

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA – LEGON



**GHANA-SAUDI RELATIONS: ANALYSIS OF BILATERAL TRADE AND
DEVELOPMENT AID**

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**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS**

JULY 2022

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Daniel Dramani Kipo-Sunyehti. I also declare that no part of this dissertation has been submitted elsewhere for any other purpose.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Almighty Allah, the Lord of the Worlds. Also, to my late father Dr. Alhaj Sulemana Tuntunba, my mother, Hajia Mariama Darba, my wife Sawudatu Mesuna, my elder sister, Hajia Rahinatu Sulemana, my kids, Mariam, Rushd, Khalid, Kasha and Suhaila, for their love and sacrifice, relentless support and enormous encouragement.



ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I sincerely express my profound gratitude to the Almighty Allah for His guidance throughout my life till this stage and the stages ahead, indeed without His blessings and mercies, this achievement would not have been possible. Identifying the support of many collaborators among colleagues and friends, with whose help this work was made easy, I particularly recognized the outstanding contribution of my teacher, mentor, and thesis supervisor, offering advice and encouragement, since my first day at the University of Ghana's Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), with a perfect blend of insight and humor. I am proud of, and grateful for, my time learning under Dr. Kipo. I cannot forget the support of His Excellency the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to Ghana, Ambassador Meshal Bin Hamdan Alrogi, who has been very helpful in facilitating my studies and working at the Embassy as well as providing me with all necessary data to this dissertation. I also appreciate the time and support of His Excellency the Ambassador of Ghana to Saudi Arabia Ambassador Ambassador Tijjani for giving me enough time from his busy schedules and providing me with necessary data. My thanks also goes to the Consul-General of Ghana to Istanbul-Turkey, Her Excellency Hajia Salamatu Yakubu for her support. My appreciation also goes to officials at the Middle east Bureau at Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Dr, Taufiq, lecturer at the University of Professional Studies (UPSA) and Mr. Abdul Nasir Adam, a P.h.D Student at LECIAD-Legon, for their varied support, Alhaj Mahmoud former Administrator at Ghana's Consulate-General in Jeddah, officials at the Ghana Export Promotion Authority especially Mr. Abdallah Zakaria Khalifa Banda, all my lecturers and staff at LECIAD. I finally expressed my profound appreciation to my beloved wife and kids for their outstanding support and love throughout the program.

ACRONYMS

FDIs	-	Foreign Direct Investments
G20	-	Group of Twenty
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	-	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
DAC	-	Development Assistance Committee
OEC	-	Observatory of Economic Complexities
ODA	-	Official Development Assistance
ICT	-	Information and Communication Technology
USSR	-	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
PRC	-	People's Republic of China
Covid-19	-	Corona Virus Disease of 2019
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product

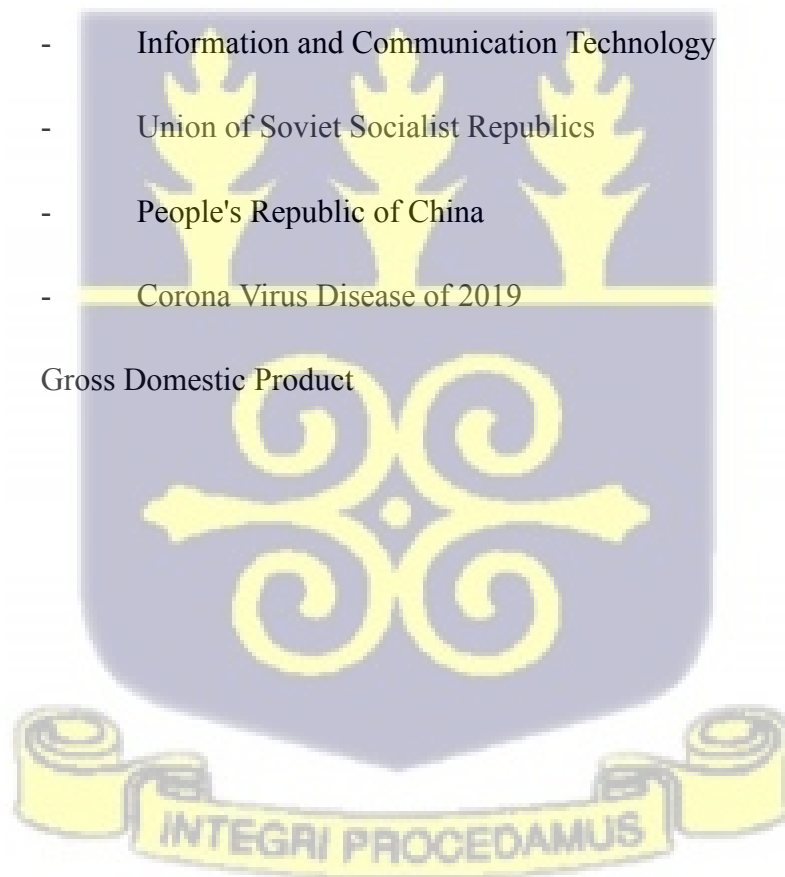


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ABSTRACT

This research analyses the relations between Ghana and Saudi Arabia with particular attention to the bilateral relations of the two countries from 2010 to 2022. To reach the required goal both primary data and secondary data were used. It was observed that Ghana had a long-standing relation with Saudi Arabia dating back to 1960 and that it has so far inured into fruitful cooperation in various field with more room for improvement. In theorizing the relations between the two countries, the theory of cooperation was used to conceptualize Ghana –Saudi Arabia relations. Weber (1991) posits that cooperation materializes when states adjust their policies in a coordinated manner so that each state would be able to pursue its goals and aspirations. The theory is relevant to the study in a sense that it answers what underlines cooperation among states and provides guidelines to ensure win-win situation among nations. Trade relations between the two countries tilt in favour of Saudi Arabia. The research examines the causes of the Trade imbalance and established that some of the causes of trade imbalance between the two countries are; Ghana's low export capacity and Saudi Arabia's export of raw materials needed in the manufacturing of plastics to Ghana. As a remedy, it has been observed that serious efforts be made through collaborative programs by both countries on all bilateral issues especially pertaining to needed agreements to provide a suitable framework to improve foreign direct investments (FDIs). On development aid, it has been observed that Saudi Arabia's aid to Ghana has been very instrumental in improving good relations between the two countries as well as cement the peaceful co-existence between the adherents of the Islamic and Christian faiths, as Saudi aid has not been biased. However, Saudi aid to Ghana lacks proper and efficient implementation mechanisms. As a measure, the study recommended the establishment of specialized Saudi agency in Ghana to coordinate Saudi aid in the country and neighboring countries.



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

After the Second World War through to the cold war, there was a new wave of political renaissance in Africa, as the continent's decolonization in the 1960s was subjected to a stifling Cold War influence until the early 1990 (Meredith, 2006). Africa, from across the South, East through to Central and West began to struggle for their independence. This phenomenon raised the political conscience of people on the continent, who, having gone through the thick and thin of colonialism and imperialism were more than willing to emancipate themselves from the shackles of imperialism and marginalization. For this reason, Nkrumah (1962) posits that whereas the basis for colonial territorial dependence is economic; its solution must be political. Hence political independence is an indispensable step towards securing economic emancipation.

It must be made clear at this point in time that the post-colonial economies of Africa had fallen to their lowest ebbs right after independence. Thus, after independence, there was the urgent need for African countries to rebuild their political, social and economic structures from aground. As postulated by Nzau (2010), imperial powers of Europe and Colonialism raped Africa and rendered its economy basic. There was therefore the need to develop and build the economy. The only way to achieve this was through industrialization. However, industrialization of Africa to a large extent cannot materialize without collaborating with the industrialized world and injection of direct foreign capital into a raw economy like that of Ghana. For example, for the economy of Ghana to be industrialized from a raw material producing economy into a finished goods producing economy, as articulated by Gebe (2008), the first Prime

Minister and subsequently the first President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah had to sacrifice his socialist inclination and pragmatically cooperate with the United States of America to among other things solicit financial support to fund the construction of the Volta River Project and the Akosombo Dam for the production of electricity. Volta River hydroelectric project was perhaps going to be the first economic pact between post-colonial Ghana and the United States of America since Great Britain; the then colonial power, complained of lack of funds to support such an economic emancipating venture for its colony (Akurgo, 2018).

Ghana's unquenchable thirst to industrialization led it into many diplomatic relations with the East and the West especially, the then USSR, a socialist power and the USA, a capitalist power. Even though Ghana maintained its foreign policy of 'nonalignment', it basically established very cordial diplomatic relations with mostly Communist and Eastern European countries (Gebe, 2008). This therefore made it necessary for Ghana, after being part of the Commonwealth of Great Britain to also seek more bilateral economic pacts with many nations including dominant economic ideologues (Akurgo, 2018). This development-oriented relation between Ghana with some economic ideologies divided Ghana ideologically. Diplomatically, Ghana did not want to align itself with any of these two economic powers but would seek to collaborate with any nation it has an aligned interest with, no matter what their ideologies might be whether they be capitalist, socialist or have a mixed economy (Quaidoo,2010). This explains why in 1957, after independence, Kwame Nkrumah wrote a letter to President Eisenhower of United States of America seeking financial support for his ambitious project of the Volta hydroelectric power (Akurgo, 2018). This was based on his conviction that 'the Volta River Project provides the quickest

and most certain method of leading Ghana towards economic independence (Asamoah in Gebe, 2008).

This research therefore asserts that diplomatic relations in terms of development aid between Ghana and the rest of the world particularly, the western world started immediately after independence. However, there is the need to bring to light fact that not much has been documented in terms of diplomatic relations between Ghana and the Arab world. This maybe as a result of the cultural differences between the two and possibly because of the lack of colonial connection between them too.

That notwithstanding, Ghana and Saudi Arabia have had relations a couple of years after the former's independence from Great Britain on 6th March, 1957. Dumbe (2009), argued the Republic of Ghana's ambassadorial level diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia dates to March 1960, in which the two states accredited their respective ambassadors in Cairo and Lagos to each other's capital as a first measure.

Dumbe further articulated that Ghana's embassy at the level of charge d'affaires was open in Riyadh in June 1974 and was upgraded back to the ambassadorial level in May 1977 because of the increasing participation of Ghanaians in the annual pilgrimage to Makkah. He added that improved relations between both States led to the Ghanaian Government establishing her Consulate-General in Jeddah in 1988, and Saudi Arabia assenting to Ghana's request to upgrade her mission in Accra to resident ambassadorial level.

The relations between Ghana and Saudi Arabia according to Dumbe grew steadily since the two countries established diplomatic relations in March 1960, during the reign of King Saud (1953-1964). This development also came on the heels of the presidency of Ghana's first elected President, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, who was elected

President of Ghana in 1960 (Biney,2007). The factors that underpinned this growth, notwithstanding the challenges of geographical distance, language and cultural barriers, most importantly has been the yearly pilgrimage which thousands of Ghanaians embark on (Dumbe, 2004), scholarships for eligible Ghanaian students to study various disciplines and a destination for greener pastures for many Ghanaian migrant youths. As a result, Saudi Arabia has become more increasingly important to Ghana both as a host to thousands of Ghanaian pilgrims yearly and a source of developmental aid for her being the world's largest donor of humanitarian assistance (Al Yahya and Fustier, 2011), with its assistance to the developing nations in 1980 estimated at upwards of \$5billion (El Mallakh, 1982).

Ghana's foreign policy since then has been the establishment of cordial bilateral relations with other independent countries within the framework of ensuring equitable economic cooperation, social and political order. Saudi Arabia, which has the world's largest proven oil reserves with a whopping estimation 262 billion barrels at her disposal and being the leading producer and exporter of oil in the world at roughly 10 million barrels per day (Jonathan, 2012), and as echoed by Alsultan (2013:1) "supplies the world with approximately 15% of its oil needs" was one of such countries that enjoyed Ghana's trust represented through early diplomatic representations in both countries.

This study, thus, analyses the various levels of diplomatic relations between the two countries and how that has reflected into their mutual development, in terms of educational scholarships to Ghanaian eligible applicants, direct development aid to the government and people of Ghana and also the injection of direct foreign capital into the Saudi economy through tourism in terms of Hajj (an annual pilgrimage to the holy land of Makkah and Madina) and Umrah (lesser pilgrimage to the two holy cities

of Makkah and Madina), which, as stated above, propelled the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to upgrade its diplomatic representation in Ghana to resident Ambassadorial level and led to the establishment of Ghana consulate General in Jeddah. The study shows how these bilateral relations have promoted development for both countries.

The diplomatic relations between the Republic of Ghana and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is cordial (Dumbe, 2009). The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has offered scholarships to many Ghanaians to study both locally and abroad in fields that extend beyond religion to include the sciences and arts. Secondly, there is also inter trade relations between Ghana and Saudi Arabia. In 2019, Ghana exported \$7.32M to Saudi Arabia. (OEC rankings, 2019). According to the same rankings in 2019, Saudi Arabia's exports to Ghana amounted to \$93.6M(OEC Rankings, 2019). It is discernable from the data that even though the volume is very small relative to their trade with other countries, it suffices to admit that both countries have been development partners.

