.

Ghana-China cooperation on trade and investment have also increased strongly in the past with no signs of plummeting. “From September, 1994 to June 2013, the Foreign Direct Investment, (FDI) influx into Ghana from China reached \$543.5 million, making it the tenth biggest FDI provider for Ghana, with the top five being the UK, South Korea, USA, UAE and Lebanon.”⁹ “Of the \$543.5 million FDI from China, \$254 million went into the manufacturing sector, covering a variety of industries such as iron and steel, food processing, textiles, salt production and fishing while the trade, construction and service sectors attracted \$120 million, \$96 million, and \$48 million respectively.”¹⁰ “In terms of the number of projects, China with 645 registered projects, topped the list of investor countries in Ghana.”¹¹ Also trade between Ghana and China

rose to a historic high of \$6.6 billion in 2015, representing an 18.2 percent year-on-year increase, ranking Ghana as sixth among China's Africa trading partners.¹² Chinese foreign direct investment in Ghana (FDI) have also provided a host of benefits, such as improving the competitiveness of local industries and contributing to government revenue via taxation as well as creating employment.¹³

Nonetheless, the growing influence of China on Ghana's economy has come at a cost. Even though members of the Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC) are happy with Chinese involvement in trade, some Ghanaian workers in that sector fear the Chinese may be displacing local businessmen and women. One sector suffering from Chinese business competition is the textile industry. Chinese firms have imported into the country, their "copying" abilities and provided low-priced, but fake, types of African cloth.¹⁴ Not only are the Chinese competing in the Ghanaian textile manufacturing sector, but Chinese merchants are also importing into the country large quantities of Chinese textiles, posing a great threat in the form of competition on locally manufactured ones. Additionally, growing numbers of Chinese have disregarded national laws and engaged openly in commercial activities at the threshold reserved for citizens. Others have used Ghanaian front men and women to engage in commercial activities at the level reserved for Ghanaians. Nowhere is the Chinese influence felt as in the illegal mining or "galamsey" sector. "Galamsey" refers to the unregistered and unregulated artisanal gold mining in Ghana.¹⁵ The unregulated nature of "galamsey" has had marked consequences on environmental resources as miners resort to practices such as the use of chemicals to blast river bodies and cutting down of trees which degrade Ghana's vegetative covers as well as water bodies which serve as sources of drinking water. While the presence of Chinese in the illegal

mining sector has been traced to the 1990s, experts have noted that the number of Chinese involved has multiplied in the last 10 years with scores of Chinese immigrants, together with those from other countries and local participants, taking over whole communities for the purposes of illegal mining. The resulting deterioration in the environment as well as violent clashes between Chinese miners and traditional authorities has fueled anti-Chinese sentiments among sections of the Ghanaian public. Consequently, dealing with “galamsey” has featured prominently in the campaign rhetoric of political parties since 2008.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Concerns over the possible escalation of conflict over competition for valuable resources, especially in the context of a high invasion of foreign miners into a sector “reserved for Ghanaians” were heightened by cases of local conflicts.¹⁶ Crawford et al cite instances of local conflicts such as those that occurred at the alluvial small-scale mining in Southern Ghana and in Talensi in Northern Ghana where violent disturbances between local villagers and illegal miners were reported from mid-2012 onwards. In the gold-rich Ashanti region, violent disturbances between local villages and Chinese miners were reported from mid-2012 onwards, including incidents, where Chinese miners were armed with weapons. These violence were marked with deaths and serious injuries on not only locals and illegal miners but also rival Ghanaian and Chinese miners.¹⁷

Following pressure from a coalition of civil society organizations in response to the deteriorating situation with regard to both local conflicts and wanton environmental destruction and in fulfilment of campaign pledges, the Government of Ghana, beginning from 2013,

launched a full scale offensive against “galamsey” operations in the country which culminated in the arrest and deportation of several Chinese migrants. However, concerns have been raised by experts that the fight against foreigners in illegal mining activities in which Chinese migrants are the worst culprits can harm Ghana-China long standing relations. With huge numbers of Chinese engaged in the industry, the narrative of the “galamsey” fight has focused on the Chinese. This appears to be threatening Ghana-China relations. On April 8, 2017 for instance, a news report from Citi FM, a local radio station in Accra reported a statement from the Chinese embassy that served a “strong caution” to the government of Ghana that “it will be extremely harmful to the bilateral relations” between Ghana and China should there be cases of casualty during the arrest of Chinese involved in illegal mining in Ghana.¹⁸ This warning from the Embassy followed an incident reported in the BBC news of October 15, 2012 captured in Crawford et al in which a police raid on illegal miners in 2012, led to the death of a Chinese boy. Subsequently, the Chinese Foreign Ministry demanded an investigation from the government of Ghana, drawing international attention to the issue of “galamsey”.¹⁹

Similarly, on May 1, 2017, Financial Times online, in its news report on the crackdown on illegal mining, quoted the Chinese ambassador, Sun Baohong, as urging the Ghanaian government to “guide the media” to cover the issue of Chinese involvement in “galamsey” more “objectively”, or risk damaging the “environment for further development of our bilateral exchanges and cooperation”.²⁰ This caution from the Embassy was due to the fact that as cited in Crawford et al, reporting of the issue of illegal Chinese miners in the Ghanaian media had always been entirely negative; with Chinese migrant miners often referred to as “illegal”, “undesirable migrants”, “deviants”, “aliens”, and their presence and involvement in small scale

gold mining labeled as an “invasion”, a “menace”, “threat to lives of indigenous people” in mass media outlets, for instance, the Daily Graphic and some web portals such as modern Ghana.²¹ Assurances from government officials have however, indicated that relations with China will not be strained. In a 2013 interview with Reuters (Accra), Xuejun Qiu, a Director at the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Beijing, noted that “China is determined that its relations with Ghana will not be undermined by the arrest of some Chinese illegal gold miners.”²²

Notwithstanding the assurances, some media reports appear to suggest evidence of some strain in the relationship such as the one captured in Aidoo and Hess which revealed that the mass deportation of Chinese nationals seem to have triggered some vengeance from Beijing in the form of the “tightening of visa requirements for Ghanaians travelling to China as well as delaying the payment of a 3 billion USD China Development Bank loan to Ghana.”²³ In the absence of concrete studies, the implication of the “anti-galamsey” policies on Ghana-China relations, remains inconclusive. This is the research problem.

1.3 Research Questions

To address the research problem, the study seeks answers to the following questions:

- What is the current state of Ghana-China relations?
- What strategy (ies) is the government of Ghana using in its fight against illegal mining in Ghana?
- What are the implications of Government’s “anti-galamsey” activities on Ghana-China relations?

1.4 Research Objectives

- To examine the current state of Ghana-China relations
- To ascertain the strategy (ies) that government of Ghana is using in its fight against illegal mining in Ghana.
- To examine the implications of Government's "anti-galamsey" activities on Ghana-China relations.

1.5 Scope of Study

This study assesses relations between Ghana and China since the Mahama-led government mounted an "anti-galamsey" taskforce in May 2013 till date. The scope thus stretches from 2013 till present.

1.6 Rationale of the Study

There seem to be a gap in concrete studies, concerning the implication of the government's "anti-galamsey" policies on Ghana-China relations. This study collected empirical data to fill this gap. It is also expected that findings will be useful to the Information and Public Affairs Units of Ghana's Foreign Affairs Ministry and the Chinese Embassy.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The study is conducted within the framework of the Rational Actor Model.²⁴ The rational actor model also referred to as the rational policy model is the first of three models of foreign policy analysis. It draws its basis from the realist divide and explains decision making using the concepts of rationality, interest, choice and consequences. This model is chosen by this

researcher as an analytical tool to help in understanding China's foreign policy choice of Non-interference and its impact on the foreign policy choices of Ghana within the framework of the two country's bilateral relations. Just like all realist assumptions, the rational actor model, according to Allison,²⁵ presents the state as the actor in foreign policy or international relations, thus the state or government is the unitary actor in any sovereign state. Bekemens argues that governments are unitary actors in the sense that one can usefully ascribe to them at least some of the characteristics of purposiveness and choice ascribed to persons.²⁶

Steven Krasner also posits that, states can be treated as independent actors pursuing goals associated with power and the general interest of the society. This is so because it is the nation or state whose action in terms of purpose or intension is chosen as a calculated response to a strategic problem.²⁷ This may be the reason why most aggrieved Ghanaians in respect to Chinese involvement in "galamsey" ascribe "galamsey" to the Chinese government as its national agenda though in reality Chinese migrants who do not have any links with the Chinese government are the perpetrators of the act. People assume that the growing numbers of Chinese now found in sub-Saharan Africa are the face of the state.²⁸ This assertion may be due to Beijing's Systemic dispatching of contractors and labourers to project sites across the sub-region.²⁹

However, the most basic assumption of the model is that happenings in the international system are thought of, as actions chosen by the state. States choose actions after carefully calculating that which provides them with the most value-maximizing means for achieving strategic goals and objectives. Policy therefore is a national choice. Consequently, in terms of China's foreign policy actions towards Africa and particularly Ghana, the policy of non-interference has been the

flagship national foreign policy choice of Beijing. Non-interference, according to Aidoo and Hess, is a policy based largely on the deployment of economic aid and investment with the principle of no strings attached.³⁰ This policy strategy of non-interference is the desire of China to provide an alternative to western style, conditional giving of aid under the ‘Washington consensus’. In much the same way, Frimpong contends that unlike the Paris Club of Donors and International Financial Institutions, China exert no political pressure on African governments for political and economic reform except recognition for its one china policy which Ghana has continually agreed to.³¹ It suffices then to say that non-interference becomes a value maximizing means by which China uses to endear itself to the heart of countries it enters into relations with. This then gives it the opportunity to influence countries’ foreign polices to suit its economic interest as it pursues its agenda of gaining global economic power. The International Institute for the Advance Study of Cultures, Institutions, and Economic Enterprise’s position paper argues that “China has emerged as the world’s largest economy, finally overtaking the United States”.³²

Another assumption of the model argues that action is chosen in response to the strategic problem that faces the state. Despite China’s spectacular economic growth, China’s political economy remains a paradox because “millions of Chinese still live in poverty as the state struggles to raise their standard of living and find resources to develop its backward provinces especially in the West.”³³ Similarly, according to a 2008 United States census bureau data, China’s estimated population of about 1.3 billion people recorded in 2008 is expected to increase by approximately 123 million people by 2025.³⁴ Due to this development, “it is feared that without sufficient minerals and natural resources coupled with sufficient economic growth, China will fail to meet its economic and social demands”. Non-interference then becomes the

action chosen by China as a response to the strategic problem that it faces in terms of finding resources to develop and meet the needs of its growing population as it continues its agenda to gain economic hegemony. The model further argues that threats and opportunities arising in the “international strategic market place” drives the state to act. Aidoo and Hess for instance, maintain that debates have surfaced in many quarters concerning the efficacy of western conditioned funding as the solution to Africa’s development problems.³⁵ This then means China, having made calculations on the seemingly non-effectiveness of western aid on Africa’s development, saw the opportunity to provide an alternative. Non-interference as part of China’s foreign policy agenda is to help her steer clear of domestic political entanglement that might stain its image as purely a “business partner”. Thus, China uses non-interference as a foreign policy tool to extricate its political and economic agenda from the west.³⁶

The model continues to postulate that action then results from national choice among alternatives of a means calculated to achieve strategic objectives. Strategic goals are conceived in the interest of National Security and National Interest. The rational agent selects the alternative whose consequences rank highest in terms of goals and objectives. “Since the Initiative of Jiang Zemin’s “going out” Policy in 1999, China’s non-interference strategy has proved remarkably successful in winning allies and securing the market access and resources needed to sustain the country’s dynamic economic growth”³⁷ as the country is a resource driven one. China and its non-interference policy generally receives strong approval in national public opinion surveys.³⁸ Thus, as a rational actor acting in response to its national interest, Beijing’s non-interference has been widely perceived as a foreign policy tool used to influence foreign policies of countries with the resources useful to it, in order to gain access to these resources to satisfy its economic interest

in its quest for global supremacy.³⁹ Thus, Beijing's foreign policy of non-interference is tied to its role as a rising power. Frimpong asserts that the structural adjustment programme in the 1980s contributed in part to Ghana increasingly looking towards China which not only encouraged increased liberalization of imports, but also created an austerity environment that made imports look towards cheaper sources.⁴⁰ Economic Statecraft by Baldwin argues that economic instruments can be used deliberately to shape policy choices.⁴¹ It is therefore not a surprise that China's economic influence on Ghana has yielded it the conducive environment in exploiting Ghana's natural resources and creating a market for its consumer goods, among others.⁴²