The challenges facing the bilateral trade of the two States is lack of bilateral trade agreements to ease double taxation (Embassy Report 2020). According to the Ambassador both sides have been working on signing an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation.

Ghana for a very long time has been exporting labor to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia which boost both economies directly. Thus, whereas the Ghana labor in Saudi Arabia help in building the economy of Saudi; in return, it fights unemployment in Ghana and also leads to the injection of foreign exchanges through remittances into the economy of Ghana and thus stabilizes the economy by mitigating inflation.

Remittances are becoming increasingly important as Ratha (cited in Quansah, 2017) reported that remittances now surpass Official Development Assistance (ODA) in

developing countries. Quansah (2017) cited a world bank reported that ranked Saudi Arabia (\$36.9bn) as second only to the United States (\$56.3bn) in the top 10 remittance senders in 2014. Citing Lowell, Quansah again stipulated that many studies on remittance to Africa discovered that the higher the education migrants the lower the likelihood that they would remit. He argued that the studies observed that highly educated migrants from Africa including Ghana appear more independent from their relatives back home than the less educated ones. Situating these findings in the analysis of Ghana-Saudi Relations, it is discernable that Ghana's economy benefits significantly from remittances Saudi sends, keeping in mind the Ghanaian migrants to Saudi are mostly domestic workers who are of low-class education.

1.2 Problem Statement of the Research

There has been tremendous improvement in the relations between Ghana and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, especially, between 2010 to 2021. Diplomatic and economic interactions between states are critical in defining their economic development and international influence. Ghana and Saudi Arabia have a dynamic bilateral relationship that requires thorough study and empirical investigation.

Despite Ghana and Saudi Arabia's long-standing diplomatic ties and exchange of goods and services, there is a paucity of empirical research that thoroughly examines the complexities of their bilateral trade relationship and the impact of Saudi Arabian development aid on Ghana's socioeconomic development. Furthermore, there is a rising global interest in understanding the shifting dynamics of trade partnerships between African and Middle Eastern countries, and the Ghana-Saudi relationship provides a unique case study in this context. This study intends to provide a complete analysis of Ghana-Saudi bilateral relations in terms of commerce, development aid,

and mutual impact, contributing to a better understanding of the diplomatic and economic ties between African and Middle Eastern nations.

Previous studies' empirical evidence highlights the need for this research. For example, Adu-Gyamfi and Mustapha (2017) emphasise the relevance of Saudi Arabia's position in Ghana's development aid landscape, citing a rising number of Saudi aid programmes and efforts in Ghana, but without a full examination of their performance. Furthermore, World Bank figures (2022) reveal a steady pattern of commercial links between the two countries, with trade volume reaching \$X billion in 2020 (World Bank, 2022).

Furthermore, Ghana's national development plans, such as the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA) and Vision 2020, stress the need of international cooperation and foreign direct investment in attaining long-term economic growth and development (Government of Ghana, 2015). However, empirical research on how Saudi Arabia's bilateral connections, notably in terms of trade and economic aid, match with and influence the goals of these national development programmes is scarce.

This dissertation aims to fill a gap in the literature by conducting a thorough examination of Ghana-Saudi bilateral relations, including trade patterns, the nature of development aid, and its impact on Ghana's socioeconomic development, using a theoretical framework that combines international relations and development theories. This project intends to give significant insights for policymakers, scholars, and practitioners in understanding and optimising Ghana's diplomatic and economic relationship with Saudi Arabia through the use of empirical data and an interdisciplinary approach.

1.3 Objectives of the Research

In addressing the research problem, this study would generally, seek to analyze the trade and development aid between Ghana and Saudi Arabia. Specifically, the study aims to achieve the following:

- a) To unearth the reasons for increased Ghana-Saudi Arabia relations.
- b) To assess the flow of trade between the two countries.
- c) To assess Saudi Arabia's aid assistance to Ghana's development.

1.4 Research Questions

This work would also be influenced by the following research questions:

- a) What are the reasons for increased Ghana-Saudi relations?
- b) What is the trade flow between Ghana and Saudi Arabia?
- c) What developmental relations exist between Ghana and Saudi Arabia?

1.5 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study mainly covers trade and aids (educational and financial) between Ghana and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia from the year 2010 to 2020.

This is because this period saw high-level bilateral visits between the two governments and more engagements, which were not the case in the years before. For example, the year 2010 marked the first time a high-level delegation led by the Vice President of Ghana, John Dramani Mahama visited the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia which was followed by an exchange visit by the wealthy Saudi Prince AlWaleed Bin Talal Al Saud to Ghana November 2011¹, leading to the naming of the Nima Highway after Prince Alwaleed and his installation as a Chief in Nima and Mamobi (Mubasher News, Saudi Arabia 2013). Again in 2018 there was another high level Ghanaian

¹<https://www.modernghana.com>, accessed on the 19.03.2021

² Saudi Embassy's Report, 2018, September report on delegation from King Salman Relief Center.

delegation led by His Excellency the Vice-President Dr. Mahmudu Bawumia to attend the 3rd Session of the International Conference of the Public Investments Fund (PIF)'s Future Investment Initiative (FII), that was held from 29th to 31st October, 2019 in Riyadh (Modern Ghana news online, October 2019).

These visits have improved the bilateral relations between these two countries and has further institutionalized the aid donations between the two countries seen through the yearly donations of tons of the date fruits by the King Salman Center for Humanitarian Assistance and Relief as well as the donation of medical items in 2018 (Embassy's Report, 2018).

Also, in 2021, the Saudi Arabian Minister of State for African Affairs, Mr. Ahmad Al Kahtani, paid a state visit to Ghana where he met with the Ghanaian Minister of foreign Affairs and Regional Integration Shirley Ayorkor Botwe, the Vice President Dr. Alhaj Mahamoudu Bawumia and the President of the Republic Nana Akufo Addo, leading to the signing of Memorandum of Understanding on Political Consultations (Embassy's Report, 2021). The importance the government of Ghana lends to its bilateral relations with the Saudi Arabia need commendation, especially the latter being the former's oldest bilateral partner in the Golf Region. In the course of this analysis, other issues of relevance will be discussed.

1.6 Rationale of the Study

Examining diplomatic and economic interactions between countries is critical to understanding global dynamics and guiding states' socioeconomic progress. The rationale for conducting an in-depth examination of Ghana-Saudi ties, with a focus on trade and development aid, can be justified by numerous key factors:

Bilateral Trade as a Driver of Economic Growth:

Bilateral commerce has been identified as a driver of economic growth, job creation, and poverty alleviation in many developing countries. Empirical research, such as that conducted by Easterly and Kraay (2000), has revealed a favourable relationship between trade openness and economic growth. Understanding the intricacies of Ghana's trade relationship with Saudi Arabia is critical given Ghana's aim for sustainable growth. Trade between the two countries was valued at \$3 billion in 2020, showing significant economic interaction (World Bank, 2022). Analysing the trade's content, patterns, and trends can provide significant insight into how this relationship contributes to Ghana's economic development.

Development Aid's Role in Socioeconomic Development:

Development aid, notably from Middle Eastern countries such as Saudi Arabia, has played an important role in Ghana's development. Despite the fact that Saudi Arabia has undertaken a number of development projects and programmes in Ghana, nothing is known regarding their efficiency and impact. Empirical evidence, such as Adu-Gyamfi and Mustapha's (2017) study, emphasises the necessity for a thorough examination of Saudi Arabian development assistance in Ghana.

Understanding how such help fits into Ghana's national development plans and contributes to socioeconomic advancement is critical in light of Ghana's development goals, as described in Vision 2020 and the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (Government of Ghana, 2015).

Bridging the Existing Literature Gap:

There is a significant void in the literature on Ghana-Saudi relations. While some studies have looked at certain facets of these relationships, there is a scarcity of comprehensive, empirical research that looks into the various dynamics of this bilateral connection, including commerce, development aid, and their mutual impacts.

This study will help to address that hole by offering a comprehensive and multidisciplinary analysis driven by theoretical frameworks from international relations and development studies.

Global Relevance of the Case Study:

The Ghana-Saudi connection is of worldwide importance, particularly in light of changing economic dynamics between African and Middle Eastern countries. Understanding this bilateral partnership provides insights into the larger international scene and serves as a useful case study for policymakers and academics interested in international relations and development cooperation.

The motivation for this research stems from its potential to add to the corpus of knowledge in international relations, economics, and development studies. This research aims to shed light on the impact of trade and development aid on Ghana's socioeconomic development by conducting an empirical analysis of Ghana-Saudi relations, providing valuable insights for policymakers, practitioners, and scholars interested in enhancing diplomatic and economic relations between African and Middle Eastern nations and furthering the cause of sustainable development.

1.7 Literature Review

Inter-state relations and international trade is an area a lot of scholars have researched into and produced publications on. However, literature in terms of specific publications on Ghana-Saudi relations appears scanty. As such, work done on interstate relations with particular reference to the potentials and achievement of South-South cooperation and need for it, bilateral trade and international development

aid has been reviewed since they are relevant and provide general explanations for a study of this nature. On the particular case of Ghana-Saudi relations, Dumbe (2009) devoted almost a twelfth (12) page chapter in his Doctoral Dissertation on Transnational contacts and Muslim religious orientation in Ghana, to enumerate the historical, bilateral and the political background of Ghana-Saudi Relations. His work reviewed reports from the Ghanaian Foreign Affairs Ministry that detailed the factors that underpinned the establishment of diplomatic missions in both countries, the forces that led to its growth and the various institutions that championed and facilitated bilateral relations between both countries as well as the inflow of various development aids from Saudi Arabia into Ghana. It however, fell short of assessing the relations in terms of bilateral trade.

Another area the study envisaged is on literature on south-south cooperation. Together with political dialogue and financial cooperation, South-South cooperation has helped solve specific problems in the countries of the Global South.

Proponents of liberal Institutionalism defended the possibility that cooperation was real, and hence conceived states as rational (but still homogenous) actors that made decisions on the basis of their preferences (Jules,2008). They argued that incentives and constraints to war are could serve as conduits for cooperation. Narrowing this into Ghana-Saudi relations, it is glaring to perceive a bilateral trade boom between the two states especially with the later now a prominent member of the G20 group of nations (Ramady, 2010).

Keohane (as cited in Jules, 2008) stated that a relevant liberal concept for the study of South-South cooperation is the idea of 'reducing transaction costs. This informs why developing countries continue to seek agreements to prevent double taxation in inter-trade relations and foreign direct investments.

Cooperation among developing countries is not a new phenomenon in international relations. Such developed nations have been helping their needed neighbors for centuries, especially at times of humanitarian crises. The phenomenon has however taken an expanded dimension where undeveloped nations belonging to the global south have also started to cooperate towards mutual development in early 1990s and has since expanded rapidly.

In this vein countries outside the Northern pole aligned their foreign policies towards mutual cooperation and exchange of development aid. In line with this, Al-Yahya and Fustier (2011) asserted that for development and humanitarian aid to the Arab and Muslim world (mostly countries in the southern pole-developing countries), Saudi Arabia is the undisputed leader with her aid to developing countries amounting to \$90 billion between 1975 to 2005, a figure estimated to be four times the average achieved by OECD-DAC countries.

With the discovery of oil in many developing countries, the need to encourage south-south cooperation becomes glaring. In the particular case of Ghana-Saudi relations, sharing of expertise as well as provision of technical and financial assistance in the form of development aid could help build the capacities of both countries. Identifying the potentials of Ghana's oil discovery, McCaskie (2008) revealed that the discovery of new oil fields in deep waters of the Atlantic Coast of Western Africa rekindled the interest of US investors in Ghana. He further indicated that as a gesture of US investors' interest in the oil sector in Ghana the giant United States' Energy Company, Kosmos Energy Company signed two petroleum agreement licenses with competent governmental authorities in Accra to drill in the offshore Tano Basin to the west of Takoradi.

This transformation in Ghana's oil extractive sector further deepens the need to strengthen its relations and cooperation with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which is “a model of an abundant oil country” (Alfalih & Bel Hajd, 2020), to draw from its experience and expertise, especially keeping in mind the Saudi Arabia now seeks to position itself in the existing international regime in a more principled, impartial manner. Ghana, considered a secular country, stands the opportunity to broaden its relation with Saudi drawing from the latter's new stand towards destinations of its international aid, as properly pointed out by Arrukban (2010) in (Al-Yahya and Fustier) that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's aid to people and counties is devoid of the tendencies of race, religion and nationality, rather is anchored on humanitarian principles.

It is pertinent to note that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been rated as been among the most generous countries in the world in providing official development assistance with Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates coming after it in the Gulf Region (World Bank Report, 2010).