Proponents of the Rational Actor Model such as Shahryarifar posits that the Rational Actor Model seeks explanation for foreign policy outcomes or the 'events' rather than the study of foreign policy 'processes'.⁴³ Accordingly, events are the subject of analysis of the Rational Actor Model where the model assumes that choice is made by recourse to rational procedure in which actions are the product of careful calculations in that procedure. She argues that Rational Actor Model "does not take normative constraints to be a factor of the decision-making equation".⁴⁴ Those decisions are made only with regards to goals. Rationality entails that decision makers take decisions in such a way that maximizes their expected utility.⁴⁵ The rational actor is not a reasonable actor who has same goals or values as everybody else.⁴⁶ And "rationality does not carry connotations of normative behavior, that behaving rationally does not necessarily mean that one behaves morally or ethically."⁴⁷ Even though China has received a lot of criticism with the policy of non-interference due to the fact that it establishes relations with both democratic and non-democratic governments, it has thus by far enabled Chinese interest to weather political

change in democratic, authoritarian and partly democratic transitional regime to gain access to strategic resources.⁴⁸ According to Hans Morgenthau the quality of a statesman's decision does not hinge on morality or ethics but that the decision must be judged by its political correctness.⁴⁹ Zakaria, therefore, postulates that a rational actor is someone whose concern for its survival, prosperity or strength looks at costs and benefits and make calculations on the basis of these concerns; behavior is therefore rational if it's goal-oriented.⁵⁰ This then means the use of non-interference as a foreign policy choice is based on China's goal of gaining access to the resources of countries it has relations with in response to its national interest through the influence of foreign policies of other states. As already stated, Rational Actor Model draws much of its ideas from the realist school of thought. Whereas the Model explains what influences a state's choice of foreign policy and its outcome or consequences, realism questions the intentions behind a foreign policy choice of a state. Realists believe that governments are not altruistic entities but rather strategic-minded entities that act in line with their national interest.⁵¹ Realism assumes that, the national interest supersedes decision-making in countries and foreign aid should give primacy to donor interests. Thus, even though humanitarianism and other interest may find roots in the equation, foreign aid ultimately becomes a tool to ensure the sustainability of the donor.⁵²

Idealism critique the realist position about every action of the state being for the purposes of self-interest. Idealism maintains that growing interdependence of states has necessitated the need for global efforts in the eradication of poverty which if not dealt with can have a spillover effect. In that sense, the push for human welfare and advancement through humanitarian acts such as aid giving to poor countries becomes the overriding principle why countries give aid. Some proponents of idealism include Woodrow Wilson, Richard Cobben, and Bertrand Russel, among

others. Shahryarifar critiques the rational actor model, using neuroscience studies as a basis for her critique of the model. She postulates that emotions are the overriding obstacle to rationality because emotions precede reason.⁵³ For this purpose, every rational thought is first processed in the emotional brain or the Limbic System to find its relations with the organism's survival.⁵⁴ Feelings such as pride, dignity, fear, greed, jealousy, sympathy, love, among others, are all factors of emotions that influence the cognitive brain which in turn influence the rational calculation of the consequences of decisions. Drawing conclusions from this point, one can argue that though non-interference may have been conceived as a rational decision, an emotional factor such as sympathy may have had an underlining influence on this foreign policy choice. Similarly, even though some have argued that China itself is a developing country which has not yet attained full developed country status and therefore the manner in which it dispenses aid leaves room for doubts, Shahryarifar's position about emotions overriding rational decision, leaves one to conclude that China's non-interference could have also been influenced by an underlining emotional factor of pride as it battles the United States for global hegemonic status.⁵⁵ The relevance of the concept to this study is that, it helps to understand the foreign policy choices of states and the rational behind such choices. Thus though the foreign policy of China for the past 50 years or more has been non-interference, the rational actor model helps to shed light on why the Chinese may have adopted this foreign policy tool and what this policy is expected to yield in terms of its relations with other states. On the other hand, Ghana's foreign policy since the post cold war era has been largely economic diplomacy. The rational actor model helps to understand why Ghana might have chosen this foreign policy and the expected outcome of this policy within the framework of its relations with other countries. For instance a news item on Ghana web, an online news portal, dated Monday, January 23, 2017, quoted the

then Minister of Foreign Affairs designate, Mrs. Ayorkor Botchway as saying that “Ghana’s foreign policy has shifted from the normal diplomacy of ensuring good neighbourliness to economic diplomacy. Where Ghana must gain economically in its relationships with other countries.”⁵⁶ Thus the rational actor model explains the gains both Ghana and China hope to achieve from their bilateral relationship through their various foreign policy choices.

1.8 Literature Review

The work of Farnham B. highlights the overwhelming influence and impact of domestic politics on foreign policy decision outcomes, especially in a democratic environment, citing Edward Djerejian’s anecdotal experience of how a change in working environments from the State House to the White House revealed the potency of domestic politics on foreign policy formulation which were totally new to him. Domestic considerations such as consensus building and acceptability of interests have great influence on decision makers’ foreign policy decisions and outcomes.⁵⁷

The work is relevant to this study because it helps in appreciating how domestic considerations influences foreign policy decision making. However, the limitation in her work is that she puts too much consideration on domestic politics than international politics, without realising that states formulate foreign policies based on what pertains in the international system. Also, she contextualized her work of foreign policy decision making within the framework of democratic systems of governments, especially citing examples of some Presidents of the United States and how domestic politics influenced their foreign policy choices. It is obvious that a democracy like America will most likely factor domestic interests in its foreign policy decisions, but she failed to

also highlight how considerations of domestic politics will play out in non-democratic states such as China, which will probably formulate its foreign policies based on what pertains in the “international market” place typically of realists than what pertains domestically.

The impact that domestic politics have on foreign policy decisions have been given extensive coverage in the work of Aidoo. Domestic considerations are what led the government to institute activities to fight ‘galamsey’ in which the narrative of events have focused on Chinese nationals despite the potential of straining Ghana-China relations. Tensions arising from issues such as Chinese participation in ‘galamsey’, a sector largely the preserve of indigenes and which had cause grave damage to Ghana’s environment, Chinese participation in human trafficking and prostitution which were against Ghana’s laws, the role that the Chinese played in the collapse of Ghana’s textile manufacturing industry and the \$3 billion Chinese loan perceived as exploitative of Ghana’s resources, all put pressure on government to act thereby causing some diplomatic strain on Ghana-China economic and political exchanges. The severity of these domestic sentiments caused government to overlook some of the benefits that Chinese participation in mining were giving locals and Chinese significant contribution to Ghana’s economy.

The literature is relevant to the study because it corroborates Farnhma’s arguments of how domestic politics can have major impact on foreign policy decision making and outcomes especially in a democratic country such as Ghana. These anti-Chinese sentiments forced the government to take action on the menace despite being aware of the possibilities of a strain in the diplomatic relations between itself and an important development partner as China. Nonetheless, the limitation of the study is that it failed to give anecdotal or strong evidence that proved that

there has really been an impact on the diplomatic exchanges or relations between Ghana and China due to these anti-Chinese sentiments that forced government to crack the whip on ‘galamsey’. Notwithstanding since this study is to investigate the impact the fight against ‘galamsey’ may have had on Ghana-China relations, findings will shed more light.

For Hilson et al, the whole problem about ‘galamsey’ and the perceived invasion of the artisanal small scale mining sector by the Chinese overlooks the real cause that the lack of proper regulation and formalisation, institutions and outmoded bureaucracy have served to fan the rise in Chinese nationals participation in ‘galamsey’.⁵⁸ The problem is not about the Chinese but the role politicians, locals, chiefs and security personnel have played to flourish ‘galamsey’. The mass deportations and arrest of Chinese as a strategy in fighting ‘galamsey’ has largely been ineffective and will not exonerate government from the blame that years of neglect of that sector has led to the menace.

The literature has been relevant in discussing in details the real causes of the ‘galamsey’ problem and why Chinese participation in ‘galamsey’ has risen unprecedentedly over the last decades. Even though the objectives of this research is not to find out the causes of galamsey, it helped in shedding light on the problem and gave a hint of the strategy government was using to fight the problem. Since one of the objectives of this study is to investigate strategies the government is using to fight ‘galamsey’, findings will prove or disprove their assertion. One unique point is that the literature revealed the involvement of some local actors who have fueled the ‘galamsey’ problem and highlighted ways in which their actions had contributed to the problem. This helped in ameliorating all the blame put on the Chinese as the cause of galamsey’s impact on the

environment since the narrative of events have always focused on them as the media had made us believed.

Idurn-Arkurst maintains that China has had a rather positive impact on Ghana's economy and has been a development partner whose contributions cannot be overshadowed by instances such as Chinese participation in retail trading which is against Ghana's laws and the role it played in the collapse of the textile industry.⁵⁹ China has played a great role in facilitating developments in sectors such as ICT where it assisted Ghana's ICT for Development Policy, Transport, Mining, Technology Transfer, Infrastructure, especially in the building of Ghana's Defense Ministry Block, Agriculture, Offer of Market for Ghana's export, Education, Energy especially with the construction of Atuabo Gas and the Bui Dam and the dynamism it has injected into Ghana's economy through its partnership with local companies.⁶⁰ These were the void that China filled at a time when other donor partners were not ready to assist Ghana but preferred to channel their assistance to non-productive sectors of Ghana's economy. This is therefore enough to expel the misconception that China is in to exploit African countries' natural resources to enrich itself because other studies have showed that less-endowed African Countries are benefiting from China's humanitarian effort of helping African countries to combat poverty in which Ghana has benefited.

The study is relevant to the topic because it highlights the benefits that Ghana seemed to have harnessed from its bilateral relations with China and how this bilateral relations can be affected by the fight against 'galamsey'. This literature also helps to redeem the gloomy picture that has been painted of the effect of Chinese presence on Ghana's economy. The limitation of this study

is that it failed to discuss the negative impact Chinese participation in other sectors have engendered, apart from the textile industry's collapse.

The fears that China's foreign policy of non-interference may be portraying China as a partner, exploitative of African Countries' natural resources for its parochial interest such as 'galamsey' has been amplified by Okolo.⁶¹ There is a growing perception that non-interference has calved an undesirable image for Beijing as a new hegemon on the loose, exploiting Africa's natural resources for its interest alone at the expense of its development partners' interest. China may therefore have to adopt the policy of 'preponderance' as a new foreign policy tool to replace non-interference in order to showcase itself as a development partner who upholds the interest of itself and its development partners.

The relevance of this literature to the topic is that it shed a lot of light as to how the policy of non-interference have contributed to the influx of Chinese nationals in Africa and for that matter Ghana which has had a spillover effect into "galamsey". However the limitation of the study is that the arguments that preponderance will help redeem China's burgeoning image as a "new imperial master exploiting African countries"⁶² will not change China's interest as a country in need of natural resources for development because it is on a part to secure hegemonic status, therefore it will continue to exploit African countries for the resources and opportunities it needs to achieve that goal.

Hilson Gavin found that Government's use of military force as the modus operandi in fighting 'galamsey' was inimical to a sector that contributes 30% of Ghana's total gold production and

serves as employment to thousands of many unemployed youth in the country especially so when the military being used to fight ‘galamsey’ are in their operations, committing human right violations.⁶³ Government’s indifference to the Artisanal Small-scale mining industry and its refusal to produce policies that regulate that sector has largely caused the issue of ‘galamsey’. The Artisanal Small-scale Mining sector needs therefore to be formalized and not to be eliminated.

The relevance of Hilson’s work to this study is that it highlights the strategies that government has adopted in fighting ‘galamsey’ therefore findings will prove or disprove the assertions as to the effectiveness of these strategies. The only limitation is that the study failed to say which strategy at the short term would have helped government deal with the issue of ‘galamsey’ as tensions mounted on government to deal with the problem as it was causing extensive damage to the environment and engendering conflicts. This is because policy and formalization of the Artisanal and Small-scale mining sector seemed to be a long term measure that could not save the growing anti-Chinese sentiments and tensions that ‘galamsey’ was building in the country.

1.9 Methods and Sources of Data

The study employed qualitative research as research method and design. The researcher chose qualitative research design because it is exploratory and investigative. The study used both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary sources were gathered through semi-structured interviews with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources and the Ghana Immigration Service. Primary sources of data were good because they were gathered based on the study’s design and purpose while Secondary sources came from scholarly

work, electronic resources, articles and journals and media reports related to the subject matter. Secondary sources of data were very useful because they were easily accessible and less time consuming. Interviews with the above mentioned institutions were conducted within a period of 14 days. Researcher spent an average of 20 minutes per each interview. The researcher recorded responses with a recorder after seeking respondents' consent.

1.10 Arrangement of Chapters

Chapter one of the research constitutes the Introduction. It consists of the background to the problem statement, states the research problem, research questions and objectives and the scope of the study as well as the Theoretical Framework and Literature Review, among others. Chapter Two reviewed and evaluated Ghana and China diplomatic relations since 1992 to date and the mutual benefits the diplomatic relations have yielded to the two countries. Chapter Three assessed National Efforts at combating “Galamsey” and its implications on Ghana – China Relations. Chapter Four presented a summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

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CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW AND EVALUATION OF GHANA-CHINA RELATIONS SINCE 1992

2.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to review and evaluate Ghana-China Relations since 1992. China and Ghana have had long-standing relations since the era of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah until relations were severed in the 1970s. 1992 was the era in which Ghana reverted to democratic rule after successive coups that ousted the legitimate governments of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia and Dr. Hilla Limann. It is therefore important to analyse the relations between Ghana and China within this period of democratic rule in which there have been relative peace and stability. Since peace and stability is a prerequisite for development, this chapter studies the diplomatic exchanges between Ghana and China over these years, its contribution to the development of Ghana as well as the benefits China has obtained as a result of its diplomatic relations with Ghana.

2.1 History of Ghana-China Diplomatic Relations

Ghana-China diplomatic relations over the years can best be described as very constructive, characterized mostly by heavy economic investments. Ghana-China relations have evolved from politically ideological to strategically economic. Historically, Sino-Ghana relations started when Ghana, then Gold Coast joined other countries in participating in the South to South Cooperation Conference at Bandung in 1955.¹ Subsequently, China was given official diplomatic recognition by Ghana shortly after Ghana's independence and after the two countries had signed a Joint Communique on the establishment of Diplomatic Relations in 1960 with Dr. Nkrumah setting

the diplomatic relations between the two countries within the confines of development and security.² Ghana consequently, became the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to establish diplomatic relations with the Asian giant.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's statist disposition and the enthusiastic manner in which he went round looking for resources for infrastructural development to kick start Ghana's development path endeared him to China. This is what led China to grant Ghana an interest free loan of \$20 million payable in Ghana exports.³ As typical of present day Chinese engagements, the loan facility came with China offering technical experts. Resources from China enabled Nkrumah to advance his development agenda but he was also careful in his relations with China, when he welcomed a group of Chinese military advisors to help with the strengthening of military infrastructure in Ghana and other neighbouring countries.⁴ However, relations between Ghana and China took a nosedive at the overthrow of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in a military coup in 1966. The relations between the two countries deteriorated as accusations of Chinese interference by Ghanaians became rife, severing diplomatic ties until 1972. Scholars like Ogunsawo see (Aidoo) asserts that "China took advantage of Ghana's hospitality to advance its ideological interest and agenda throughout Africa."⁵

Since the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Ghana and China, relations have moved from Nkrumah's statist ideological exchanges to a more market-oriented economic exchanges. Relations have further grown into political and diplomatic exchanges characterized by high level delegation visits and Ghana upholding the "one china policy."⁶ Aidoo asserts that, these high level delegation visits came along with economic benefits ranging from series of

infrastructural loans, to business exploratory missions in both countries.⁷ Most of the developmental support China has provided Ghana has been in reciprocity for important diplomatic support that Ghana has offered China such as support for China's reinstatement in the United Nations, Support for China in the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 and solidarity with China during the infamous Tiananmen Square protest.⁸

The structural adjustment policies and arrangement of the IMF and World Bank in 1980 intended to stimulate Ghana's economic growth coincided with China's 'going-out' policy.⁹ And while Ghana transitioned into a liberalized export base, natural resource exploitation economy, China also transitioned into an outward investment strategy economy. China's support for Ghana's liberalized economy came largely in the form of grants and loans as development assistance, trade and technical cooperation. China's varied economic activities contributed to Ghana's liberalization era, from large mining operations to small-scale businesses, with some being joint ventures with local partners. Even though there exist huge Chinese companies and corporations with huge investments in Ghana, most Chinese companies also come as small to medium-sized investments. These big and small Chinese private companies interacting with Ghanaian business partners and the public, at various levels, were on their own serving as agents and actors of China's foreign policy agenda.¹⁰ Infrastructure, building and rehabilitation as well as trade and investment initiatives, aid and technical assistance which has characterized Ghana-China exchanges are the causes of the steady rise in Chinese actors in Ghana as Chinese nationals arrived in the country to carry out the implementation of projects that Chinese companies were handling.¹¹

2.2 Review and Evaluation of Ghana-China Relations Since 1992

The Chinese have made varied investments across the African continent and these investments have risen to unprecedented levels in the last 2 decades.¹² In Ghana, the Chinese begun investments in infrastructure after the country returned to democratic rule following successive coups with the construction of the National Theatre in 1992.¹³ As typical of Ghana-China diplomatic exchanges which has mostly been complementary, China rewarded Ghana with the construction of the National Theatre for her support during the infamous 1989 Tiananmen Square protest.¹⁴ This marked the beginning of massive and notable Chinese infrastructural projects in Ghana such as the Complex of Ghana's Foreign Service Ministry, the Ministry of Defence block, the Teshie General Hospital, the Ofankor-Nsawam stretch of the Accra-Kumasi Road, the Esipong Sport Stadium, the Cape Coast Sports Complex, the University of Health and Allied Sciences in Ho, Bui Hydro-Electric Dam, Kpong Water supply expansion project, the Atuabo gas project, the Afeji Irrigation Project, a \$4.4 million grant for the renovation of the national theatre, several rural basic schools and a host of others most of these physical infrastructures were given either as aid, grants or loans. Apart from these projects, the Chinese have made investments in other areas of Ghana's economy such as education, tourism, telecommunication, mining, steel industry, food processing, fishing industry, agriculture, chemical industry among others.¹⁵

Ghana-China relations have also been characterized by trade and investment. China has offered Ghana market for the sale of its commodities mostly raw materials while the same is true for Ghana, who has also offered China market for the sale of varied consumer goods.¹⁶ According to the Chinese Ambassador, Ms. Sun Baohong, economic and trade cooperation between the two

countries reached an appreciable results with trade volumes surging from less than \$100 million in 2000 to \$5.6 billion in 2014 and to \$6.6 billion in 2015.¹⁷ Exports of raw materials from Ghana to China reached a significantly high rate of 86.7% in 2014 a historic high making Ghana the Asian country's single biggest trading partner.¹⁸

Since 2001, China has remained an important development partner to Ghana directing its assistance especially in the development of areas such as telecommunications infrastructure, energy, roads, education, technical cooperation and agricultural productivity.¹⁹ In April, 2007 Ghana and China's growing military and security cooperation was boosted by the signing of some agreements between the two countries when the Chairperson of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPCC) visited Ghana. These agreements included a \$30 million concessional loan for the dedicated Communications project for Ghana's Security agencies and a \$7.5 million Chinese grant for the construction of the office complex for the Ministry of Defence.²⁰ Other development agreements signed were the ones that took place during the 2 days official visit of Premier Wen Jiabao to Ghana in his second leg tour of some 7 African countries in June, 2006.²¹ His visit culminated into the issuing of a joint communiqué to strengthen Ghana-China cooperation in the area of education, telecommunications, health, culture, Trade, and Infrastructure and the signing of 6 agreement to build a malaria center and a primary school and a loan agreement of \$66 million to expand and upgrade Ghana's telecommunications network.²²

2.3 Major Chinese Developmental Aid Projects in some Key Sectors of Ghana's Economy

The following are some major Chinese aid projects that highlights the depth and scope of Ghana-China diplomatic relations.

2.3.1 Energy

The Bui Hydro Electric Dam- 2008-2012

Ghana was plunged into a power rationing crisis for several years due to the two most important dams, Akosombo and Kpong Dams wearing out from over dependence since their inception. The Akosombo Dam, Ghana's major hydro-electric dam had been particularly affected by low levels of water for the turning of its turbines that powered it to generate electricity. Consequently, the dam operated under capacity and power had to be rationed to save the entire country from total darkness. The situation led the erstwhile Kufour government to find solution to the energy crisis that had generated a lot of public outcry and caused severe decline in the growth of the industrial sector thereby leading to a slow in Ghana's economy as its growth potential through the frequent shut down of operations of businesses was threatened.²³ Statistics from the then Internal Revenue Service (IRS) now Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA) in 2007, indicated that the Government of Ghana lost in excess of ₵140 billion in revenue due to the staggering fall in production from the various sectors including manufacturing, mining and quarrying, with the IRS projecting further reduction in the mobilization of service sector revenue due to the load shedding exercise.²⁴

Ghana subsequently sought assistance from China for the construction of another Dam. The Bui hydroelectric dam project became a reality when China agreed to assist Ghana with a \$562 million loan from the China Export and Import Bank (Exim Bank) with Ghana government also

contributing \$60 million. Touted as one of the largest Chinese infrastructural project in Ghana, the Bui Dam was built by China's Sino-Hydro and commissioned in 2013 adding about 600MW to the country's power generating capacity.²⁵ China's commitment to Ghana's energy sector in terms of helping Ghana find a solution to the persistent energy problems was welcomed as a sign of China's commitment to its friendship with Ghana.

Chinese commitment to Ghana's energy exigencies was once again depicted in its provision of a \$170 million supplier's credit to the Electricity Company of Ghana (ECG) for electricity extension to about 300,000 households in Ghana in 2009.²⁶ Another important Chinese infrastructural project towards Ghana's energy sector meant to reduce the country's energy deficit and boost Ghana's economy was the construction of the Atuabo Gas pipeline project in the Western Region mandated to gather, process and deliver natural gas to end users from the FPSO Kwame Nkrumah on the Jubilee fields. China supported the project with a \$3 billion loan facility through an agreement between the China Development Bank and the Government of Ghana.²⁷ The construction of the Atuabo Gas processing plant which commenced in 2011 was led by China's Sinopec International Petroleum Services Corporation and upon its completion in 2015, the Ghana National Gas Company (Ghana Gas) took up the operation of the facility.²⁸ The facility doesn't only supply lean gas to power the Volta River Authority's Aboadze thermal plants but also produces other petroleum products such as liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) for domestic use purposes. The production of both lean gas and LPG locally, which are very essential products, ended the era in which billions of Ghana cedis were spent by government to import LPG and light crude to power the country's thermal plants, saving Government money

and boosting the economy through income generation from sale of LPG and other petroleum products.²⁹

2.3.2 Information and Communication Technology

China assisted Ghana with a concessionary loan of about \$30 million to support the first phase of Ghana's National Communication Backbone and E-Governance Project expected to link all 10 regional capitals and 36 towns onto the fibre optic routes to help with the implementation of Ghana's ICT for Development Policy.³⁰ China through these projects, aimed at assisting Ghana meet her goal of improving telecommunication services and integrating ICT into her development agenda especially in the public sector.³¹

2.3.3 Health/Water

Through a Memorandum of Understanding, the Chinese Government assisted Ghana with grants for the construction of some 2 major health centres which were the 100-bed capacity Teshie General Hospital built by China Geo-Engineering Corporation (CGC) with a \$7.3 million Chinese Government grant and the 60-bed capacity Dangme East District hospital in Ada.³² The Chinese have been instrumental in the fight against malaria through the supply of anti-malaria drugs.³³ In the area of addressing potable water issues, the Chinese through a memorandum of understanding assisted Ghana with a grant to undertake the Kpong water supply expansion project, a new water purification plant which is to increase water supply to the Eastern parts of Accra. The project was completed in 2014 and supplies about some 40 million gallons of water a day to the Eastern parts of the Greater Accra Region.³⁴

2.3.4 Agriculture/Fishing

The Chinese assisted Ghana with a \$99 million interest free loan for the construction of landing sites for some fishing communities in the country. It also supported irrigation farming through the construction of the Afife rice irrigation project in the Volta Region.³⁵

2.3.5 Education/Culture/Capacity Building

Through grants and other packages, the Chinese Government have offered Ghanaian students numerous scholarship packages and training programmes, between 2013 and 2014 for example, the Chinese Government provided some Ghanaian students with about 111 Chinese Government scholarships. These Scholarship packages and training programmes were also extended to Public Officials from Public Policy Management and Agricultural Extension sectors.³⁶

Appreciation of other cultures apart from one's own culture is very essential in understanding how other people are organized, therefore to enhance diplomatic relations among themselves through the exchange of culture, China and Ghana collaborated to establish a Chinese language Center for Chinese studies at the University of Ghana, Legon in 2008.³⁷ There have also been the construction of some basic schools in some rural areas in Ghana by the Chinese to boost rural educational infrastructure.³⁸

2.3.5 Technical Assistance

Technical assistance from the Chinese have mostly been in the form of technology transfer. The bamboo and rattan industry for example, have received a boost through various transfer of bamboo technologies in order for the industry to sustain its global competitiveness.³⁹ Fish

farmers have also received fish farming technology transfer through the establishment of demonstration centres for training and distribution of fingerlings to out-growers.⁴⁰ Legon Fisheries have also benefited from the technology transfer of octopus processing. While the Ghana National Fishing Corporation have also benefited from the establishment of a factory with a processing capacity of 20,000 and 8,000 tonnes of Tilapia and Shrimps respectively.⁴¹

2.3.6 Sports

The Chinese have shown commitment towards the development of sports in Ghana and have made several investment in sport infrastructure to promote the development of sports and tourism to improve Ghana's economy. What has become known as Chinese stadium diplomacy refers to Chinese design, finance and construction of sport stadiums.⁴² Some notable sport stadiums designed, financed and constructed by the Chinese includes the Esipong sport stadium in the Western Region and the Cape Coast Sports Complex. The Esipong Sport Stadium was built by the Chinese Shanghai Construction Group as one of the host stadia for the 2008 Africa Cup of Nations. The Esipong sport stadium was partly financed by China through a Chinese soft loan of \$39 million, while Ghana also contributed \$275 million.⁴³

The Cape Coast sport stadium on the other hand is an ultra-modern 16,000 capacity multi-sports complex facility, built by China Jiangxi Corporation, and solely funded by the Chinese government with an amount of \$30 million as grant. The Chinese gifted Ghana with the stadium in 2016 as a symbol of 50 years of diplomatic relations between Ghana and China.⁴⁴

2.4 Conflicting Views over China's True Economic Benevolence

The bilateral relations between Ghana and China has been significant as it continues to garner tangible benefits for the two countries. The Chinese have affected almost every facet of Ghana's economy however, the increasing bilateral relations between Ghana and China have been met with varying reactions, as some view the relations as only a calculated attempt by the Chinese to take over Ghana's economy by dominating Ghana's market place.⁴⁵