In supporting the assertion of the South Centre, the stride made by Ghana and Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in their economies particularly in the area of oil discovery in Ghana and the leadership role of the latter as the world's "leading producer and exporter of oil at roughly 10 million barrels per day (Pierce 2012)", coupled with the yearly *Hajj* and *Umra* and the constant outflow of Ghanaian pilgrims and migrant workers, and students to cities and universities of Saudi Arabia in search for greener pastures and education make the two countries attractive enough to do business with each other and to strengthen bilateral trade and cooperation. Ghana's cooperation with Saudi Arabia, which is a G20 member and the largest economy in the Middle East (Alani) and a leading figure in international humanitarian assistance, is poised to

improve on bilateral trade and solve many developmental crises in Ghana. This paper asserts that such cooperation yields mutual gains for the two countries, different from which Ghana benefits from its long-standing allies in the Western developed Nations, as pointed out by (Liu,2012), that after African countries after decolonization received enormous development aid from Western countries and other developing countries such as China and India, alongside all kinds of NGOs and that such aid came with so many strings attached resulting in little payoff and inefficiency of the aid programs.

Keeping in mind however the debate over whether foreign developmental aid has been helpful to developing nations, scholars such as Moose (1996) cited in (Liu, 2012 18), believed that foreign aid, delivered through special programs with effective and efficient execution mechanisms and policies attached can promote economic development of receiving states and regions and can as well make a decisive difference in promoting opportunities for prosperity peoples around the globe. Narrowing this into the analysis of this work, the inflow of Saudi developmental aid should be carried out through special programs and Ghanaian based Saudi-agencies with monitoring oversight to ensure such aid are tailored to meet the developmental needs of Ghana.

It is worth mentioning that, countries in Africa occupy a pivotal position as destinations of Saudi Arabia foreign aid assistance, with each country's share being proportionate to the strength of its relations with Saudi Arabia. Between 1975 and the end of 2010, Saudi Arabia financed 472 development projects in 77 countries, in an amount totaling 33,258.99 million Saudi Riyals and with 43 African countries been beneficiaries (World Bank Report, 2010).

In view of the fact that Ghana has one of the longest bilateral relations with the Kingdom of Saudi as earlier on stated, and it being the gateway to Africa, and for the

fact it has one of Africa's most stable governments, economic liberalism, abundant natural resources and diverse economy, it is the believe of this research that strengthening relations between the two countries would reflect positively on the developments of both countries in terms of trade and development aid. Ghana could also be a safe gateway to West Africa for Saudi Arabia's foreign Investment and development partner as well as an ideal point of arrival into Africa for Saudi Arabia's investors.

Arguing in favor of foreign development aid, Ekanayake and Chatrna (2010) postulated that foreign aid is an important topic given its implications for poverty reduction in developing countries. In furtherance of their view, the two authors assert that the main role of foreign aid in stimulating economic growth is to support domestic sources of finance such as savings and thereby increasing the amount of investment and capital stock. Narrowing this down into Ghana-Saudi Arabia relations, cooperation between the two countries is expected to strengthen trade and FDI's for their mutual benefit.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

1.7.1 Cooperation Theory

Diplomacy and international relations are about cooperation. It is about building a peaceful coexistence amongst the comity of nations of the world. Weber (1991) posits that cooperation materializes when states adjust their policies in a coordinated manner so that each state would be able to pursue its goals and aspirations. This would therefore promote harmonious coexistence amongst the comity of nations. Grieco (1990) looks at cooperation from a voluntary adjustment by nations of their policies to enable them to achieve mutually beneficial outcomes. Keohane in (Alexander 2011)

defined cooperation as when actors adjust their behavior to the actual or anticipated preferences of others, through a process of policy coordination.

This therefore makes the theory of cooperation very relevant to this study. The choice to use cooperation is further anchored on the fact that it answers three central theoretical questions of actors in the international system, which according to Axelrod (2000) centered around the conditions that underpin the emergence of cooperation and its sustainability among egoistic actors, the advice that can be offered to a player in a given setting about the best strategy to use, and finally the kind of advice that can be offered to reformers who want to alter the very terms of the interaction so as to promote the emergence of cooperation. Thus, the theory of cooperation answers what underlines cooperation among states, provides guidelines to ensure win-win situation among states and finally provides avenue for amendments of terms of cooperative arrangements. Again, the sophistications of the world through science and particularly ICT has turned the world into a global village with each nation having to depend on one another. Thus, no country in the world is self-sufficient in its own right without depending on the commonwealth of the world of nations. This, therefore, makes cooperation an indispensable denominator in international relations and diplomacy, which according to Keohane (in Herbert 1996) develop on the basis of pre-existing complementary interests among states. Countries have to cooperate in terms of trade, health, education, science, peace building and conflict resolution. This explains the importance of the United Nations (UN) and its allied agencies; especially, the World Health Organization. The UN serves as the largest forum in the world that fosters cooperation amongst the nations of the world primarily to promote peace and harmony. This theory has therefore become very relevant to this study because there ought to be cooperation amongst countries before they can trade, give aid, promote

development through education, tourism etc. The theory would therefore help the researcher to rationalize his findings.

Three main conditions that ensure cooperation amongst states as identified by proponents of international cooperation are;

First, states perceive that there is a common interest in cooperation in terms of benefits or the avoidance of common problems. Secondly, cooperation is easier when few states need to coordinate their policies. Thirdly, it has been suggested that states are prone to cooperate with other states if they value future benefits relative to immediate gains. This is due to the fact that; the benefits of cooperation efforts are often experienced in the future; while costs are immediately felt mostly when cooperation begins. As a result, governments who cooperate often consider the future benefits rather than the immediate costs of cooperation.

Analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of the cooperation theory in the lenses of the two known schools of thought that dominate the contemporary debate on international cooperation namely; the realist school of thought and the liberal Institutionalists school of thought, it is inferred that cooperation relies more on the tenets of liberal institutionalism. Therefore, whilst the realist school of thought, which has been at the vanguard of the study of international relations since World War Two (WWII) (Duncan, 2007), can be said to be against cooperation among states, liberal institutionalism supports it.

Realists such as Hans Morgenthau (1948), argue that states exist within an anarchic international system in which they are ultimately dependent on their own capabilities, or power, to further their national interests. Based on the realist's lines of thought, two key things have further been developed concerning international cooperation.

First, realists assert that the prime concern of states is their security and power and for that matter, they are prone towards conflict and competition and are often unwilling to cooperate even when they have a common interest (Morgenthau, 1948). Second, realists concede that international institutions can marginally lessen the inhibitory effects of anarchy on the willingness of states to cooperate (Nuruzzaman, 2008). It is inferred from the realist point of analysis that cooperation is not possible among states due to the competitive factor among them. Devitt (2011) citing critics of liberal institutionalism such as Stanley Hoffman articulated that 'international affairs have been the nemesis of Liberalism. In support of this claim, Devitt further postulated that the United Nations' and the World Bank's inability to address issues such as nuclear proliferation, poverty reduction and environmental issues effectively suggests that institutionalist theory is failing in practice.

Liberal institutionalism on the other hand has an entirely different view from that of realism. Liberal institutionalists disprove the realists understanding of world politics. Liberal institutionalists generally believe that institutions promote cooperation by making information available to all parties and by reducing the risk of cheating (Nuruzzaman, 2008). The theory places emphasis on the ability of international organizations to get states to cooperate (Devitt, 2011). The independence school of thought perceives multinational corporations, transnational and trans-governmental coalitions also as actors in international politics. Hence, it is inferred that liberal institutionalists, unlike the realists, support inter-state cooperation, as posited by one of its proponents, Keohane (in Herberdt, 1996) that cooperation will depend on the existence of international "institutions" or "regimes," which he defined) as "recognized patterns of practice around which expectations converge.

Liberal institutionalists, who argue in support of inter-state cooperation, also observe that frequent interaction among states causes these states to be dependent on one another for any form of assistance that would help to achieve faster economic growth, create employment and improve the living standard of their people. According to them, states put much emphasis on the wellbeing of their citizenry than on other issues like security or the state becoming more powerful. Liberals, thus, discard the realist proposition that states are basically reluctant to cooperate. They affirm that States regard one another as partners rather than enemies (Nuruzzaman, 2008), thus the liberal institutional theory compliments the theory of cooperation.

The theory of cooperation used in this study therefore relied on and is supported by the liberal institutional school of thought. Cooperation involves a number of components. When states cooperate, they work together voluntarily. States have freedom to associate with other states and at the same time renege their association with those states when they are not comfortable with the relationship. The purpose of cooperation between states should therefore be clearly defined.

Based on the liberal institutionalists' ideas, the two countries, under no undue pressure from any Superpower or quarters, saw the need to voluntarily work together with the aim of propelling them to greater heights by increasing the lots of their people. It is the desire of Ghana and Saudi Arabia to associate with each other. If there would be the need for the two countries to annul their relations, due process would be followed to discontinue their relations. It is therefore imperative to understand that there would not necessarily be the need for cooperation between states unless there are some common beneficial interests between them. It is also worth noting that, cooperation does not mean that there would not be any conflict of interests among

states. When states cooperate, measures are put in place to overcome conflicts when they do arise to their mutual benefit (Krieger 2001).

Of major significance to the theory of cooperation is the extent to which the benefits of cooperation prevail over the benefits of unilateral action. The concept of international cooperation is relevant to the relations between Ghana and Saudi Arabia because when the two countries effectively cooperate in the areas of trade, investment, technology transfer, tourism and others, maximum benefit would be derived by both countries which will enhance their position and translate into meaningful wealth creation that would lead to a win –win situation for the people of the two countries.

1.9 Methodology

The methodology is qualitative. The reason is that qualitative method is interpretive and so it will afford the researcher the luxury of better explaining, exploring, and interpreting the data and also validating the theory. Lindlof and Taylor (2002) postulated that qualitative researchers seek to preserve and analyze the situated form, content, and experience of social action rather than subjecting it to mathematical or other formal transformations. This assertion by Lindlof and Taylor (2002) is in line with the assertion by Priest (1996) who defines qualitative research method as any method for social science research that uses verbal descriptions and general observations in place of numerical measures. Reinard (1994) also concurs with the above postulations when he posits that qualitative research method uses descriptions of observation expressed in predominantly non-numerical terms. Frankel and Wallen (2000) also defines qualitative research method as a study that investigates the quality of relationships, activities, situations, or materials.

Hammargerg, Kirkman and De Lacy (2016), citing Leininger (1994) posited that qualitative researchers defend the integrity of their work by different means such as trustworthiness, credibility, applicability and consistency, which according to the authors serve as evaluative criteria. The researcher seeks to display integrity through the above stated means such that the findings and results of this study would be recognizable by both Ghana and Saudi Arabia, and as well fit into the contexts of bilateral relations other than that of the two countries. The results of this study are poised to be identical with similar studies of its kind.

The qualitative research design method allows the researcher to make an educated guess and informed deductions when interpreting the text (Garyantes, 2006 cited in Low, Varughese & Pang, 2011). Durham (2005) argued that the selection, emphasis and exclusion of texts enable the researcher to grapple with the complexity, nuances, and contradictions. Keeping in mind that qualitative research method has no substitute in helping the broadening and deepening of understandings, as argued by Zamawe (2015). The researcher uses the qualitative design to reach out to the target population and for the comprehensive understanding of the relations between Ghana and Saudi Arabia.

1.9.1 Sampling Method

The sampling method is judgmental or purposive. This sampling method is based on the judgment of the researcher as to who will provide the best information to succeed for the objectives of the study (Ebeto, 2017), which according to (Taherdoost, 2016) allows the researcher includes interested participants in the sample because they warrant inclusion. The choice to use this method is because it is not cost expensive, it is convenient and not time consuming. Keeping in mind the limitations of this method such as bias and lack of generalization beyond the sample (Acharys, Prakash, Saxena,

Nigam,2013), the researcher ensures the above-mentioned weaknesses are reduced to the minutest detail as best as possible. The study also adopts a total sample size of 18 participants. The researcher interviews two (2) participants daily over a period of two weeks. This allows ample time to obtain needed data and ensures they are tailored into the objectives of the study.

1.9.2 Data Collection

Primary data for this study was collected from the Embassy of Saudi Arabia in Ghana through one-on-one interviews with the use of interview guide, as this enables the research to collect data specific to the problem under study (Kabir, 2016). Similar interviews at Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration of the Republic of Ghana with some key officials. The study also obtained some secondary data largely through the online portals, internet sources, newspapers, and some print media reportage on Ghana-Saudi relations. Moreover, the researcher would examine some official documents in terms of aid, tourism (hajj/umrah) and trade between the two countries.

1.9.3 Data Analysis

The researcher used content analysis. This is to ensure a value judgment analysis of the data. The rationale is that texts can be polysemic and therefore can be subjected to different meanings and interpretation; hence, the researcher would subject the analysis through a rigorous interpretation process. Because many things like culture, power, religion, faith, environment and ideology can influence people's standpoints and appreciation of a literature; therefore, the researcher will consider all these in the analysis of the documents. To achieve all these, the researcher would do several readings of the documents, at least three times in order to understand the issues in the document. Thus, the key issues will be identified through a careful examination. The

researcher would segment the issues into the various themes of trade and aid such as education, scholarships, humanitarianism, hajj/umrah, Ramadan etc.