There seemed to be mixed reactions concerning the real intentions behind the many grants, loans, investment and aid some of which have come in the form of infrastructural projects that have characterized Ghana-China relations, while some feel china is a benevolent state actor who has genuine concern for poverty issues in the country, others feel china's humanitarian efforts are backed by some ulterior motives, sinister in nature that represent a challenge to Ghana's development.⁴⁶ This may partly be as a result of some Chinese migrant's activities which are considered undesirable. Some Chinese migrants have in recent times inundated businesses and sectors purely the preserve of Ghanaians. In the textile industry for example, they have been accused of being responsible for the collapse of the ill-fated textile industry through their "duplicating" abilities and selling these duplicated textiles at cheap prices.⁴⁷ They have as well gone against Ghana's laws by engaging in retail businesses and small scale mining largely the preserve of Ghanaians leading to the "galamsey" narrative and recent anti-Chinese sentiments.⁴⁸ Some Ghanaians are of the view that China's increasing cooperation with Ghana is in exchange for exploitation of Ghana's natural resources and a market place for dumping its sub-standard goods.⁴⁹ The fact that Chinese loans and grants for projects are tied to the use of Chinese companies for some does not present the China-Ghana friendship mutually beneficial since it has

potential to shortchange the fortunes of indigenous companies.⁵⁰ Additionally, the concept of “Aid Tying” in which Chinese aid comes with certain conditionalities such as technical assistance and the use of Chinese companies to execute Chinese funded projects is seen by many experts as undermining the spirit of competitive tendering and bidding in which Ghana’s Procurement laws seek to promote.⁵¹

Notwithstanding, the Chinese have also been lauded by some, including notable individuals as championing the development agenda of Ghana. During the visit of Li Zhaozhuo, Chairman of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, Former President Mills, stated that China was Ghana’s “best friend” for its many aid, projects and loans, touting China’s humanitarian prowess as having contributed significantly to the promotion of Ghana’s economic growth and social development.⁵² Similarly, Former President Mahama in 2016 during the state visit of the Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference and a leading member of China’s Communist Party, Mr. Yu Zhengsheng, gave China an outpouring of praise for the \$300,000 assistance it extended Ghana for the supply of equipment and other materials for the refurbishment of Ghana’s Parliament house.⁵³

Idun-Arkhurst maintains that China has had a rather positive impact on Ghana’s economy than negatively. China has injected massive dynamism into Ghana’s economy and filled a huge gap of lack of development in key sectors of Ghana’s economy where other donor partners were reluctant to thread. Collaboration between some Chinese SMEs and some Ghanaian local firms have led to important technology transfer from some Chinese investors to some local firms with one notable example being the collaboration that brought about the birth of the pharmaceutical

company Dan Adams.⁵⁴ A company which through Chinese collaboration is able to manufacture anti-retroviral drugs for the fight against HIV/AIDS and antibiotics also for the fight against malaria in Ghana.

Other analysts have pointed out that the size of China and its huge population present a fertile ground as market for Ghanaian consumer goods. This is because not only is China the biggest commodity exporter, but also the largest importing economy and third largest foreign investor⁵⁵ and if Ghanaian businesses are empowered to access and take advantage of this market, Ghanaian businesses will rake in far reaching economic benefits for the promotion of Ghana's economic growth and development.⁵⁶

In the area of artisanal and small scale mining for instance, Aidoo asserts that despite negative reviews towards Chinese participation in illegal mining, Chinese participation in that sector has also been beneficial.⁵⁷ The Chinese introduced the use of sophisticated heavy duty machines and equipment in the extraction of gold which hitherto were extracted by rudimentary methods, expanding the scope and size of the extraction of gold and contributing to an increase in gold production and a boost in that sector.⁵⁸ Additionally, the expansion of the Artisanal and Small Scale mining sector through Chinese participation have contributed to employment opportunities for some, as some people get employed as drivers and also for some group of businesses who are raking in profits for providing hotel and restaurant services for Chinese migrants in the artisanal and small scale mining areas and communities. "ASM employs close to one million people directly nationwide and also generates millions of more jobs in the upstream and downstream it spawns."⁵⁹

China continues to show commitment towards its friendship with Ghana in terms of providing assistance for the realization of Ghana's development agenda, contrarily to views that the fight against illegal mining to some extent harmed the many years of friendship between Ghana and China, Ghana-China cooperation continues rather to record positive results that illustrates the depth of friendship between the two countries. Vice President Bawumia's high level delegation visit to China in June, 2017 is a case in point. Vice President Bawumia's state visit to China was not to only further strengthen and deepen the bilateral relations between Ghana and China but to court Chinese support as Ghana seeks to leverage its natural resources to undertake massive infrastructural, agricultural especially (for the one district one factory project), and industrial development through Chinese partnership to extract and process deposits of bauxites estimated at about \$460 billion to fund the construction of railway lines, roads, irrigation projects, construction of dams and bridges among others for Ghana's development. China has however assured Ghana of its preparedness to support Ghana undertake a massive transformation of its economy, through technical assistance in the area of knowledge and expertise, deepen its trade and investment cooperation with Ghana, assist her adopt value addition technologies to its natural resources and strengthen Ghana-China cooperation in the transport/railway, agriculture, energy and industry sectors.⁶⁰

The element of continuity is strikingly evident in the assessment of Ghana-China bilateral relations since 1992, when Ghana stepped into democracy, turning away from years of military coups and political instability that had marked its post-colonial political discourse. Changes in Ghana's political environment and government through elections over the years did not in any way harm the friendly relations between the two countries. Rather, relations continue to increase

as every newly elected President since 1992 continued to nurture the exiting friendly relations between the two countries and seek avenues to further deepen the bilateral cooperation and economic ties between Ghana and China. This has mostly been achieved through high level diplomatic visits and exchanges. An assessment of some of these high level diplomatic visits over the years highlighted the element of reciprocity. Among them includes; Former President Rawlings' visit to China in December, 1995, visit to Ghana by China's State Councilor and Foreign Minister, Qian Qichen in January 1992. Visit to Ghana by Chinese Vice President Hu Jintao in January, 1999. The Visit to China by Ghana's then Foreign Minister under the erstwhile Rawlings administration Victor Gbeho in January, 2000 which was reciprocated by the Chinese state Councilor, Wu Yi to Ghana in the same month and year. Former President Atta Mills also serving as Vice President to Former President Rawlings in July, 2000 visited China. China's Vice Foreign Minister, Yang Wenchang visited Ghana in June, 2002. Former President Kufour, in October, 2002 at the invitation of Chinese President Jiang Zenim, visited China and his visit was reciprocated by the Visit to Ghana by China's Vice Minister for Commerce, Wei in March, 2004.⁶¹

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited Ghana during the second leg of his tour of some African countries in June, 2006. Former President Mills, in September, 2010 visited China to mark Ghana-China 50 years of bilateral relations. Former President Mahama also in 2012 visited China. Recently, Vice –President Bawumia led a high level business exploratory delegation visit to China in June, 2017 having found a willing partner in China who is ready to help the Akufo-Addo led government execute its ambitious development plans for Ghana.

Richard Aidoo and Steve Hess argue that perhaps the two major political parties in Ghana, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) being well aware of the critical importance of Chinese trade and investment and what it represent and the crucial role it will play for their respective governments should they win elections and assume office, desist from any attempt to publically criticize China or tap into anti-Chinese sentiments brought about by Chinese participation in unregulated economic ventures during political campaigns ahead of elections.⁶² This explicitly highlights the nature of the diplomatic relations between Ghana and China.

Hilson et al also argue that the Government of Ghana's perceived fight against illegal mining lacked some sense of urgency and seriousness because it was careful not to strain the long standing traditional relations between itself and China considering that China had been an important bilateral trading partner who has provided Ghana with substantial financial assistance over the years.⁶³ Hence the government's taskforce set up to combat illegal mining was just a façade to pacify aggrieved Ghanaians who had become outraged over Chinese participation in illegal mining that had done a lot of damage to Ghana's forests and government feared these sentiments could forge a strong force against Chinese migrants if it did not attempt to do anything about the situation.⁶⁴

The willingness to maintain the long standing friendship between Ghana and China has not been the burden of only Ghana but also Beijing. In 2013, a Director from China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Xuejun Qui in a news conference that followed a week of meetings between a delegation which he led and some Ghanaian officials of the Mahama Government in Beijing to

resolve the illegal mining impasse which had led to the arrest of about 200 Chinese migrants by the government of Ghana taskforce in 2013 assured that despite the potential of a disharmony in the bilateral relations between Ghana and China due to the arrests, Beijing was determined that the issue will not stain the existing relations between itself and Ghana.⁶⁵

It appears China's foreign policy of non-interference has been effective at helping her forge stronger bonds with its developing partners and by extension Non-interference has certainly played a role in forging the existing atmosphere of friendly relation between Ghana and China. The defining feature of non- interference characterized by a system of non-conditional economic aid, trade and investment has not only succeeded in winning allies and friends from across Africa for China but it has also given African leaders an alternative to western style aid and trade championed by the Bretton Wood institutions which comes with conditions that does not give Africa a level playing ground and unfavorable to African governments development strategies.⁶⁶

Non-interference has promoted China's presence across a diverse set of political regimes in Africa warming its way into the hearts of most African leaders. Perhaps this is why statistics indicate that China still remains Africa's top trading partner.⁶⁷

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CHAPTER THREE

NATIONAL EFFORTS AT COMBATING “GALAMSEY” AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON GHANA – CHINA RELATIONS

3.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at national efforts at combatting “galamsey” and discusses the implications of such efforts on the relations between Ghana and China over the last seven years. An analysis of government’s anti galamsey activities is divided into strategic and operational activities. This will be followed by the impact of media reportage over the period on Ghana-China relations in terms of its diplomatic, economic, security implications.

3.1 History of Gold Mining in Ghana

Ghana is undeniably endowed with deposits of abundant renewable and non-renewable natural resources.¹ Non-renewable natural resources such as the mineral ores which includes Gold, Diamond, Bauxite, Manganese etc have been an important bedrock of Ghana’s development for decades as it has contributed significant rent to Ghana’s economy.² The process of extracting these mineral ores known as mining has been an age long activity. The history of mining of mineral ores such as Gold especially and its economic significance to the people of Ghana predates the colonial era. As the name hints, Ghana then Gold Coast has been associated with Gold since time in history and gold mining has been one of its major economic mainstay for years.³

“Trade in Gold dates back many centuries to the time when the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians sailed around the west coast in the 5th and 6th centuries B.C before the Europeans

from Portugal and Britain arrived between 1453 and 1622, the people had been mining gold for thousands of years.”⁴ The Gold Coast was one of the sources of the gold that the Europeans carried away to Europe through the Trans-Atlantic slave trade.⁵ Alluvial mining, which involves mining gold from streams and rivers dominated the period before the nineteenth century.⁶

Contemporary gold mining in which gold is extracted by plumbing the rich ore deposits below the earth’s surface commenced around the 1860s, when European concessionaries imported heavy duty machines and started mining in the Western areas of present day Ghana.⁷ The beginning of the 20th century marked the beginning of an era in which modern mining became pursued as a large scale venture requiring significant capital investment from investors.⁸ Before 1983, a significant number of Ghanaian mining companies were state owned until the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) pushed Ghana’s economy towards privatization and state divestiture attracting foreign investments leading to the mining sector being largely concentrated by foreign ownership.⁹ Notwithstanding, Government of Ghana holds “minority stake of about 10% free carried interest” in most of the main active large-scale mines but the small scale mining industry continues to be the reserve of indigenes.¹⁰ The mining sector in Ghana continues to attract more than half of all foreign direct investments (FDI), continues to generate over one-third of all export revenues, remains the largest tax paying sector and contributes a significant amount of GDP and employment to the Ghanaian economy.¹¹ In Ghana, even though gold, manganese, bauxite and diamond, remain the commercially exploited minerals, gold continues to be the mining industry’s main focus and development and is by far the largest contributor of over 95% of the country’s total revenue.¹² Currently, Ghana is Africa’s second largest producer of gold after South Africa.¹³

3.1.1 Evolution of Mining Sector Regulation/Policy Framework

The Economic Recovery Programme of 1983 gave some significant impetus to the mining sector and Government being well aware of that sector's importance, given its potential source of foreign exchange did not only put together a mining regulation framework to offer incentives to the mining industry but also put relevant laws together to guide and regulate as well as develop the mining sector, this is what led to the promulgation of the minerals and mining law of 1986.¹⁴

The Minerals and Mining Act 1986 (PNDCL 153) section-1- states that "All Minerals Property of Republic. Every mineral in its natural state in, under or upon any land in Ghana, rivers, streams, water-courses throughout Ghana the exclusive economic zone and any area covered by territorial waters or continental shelf is the property of the republic of Ghana and shall be vested in the Provisional National Defence Council for and on behalf of the people of Ghana."¹⁵

Since the study is being conducted around the small scale mining sector, it is important to go beyond Section 1 of the minerals and mining law of 1984 to also look at what provisions this first legislative instrument made for the small scale mining sector. Under Section 77 of the law, provision for Small Scale Mining Operations States that (1). "Where the Secretary after consultation with the Minerals Commission considers that it is in the public interest to encourage prospecting and mining of minerals in any area of land by methods not involving substantial expenditure or the use of specialized technology, he may by notice in the Gazette, designate that area for small-scale mineral operation and prescribe the mineral to be mined. (2). Where an area has been designated for small scale mineral operation under subsection (1) of this section the secretary may on the advice of the minerals Commission in respect of that area and in relation to any mineral prescribed exclude or modify by regulation any of the provisions of this Law which

would otherwise apply to prospecting or mining operations in that area and for the minerals prescribed. (3) Nothing in subsection (2) of this section shall be read or construed as authorising anything to be done-(a) which has the effect of modifying or extinguishing the rights of any person holding a mineral right over a designated area or any part thereof; or (b) which affects the rights of any other person except to the extent that those rights might have been affected if no exclusion or modification had been made under subsection (2) of this section. (4). The provision in section 75 of this Law which relates to the qualification of applicants for building and industrial minerals shall apply to applicants for small-scale mineral operation.”¹⁶ It must be highlighted that the minerals and mining law also established the Minerals Commission to regulate the mining sector. However, the passing of the 1993 minerals commission Act (Act 450) gave the Commission a new mandate which is to conduct day to day administration, regulation and management of the mineral resources of the country. The new law also tasked the Commission with an advisory responsibility that is to advise the Ministry of Land and Natural Resources on matters relating to minerals policy as well as the granting of mineral rights. The commission aside from the above has the mandate to formulate and monitor national policy for the exploration of mineral resources.¹⁷ Other laws passed to regulate mining in Ghana in the 1980s were the Small Scale Gold Mining Law (PNDC Law 218), the Precious Minerals Marketing Corporation Law (PNDC Law 219) and the Mercury Law (PNDC Law 217). They were passed in 1989 to formalize and integrate small scale gold mining, control mercury usage by small scale miners, as well as create genuine marketing avenues for precious minerals produced by small-scale miners.¹⁸ These laws contributed to significant investment inflows and also largely increased production of gold in Ghana.¹⁹

3.1.2 Regulatory Framework

Since the 1980s, the mining sector has purely been privatized and the role of the government in the mining sector has largely been regulatory. The institutional framework for mining governance has been a complex one.²⁰ This is due to the fact that at the very central, the Ministry of Lands, Forestry and Mines now the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources is obligated by the Executive and Legislature to regulate the mining sector and coordinate this regulatory duty through the various subsector institutions such as central government department and agencies.²¹ The Minerals Commission (MC), on the other hand is tasked with the duty of regulating the use of the country's mineral resources as well as management of the country's mineral policy. While the Geological Survey Department does the collection of geological data, and then creates a bank of geo-scientific information for use by the Ministry of Lands, Forestry and Mines to complement the performance of its regulatory and policy-making duties.²² The Mineral Commission's Inspectorate Department play the role of monitoring and enforcing the health, safety and environmental regulation enshrined in the mining law.²³ The Precious Minerals and Marketing Co. Ltd. markets the country's precious minerals and jewelry industry while at the local level, the District, Municipal and Metropolitan Assemblies as well as Traditional Institutions wield a relatively significant influence over mining sector regulation, even though central government bodies do not directly account to them.²⁴ Aryee et al posits that the complexity of the mining sector governance is further compounded by other actors, aside government such as NGOs, mining companies, international agencies, citizens, community, and traditional authorities and these actors come to play with differing and sometimes conflicting views.²⁵ Aryee et al further argue that "to some extent these actors control each other, however

tensions among them persist because of a disproportionate in representation and influence on mining sector governance decisions.”²⁶

3.1.3 Modern Mining Sector Regulation

The role of the mining sector in Ghana’s economy cannot be over emphasized. The complexity of actors in that sector coupled with the impact of mining operations on the environment and communities necessitates mining sector regulations to be reviewed to meet contemporary trends from time to time. Contemporary mining laws includes the 2006 Minerals and Mining Act and the 2014 Minerals and Mining Amendment Law. The Minerals and Mining act 2006 (Act 703) was enacted by Government to replace the Minerals and Mining Law of 1986 which was passed under the PNDC regime.²⁷ The Act divides mining operations into two key categories; Large scale (LS) and Small Scale (SS) mining with section 81 to 99 of the Act specifically applying to the small scale mining sector, however, the Act applies to all minerals and mining activities.²⁸ The uniqueness of this new law is that unlike the 1986 law, this new law was marked by a broader consultation and involvement of key stakeholders such as mining sector officials, civil society organizations (CSOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), local authorities, labour unions, commercial investors, academia and government agencies.²⁹ The new law retains the basic fundamental objective in the old law which is investment interest and the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources also retains responsibility for the overall management of the country’s mineral resources and policy-making which includes the granting of mineral rights. However the new law introduced certain provisions which were absent in the old law some of which includes; a definitive time period within which the Ministry of Lands and Natural resources must act in a decision over the allocation of mineral rights which includes the ministry

providing written reasons explaining its decisions to either grant allocation of mineral rights or otherwise.³⁰ The Act (703) also provides mechanisms for contention of decision by the ministry. The only exception in this Act is specific legislation aimed at regulating the artisanal and small scale mining sector.³¹

A draft of a new mining policy was finalized for passage by Parliament in 2012 and subsequently in 2014, Parliament of Ghana passed the Minerals and Mining Amendment Law (Act 900) with the objective of amending the Minerals and Mining Act, 2006 (Act 703). The Amendment makes inter alia provision for the Minister of Lands and Natural Resources to prescribe a rate for royalty payments and to also provide for the confiscation of equipment used in illegal small scale mining. Similarly to Act 703, Act 900 criminalises illegal small scale mining, popularly known as “galamsey”. The amendment also criminalises mining by foreigners and Ghanaians without permit.³²

3.2 The Artisanal and Small Scale Mining Sector (ASM)

3.2.1 Overview of the Artisanal and Small Scale Mining Sector in Ghana History

The Artisanal and Small Scale Mining Industry in Ghana has been in existence for several years. Gavin maintains that the Industry is well over 2000 years old. Vestiges of alluvial gold mining activities in Ghana have been identified as events dating back as far as the sixth century. There are documentation of events that highlights the activities of regional artisanal gold mining that attracted Arab traders to some specific areas of ancient Ghana as far back as the 7th and 8th centuries AD.³³ Gavin posits that the small scale mining industry in Ghana as like in most developing countries was for years regarded as an informal industry yet it is a sector that employed thousands of people who largely adopt rudimentary unmonitored and uncontrolled

practices.³⁴ Basu et al maintain that informal gold mining also referred to as artisanal and small-scale gold mining (ASM) has in recent years proliferated worldwide as a result of current and powerful economic forces and extensive poverty across low and middle income countries.³⁵ Statistics indicate that about 15 million people worldwide may directly be engaged in ASM and up to about 100 million people may be actively dependent on that sector.³⁶ Small scale gold mining production may represent about 20%-30% of the world's total gold production output and in Ghana the ASM sector contributed about 23% increase in Ghana's total Gold production output in 2010 from an earlier contribution of 6% in 2000.³⁷ Additionally, the sector employs close to 1.1 million people who represent nearly two-thirds of Ghana's total mining labour force.³⁸ Gavin asserts that the ASM sector accounts for about 30% of the country's gold production.³⁹

The Economic Recovery Program (ERP) of the 1980s in which the mining sector received heavy attention from government as a result of its rent accruing potentials did not only affect large scale mining but also small scale mining. Gavin posits that the government had fully regularized the small scale mining sector through series of policies and regulations.⁴⁰ However, it appears that one major issue bedeviling the ASM sector is the issue of formalization. Existing literature points to the fact that the issue of formalization of the ASM sector to some extent have become a global problem especially in countries where gold and other minerals are mined. In Ghana, experts have called on government to formalize the sector due to recent public outcry against illegal mining popularly called 'galamsey' which had taken a toll on Ghana's vegetative covers and water bodies. "Galamsey" is the word commonly used to denote illegal mining which refers to small scale gold mining without license.⁴¹ And while ASM is legal there appears to be an

absence of specific laws that target the development of that sector. Thus existing legislation does not priorities the sector for national development. Salo et al are of the view that formalization of the ASM sector “involves property right resolution and enforcement, land use planning, fiscal regulation and more broadly, the implementation of environmental and social norms.”⁴² Formalisation also means government will be better placed to govern and consequently manage the social and environmental impacts of the activities of that sector.⁴³

Hilson et al argue that years of neglect and lack of adequate and appropriate support to the ASM sector by government and other bodies have contributed to the rise in “galamsey”.⁴⁴ Additionally, bottlenecks associated with the acquisition of license and the unfriendly nature of the bureaucratic regimes that characterizes the process of acquiring license have to a large extent contributed to apathy with respect to local operators acquiring licenses to operate ASM legally.⁴⁵ The sector’s seemingly perpetual informality is again compounded by mining operators’ view that they have the social license to operate thus the idea that because they have long lived in “galamsey” areas and have practiced traditional gold mining as their legitimate right, does not require them to formalize their activities by acquiring license.⁴⁶ In their study of integrated assessment approach to addressing artisanal small scale mining in Ghana, Basu et al recommends that to sanitise the ASM sector, government must inter alia increase the registration of small scale miners by improving the process and reducing or eliminating fees and localising registration.⁴⁷

3.2.2 Chinese Participation in Artisanal Small Scale Mining

The presence of Chinese in Ghana's Artisanal and Small-Scale mining sector has been traced to the 1990s. Experts have noted that the number of Chinese involved in illegal mining has multiplied in the last 10 years with scores of Chinese immigrants together with those from other countries and local participants taking over whole communities for the purposes of illegal mining. It is estimated that about 50, 000 Chinese migrants mostly from the Shanglin County in the Guangxi province of China have settled in rural communities in Ghana creating a predominantly Chinese mining communities in key "galamsey" hubs in the country.⁴⁸ Ghana's mining laws clearly bans foreigners from participating in ASM as it is strictly the preserve of Ghanaians and has since been an indigenous livelihood activity employing the use of rudimentary methods. The Minerals and Mining Act 2006 (Act 703) section 83 states explicitly that "a license for small scale mining operation shall not be granted to a person unless that person (a) is a citizen of Ghana, (b) has attained the age of eighteen years, and (c) is registered by the office of the Commission in an area designated under the law for mining".⁴⁹ The law further provides that a license granted to a Ghanaian is only transferable to only Ghanaian citizens. The law also state explicit penalties or sanctions to the contrary.⁵⁰ Despite this legal framework, foreigners, of which Chinese migrants are in the majority and their local counterparts have disregarded this law and have engage themselves openly in the act of illegal mining. A sector which hitherto traditionally used to be carried out with hand operated tools such as pick axes, shovel and pans have now been modernized and expanded by the use of sophisticated machineries such as excavators, large wash plants also known as 'trommels', crushing machines known as Changfa among others all imported into the country by Chinese migrants.⁵¹ The influx of foreign predominantly Chinese migrants have transformed the artisanal small scale mining

sector to almost something resembling large scale mining, these Chinese actors have invested significant funds into mining, introduced more sophisticated technologies, and offered significant numbers of Chinese migrant workers as well as Ghanaians employment and have doubled extraction rates.⁵² The activities of Chinese migrants have come at a cost to Ghana's environment and water bodies as their activities have caused extensive damage to water bodies and farmlands sparking anti-Chinese sentiments. Aidoo asserts that the practice of "galamsey" have had marked consequences on the environment with water bodies around "galamsey" hubs being badly polluted causing myriad of illness such as arthritis, respiratory failure, miscarriages neurological problems and at worse deaths. Aside from this, conflicts leading to violent clashes between foreigners mostly Chinese migrants and locals over mineral resources exacerbated the existing anti-Chinese sentiments.⁵³ This negative impact which illegal mining is having on Ghana's environment have led some experts to call for an amendment of some aspect of the 2006 Minerals and Mining Law, Act 703 of 2006 in relations to the Artisanal and Small Scale Mining sector. The Minerals Commission is of the view that Act 703 has fundamental problems in practice, this is due to the fact that it appears the reverse is the case for the small scale mining sector in which the law explicitly defines it as mining not requiring or involving substantial expenditure with simple tools solely the preserve of Ghanaians. The commission believes amendment to Act 703 will be an important step at helping address challenges illegal mining is posing and also help to develop that sector as a lot of heavy investment is being channeled into the small scale mining sector contrary to what the artisanal mining law of 1989 anticipated as the formulators of that law only saw small scale mining as the use of simple tools such as pick-axes, shovels, head pans.⁵⁴

3.2.3 Analysis of Anti-Galamsey Activities

Anti-galamsey activities of government geared towards combating “galamsey” shall be divided into Strategic activities and Operational activities. However the section shall begin with the causes and concerns that spearheaded these anti-galamsey activities by the governments of Ghana.