The documents gathered from the study field helped the researcher to understand the general issues present in order for the researcher to acquaint himself with contents.

The researcher then made an outline of the key issues raised in the documents. These details enabled the researcher to draw certain deductions in the course of the study. At every stage of the reading, the researcher would make notes of the issues with a pencil and a writing pad. It must be stated that at every stage of the process that the researcher was conscious to relate the issues to the theory of cooperation.

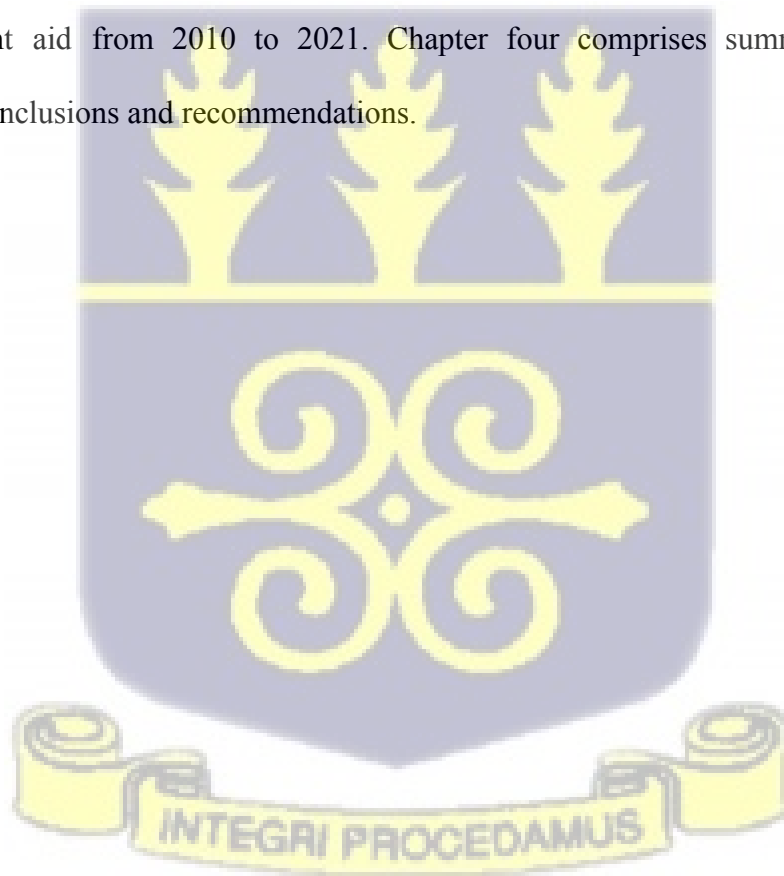
Furthermore, as part of the analysis of the data gathered, the researcher utilized a textual analysis of diplomatic documents between the government of Ghana and that of Saudi Arabia. For this reason, the researcher consulted the Saudi Embassy in Ghana and also the ministry of foreign affairs in Ghana for the accuracy of the textual information gathered.

1.9.4 Ethical Issues

Ethics, in the context of research focuses on providing guidelines for researchers (Aguinis & Henle, 2002). Aguinis and Henle (2002) again postulated that ethics play a vital role in research by reducing harm to participants and all others who collaborated towards the research. In light of the above, the researcher adhered to ethics of research where the informed consent of the study participants was sought for and respected the participant's privacy, dignity and strictly adhered to other ethical issues of voluntary participation, confidentiality, among others in the study area (Accra) during fieldwork.

1.9 Arrangement of Chapters

The research is divided into four (4) chapters, where the first chapter constitute the research design, which consist of the introduction to the background of the study, the statement of the research problem, the objectives of the study, scope of the study, the rationale of the study, the theoretical framework within which the study was conducted, the literature review, the sources of data as well as the arrangements of chapters. Chapter two presents national Profile of the Republic of Ghana and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as well as their economic and political background. It also includes a brief overview of the foreign policy of the two countries. The third chapter assesses the relations between the two Countries in light of the exchange of development aid from 2010 to 2021. Chapter four comprises summary of key findings, conclusions and recommendations.



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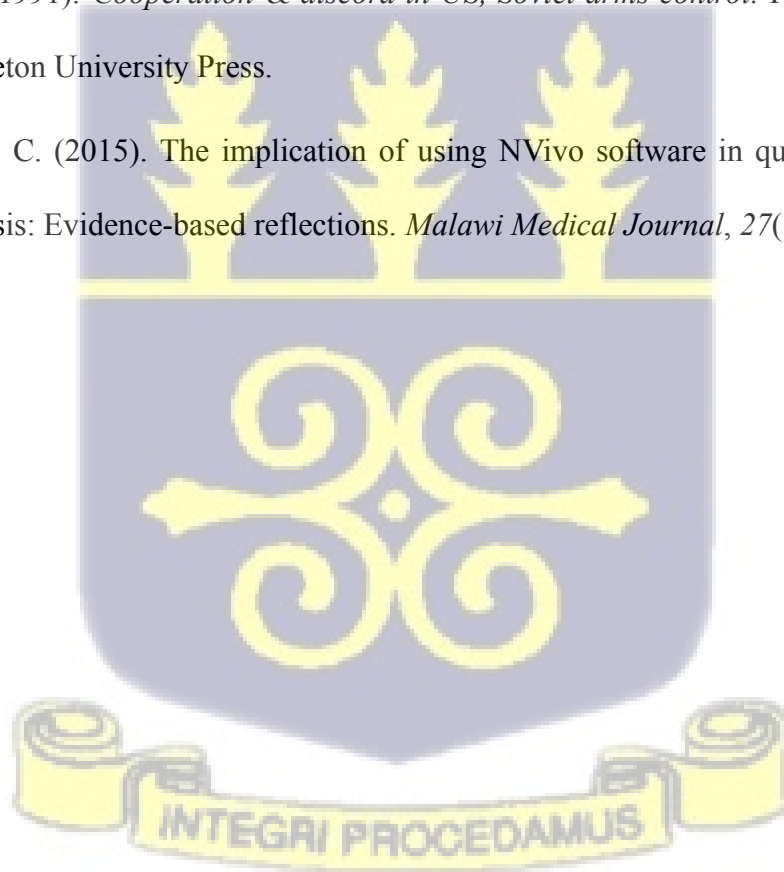
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CHAPTER 2

AN OVERVIEW OF GHANA-SAUDI RELATIONS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a general overview of the relations between the Republic of Ghana and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It focuses on the foreign relations between the two countries, with emphasis on diplomatic embassies, development aid, economic/political aid, trajectories of relations from one King to the other and from one Ghanaian president or head of state to the other.

2.2 Ghana and Saudi Arabia Bilateral Relations

Both Ghana and Saudi Arabia have underscored the importance of establishing bilateral relations with other sovereign states in the international system. What underpinned the bilateral relations of both countries is attracting strategic partnership for development. Ghana's first President Dr. Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, who led the country out of decolonization, had his foreign relations, as in Dumbe (2009), embedded in decolonization, Pan-African unity, non-alignment and economic empowerment of Ghana. This framework provided the conduits through which Ghana's bilateral relations with some countries, including the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was organized. Recounting Ghana's relation with the Soviet Union Kulkova and Sanusi (2016), purported that the basis of their relations was to empower the economic growth of both countries. The authors mentioned that in 1960, the two countries signed agreements on trade, economic and cultural cooperation, with 5-year duration (Kulkova & Sanusi, 2016). Citing Vinokurov (2001), Kulkova and Sanusi (2016) again cited the expansion of relations between Ghana and the Soviet Union during the visit of a Soviet delegation led by Leonid Brezhnev who visited Ghana in February 1961, and by summer of 1961 Ghanaian delegation led by Kwame Nkrumah

visited the USSR during which the two countries adopted the agreement on cultural and academic ties. Arkhurst (2008) underscored the benefit accrued from Ghana-China relations since both countries established relations in 1960. He postulated that the Chinese premier's visit to Ghana in June 2007 has resulted in the signing of six agreements designed to help improve health delivery, enhance education and improve on Ghana's telecommunications network. He further postulated that the relations between the two states culminated into providing critical diplomatic support to China in the latter's quest to reinstate the PCR in the United Nations as well as its border conflict with India, leading to continuous technical assistance of China for Nkrumah's development projects.

Ghana also enjoys an outstanding bilateral relation with the United States of America leading to frequent Presidential visits between the two countries. According Cook (2019), former United States of America's President George W. Bush visited Ghana to showcase U.S. aid programs on several sectors. He also recounted that in 2009 then-President Barack Obama visited Ghana and highlighted the country as a democratic model for other countries in Africa.

On the African continent, Ghana maintains excellent bilateral relations largely due to the leadership position of its first President Kwame who, according to Cone (1961), assumed leadership of African affairs and irrevocably tied the future of Ghana to the future of Africa as the continent of independent nations. It is glaring to note similarities between the ordeal of the political personalities that led the independence of Ghana and the creation of the third Saudi State in 1932 (Alsultan, 2013). Apter (2008) postulated that Ghana's achievement of independence on March 6, 1957 was unique in Africa's history. Apter (2008) further noted that the independence occasion of Ghana also marked Kwame Nkrumah's own personal odyssey. The author further

recounted Nkrumah's long march from his student days in United States and London to his return to the (then) Gold Coast to serve as the General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention and finally forming the convention People's Party (CPP), with which he achieved the independence of Ghana. King Abdul Aziz Al Saud on the other hand was exiled in Kuwait after the collapse of the second Saudi State in 1893.¹ He however returned to Riyadh and recaptured it in 1902, and by 1932 was able to bring under his authority many parts of the Arabian Peninsula marking the third Saudi State, and politically announcing as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia². Kwame Nkrumah on the other hand announced his newly independent country as the Republic of Ghana from the colonized Gold Coast.

In sharp contrast to the underpinnings of Ghana's foreign relations, Saudi Arabia's foreign relations are influenced by external security issues (Cordesman 2002). Both states however share strategic positions in their geographical sub-regions, hence, Saudi Arabia is as to the gulf region as Ghana is to the West Africa sub-region.

Cordesman identified that Saudi Arabia couldn't have sustained its security and defended itself against Iraq without massive Western aid. In the Kings and Presidents, Riedel (2017) on the other hand identified that seeking the support of King Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Rahman al Saud on the creation of a new world order after the second world war was very pivotal in the meeting between President Roosevelt on February 14, 1945 in Egypt.

Riedel purported that both forged a partnership that has endured, despite occasional severe strains, for the last seventy years. According to Riedel, the post-second war era had hurt Saudi Arabia badly as its main financial supporter, the Great Britain, were also broke. Hence, securing the Kingdom's security and economy was, according to

¹&²-Unification of Saudi Arabia, accessed online on 22-12-2021 via link: https://en.linkfang.org/wiki/Ottoman-Saudi_Treaty

Riedel, what triggered the importance King Abdul Aziz Al Saud attributed to his new partnership with America as it was only the United States that had the resources to help the Saudi economy cope until oil production grew sufficiently to make the Kingdom solvent. It is interesting to note that prior to oil exploitation, Saudi Arabia heavily depended on proceeds from Pilgrimage to Makkah which was around 100,000 people per year in the late 1920s¹. The defense of Saudi Arabia was therefore described by President Roosevelt as a vital U.S national interest (Bahgat, 2002).

Fundamentally this description by President Roosevelt according to Bahgat (2002) was because of the U.S being the world's largest oil consumer and importer and Saudi Arabia being the world's largest oil producer and exporter.

With roughly 63 % of all worldwide oil reserves concentrated in the Middle East, and Saudi Arabia alone holding about 22.3% (Ditte & Roell, 2006) the region and particularly Saudi Arabia is of essential strategic significance for the oil supply of developing nations as well as industrialized western countries. In this vein, Dumbe (2009) posited that the economic crisis, which hit Ghana in the late 1960s and 1980s, compelled policymakers to adopt various measures including strengthening bilateral relations with oil producing countries for preferential terms, and this include Saudi Arabia.

China, which is also the second largest oil consumer after the United States, secures almost 20% of its oil needs from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia alone (Al-Tamimi 2012). In this context, China views Saudi Arabia with great importance. China, which is also the second largest oil consumer after the United States, secures almost 20% of its oil needs from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia alone (Al-Tamimi, 2012). In this con-

¹-Modern History of Saudi Arabia, accessed online on 22-12-2021 via link https://en.linkfang.org/wiki/Modern_history_of_Saudi_Arabia

-text, China views Saudi Arabia with great importance.