3.2.4 Causes of Anti-Galamsey Activities

The inundation of Ghana’s artisanal and small scale mining sector by Chinese migrants involving themselves heavily in unregistered and unregulated artisanal small scale gold mining popularly called “galamsey” and its widespread damage to the environment and water bodies had reached a crescendo leading to anti-Chinese sentiments especially in areas where the impact of “galamsey” was seriously felt. Not only were the sentiment due to the inundation of the sector largely the terrain of indigenes, but the seemingly violent clashes arising from Chinese migrants struggle with indigenes over scarce resources coupled with Chinese competition with local businesses for the domestic market as Aidoo recounts, which largely contributed to the collapse of some Ghanaian textile industry leaving thousands of workers redundant further exacerbated the already precarious anti-Chinese sentiments.⁵⁵ Apart from the struggle over markets, the presence of Chinese in the Ghanaian economy was also gradually introducing into the system undesirable activities which some experts termed as globalization from below involving human trafficking and prostitution.⁵⁶ As Barbara Farnham argued in her literature of the impact of the political context on foreign policy decision making, domestic happenings wield significant influence on foreign policy formulation and the Chinese migrants’ involvement in the “galamsey” narrative, happening rather at a time when Ghana-China bilateral relations was

increasingly becoming mutually beneficial put pressure on then government to act. This meant that drastic measures had to be adopted to end illegal mining of which Chinese migrants outnumbered other foreigners in the business. This raised doubt concerning the possibility of Ghana enjoying continuous fruitful relations with China with its decision to fight illegal mining head-on. Further compounding the pressure on government and consequently leading to the need to adopt anti-galamsey measures were recent series of red alerts from the Ghana water company and other governmental bodies about the possible shortage of water in the country if “galamsey” is not dealt with. In a news article carried out by citifmonline.com in 2017, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) was increasingly getting worried that Ghana may soon import drinking water from its neighbours over “galamsey’s” adverse effect on water bodies that serves as sources of drinking water for many adjoining communities situated around illegal mining areas. This warning from the EPA came in the wake of the closure of the Abessim water treatment plant in the Brong Ahafo region which the Ghana Water Company Limited had to shut down due to the reduction in water levels in the Tano River caused by illegal mining.⁵⁷

Similarly, in August 2016 the Kyebi water treatment plant had to be shut down also because the water had been rendered untreatable by “galamsey”.⁵⁸ The fears of the EPA might likely be reinforced by the fact that Ghana naturally has high deposits of placer gold also referred to as “alluvial gold” mostly present in terraces, floodplains, channels and river beds and these placer gold are predominantly abundant in the Offin, Pra, Ankobra, Birim and Tano rivers and these areas happen to be locations where small scale mining activities take place to a greater extent.⁵⁹ Consequently these water bodies being the lifeline for the survival of the entire country as long as potable water supply to Ghanaians is concerned led some experts to predict possible shortage

of water in Ghana and subsequent importation of water if these rivers become extinct as a result of pollution from the activities of “galamsey”. Additionally, “galamsey” activities assumed an international dimension recently when citifmonline carried a news report in which Dr. Kwesi Aning, a Security Analyst expressed worry that the canker of “galamsey” if not checked could heighten the already existing tensions between Ghana and La Cote d’Ivoire because of the then unsettled maritime boundary conflict between the two countries.⁶⁰ His fears were that the number of rivers polluted by “galamsey” activities which run into Cote d’Ivoire because their source is from Ghana precisely from the Western Region was having a rather debilitating effect on the livelihoods of Ivorian citizens.⁶¹ This observation by the Security Analyst came at the back of news that Cote d’Ivoire was unhappy with Ghana over the activities of “galamsey” operations and its resultant pollution of their water bodies resulting in Ivory Coast’s semi-public water distribution company; SODECI shutting down one of its water treatment plants because of the levels of pollution in the Bia river which joins Ivory coast from the Western Region of Ghana.⁶²

3.2.5 Strategic Anti-Galamsey Activities

Following growing tensions over some Chinese migrants’ illegal mining activities along with their local counterparts and other foreign nationals, “galamsey” operations had reached its highest peak in 2013 with sentiments directed at Chinese migrants. This development forced the government at the time to adopt strategic measures to deal with the menace. Consequently, government set up an inter-ministerial taskforce chaired by the Minister of Lands and Natural Resources with the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and also the Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology and Innovation Ministry to combat galamsey.⁶³ The inter-ministerial taskforce was tasked with

activities such as the seizure of all implements and equipment used for “galamsey” purposes. Arrest and subsequent prosecution of both Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians involved in the practice. Revoking of licenses of Ghanaians who have sub-leased their concessions to foreigners and ensure that Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives and District Security Council’s answer for any galamsey activities or practices in their area of control.⁶⁴ During the process about 713 Chinese illegal gold miners in Ghana were arrested and repatriated to China by the Ghana Immigration Service ⁶⁵, drawing international attention to the issue of Chinese involvement in “galamsey” as fears heightened that the measure could harm Ghana-China diplomatic relations. During this exercise, a Senior foreign official from Beijing’s Foreign Service Ministry, Xuejun Qiu, assured that though the arrests and subsequent repatriation of Chinese migrants involved in the practice of “galamsey” was a sensitive issue for China, which could threaten China’s increasing trade relations with Africa, the Chinese government was determined that the development will not harm the existing relations between Ghana and China.⁶⁶ According to Mr. Qiu “This issue of illegal mining is a disharmony in the bilateral relations but we should always have the bigger picture in mind.”⁶⁷ Subsequently, government carefully noting these diplomatic considerations after the arrest and subsequent repatriation of Chinese illegal miners noted that the arrest of foreigners in the illegal mining operations was not a deliberate target against the Chinese.⁶⁸

3.2.6 Operational Anti-Galamsey Activities

Anti galamsey activities assumed an operational activity when in 2017 government took the decision to initiate a blanket ban on all illegal mining activities in the country after several media campaigns notable among them being the one instigated by an Accra based radio station, Citi FM

dubbed #stop Galamsey had mounted pressure on government to act. #stopGalamsey was born out of growing public condemnation of illegal mining popularly termed “galamsey” which had become vicious to the environment, water bodies, forestry and farmlands.⁶⁹ The ban led by the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources begun with activities such as a six months blanket ban on all ASM activities in the country, suspension of issuance of new mining licenses for a year, the reclassification of mining categories to reflect the use of new larger equipment, allowing water bodies to regenerate their natural ecology, tree planting and land reclamation project. One most important activity under the anti-galamsey effort of the government was the formation of a joint team of 400 men from the Military and Police christened Operation Vanguard.⁷⁰ Operation Vanguard was commissioned on July 31st, 2017 and tasked with the responsibility of stamping out illegal mining. The team were deployed to 3 of the most “galamsey” ravaged regions in the country being Ashanti, Eastern and Western Regions respectively.⁷¹ At the time this research was conducted government had not lifted the initial six months ban on ASM as targeted. Gavin’s literature that was reviewed in the early part of this work was very critical of the current government’s decision to ban the ASM sector and criticized some of the strategies such as deportations, burning of mining equipment etc. adopted to deal with ASM, a sector which he claims employs close to 1 million people and accounts for 30% of the country’s gold production.⁷² His criticisms were also directed at the strategies operation vanguard were using in their operations. Some content analysis conducted on some online media platforms corroborated Gavin’s claims and since one of the object is to find out strategies(s) being used to fight “galamsey” it is relevant to indicated that a news article on citifmonline of 23/April/2017 quoted the Minister of Lands and Natural Resources as saying that excavators without permits will be destroyed.⁷³ Similarly, Operation Vanguard in a news article on myjoyonline of 9/March/2018

was also accused of burning 14 tipper trucks, an excavator and a motorbike found at small scale mining sites in the Northern region of Ghana.⁷⁴

3.3 Combating “Galamsey” and the role of the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources

One of the study’s objectives is to ascertain the strategies that the government had adopted to deal with “galamsey”. Ascertaining and analysing the strategies were very important to the study because some literature reviewed in the study had been critical of the kind of strategies government had adopted to fight the activity. This is likely as a result of the possible infractions these strategies could have on Ghana’s diplomatic relations with China due to the heavy Chinese involvement in illegal mining. Consequently, the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources leading the combat against illegal mining was considered an important respondent for the study.

3.3.1 Mandate of the Ministry

The Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources (MLNR) is established under the Section 11 of the Civil Service Law 1993 (PNDCL 327) and the Civil Service (Ministries) Instrument, 2013 (E.I.1) made on 18th January, 2013. The Ministry consist of three sub-sectors; Lands, Forestry and Mining. The Ministry is mandated by Law to ensure the sustainable management and utilization of the nation’s lands, forests and wildlife resources as well as the efficient management of the mineral resources for socio-economic growth and development.⁷⁵

3.3.2 Role of the Ministry

The ministry’s functions includes ensuring efficient formulation, coordination, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programmes; ensuring efficient and equitable land delivery,

supervision of sector department and agencies and ensuring efficient management of mineral resources to catalyse sustainable development and facilitating the promotion of effective inter-agency and cross sectoral linkages.⁷⁶

To gather empirical data on the strategies government had adopted to combat illegal mining since setting up the inter-ministerial taskforce in 2013 so as to conduct proper analytical assessment of existing literature concerning strategies adopted to fight illegal mining, the study conducted a structured interview with the Ministry. The Ministry expressed its frustration with the rate at which “galamsey” was destroying Ghana’s water bodies which serve as sources of drinking water for domestic use and for agricultural purposes as well as the pollution of these rivers with chemicals very harmful to humans and wildlife. Again the impact of “galamsey” on agriculture the mainstay of the country in which arable land for agricultural purposes were being degraded and being channeled into “galamsey” use, and cocoa farms also being destroyed for the purposes of “galamsey” had become a national security issue and that placed on the Ministry a great responsibility to act.⁷⁷

3.3.3 Strategies

The Ministry mapped out strategies to deal with illegal mining by first of all engaging key stakeholders and forming an inter-ministerial advisory board made up of the Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Defence, and Ministry of the Interior to court their advice and support for the eradication of “galamsey”. Engagement of key stakeholders began with liaising with the Chief Justice of Ghana to set up a “galamsey court” to fast track trial and prosecute offenders arrested for engaging in “galamsey” of which “14 galamsey courts” have actually been set up.

The Ghana Police Service is helping by arresting offenders and preparing them for trial. The Ghana Immigration Service being responsible for the management of immigration issues of the country was the stakeholder responsible for the repatriation of foreign migrants arrested for operating small scale mining illegally in which the vast majority have been Chinese migrants. An Inter-ministerial board for “galamsey” which was set up by the President instituted a taskforce called Operation Vanguard mandated to stop illegal mining, is also closely working with the Ministry.⁷⁸

3.3.4 Diplomatic Considerations

The Ministry consulted with some former Presidents of the country, Former President Rawlings and Kufuor to seek their advice on how best to handle the fight against “galamsey” especially with the involvement of foreigners in the illicit activity taking into consideration the diplomatic relations existing between Ghana and the countries of origin of foreigners involved in illegal mining. The Ministry at the time this interview was conducted had initiated visits to embassies to solicit their support for the fight against “galamsey” and seek funding from these embassies to do land reclamation.⁷⁹

The Ministry maintained that the strategies were the best under the current circumstance. The Ministry being aware of the diplomatic relations existing between Ghana and China visited the Chinese Ambassador to assure her that the fights against “galamsey” and the strategies adopted were not targeted at Chinese nationals as may be speculated in the media but a general intervention against all actors involved, be it foreigners or nationals. The Ministry reiterated that the arrest of illegal miners did not only affect Chinese nationals but other foreign nationals from

Togo, Angola, Burkina Faso including traditional authorities who give their lands to foreigners and their Ghanaian counterparts. The ministry stated categorically that the ongoing combat against “galamsey” has not been an act against only Chinese migrants but all culprits involved, be it politicians, chiefs, service personnel and others.⁸⁰

The Ministry was of the view that the strategy of arrest and deportation will not affect the bilateral relations Ghana has with China because they are the best and effective means possible upon the advice of the Ghana Immigration Service. The Ministry said it was well aware of the many diplomatic support and collaboration it has enjoyed from the Chinese government including extension of scholarships and Short training programmes as well as other funding support but the law remains the law, if illegal mining is illegal then the law must take its course just as it will take its course in China if the same illegality had taken place there. It also noted that deportation was only targeted at those involved in illegal mining and not those doing genuine businesses or were in the country legally. The ministry is in constant touch not only with the Chinese embassy but other embassies in order to court their support and understanding. One interesting revelation from the interview was that, the ministry stated that the Embassy was not even aware of the numbers of Chinese involved in illegal mining activities in the country.⁸¹

The Ministry stated categorically that the strategies adopted to fight illegal mining will not harm Ghana-China relations because they were the most effective strategies and they had consulted with the Chinese embassy concerning the decision to fight “galamsey” so there was no cause to fear a strain in Ghana-China relations before, during and after the intervention.⁸²

3.3.5 Way forward

The Ministry recognizes that a lot of people earn their living from “galamsey”, it is therefore in the process of instituting alternative livelihood projects such as the Plantation Livelihood Project and the Youth and Employment project to provide alternative livelihood to “galamsey” operators who will be willing to stay off the practice when the ban is finally lifted while recalcitrant ones who refuses to stay away from the practice will be prosecuted. The Ministry says in order not for issues such as foreign nationals engaging in “galamsey” become another diplomatic issue to deliberate on in the future, the ministry recognizing that corruption had contributed immensely to foreign nationals active participation in “galamsey”, owing to the fact that some politicians, traditional authorities and service personnel had colluded with foreign nationals and helped them in going into illegal mining is collaborating with key institutions and civil society organizations to help raise awareness about the dangers of “galamsey” as it does not only affect humans but also our wildlife. It acknowledged that eradication of “galamsey” cannot be done overnight and since it is a long term issue, it is teaming up with relevant institutions whose sole objective is to protect the environment as one of the measures to manage the canker.⁸³

3.4 The Ghana Immigration Service

The Ghana Immigration Service was established under PNDC Law 226 in 1989. The passage of the Immigration Act 2000, Act 573 expanded the functions and roles of the service.⁸⁴ It has been established as the agency of the government of Ghana to advise on and to ensure the effective implementation of all laws and regulations pertaining to immigration and related issues.⁸⁵

3.4.1 Mandate of the GIS

The Ghana Immigration Service is one of the Executive arms of government with the exclusive mandate of monitoring the entry, residence, employment and exit of foreigners in Ghana. Monitoring is also carried out on the in and out movement of Ghanaians.⁸⁶ The study conducted a structured interview with the Service because some of the strategies adopted to end “galamsey” was the arrest and deportation of foreign migrants which Chinese migrants are in the majority. It was important to ascertain how they carried out this duty and if they carried it out with diplomatic considerations especially when the Chinese ambassador; Ms. Sung Baohong had warned that it was going to be extremely harmful to Ghana and China’s bilateral relations should there be casualties in the arrest and deportation of Chinese illegal mining operators.⁸⁷