2.3 Diplomatic Relations

Diplomatic missions such as embassies and consulates are very pivotal in the administration of bilateral relations of States. In this vein, Ghana-Saudi bilateral relations kicked started with establishment of diplomatic *missions*. *Dumbe (2009) citing Ministry of Foreign Affairs recounted the genesis of diplomatic relations of the two countries. He stated that Ghana's diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level with Saudi Arabia dates back to March 1960. Dumbe postulated further that during the regime of the People National Defense Council, (PNDC), Ghana's relations improved with the Saudi Government, which resulted into the later been granted the permission to establish her Consulate-General in Jeddah in 1988 and by 2003 Saudi Arabia upgraded her mission in Accra to the level of resident Ambassadorial level. Both missions have therefore played greater role in the conduct of relations between both countries. Ghana's mission in Riyadh is responsible for facilitating Ghana's relations (political, economic, social, cultural etc.) with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and accredited concurrently to other states in the Gulf as well as provides consular services such as the issuance of passports and visas (Embassy of Ghana in Riyadh, 2021)¹.*

2.4 Foreign Aid

Foreign aid of all types is among the main innovators of relations among States. Citing Hans Morgenthau, Lancaster (2008) admitted that foreign aid is among the real innovations which the modern age has introduced into the practice of foreign policy. Foreign aid, according to Lancaster (1999), is the transfer of concessional resources from one government to another.

¹-Embassy of Ghana in Riyadh, accessed online via link: <https://ghanaembassy-saudiarabia.com/mission/our-sections/>

Lancaster, underlining objectives of foreign aid underscored that aid is used by the providing State to encourage or reward politically desirable behavior on the part of the government receiving it and to spur economic development in poor countries. A historic record of aid to Ghana fits well into the later admission by Lancaster. The influx of various kinds of development aid from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia into the Republic of Ghana is the fruits of the bilateral relations of the two countries meant to spur socio-economic development of Ghana. Facilitated through Saudi government institutions, these aid helps in the socio-economic development of Ghana whilst positioning Saudi as the latter's strategic partner in the Middle East.

Dumbe (2009) citing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2004) identified this when he argued that some of the institutions of the Saudi Government which promote bilateral co-operation with Ghana's government are the Islamic Development Bank and Saudi Development Fund. Citing various projects executed by Saudi Arabia's institutions, Dumbe posited that development aid continue to be the hallmark of Ghana -Saudi relations throughout the various regimes in the fourth republic.

Hence, during the era of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) (1992-2000), the Saudi government financed some projects relating to Rural Health Centers through the Saudi Development Fund. The loans were contracted in 1993 to the tune of \$9.5 million according to Dumbe (2009). In his analysis of the continuation of the flow of development aid from Saudi to Ghana during the President Kufour New Patriotic Party (NPP) Government of 2001-2008, Dumbe recounted that the Tetteh Quashie-Mamfie Road project was executed with a loan secured by the government of Ghana from the Saudi Development Fund. In furtherance with his analysis, Dumbe further discovered that another important bilateral agency of the Saudi Government, which Ghana benefited tremendously from, is the Islamic Development Bank (IDB)

(Dumbe, 2009). Whilst admitting that the Islamic Development Banks support and funds are channeled to assist a member of countries of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), Ghana however, even though not a member and may not be entitled to major funding, received tremendous share of funding from the Bank. The IDB development projects are sometimes offered to public institutions through bilateral agreement such as the funding of Presbyterian science block is a typical example. The Bank, as disclosed by Dumbe (2009) has sponsored projects in Accra, Kumasi and Northern region amounting to \$2,819 million including an expansion of students' hostel at the University of Development Studies in Tamale, which cost \$100,000 secured through a grant by the Government of Ghana.

Saudi developmental cooperation with Ghana also had humanitarian perspective. Certain crisis experienced by section of Ghanaians received benevolent intervention by the Saudi government. As recounted by Dumbe (2009) in his doctoral thesis, the Saudi Government donated emergency relief items worth \$800,000 towards victims of the September 1995 flooding in Accra.

From the regimes of late President Professor John Evans Atta Mills down to former President John Dramani Mahama and President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo in a regime that spans from 2009 to 2021, the Ghana-Saudi relations witnessed several state visits, which can be qualified as an unprecedented hallmark in the relations between the two states. From 29 to 31st October 2019, Vice president Alhaji Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia led a delegation to attend the 3rd Session of the International Conference of the Public Investments Fund Future Investment Initiative in Riyadh (Embassy's report 2019)¹. Before that in November 2018, Vice President Alhaj Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia again paid a visit to King Salman Bin Abdul Azizi Al Saud at Al-Yamamah Palace in Riyadh and conveyed a message from President Nana

Akufo-Addo (Embassy's report 2018). These visits were followed with a state visit by the Honorable Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration Shirley Ayorkor to Riyadh where she held bilateral talks with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia, Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2020)². These visits were reciprocated by a state visit by the Saudi Minister of State for African Affairs Mr. Ahmad Al Kattan to Accra, where he had meetings with His Excellency President Akufo Addo and His Excellency the Vice President Dr. Mahamoudu Bawumia and signed memorandum of Understanding on political consultations with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration Ms. Shirley Ayorkor Botchwey (Embassy's report 2020).

Dumbe (2009) argued that the most memorable Saudi Arabian personality to most Ghanaians who tremendously helped improved relations between his country and Ghana in recent times is Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Bin Abdul Aziz who was in Ghana from 28-30 April 2003. According Dumbe (2009), Prince Alwaleed came to Ghana leading a 22-member business delegation, during which he donated funds to Ghana to support various vulnerable communities. Enumerating the various beneficiaries of Prince Alwaleed's benevolence, Dumbe mentioned that the Saudi Prince donated \$900,000 to sponsor several projects in the health and educational sectors for some Muslim communities in and around Nima and Mamobi area in Accra, and a donation of \$100,000.00 the Otumfuo Education Fund.

The reign of the earlier on stated Heads of State of Ghana also witnessed a continuation of developmental cooperation between the two states. In September 2019, an agreement for the project of rehabilitation and expansion of Bolgatanga Regional Hospital in the Upper East Region of Ghana was signed between the two countries, where the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia presented a loan consignment of SR

75.00million (\$20m) to the Government of Ghana (Saudi Fund for Development,2019) The project, according to the annual report of the Saudi Fund for Development was tailored to increase the hospital's capacity, upgrade and diversify main health care services to meet health care needs and develop public health care in the Upper East Region of Ghana, which the fund had earlier on provided a loan grant of SR 45.00 million (\$12m) (Saudi Fund for Development, 2019). In overall the development aid provided by the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the Republic of Ghana through the Saudi Fund for Development alone amounted to SR 466.66million (\$124m) since the establishment of the Fund in 1975. Since its cooperation with Ghana, the Saudi Fund has executed several infrastructural projects in various sectors of the Ghanaian economy including the energy sector such as a Hydro-Electric Power project located at Kpone and the Northern Regions Grid Power Extension, and other projects to boost capacity of the health sector in the country. Other projects executed included; Storage silos for the storage of grains, educational facilities such the Science College of Accra, Seaports renovation intimal and Takoradi, Economic Development Support, Tetteh Quarshie-Mamfe Road (Saudi Fund for Development, 2019). It could therefore be inferred from the trajectory of the basis of Ghana-Saudi relations that what underpinned the relations of the two countries was Ghana's quest to secure loans for its developmental programs and opportunities for Muslim pilgrims to the Kingdom. Al-Yahya and Fustier (2011) investigated that larger proportions of Saudi Arabia's aid goes to countries in the Arab and Muslim world followed by countries in Asia and Africa. This pattern to the authors is particularly strong with respect to aid raised and delivered by non-governmental and semi-governmental organizations and public relief campaigns that receive donations from private citizens and businesses, though set up by official

bodies. One thing that is pertinent upon careful observation of the politics of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is that aid extends beyond the Arab and Muslim world to countries or regions deemed strategic partners. This is necessitated due to the increased acknowledgement of Saudi Arabia's global economic and political importance, and therefore the need for its aid extension to many regions that do not fit the profile of Saudi Arabia's traditional aid recipients.

2.5 Development Aid

The impact of aid in contributing to development cannot be underestimated. Petrik (2008) for instance supported this fact when he identified growth and poverty-reducing goals as one of eight motivations for giving aid. For the other motivators, Petrik enumerated others including showing solidarity; furthering the donors' commercial interests; historical legacy (mostly colonial). Alesina and Dollar (2000) argued that 'friendly' voting in the United Nations (that is more aid is sent to countries who support the donor in the UN General Assembly) is one of the one of the strongest statistical correlates of development aid giving. The aforementioned fit into the underpinning of Japan's aid. The authors argued that for France, the most important factor is its colonial past. Whilst the U.S targeted about one-third of its total development aid to Egypt and Israel to secure its special interest, its aid to other States is underpinned by poverty, democracy and openness (Alsina & Dollar, 2000). Aid given by Saudi Arabia however is underpinned by humanitarianism. According to Al-Yahya and Fustier (2011), Saudi Arabia has emerged as the world's largest donor of humanitarian assistance outside the Western states. Whilst Saudi leadership in giving development aid to the Arab and Muslim world is undisputed, it is glaring to discover that it's aid is also channeled to UN programs targeted to all needed states in the world. Identifying the aforementioned claim, Al-Yahya and Fustier again

postulated that in 2008, Saudi Arabia provided \$500 million in cash to the World Food Program, which according to the authors is the largest contribution in the Program's history (Al-Yahya & Fustier, 2011).

2.6 Trade Relations

Throughout history, trade provided one of the first impulses for inter-state contacts and agreements, as well as war and conquest. It was also the driving force in the spread of colonialism as opined by Rana and Chartterjee (2011). The authors cited the purpose of Vasco da Gama's journey to India in 1498, and the journey of Christopher Columbus to the Americas and Europe's 'discovery' of the riches of the East Indies to be trade. They further articulated that often, the flag followed trade. In this context, a very important aspect of Ghana-Saudi relations is trade. Countries established diplomatic missions such as consulates and embassies in strategic countries to advance their interest of which is promotion of trade and inward investment. India's share of 'oil shock' of 1973, when the price of crude oil quadrupled overnight, provided the real impetus to its economic diplomacy with the Gulf countries and underpinned its immediate opening of embassies in all the Gulf countries (Rana & Chartterjee, 2011).

Rankings of the Observatory of Economic Complexities (OEC, 2019) depicted that during the last 24 years the exports of Ghana to Saudi Arabia have increased at an annualized rate of 0.39%, from \$6.67M in 1995 to \$7.32M in 2019. During the same period, the OEC's rankings recorded an export favor for Saudi Arabia, which scored an increased at an annualized rate of 17.8%, from \$1.83M in 1995 to \$93.6M in 2019. Again, the OEC ranking (2019) revealed that the main products exported to Saudi Arabia by Ghana are Bananas, cocoa paste and totaling \$7.32m in 2019, whilst Saudi

Arabia exports to Ghana stood at \$93.6m with main products being Ethylene Polymers, Propylene Polymers and Cement (\$9.28M).

OEC rankings reported again in the year 2019, countries that imported more from Saudi Arabia than Ghana were China (\$45.8B), Japan (\$24.5B), and India (\$25.1B). In sharp comparison, Switzerland, Burkina Faso, and Togo were countries that imported more from Ghana than Saudi Arabia in the same year with volumes totaling \$4.92 Billion, \$327million and \$161 million respectively (OEC, 2019). Ghana and Saudi Arabia could fill the trade vacuums by stepping imports and exports in areas of their respective competitive advantage. The following tables detailed data on export and import relations between Ghana and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia from 2017 to 2021.