3.4.2 Role of the Ghana Immigration Service

The Service’s role include regulation of foreigners who live and work in Ghana, issuance of visas for entry into Ghana, and acts as the first line of defence at Ghana’s borders. The Service also liaises with other state agencies and ministries in the management of immigration related issues with the Migration unit of the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations and the Gender Ministry.⁸⁸

3.4.3 Arrest and Repatriation of Foreign Nationals engaged in “Galamsey”

According to the Service, they exist to enforce the laws governing immigration in Ghana consequently, the arrest and repatriation of foreign nationals engaged in “galamsey” in which Chinese migrants are in the majority is merely an act of discharge of their statutory duty. The service said it is very well aware of the bilateral relations between Ghana and China just as other

bilateral relations Ghana has with other countries but that does not mean it should renege on its responsibilities as long as arresting and repatriating Chinese migrants involved in “galamsey” is concerned. According to the service it has been very supportive of Chinese migrants with legal documents doing legitimate businesses in the country but irrespective of the diplomatic relations Ghana has with the Chinese, enforcement of its national duties remains paramount. Repatriation is carried out with a court order therefore it is the most effective measure to weed out foreign nationals operating mining illegally.⁸⁹

3.4.4 Criticisms against the Service over ineffectiveness in the discharge of their Duties

According to the Service, criticisms against it that the influx of foreigners in illegal mining is due to their lack of effectiveness is flawed because the service cannot deny any foreigner entering the country with genuine and valid documents as entry and exit of the country is highly regulated. To the Service, any foreigner who has been allowed entry into the country came in with the requisite and valid travelling documents. According to the Service, most of these foreigners who come with legal documents indicating they are coming into the country to conduct other businesses later end up doing illegal mining, secondly when they arrive here legally, they refuse to renew their permit or status when the duration of stay ends. These issues remain a challenge to the service because they are highly under resourced to conduct checks on such migrants who come in the name of doing a particular business but end up doing illegal mining and migrants who over stay their permits. According to the service without resources like sophisticated technology they will not be able to detect and monitor foreigners who have diverted into areas that are illegal. The service pointed out that lack of logistics such as vehicles, arms among others are hampering their effectiveness in discharging their regulatory, monitoring, evaluation and

enforcement duties efficiently. The service said it needs a lot of training in order to adopt contemporary trends in dealing with immigration issues, therefore retooling the service has become very critical for the service to meet contemporary times.⁹⁰

3.4.5 Accusations of GIS Officers Colluding with Chinese Migrants

One of the literature reviewed accused the GIS of helping some Chinese migrants' involved in illegal mining with fake documents. According to the service it is aware that Chinese involvement in "galamsey" has been fueled by many actors including traditional authorities, some Ghanaians and some immigration officers who have been fronting for these migrants. According to the service, officers of the service caught have been sanctioned with sanctions ranging from interdiction to outright dismissal.⁹¹

3.4.6 Way Forward

The service believes that formalization of the Artisanal and Small Scale Mining sector is one bold step government needs to take to end the illegal mining menace. According to the Service, the inundation of the small scale mining sector by the Chinese is an indication that there is huge prospect in that sector which if governments legislates well can be of mutual benefits to both countries.⁹²

3.5 Media reportage on Chinese involvement in illegal mining and its effect on Ghana- China Relations: Diplomatic, Economic and Security Implications

As has been noted by Gavin that media reportage and campaigns contributed immensely to government's decision to combat illegal mining.⁹³ The media is often referred to as the fourth

estate of the realm, depicting its influence and significance. Ghana's democratic culture ensures that civil society organizations such as the media operate freely without any kind or form of interference or tyranny as it is seen as the gatekeeper and voice of the masses. Chapter 12, article 162 (1) of the 1992 constitution of Ghana safeguards and guarantees the freedom and independence of the media.⁹⁴ The media is also seen as defenders of the public interest and the guardian of democracy. The media's agenda setting mandate has been very effective at shaping public opinion which have in many cases determined the continuity or otherwise of government policies. A case in point that depicts the power of the media is the role the media played leading to the recall of American soldiers from the Vietnam War which had become a costly war to the United States in 1973. The Media's extensive coverage of the huge numbers of body bags containing slayed US soldiers arriving in the US for burial sparked public protest against the US government, leading to withdrawal from the war.

Anti-galamsey activities of the government of Ghana which started in 2013 were borne out of mounting pressure from the general public on government to respond to the widespread involvement of Chinese migrants in "galamsey" activities.⁹⁵ Around this period, the media's role was largely extensive reportage on the effect of "galamsey" on Ghana's water bodies and destruction to farmlands, widespread deaths of "galamsey" operators as a result of pit collapse, school children dropping out of school to engage in "galamsey" to make quick money which contravenes Ghana's laws on child labour. As well as violent clashes between some Chinese illegal mining operators and locals, attacks on security officers by some Chinese illegal mining operators, rendering of water bodies undrinkable due to heavy pollution of water bodies with harmful chemicals such as cyanide and mercury in areas where "galamsey" activities were rife

and a host of issues which had stirred up anti-Chinese sentiments especially in areas where the activities of Chinese illegal mining operators impacted the most.⁹⁶ The then minister of Lands and Natural Resources, Alhaji Inusah Fuseini was reported to have expressed his frustration over Chinese migrants' involvement in "galamsey" calling it a serious security and social threat.⁹⁷ However, in the early part of 2017 the media's concern of the issue of "galamsey" moved from merely reporting and highlighting anti-Chinese sentiments from the public and also general issues arising from "galamsey's" impact to starting various campaign and lobby groups and joining the emerging national consensus to deal with illegal mining. Subsequently, various campaigns against "galamsey" spearheaded by various media houses and media practitioners emerged all in a bid to highlight the damaging effect "galamsey" was having on Ghana's environment. This contributed significantly to government's resolve to ban the ASM sector. Gavin recounts campaigns such as #StopGalamsey, spearheaded by Accra based radio station, Citi FM. This campaign managed to garner a huge media coalition support from other local media outlets, which produced a lengthy petition that included signatories from key ministerial figures both past and present which City FM staff presented to Parliament on 7 April, 2017.⁹⁸ #StopGalamsey also managed to attract attention to "galamsey's" insidious nature through extensive lobbying exercises with headlines such as 'Life is more Precious than Gold', 'Help End Galamsey now', 'Stop illegal mining', 'Think Right, Mine Right,' 'Value Life not Gold', 'Preserve our Water Bodies' and Preserve our Rich Forests'.⁹⁹ Other signatories to the #StopGalamsey Campaign were those of high ranking officials at the Graphic Communication Group Limited, the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association (GIBA), the Ghanaian Times, The Ghana Journalist Association, the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation and the Christian Council of Ghana.¹⁰⁰ On April 4, 2017, the Media Coalition against galamsey was also launched

with the Conveners being Ken Ashigbey, Formerly the Managing Director of Graphic Communications Group Limited and Ransford Tetteh, Former Ghana Journalist Association President and Editor in Chief of the Daily Graphic. The coalition's main objective inter alia is to play an advocacy role towards the creation of awareness and education campaigns about the destruction of farmlands and pollution of river bodies by illicit "galamsey" activities.¹⁰¹ These media efforts had great impact in shaping public opinion about the dangers of "galamsey", and these efforts subsequently led the government to declare a total ban on "galamsey" and subsequent adoption of operational strategies and activities to tackle the menace holistically.

3.5.1 Media Reportage on the Issue of Chinese Involvement in "Galamsey" and its Diplomatic Implications

Extensive media reportage on the issue of Chinese involvement in "galamsey" and their subsequent arrest and preparation for deportation resulted in the Chinese Embassy issuing a strong warning contained in a "note verbale" to the Minister of Lands and Natural Resources, John Peter Amewu, about how the country was dealing with the issue and especially how the media had targeted the Chinese in their reportage on the issue. The Chinese mission's strongly worded letter said "it will be extremely harmful to the bilateral relations between the two countries if there are reports of a casualty during the arrest of Chinese involved in illegal mining in Ghana."¹⁰² "The letter also cautioned that if nothing changes about the nature of campaigns against illegal mining in the country, bilateral relations between Ghana and China would be affected"¹⁰³ and went ahead to advise the Government of Ghana to minimize the mass arrest of illegal miners and deal with culprits on individual basis.¹⁰⁴ This response from the Chinese Mission was seen by a section of the media, experts and political activists as an affront to Ghana's sovereignty.¹⁰⁵

3.5.2 Media Reportage on the Issue of Chinese Involvement in “Galamsey” and its Economic Implications

On May 1, 2017, a Financial Times online news report, with the headline Ghana crackdown on illegal mining inflames tension with Beijing, quoted the Chinese Ambassador, Sun Baohong, as urging the Ghanaian government to “guide the media” to cover the issue of Chinese involvement in “galamsey” more “objectively”, or risk damaging the “environment for further development of our bilateral exchanges and cooperation”.¹⁰⁶ This caution from the Embassy was due to the fact that as cited in Crawford et al reporting of the issue of illegal Chinese miners in the Ghanaian media had always been entirely negative; with Chinese miners often referred to as “illegal”, “undesirable migrants”, “deviants”, “aliens”, and their presence and involvement in small scale gold mining labeled as an “invasion”, a “menace”, “threat to lives of indigenous people” in mass media outlets such as the daily graphic and some web portals such as modern Ghana.¹⁰⁷ This report was feared to be an indicative of some looming negative implication on the economic ties between Ghana and Beijing coming at a time when Trade between the two countries had hit an estimated \$6 billion in 2015, from an initial \$100 million in 2000 due in part to China’s support of Ghana’s economy, during Ghana’s economic crisis which resulted in commodity prices plummeting in 2014, China continued to highlight Ghana as a destination for Chinese investment.¹⁰⁸

3.5.3 Media Reportage on the Issue of Chinese Involvement in “Galamsey” and its Security Implications

The arrest and deportation of Chinese migrants involved in “galamsey” as reported by foreign media such as BBC, China Daily, the New York Times, and Financial Times pitched Ghana as a xenophobic country, the little attention these foreign media paid to the extensive damage caused

by illegal mining in which the narrative of events had heightened widespread Chinese involvement projected Ghana in a bad light to the outside world.¹⁰⁹ May 1, 2017, Financial Times online news report described Ghana's media coverage of "galamsey" as a bit xenophobic.¹¹⁰ This had implication on the security of some Ghanaians living in China or doing business in China. There were concerns that there could be possible retaliatory attacks against Ghanaians living in China. Aidoo and Hess asserts that the arrest and repatriation of Chinese illegal miners had resulted in some form of retaliation as China tightened visa requirement for Ghanaians travelling to China.¹¹¹

3.6 Ascertaining Diplomatic, Economic and Security Implications on Ghana-China Relations Arising from the Combat of "Galamsey" from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was established in 1957 with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, then leader of government Business, as the first Foreign Minister. On Ghana's attainment of Independence on 6th of March, 1957, Dr. Nkrumah made a historic foreign policy pronouncement. The concept of free, proud, confident Africa was to dominate the foreign policy of Ghana. Dr. Nkrumah established an autonomous African Affairs Secretariat under his personal direction primarily to promote and effect his vision of Africa unity, a foreign policy issue which normally falls within the purview of the foreign ministry. After his overthrow in February 1966, the Secretariat was incorporated into the Ministry. The Ministry and its diplomatic missions abroad constitutes the Ghana Foreign Service charged with the Control, Direction and Coordination of Ghana's external relations. The name of the Ministry has undergone various changes in Ghana's recent history. Its current name, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, was designated in 2009 to highlight the importance of regional integration as a foreign policy objective.¹¹²

3.6.1 Mandate of the MFARI

The mandate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration is derived from Chapter 6, article 40 of the Directive Principle of State Policy of the 1992 constitution which enjoins the government in its dealings with other states to promote and protect the interest of Ghana, seek the establishment of a just and equitable international, economic and social order, promote respect for international law, treaty obligations and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means among others.¹¹³

3.6.2 Functions of MFARI

The functions of the Ministry includes but not limited to the following:

Its first most duty is the responsibility of advising, assisting and making recommendations to the President in the formulation of foreign policy and to see to the implementation of those foreign policy decisions of the Presidency. Ensure that missions operating in Ghana do so within the confines of Ghana's national interest. Advance Ghana's economic interest by working with other MDAs for the promotion of "made-in-Ghana Brand" and expansion of trade, tourism and inward investment, Develop and maintain cordial, friendly, and bilateral relations with countries in all fields of endeavor. Coordinate Ghana's contribution to regional integration for the promotion and protection of the national interest.¹¹⁴

Since the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the primary manager of Ghana's relations with other countries and the executor of the country's foreign policy, it was important to conduct an interview with the Ministry to ascertain the real issues on the ground pertaining to the current state of affairs concerning Ghana-China relations in relation to Diplomatic, Economic and Security implications arising from government of Ghana's combat against "galamsey" which

Chinese migrants have been affected due to their massive involvement in the act. The structured interview was conducted at the Middle East and Asia Bureaux of the Ministry.