Table 1: Saudi Arabia's Exports to Ghana

PRODUCTS	Saudi Arabia's Exports to Ghana (USD '000)				
	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
All products	78,613	124,840	86,937	81,373	137,890
Polymers of ethylene, in primary forms	48,849	73,147	48,145	40,184	62,689
Cement, include. cement clinkers, whether or not coloured	-	-	8,712	11,929	26,563
Polymers of propylene or of other olefins, in primary forms	13,694	29,486	21,987	16,331	22,230
Milk and cream, not concentrated nor containing added sugar or other sweetening matter	-	-	-	2,511	9,554

Polyacetals, other polyether and epoxide resins, in primary forms; polycarbonates, alkyd resins,	707	261	76	143	2,869
"Sodium hydroxide ""caustic soda"", potassium hydroxide ""caustic potash""; peroxides of sodium	2,270	1,133	1,465	728	1,429
Self-adhesive plates, sheets, film, foil, tape, strip and other flat shapes, of plastics, whether	-	120	199	1,497	1,353
Cane or beet sugar and chemically pure sucrose, in solid form	2,382	4	19	-	1,238
Plates, sheets, film, foil and strip, of non-cellular plastics, not reinforced, laminated,	372	436	332	582	1,153
Inorganic or mineral coloring matter, n.e.s.; preparations based on inorganic or mineral colouring	545	714	358	950	1,134
Polymers of vinyl chloride or of other halogenated olefins, in primary forms	383	-	-	-	1,103
Acyclic alcohols and their halogenated, sulphonated, nitrated or nitrosated derivatives	90	210	105	151	1,087
Polymers of styrene, in primary forms	1,286	1,839	1,427	630	897

Milk and cream, concentrated or containing added sugar or other sweetening matter	-	-	-	1,444	864
Sugar confectionery not containing cocoa, incl. white chocolate	-	663	167	477	858
Nonwovens, whether or not impregnated, coated, covered or laminated, n.e.s.	88	114	26	376	777
Tubes, pipes and hoses, and fittings therefor, e.g. joints, elbows, flanges, of plastics	432	324	249	313	299
Meat and edible offal of fowls of the species Gallus domesticus, ducks, geese, turkeys	-	192	418	102	250
"Structures and parts of structures ""e.g., bridges and bridge-sections, lock-gates, towers	175	284	224	125	191
Waters, incl. mineral waters and aerated waters, containing added sugar or other sweetening	-	-	-	-	175
"Tools, interchangeable, for hand tools, whether or not power-operated, or for machine tools	-	68	64	42	156

Articles for the conveyance or packaging of goods, of plastics; stoppers, lids, caps and other	-	236	999	21	133
Float glass and surface ground or polished glass, in sheets, whether or not having an absorbent,	134	187	77	647	110
Woven fabrics containing predominantly, but < 85% synthetic staple fibres by weight, mixed	-	-	-	-	99
"Glassware of a kind used for table, kitchen, toilet, office, indoor decoration or similar ...	-	42	17	38	99
Dates, figs, pineapples, avocados, guavas, mangoes and mangosteens, fresh or dried	110	71	71	75	78
Articles of plaster or of compositions based on plaster (excluding plaster bandages for straightening ...	57	97	-	-	67

Source: Ghana Export Promotion Center (2022)

It is observed from the data that Ghana imports more of Polymers of ethylene in primary forms, used in the production of plastics, from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ghana's totaled import from Saudi Arabia in 2017 was \$78,613,000. The volumes rocketed in 2018 with a figure of \$124,840,000. There was however a decline in 2019 and 2020 with both years recording \$86,937,000 and \$81,373,000 respectively. An

unprecedented export volume of Saudi to Ghana was however recorded in 2021 with volumes totaling \$137,890,000.

Table 2: Ghana's export to Saudi Arabia

PRODUCT	Saudi Arabia's Imports from Ghana (USD '000)				
	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
All products	5,442	6,614	4,926	2,977	3,197
Waste and scrap, of aluminum (excluding slags, scale and the like from iron and steel production)	0	0	0	115	1042
Cocoa paste, whether or not defatted	1233	657	777	708	489
Wood sawn or chipped lengthwise, sliced or peeled, whether or not planed, sanded or end-jointed	1211	228	321	580	451
Cocoa powder, not containing added sugar or other sweetening matter	191	215	175	147	413
Sheets for veneering, incl. those obtained by slicing laminated wood, for plywood or for other	1938	725	588	806	357
Prefabricated buildings, whether or not complete or already assembled	0	0	0	0	143

Beauty or make-up preparations and preparations for the care of the skin, incl. sunscreen	178	54	60	91	65
Wood in the rough, whether or not stripped of bark or sapwood, or roughly squared	0	52	0	0	44
Coal; briquettes, ovoids and similar solid fuels manufactured from coal	0	0	0	0	41
Fixed vegetable fats and oils, incl. jojoba oil, and their fractions, whether or not refined,	0	19	28	0	33
Roots and tubers of manioc, arrowroot, salep, Jerusalem artichokes, sweet potatoes	0	22	24	17	22
Wood charcoal, incl. shell or nut charcoal, whether or not agglomerated (excluding wood charcoal	81	2304	396	20	20
Dates, figs, pineapples, avocados, guavas, mangoes and mangosteens, fresh or dried	0	48	51	15	19
Containers, incl. containers for the transport of fluids, specially designed and equipped	0	0	0	0	11
Basketwork, wickerwork and other articles, made directly to shape from plaiting materials	0	0	0	0	7
Cocoa butter, fat and oil	72	3	0	0	7
Butter, incl. dehydrated butter and ghee, and other fats and oils derived from milk; dairy	0	0	58	71	7

Commodities not elsewhere specified	0	14	73	18	5
Trunks, suitcases, vanity cases, executive-cases, briefcases, school satchels, spectacle cases	0	0	0	0	3
Soap; organic surface-active products and preparations for use as soap, in the form of bars	0	0	46	33	2
Parts of aircraft and spacecraft of heading 8801 or 8802, n.e.s.	0	0	0	0	2

Source: Ghana Export Promotion Center (2022)

The table depicts various products exported to Saudi Arabia by Ghana for the years of 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020 and 2021. The total volume of all products exported to Saudi Arabia in 2017 amounted to \$5,442,000.00 with the volumes rising slightly in 2018 amounting to \$6,614,000.00 and downsized in 2019 with volumes recording \$4,926,000.00. Ghana's export according to the data drastically reduced to \$2,977,000.00 with 2021 seeing a little rise in volumes of export to a figure of \$3,197,000.00.

Comparatively trade volumes favored the Saudi Arabia sides as it exports more to Ghana and import less from the later, whilst Ghana's scenario is the direct opposite.

2.7 Economic Relations

Of another sphere of relevance to Ghana-Saudi relations is the economic diplomacy adopted by both countries with strategic partners in the international community. It is prudent admitting at first glance that the dynamic world of commerce and the subtle glamour of diplomacy do not have much in common, but as Bergeijk (2014) argued,

the international economic relationships are an important factor in the diplomatic sphere of influence and vice versa. Also glaring is the role of globalization in ensuring the relevance of international economic relations as postulated by Saner and Yiu (2003) that globalization has transformed the organization of international economic relationships around the world, affecting the economic, social and political spheres of societies and citizens.

In his doctoral thesis, Soraisry (1979) recounted the impact of Western technologies on the discovery of oil in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. He argued that before the discovery of oil, all production activities in Saudi Arabia were homogeneous in a traditional fashion. He pointed out that soon after the oil discovery, the oil sector was developed by Western technology and management. Saudi Arabia technological cooperation with the West was borne out of what both partners intend getting from their economic relations. The same scenario underpins Ghana's economic relations with the West. Ghana's economy on the other hand depended on agriculture before and after independence. Etudaiye (2016) averred that Kwame Nkrumah inheriting a stable economy with a boost in cocoa prices used proceeds therefore as security to secure loans. Etudaiye (2016) further argued that Kwame Nkrumah began process of moving Ghana from a primarily agricultural economy to a mixed agricultural-industrial one, until the unfortunate collapsed of cocoa price in the mid-1960s, destroying the fundamental stability of the economy and made it for the first President of the republic to continue his industrialization agenda. In 2007, oil was discovered in Ghana in an unprecedented commercial quantity. This discovery, which diversified Ghana's economy, according to Etudaiye (2016) was aided by Tullow Oil of the United Kingdom. This technological cooperation from the U.K was borne out of Ghana's economic relations with the West especially the U.K.

Of utmost connection of the economic cooperation of both states is that at a point in their economic history, both engaged in economic liberalization. In the case of the Saudi Arabia, Chaudhry (1994) averred the Kingdom initiated economic liberalization programs in the 1980s, when declining oil prices depleted reserves and generated severe fiscal crisis. In the case of Ghana, Takane (2004) stated that structural adjustment programs (SAP) and market liberalization policies in the country has transformed the agricultural sector for the past 20 years and has yielded into increase production of fruits such as pineapple for export to Europe. Both countries share similar economic history and may rely on that to build strong cooperative economic relations. It is gratifying to note economies of Ghana and Saudi depends largely on cocoa and oil respectively. Ghana is unique with the production of cocoa beans and remains an important global determinant of the market price of the commodity as it contributes 20% of global production of the commodity (Grumiller, Grohs, Raza, Staritz &Tröster, 2018). Ghana was until the 1970s the leading world producer of cocoa (Essegbey & Gyamfi 2012). Essegbey and Gyamfi (2012) further argued that cocoa was the highest foreign exchange earner for Ghana even as far as constituting about 45% in the 1960s. Even until the 1990s, according to the authors, cocoa's share of the country's total export earnings averaged about 35% annually. Saudi Arabia on the other hand maintains undisputed global leadership among oil producing countries and a founding member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019)¹. The Kingdom's economy is overwhelmingly dependent on oil (Suraisry 1979), with incomes representing as much as “42% of the kingdom's GDP, 90% of export earnings and 87% of budget revenues in 2018 (Kosárová, 2020)

2.8 Tourism

Tourism exchanges between Saudi Arabia and Ghana has so far been low due to either the latter's inability to market its tourists sites to tourists of the former or the fact that Africa has so far not been a popular tourist destination for Saudi Arabian holiday-makers, a situation necessitated by the prevailing ignorance about Africa, not to mention the negative images most Saudis have of the continent. Even though religious tourism in the form of the annual pilgrimage has seen significant participation by Ghanaian able Muslims, the non-religious tourism remains insignificant.

Participation of Ghanaian Muslims in pilgrimage to the Holy City of Makkah has seen an increase from 2500 to 6000 in 2019 pilgrimage (Ministry's brief, 2019) before the outbreak of the Corona virus pandemic.

To achieve a win-win tourism benefits through attracting more Saudi tourists, competent Ghanaian authorities can address the situation through sustained multi-media promotional efforts aimed at showing what countries like Ghana have to offer. Saudi Arabia realized the potential tourism when it stepped its efforts to enhance tourism including welcoming more than 30 million pilgrims annually under vision 2030 adopted by the then deputy crown Prince Muhammad in 2016 with ambition to reduce dependency on oil revenues and enhance economic diversification (Kosárová 2020). To achieve this, Daye (2019) mentioned that the Kingdom is making a large investment in tourism with its several giga projects as well as increase in the capacity of the Grand Mosque (Masjid Al Haram) in Mecca and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. The tourism sector in Saudi, as postulated by the authors; Ibrahim, Bashir, Ojobo, Dodo, Abdul Munin and Christian (2021) is one of the most promising parts of the kingdom's diversification efforts, and its Vision 2030 plans. According to Husein (2017) among all non-oil diversification plan of the vision,

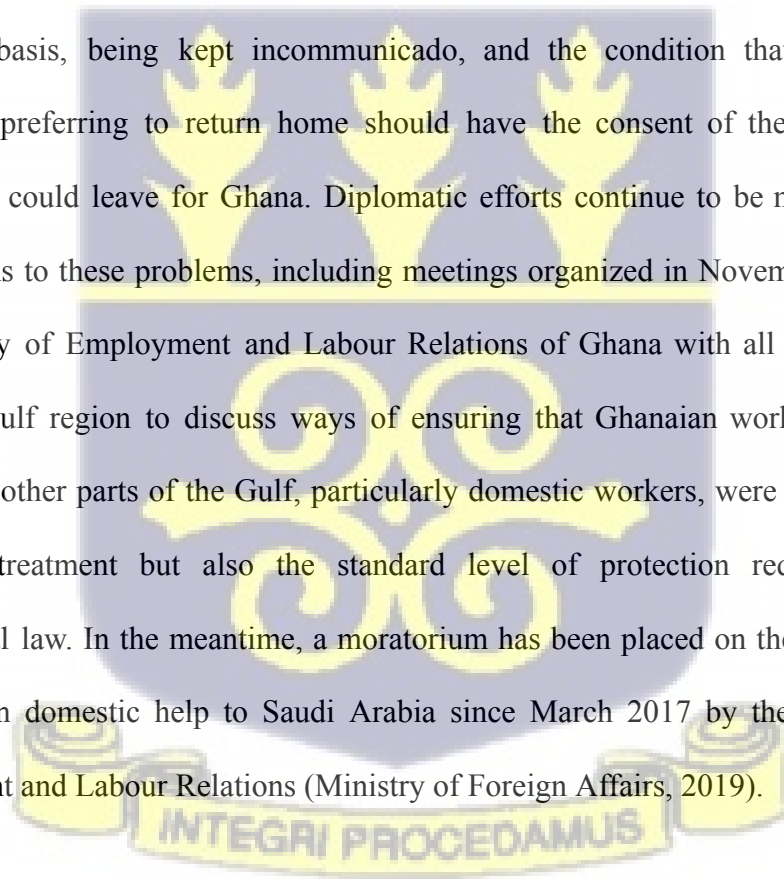
tourism occupies a significant role. To become a tourism hub, the Saudi government has created new tourist visas allowing visitors easier access to all Saudi Cities as against its earlier strict Visa access (Daye 2019). In the framework of these efforts, Johnson (2010) averred that Saudi is emphasizing tourism training and education to provide the necessary skills to meet challenges and to ensure the successful application and maintenance of sustainable tourism practices. Ghana could be a major partner in sharing experiences and cooperation especially with her fast becoming a leading destination for tourists (Longmatey, Amoako-Attah & Prah, 2004).

2.9 Migration

Migration is a global phenomenon and an important aspect of inter-state relations. It is very intrinsic to Ghana-Saudi relations. According to a report financed by the Bureau for Population, Refugees, and Migrants (PRM) of the Department of State of the United States Government and written by Kandilige, Teye, Setrana and Badasu (2019) of the Center for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Ghanaian migration to the Middle East became prevalent in the 1980s, with many male professionals migrating to work in the Saudi Arabian petrochemical industry. The authors further indicated that the fundamental underpinning that motivated migration of Ghanaian youth to Saudi Arabia is better economic opportunities. To show this, the authors argued that 96 per cent of their interviewees indicated that they migrated to search for jobs/better job opportunities, with many reporting having no jobs in Ghana, coming from an underprivileged background, and not having access to income generating activities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration's brief (2019) further had it that there are quite a number of Ghanaians living in Saudi Arabia and most of them are professionals ranging from lecturers, medical doctors, drivers, Administrative staff, Technicians, as well as domestic house helps. In an interview with a Director at

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration there are about 17,000 Ghanaian with permanent residents and working in various fields in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Ghanaian immigrants to Saudi Arabia face one of the greatest challenges fundamentally due to lack of Memorandum of Understandings on labor relations between the two countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). Other factors could be differences in cultures and language barriers. Ghana's Mission in Riyadh and Consulate in Jeddah have in recent times reported about the incidence of ill-treatment meted out to Ghanaian nationals by their Saudi employers. The complaints include irregular payment of wages and salaries, physical abuse and assault, detention without justifiable basis, being kept incommunicado, and the condition that dissatisfied employees preferring to return home should have the consent of their employers before they could leave for Ghana. Diplomatic efforts continue to be made to work out solutions to these problems, including meetings organized in November, 2017 by the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations of Ghana with all the Missions from the Gulf region to discuss ways of ensuring that Ghanaian workers in Saudi Arabia and other parts of the Gulf, particularly domestic workers, were accorded not only fair treatment but also the standard level of protection required under international law. In the meantime, a moratorium has been placed on the recruitment of Ghanaian domestic help to Saudi Arabia since March 2017 by the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).



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CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH FINDINGS ON GHANA-SAUDI ARABIA RELATIONS – ANALYSIS OF BILATERAL TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT AID

3.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to delve into the research questions that underpinned the study. Hence, the chapter tries to highlight the reasons for increased Ghana-Saudi Relations. It also assesses particularly the trade flow between Ghana and Saudi Arabia. It pinpoints the categories of developmental aid or relations between the two States.

3.2 The Reasons for Ghana-Saudi Relations

Ghana-Saudi Arabia relations have grown steadily since the two countries first established diplomatic relations in 1960 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019)¹. There were hardly any meaningful political and economic contacts between the two countries before then, due mainly to ideological differences, with Ghana tilting towards socialist ideologies (Agyapong 2012), and Saudi Arabia strongly aligned to the capitalist school of thought and a strong ally of the United States as both the US and Saudi Arabia engaged in containing communism as a threat that endangered both countries' interests (Benlioğlu, 2005).

However, the strategic position enjoyed by both states ignites the importance attached to their bilateral relations. Blanchard (2010), for Instance, argued that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia wields considerable global influence through its administration of the birthplace of the Islamic faith and by virtue of its large oil reserves. With Ghana's population making up of Muslim minorities who played vital intellectual role in post-independence era and contribute significantly to Nkrumah's struggle for

independence(Dumbe 2013), the need to establish its missions in Saudi Arabia to facilitate the annual pilgrimage by such Ghanaian Muslims, serves as a conduit to Ghana's early diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia.

Akin to the above, Ghana's quest for a reliable supply of oil played a role in her diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Dumbe, 2013).

Both States also enjoyed outstanding membership as founding members of the non-alignment movement (NAM). Saudi Arabia was represented at the 10th Ministerial Conference held in Accra in 1991 and contributed an amount of US\$100,000.00 to Ghana to help defray the cost of hosting the conference (Foreign Affairs, 2019). Whilst Saudi Arabia's foreign policy and non-alignment are apparently unrelated themes (Dhanani, 1981), the Kingdom is one of the undisputed founding members of the movement.

This notwithstanding, a participant in the interview who is an officer at the Ghana Embassy in Riyadh, sees that the relations between the two countries can be described as good but not the best to the expectations of the two countries. He supported his view with the fact that Ghana first established diplomatic mission in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1960, and till date, there are many outstanding agreements to be signed between the two countries to strengthen bilateral relations between both countries. The officer at the Ghana Embassy in Riyadh enumerated agreements such as Investment Promotion and avoidance of Double Taxation as agreements both states are yet to sign.

On whether the relations between the two countries have increased or it is on a low level, the Ghanaian foreign officer in Riyadh expressed his view that there hasn't been any significant increase but may not be described as low, because there have been some high-level visits between the two countries in recent times. The factors that

accounted for somewhat increased relations between the two states according to the Ghanaian Diplomat in Riyadh are due to the level of interest shown between the two sides leading to the visit of Ghana's Vice president as a special envoy to the Custodian of the two Holy Mosques in 2018, then Ghana's Foreign Minister in January 2020, then a visit by the Saudi Minister in charge of African Affairs as a special envoy to Ghana in February 2021 and again in March 2022. Furthermore, the officer asserted that the desire for the two countries to initiate socio- economic and cultural exchanges between the countries in terms of Hajj, Ghanaian students on scholarships as well as human resource development between them are what translated into early diplomatic relations of the Republic of Ghana with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Speaking on the institutions and personalities that play vital role in increasing Ghana-Saudi relations, the officer at the Ghana Embassy in Riyadh highlighted the following major institutions and personalities:

- The Embassies led by the ambassadors and the staff of the two countries representing their respective governments.
- The respective Foreign Ministries of the two countries.
- The educational institutions spearheading scholarships for Ghanaian students in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
- The Islamic Development Bank and the Saudi Fund for Development through sponsorship of some Government of Ghana projects and programs.

It is pertinent to highlight here the importance of the Ghana-Saudi Parliamentary Friendship Association, which was left out in the above list by the participant. The study observed that the formation of the parliamentary friendship is a step made by

Ghana and Saudi Arabia ahead of many countries in the Middle East, which are yet to have such friendships. Whilst this admission is true, it is pertinent to state that, the level of contribution of this factor to the relation between the two States is still just at the level of visits. Nothing regarding periodic sharing of experience, cooperation and mutual consultation have been recorded, a matter that could be attributed to the difference in the legislative structure of both countries.

Another participant (a top diplomat at the Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Ghana) however postulated that during the last visit of members of the Ghanaian Ghana-Saudi Friendship Association in 2019 to Riyadh, the delegation was able to lobby for an increment in scholarships package for Ghanaian applicants to a whopping figure of 159 annually. This therefore is a remarkable contribution of the Parliamentary Association, which has widened the scholarship opportunity for Ghanaian applicants who wish to further their tertiary education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It has however been observed that due to ignorance about study opportunities in the Kingdom and the feeling of many applicants that one need to be fluent in Arabic language before he/she could study in the Kingdom, in addition to lack of adequate knowledge on the requirements of admission, the scholarship packages rolled out annually remain obscured from many Ghanaians especially the Christian population.

Another participant and a former coordinator of hajj at the Ghana's Consulate in Jeddah, identified the yearly pilgrimage embarked by Ghanaian pilgrims to the Holy Sites in Saudi Arabia as a very important contributor to the standing bilateral relations between the two States. Elaborating on the types of hajj delegation, he classified them into two - government led hajj delegations and private hajj delegations - outlining that Ghana falls under the first category which attracts necessary governmental protocol from the Saudi Government. He stated that hajj delegations at the level of

governments are preferably led by ministers as they are required to engage directly with the Saudi Minister of Hajj and Umra. He highlighted some ways through which he believed Hajj helped to broaden bilateral relations between the two states:

One, the *Organization of Annual Hajj Conference*: He revealed that the Government of Saudi Arabia organizes annual Hajj Conferences for Pilgrims' affairs offices hosted and catered for by the Saudi Government with all protocol services offered from arrival to departure. He stated that hajj delegations meet with the Minister and officials of the Saudi Ministry of Hajj and Umra through which both sides rekindle bilateral relations with a brief on socio-economic and political situations of each country.

Second, the *Saudi Government hosts the delegations* by providing all necessary protocol services befitting state visit.

Thirdly, the *distribution of sacrificial meat*: He stated that after the end of the Hajj season, sacrificial meats are sent to the Government of Ghana through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Fourth the *meeting between heads of hajj delegations and the Saudi Monarch at the latter's residence at Mina*. This meeting, according to the participant, serves as an open discussion where the King of Saudi Arabia engages heads of hajj delegations on issues of mutual concern to the hajj season.

Fifth, the *Saudi Foreign Minister holds bilateral meetings with ambassadors of all countries that participate in the hajj season and are in Saudi Arabia at the time of hajj*: This meeting, which takes place in Jeddah, provides a suitable bilateral platform for countries to share experiences, exchange pleasantries and gifts which helps strength the bond of friendship.

Sixth, the *pilgrims who are not able to return on schedule to Ghana due to legitimate reasons such as sickness and been on admission in hospitals are taken care of by the Saudi Government, which subsequently ensures the return of the pilgrim to his/her home country at the Saudi government's cost*: This according to the participant is a reflection of the culture and public diplomacy of the Government of Saudi Arabia and the importance it attaches to its bilateral relations. He also stated that in 2007, when the last group of Ghanaian pilgrims could not be airlifted by the Ghana Hajj Board to Jeddah for the Hajj ritual, the Saudi Government chartered an aircraft to carry such stranded pilgrims at its own cost. This undoubtedly was born out of the friendly bilateral relations between the two states.

The study noted the role of language in Ghana-Saudi bilateral relations. In this vein, a participant, who was a former Consulate-General of Ghana to Jeddah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and identified language as one of the impediments that impedes the smooth discharge of duties of most Ghanaian envoys to Saudi Arabia. He postulated that the nature of the kingdom needed a diplomat who is already conversant with the official language (Arabic) and culture to ensure smooth assimilation into the Arabian society.

It is generally observed that the bilateral relations of the two countries are somewhat clouded in suspicions fundamentally emanating from the differences in religion and political systems. This observation is borne out of the assertion of a diplomat at the Saudi Embassy in Accra who postulated that the Ghanaian side do not want to improve its relations with Saudi Arabia because the latter is an Islamic country. He highlighted that several attempts to get some top governmental figures to visit Saudi for important events that could improve relations prove futile, not forgetting about the signing important bilateral agreements. While this assertion may be said to be

founded on suspicion, an officer at the Ghanaian presidency who is a Muslim rather blames the inability of such Ghanaian officials to attend events in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, on late invitations from the Saudi side. It is inferred that both sides traded accusations on each other with some level of truth in them. The empirical evidence gathered from this research point to religious tendencies (Ghanaian side) and late invitations of high government personalities (Saudi side) could all account for the inability of both sides to make serious strides in improving their bilateral relations.

3.3 The Trade Flow between Ghana and Saudi Arabia

Trade flow between the two countries is generally low and much has not been done with regards to bilateral business visits. It is however sufficient to identify a highly powered business delegation that was led by Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud, the wealthiest man in the Middle East (Forbes, 2017) to Ghana. During the trip, Prince Alwaleed met with His Excellency Mr. John Dramani Mahama, President of the Republic of Ghana at the presidential palace (then Flagstaff House). The meeting between His Excellency the President of Ghana and Prince Alwaleed centered on discussions on general economic and social issues and a talk on the global investments of Prince Alwaleed and the support of his foundation towards vulnerable communities in Ghana. Before the aforementioned visit, there was a visit in 2011 by Prince Alwaleed who was warmly received by His Excellency John Atta-Mills, the Former President of the Republic of Ghana at the Castle Osu and was awarded the Key to the City of Accra by Dr. Alfred Oko Vanderpuiye, the former Mayor of the City of Accra at the Greater Accra Metropolitan Accra Assembly.

Speaking on factors that accounted for low trade between the two states as earlier on asserted, a top officer at the Ghana Embassy in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, believed that it is traced to the inability of the two countries to effect the signing of the Investment

Promotion and Protection and avoidance of double taxation. The Ghanaian foreign officer's view agrees with the response of an Officer at the Saudi Embassy in Accra, Ghana, who stressed on signing of the agreement for the avoidance of double taxation to serve as a catalyst to shore up trade volumes between the two states. Both officers mentioned above agreed that a major cause of the low trade volumes and a lack of foreign direct investments (FDI's) between the two States have been the absence of a trade regulatory agreement. Their assertion was also confirmed by a participant who is a director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration.