3.6.3 Current State of Ghana China Relations

The Ministry acknowledged that since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ghana and China till date, Ghana and China have enjoyed excellent relations characterized by high level visits by both sides. China remains Ghana's biggest trading partner till date and the Ministry is currently working towards moving the bilateral relations to the highest level possible where trading between the two countries will be balanced so that Ghana can take full advantage of China's huge market to trade.¹¹⁵

3.6.4 The Ministry's Perspectives on Government's Anti-galamsey Activities

The ministry pointed that it was aware of the anti-galamsey activities by the government and supports the strategies government had adopted to deal with the issue especially as the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources in their own right have approved of them. According to the ministry, if the strategies adopted to fight illegal mining is well within the laws of Ghana then they are the right measures. The ministry was of the view that since the Chinese government knows "galamsey" is illegal they are not anticipating any covert or overt protest through the Chinese mission. However the ministry pointed out the only concern the Chinese mission has raised during meetings with the Ministry is that the issue be properly handled in such a manner that does not hurt Chinese nationals.¹¹⁶

On the issue of Chinese Ambassador's displeasure with media reportage on Chinese involvement in "galamsey" and its diplomatic, economic and security implications, the Ministry postulated that it is very natural for any diplomat to protest against any kind of arbitrary treatment if its nationals are suffering any kind of abuse because one of the foremost duty of every mission is to protect the interest of its nationals. Arrests and deportation must not be done in such way that abuses the right of Chinese migrants involved in illegal mining and that these activities must be done within the dictates of the laws of Ghana. The Ministry stated strongly that the issue of "galamsey" is a problem that must not be taken lightly and that considering the strategies government had adopted to deal with the issue, it will not be far from the truth to say that government have been very lenient with perpetrators of "galamsey", since the law prevents both nationals and foreigners from mining illegally and since no country will allow such acts to happen in their jurisdiction without perpetrators going unpunished, government was on the right track banning the ASM sector in the interim.¹¹⁷

The Ministry stated that it was of the view that Chinese involvement in illegal mining had been fueled by many actors such as some locals, chiefs, some service personnel and even some politicians of which a lot of education must be carried out to create the awareness of the implication of fronting for or aiding foreigners to practice illegal activities in the country.¹¹⁸

The Ministry stated categorically that government's anti-galamsey activities since 2013 till date have not put any kind of strain be it diplomatic, economic or security on Ghana-China relations and the ministry has not also had any official report from Ghana's mission in China that states

that Ghanaians living in China have been targets of retaliatory attacks due to the ongoing fight against illegal mining in Ghana.¹¹⁹

Endnotes

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

The chapter concludes the assessment of Government of Ghana's combat against "galamsey" and its implication on Ghana-China relations. The chapter comes out with findings, draws conclusions and make recommendations.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The Media

The study found out that extensive media reportage and media activism on the widespread damage of "galamsey" on water bodies and farmlands which threatened agriculture production, the mainstay of the country, mine disasters, violent clashes between locals and Chinese migrants involved in "galamsey" over scarce resources and other social vices which were brewing from illegal mining activities played a huge role in government's decision to fight illegal mining from 2013 to date. This corroborated the literature reviewed of Farmharm of how domestic politics can have a major influence on foreign policy decision making. Anti-Chinese sentiments had reached a peak where government could no longer stay silent hence, the decision to combat the menace despite fears of causing a possible strain on Ghana-China diplomatic relations and the media played a huge role in highlighting these anti-Chinese sentiments.

The Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources

Government's anti-galamsey combat was spearheaded by the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources since it is the body mandated by law to ensure the sustainable management and utilization of the nation's lands, forests and wildlife resources as well as the efficient management of the mineral resources for socio-economic growth and development. Hence, in 2013 the ministry adopted strategic anti-galamsey activities such as arrest of illegal mining operators of which foreign nationals were deported upon advice from the Ghana Immigration Service. The Ministry also adopted operational anti-galamsey activities such as the ban on small-scale mining, the setting up of "14 galamsey court" to fast track trial on "galamsey" related offenses. The setting up of a taskforce called operation vanguard with the mandate of stopping illegal mining activities in illegal mining areas in the country in which their operations have been criticized by Gavin for adopting unfriendly measures such as the seizure and burning of mining equipment belonging to Chinese migrants and their local counterparts in their "galamsey" operations.

The Ministry, as part of strategies to fight illegal mining, had consulted past presidents of the country to seek advice on how best to deal with the problem putting into consideration issues of diplomacy since illegal mining activities involved foreign nationals whose respective countries have diplomatic relations with Ghana. Additionally taking into consideration issues of diplomacy the Ministry consulted with embassies which includes the Chinese Embassy to solicit their support and court their understanding towards effort adopted by the ministry to combat illegal mining.

The Ministry was of the view that the strategies they had adopted to combat “galamsey” will in no way impact Ghana-China relations because repatriation of Chinese migrants were done within the confines of the laws of the country. The ministry recounted the various diplomatic support in the form of technical assistance the Chinese government had extended to the ministry and lauded that effort but insisted that the law must not play subservient to Chinese benevolence, this contrasted with Idun Arkhurst’s literature that China’s positive impact on Ghana’s economy should not be eclipsed by cases such as Chinese involvement in “galamsey”.

The Ghana Immigration Service

The Ghana Immigration Service is mandated to manage immigration and other related issues in the country. It has played the role of deporting foreign nationals involved in illegal mining in the ongoing combat against illegal mining through court order. As argued in the Literature review of Hilson et al, the Ghana Immigration Service admitted that lack of proper regulation had contributed to the increase in illegal mining. The service also corroborated the claim by Hilson et al that many actors such as politicians, service personnel, and traditional authorities had contributed immensely to foreign nationals’ participation in illegal mining and pointed out that service personnel who had issued fake travelling and other immigration related documents to foreign nationals, especially Chinese nationals were sanctioned through summarily dismissals and interdiction. The service maintained that accusations against its effectiveness in regulating foreign nationals’ involvement in “galamsey” is largely due to their lack of resources. The service defended its duty of repatriation saying that the law should be enforced above diplomatic relations.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration manages Ghana's external relations with other countries. The Ministry maintained that China has been Ghana's biggest trading partner and the high level official visits coupled with strong personal relationships between the political elites of the two countries go a long way to tell the depth of relations between the two countries. The ministry maintained that strategies adopted to fight illegal mining were right because it is in the confines of the law. It also called for constant civic education of Ghanaians concerning the laws that govern the country as a measure to prevent Ghanaians from fronting and aiding foreigners to commit illegalities such as illegal mining. The Ministry however, hinted that the Chinese mission wanted the fight against "galamsey" to be done in a manner that does not infringe on the rights of Chinese nationals. The Ministry stated categorically that despite media reports of Chinese mission's frustration and warning against the government over its handling of the issue of "galamsey", there has not been any strain in relations and Ghana-China relations have not suffered any diplomatic, economic or security strain since the start of anti-galamsey activities in 2013. The ministry said it was working hard to make sure trade relations with China become balanced in terms of creating the opportunity for Ghanaian businesses to take advantage of China's big market to trade in large volumes. This position of the ministry disclaims Aidoo's assertion that Ghana-China relations had been strained by the fight against "galamsey".

4.2 Conclusions

The study concludes that, the fears by many experts that government of Ghana's 'anti-galamsey' activities could have a negative implication on the relations between Ghana and China due to

China's various economic activities in Ghana was addressed succinctly by the MFARI, even though the Chinese Embassy here in Ghana, declined several requests by this researcher to speak to the issue as well, for the purposes of balance. The study concludes that there have not been any negative implications whatsoever on Sino-Ghana relations since the government took the decision to fight 'galamsey'. That specifically, the current state of Ghana-China relations has not witnessed any security, economic and diplomatic strain by the ongoing fight against "galamsey" in which Chinese migrants have been affected due to their widespread involvement. That the strategies adopted to fight "galamsey" such as arrest and deportation, ban on illegal mining, seizure and burning of mining equipment by the anti-galamsey taskforce called operation Vanguard among others were the best strategies under the circumstance despite protest by the Chinese government. The resolve of the government to carry on with these strategies goes a long way to tell that not all states can be exploited because of economic assistance they are receiving from other states. This counters some of the assumptions in the rational actor model theory that economic benevolence can be used by states to influence other states' foreign policies in order to exploit the resources beneficial to them, this is due to the assumptions by realism that states hardly do things without self-interest motivations and the rational actor model draws much of its basis from the realism divide. Chinese government's benevolence through its non-interference foreign policy has been criticized as a tool used by the Chinese to exploit other countries for its benefit. Most of the literature reviewed highlighted the many benefits Ghana has received since it established diplomatic relations with China and though the relations have been mutually beneficial, it appears the visible economic and infrastructural aid Ghana has received from China has created the notion that Chinese involvement in "galamsey" has been in exchange for Ghana's gold. Therefore the stance by the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources not to

allow Chinese assistance to override its resolve to fight “galamsey” tells that Chinese economic and infrastructural assistance over the years has not influenced the country so much to allow Chinese exploitation of its natural resources to the detriment of its environment.

That government’s combat against illegal mining has not had any significant impact on Ghana-China relations since 2013 to date.

4.3 Recommendations

The study, among others, has revealed a number of challenges bedeviling the artisanal and small-scale mining sector and its implications on Ghana-China relations. To assuage these, the study recommends the following for policy consideration:

Review of Existing Laws

It has become necessary for government to review current laws governing the artisanal and small-scale mining sector since the issue of “galamsey” reflects the bigger picture of the legal lapses governing the artisanal and small-scale mining sector. Review of the law must be done by conducting broader consultation of key stakeholders in mining. Review must also reflect contemporary geo-political exigencies of recent times and must reflect international best practices as response to dealing with illegal mining since the sector has high prospects in terms of job creation and contribution to Ghana’s gold production output.

Investment in the Small-scale Mining Sector

Government must develop and open the small scale mining sector up for foreign investment. Drawing conclusions from the study it appears that the artisanal small-scale mining sector can

thrive and generate revenue for development if the right structures are put in place to attract foreign investment. Government can do so by learning from the success stories of other countries. Existing literature alludes to the fact that the use of sophisticated machineries and equipments had doubled the rate of extraction of Gold. Introduction of investors will help increase gold production in the country and generate revenue for the development of the state

Elimination of Bureaucratic Bottlenecks

Government must eliminate the bottlenecks and review the bureaucratic culture that governs the acquisition of license for small-scale mining. It was revealed that the difficulty that surrounds acquisition of license such as the processes one must go through, the amount of money to pay and the amount of time to spend before being given a license have gravely acted as a disincentive hence the proliferation of illegal mining.

Robust Economy

It is recommended that government take steps to strengthen the economy it is running in order to take bold decisions without fearing losing out from the economic benevolence of donor countries or partners. From the study, the Chinese ambassador's strongly worded letter to the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources threatening a seizure of bilateral relations between Ghana and China over the government's handling of the issue of "galamsey" was badly received by many, viewing the move as an affront to Ghana's sovereignty. The Chinese mission's assertiveness and posture may likely be due to the fact that China recognizes how Ghana has virtually become depended on Chinese aid and investment as a means to develop as Chinese aid and investment have virtually permeated every facet of Ghana's economy. While it is true that the international system as we have it today thrives on cooperation, cooperation must be of equal footing devoid

of such things as carrots and sticks, therefore for countries to be able to assert themselves on the world stage, economic independence is key. Ghana in as much as its major foreign policy is economic diplomacy, it must chart its own development course without depending heavily on foreign aid and economic benevolence from other countries.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GHANA IMMIGRATION SERVICE (GIS)

1. What is the mandate of the Ghana Immigration Service?
2. Is the Ghana Immigration Service aware of the diplomatic relations between Ghana and China?
3. Why did the GIS allow some Chinese migrants into the country to engage in illegal mining?
4. Are some Immigration Officers aiding some Chinese immigrants in the illegal mining business?
5. Is the GIS aware of the government's combat against 'galamsey'?
6. If yes, what role is the GIS playing in this to combat 'galamsey'?
7. Are the measures being deployed to tackle illegal mining by government appropriate, considering the long standing diplomatic relations between the two countries?
8. What measures have you put in place to ensure that illegal Chinese migrants do not invade the small scale mining sector in the future?

**INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MINISTRY OF LANDS AND NATURAL RESOURCES
(MLNR)**

1. What is the core mandate of the MLNR?
2. Is the Ministry aware of the diplomatic relations between Ghana and China?
3. What are the measures the MLNR has adopted to fight illegal mining of which Chinese migrants are the worst offenders?
4. Are the measures to fight illegal mining the best within the framework of Ghana-China relations?
5. Does the MLNR anticipate a possible strain in the relations between Ghana and China with the deployment of such measures to fight 'galamsey'?
6. What is the Ministry's view of other culprits reported to be aiding Chinese illegal miners in the country such as Security Personnel, Chiefs and Ghanaian frontmen?
7. What measures have you put in place to ensure that fighting illegal mining, in which Chinese migrants are the worst culprits do not affect Ghana and China long standing friendship?
8. Are there comprehensive measures put in place to stamp out future occurrence of the phenomenon of foreigners' invasion of the small scale mining sector?

APPENDIX III

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION (MFARI)

1. What is the core mandate of the MFARI?
2. What is the current state of Ghana-China relations?
3. Is the Ministry aware of any protest by the Chinese government through its Embassy in Accra regarding Ghana government's combat against illegal mining in which Chinese migrants are widely involved?
4. Is the Ministry anticipating any protest overt or covert from the Chinese government through its embassy in Accra as a result of the fight against 'galamsey' or media reportage against 'galamsey'?
5. The Chinese Ambassador has warned, there could be diplomatic consequences on Ghana-China relations due to the narrative of events in the media against some Chinese migrants involved in 'galamsey', what do you think about this?
6. Do you perceive the strategies adopted to fight illegal mining, the best within the framework of Ghana-China diplomatic relations?
7. Do you anticipate there are any current or possible future negative implication of government's resolve to fight 'galamsey' on Ghana-China relations?