Another factor that contributed to zero foreign direct investment, as revealed by an officer at the Saudi Embassy in Accra and officer at the Ghana Embassy in Riyadh was the outbreak of the Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic. The officer at the Saudi Embassy in Accra elaborating on it stated that there were plans underway for a visit by a highly powered business delegation consisting business moguls from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This was confirmed by a director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, who recounted the visit of the Foreign Minister, Honorable Shirley Ayorkor Botchwey, to Riyadh prior to the outbreak of the pandemic and her meeting with a group of Saudi Businessmen including one of the richest men in the world (Prince Talal Alwaleed). The said planned visit of the Saudi Businessmen could be the product of the Minister's meeting with the Saudi investors. The study observed that whilst such high-level state visits are commendable, the absence of trade agreements between the two states has impeded trade growth. With regards to who is blamable for the inability of both countries to sign trade agreements, an officer at the Ghana Embassy in Riyadh opined that both sides bear the blame. The officer believed that the challenges confronting the two States should have been resolved over the decades of friendly relations. Contrary to this participant's view,

another participant who is an officer (A1) at Ghana's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration blamed responsible officers at the Saudi Foreign Affairs Ministry for maintaining a stiff stand during negotiations; a matter the officer thinks contributed to the two sides being unable to sign trade agreements notwithstanding several attempts. This notwithstanding, the study observed that factors such as geopolitical issues of the two countries, misunderstanding of some of the technical clauses and terms resulting from the inability of both countries to speak each other's official languages and may often have to depend on translated copies, religiosity such as interest on loans, lack of interest of some sort on the part of one party due to availability of alternatives, have contributed immensely to the inability of both states to sign bilateral trade agreements.

On trade forum between the private sectors of both countries, the study discovered that nothing of such exist regardless of the long-standing relations between both States.

A participant in the interview who is a director at the Ghana Export Promotion Authority whilst explaining the data lamented that besides Saudi Arabia being a great economy and a G20 member, trade balances between Ghana and Saudi Arabia remains very low. He stated that the greatest trade partner of Ghana in the Gulf region is the United Arab Emirates with trade being over a billion United States Dollars annually. The director further elaborated that tariff on imports of both countries have been 5% of total volumes and hence, factors contributing to low trade volumes couldn't be attributed to tariffs.

However, it is pertinent to observe that other factors such as the ease of access to the Saudi Market. Unlike the case of Saudi Arabia, the office of the Dubai Chamber of Commerce, opened in the Republic of Ghana in 2015 facilitates business cooperation

with Ghana. The development has led to a number of visits exchanged at the economic and investment levels between the two countries; at the level of government and business leaders. Currently there are in excess of 68 Emirati companies registered in the Republic of Ghana for multiple projects and for the growth and development of trade exchange between the two countries (UAE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed on 25 June 2022). This study observes that for Ghana and Saudi Arabia to stepped up trade volumes and foreign direct investments both sides should open office of their respective Chambers of Commerce to link up businesses of both countries.

3.4 The Categories of Developmental Relations between Ghana and Saudi Arabia

The relations between Ghana and Saudi Arabia have resulted into cooperation across various fields, with the former being the benefactor. The Honorable Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Charles Owiredu identified this fact when he mentioned, during a handover ceremony to mark the donations of medical items by the Saudi based King Salman's Humanitarian Aid Relief Centre that Saudi Arabia had over the years contributed towards Ghana's development. outlining several categories of support received from Saudi Arabia, the deputy Minister indicated that the medical would go a long way to deepen the mutual relations between the two countries (Ministry of foreign Affairs, 2018). Saudi Arabia's support to Ghana cuts across economic support, health support, infrastructural support and educational support.

3.4.1 Economic Development Relations

Saudi Arabia gave strong support to Ghana's Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) through project-based loans and grants given by various institutions such as the Saudi Fund for Development, the Islamic Development Bank, and the World Bank's Special Fund for Sub-Saharan Africa (to which Saudi Arabia contributes) (Ministry of

Foreign Affairs, 2019). A former administrator at the Ghana's Consulate in Jeddah and a former coordinator of pilgrimage affairs at the consulate stated during the survey that both Ghana and Saudi Arabia benefit from royalties from hajj operations in the form of airport taxes and aircraft charges. He however stated the Government of Ghana sometimes waive airport taxes as part of its effort to subsidize hajj fares.

3.4.2 Infrastructural Development Relations

As earlier stated, the Kingdom has offered grants in support of various projects such as the rehabilitation of the Tema and Takoradi Harbours, the construction of storage facilities for grains, the improvement of educational facilities including the approval of US \$285,000 by the Islamic Development Bank for the construction of a Vocational Training Centre for girls in Tamale, and the extension of the National Grid to the North through the Electrification Extension Project (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

In January 2004, Ghana signed a loan agreement of US\$10.5m under the Saudi Fund for Development to co-finance the construction of part of the Tetteh-Quarshie-Mamfe Road project (Saudi Embassy Annual Report, 2004)

3.4.3 Educational Development

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has made considerable contributions to educational projects in Ghana that directly benefit Muslim communities. Apart from awarding scholarships to young Muslim students to study in universities in Saudi Arabia, the Islamic Development Bank offers annual scholarships to Ghanaian students to under-take courses in Medicine, Pharmacy, Engineering and Veterinary Science at Turkish universities (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). Also in 2019, Officials from the Saudi Fund for Development were in Ghana in early September to sign a \$20 million loan agreement with the Ministry of Finance for the construction of a Medical

University in the Northern Region in addition to the construction of some forty-two (42) Senior High Schools across the country (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). Individual Saudi citizens also have made contributions towards the educational sector of Ghana. According to the Brief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2019), Prince Al Waleed Bin Talal Abdul Aziz donated US\$300,000 for pre-school education and US\$100,000 for the Otumfuo Education Fund during his visit to Ghana from 28th-30th April, 2003.

In a report published by the office of the Greater Accra regional Chief Imam of the Ahlus-sunnahWalJamaah (ASWAJ) in January 2018, Saudi Individuals and charity organizations have contributed to the construction of more than 5920 mosques across the length and breadth of Ghana, which serve as centers of education and public awareness. On humanitarian organizations, the report indicated that there exist more than 248 humanitarian organizations ranging from orphanage centers to schools and charity organizations, which were established with support from Saudi philanthropists and non-governmental organizations. The study therefore observed that some of these organizations are directly linked with their donors and sponsors from Saudi Arabia and continue to be means for the coordination of humanitarian aid. The study further observed that most aids from non-state organizations are mostly channeled into construction of wells and boreholes, financial support to the needy in the forms of *zakat* (alms) and *sadaqa* (charity), construction of basic schools with both secular and Islamic curriculum and mostly operates under the Islamic education unit, distribution of food items during the month of Ramadan and distribution of meat during the Eid-ul-Adha celebration. In an interview with an Islamic scholar at the Sirraajudeen Educational Complex in Wenchi in the Bono East Region, he stated that the school, which now provides basic education to about 1000 students in Wenchi in the Bono

East Region, was founded with support from individual donors from Saudi Arabia. According to the Islamic Cleric, who is a beneficiary of Saudi Scholarship and a graduate of the Islamic University of Al Madinah, Saudi Arabia, the school employs 41 staff consisting of teaching and non-teaching staff, and has celebrated its 15th anniversary last year, 2021. He further signaled the presence of many other humanitarian and social intervention projects funded by non-official Saudi philanthropists in the Wenchi municipality and its environments, ranging from wells, boreholes and mosques.

Also, during an interview with a coordinator and a beneficiary of Saudi aid in the savannah region, the participant indicated that he coordinated the execution of a total of 100 wells and 10 boreholes donated from philanthropists in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. According to the participant, many needy people in the communities around Buipe of Central Gonja District of the Savannah region rely on the food donations he distributes during the month of Ramadan and the meat during the Eidul-Adha celebrations. He indicated that all such donations were received from individual donors from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

With regards to whether Saudi aid (both educational and humanitarian) are directed towards Muslims in Ghana, an officer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration indicated that aids from the Government of Saudi Arabia are directly sent to the Government of Ghana for onward allocation to deserving beneficiaries. She (an officer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration) postulated that such aid is non-discriminating and aimed at strengthening existing bilateral relations between both countries. The view of the foreign affairs officer agreed with an officer of the Saudi Arabia Embassy officer, who indicated that Saudi aids to Ghana are tailored to strengthen the bilateral friendship between both countries. He (Saudi

Arabia Embassy officer) stipulated that non-governmental organizations in Ghana only get the chance of coordinating governmental donations after they provide evidence of registration with the relevant government authorities such as the Registrar General's Department in Accra and the Department of Social Welfare. Analyzing the views of both officers from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and the Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the study observes that aid coordination between individuals and non-Governmental charity organizations of both countries is facilitated through personal linkages between Ghanaians and Saudi citizens. Keeping in mind the various opportunities available to Muslims in Saudi Arabia such as the yearly pilgrimage, including the lesser pilgrimage (Umra) which is an all-year-round pilgrimage, and graduates from Saudi Universities who are mostly Muslims, the study identified that these factors have collaborated into strong and direct connection between Ghanaian Muslims and Saudi donors, which have inured into humanitarian coordination in the past long years.

Many beneficiaries of aid from Saudi philanthropists have however cried out that for the past two decades, there is a significant reduction in the flow of charity and funds from their partners in Saudi. The assertion was supported by an attaché of the Saudi Embassy in Accra, who stated during an interview that the Government of Saudi Arabia has regulated outflow of charity aid from individuals and has banned collection of charity by individuals to support the needy outside the kingdom. The submission above is further augmented by what was postulated by Blanchard and Prados (2007) that the September 11 attacks resulted into Saudi Arabia issuing numerous decrees and created new institutions designed to tighten controls and supervise over the flow of funds in or through the kingdom. The above assertion of Blanchard and Prados agree with the assertion of the Saudi Arabia attaché, who

further stated that since 2005, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has rolled out several policies to control and regulate the flow of aid and charity out of the Kingdom, in view of which the Kingdom instituted measures for aids to be channeled to relevant government charity organizations for onward donations to needy people within and outside the Kingdom. Reacting to criticisms leveled against Saudi Arabia in her alleged involvement in funding terrorism, especially after the September 11, 2002 attacks, Blanchard and Prados (2007) averred that the final report released by the bipartisan National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon indicated that no evidence that the Saudi government as an institution or senior Saudi officials individually funded Al Qaeda.

With all the contributions made by Saudi Arabia towards educational infrastructure, there exist no agreements between both countries to regulate educational exchange. This study observed that there have been tremendous contributions of the Saudi state and non-state actors towards education in Ghana. However, there has not been any Memorandum of Understanding between any Ghanaian university and their counterparts in the Saudi Arabia. In an interview with a senior lecturer at Department of Arabic Language in the University of Ghana, the lecturer decried the absence of any form of cooperation with any Saudi University. He stated that all attempts, so far, to reach out to the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies (KFCRIS) in Saudi Arabia for general educational cooperation yielded no positive results. A report by the office of the Greater Accra regional Imam of Ahlus-sunnah (2018) indicated that there has been some level cooperation between the Islamic Research Institute in Nima in Accra with the Saudi Ministry of Education in the form of sending of teachers to teach Islamic studies in the Institute. The study however observed that there existed no memorandum of understanding regulating the cooperation.

Another Islamic Scholar at the Al-Huda charity organization (Ghana), during an interview revealed that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has directly impacted the lives and families of many of its graduates. He stated that after graduating from Saudi Universities, many graduates have no employment opportunities and many live on state donations and humanitarian donations from individual donors of the Kingdom. He also stated the Saudi Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Dawah and Guidance has so far directly employed about 37 graduates from Saudi Universities who work in Ghana as Imams, teachers and advocates in their various communities across the country.

In an interview with a participant and an Islamic Scholar (Ghana), he revealed that Saudi Education Aid to Ghana is indiscriminating. He revealed that the Presbyterian Senior High School at Legon (PRESEC) was renovated with aid from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It is observed that the non-discriminatory nature of Saudi aid to Ghana has further strengthened the peaceful existence between Ghanaian Muslims and Christians. This observation is backed by what was postulated by a participant who is a staff at the Presbyterian Senior High School, who believed that the aid donated by Saudi Government to the school, did not only help improve infrastructure and academic work but has changed the school's attitude towards Muslims and increased an intake of Muslim students unlike other typical missionary schools such as Mfantshipim Senior High School where he attended. The participant related that with his four-year experience in Presbyterian Senior School at Legon, he observed that Muslim students were and still are given opportunity to meet and pray at a designated place and allowed to carry out their Islamic related student activities under the umbrella of Ghana Muslim Student Association(GMSA).

A high-level diplomat at the Saudi Embassy advised that scholarships awarded to Ghanaians to study in Saudi Arabian institutions could be increased if Ghana should

sign a Memorandum of Understanding for exchange program with the Saudi Arabian government. He further elaborated that under such agreement, Saudis could be offered scholarships to study English in Ghanaian institutions since he believes that it is a priority of the present administration of the Kingdom to promote the study of English among Saudis with the view to making the country more competitive globally.

A Ghanaian diplomat at the Ghana Embassy in Riyadh on the other hand identified educational scholarships granted by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as one of the areas of developmental cooperation between the two countries. He believed that whilst the Saudi side grants scholarships to Ghanaian applicants to Saudi higher institutions, it, on the other hand helps exerts influence of Saudi Arabia in Ghana. The study also discovered that entry requirements into Saudi Universities as well as available study options remain obscure from the majority of Ghanaian applicants. In line with this, a Saudi diplomat at the Saudi Embassy opined that much publicity needed to be made to educate Ghanaian applicants to diversely benefit from scholarship packages offered by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to Ghana.

3.4.4 Health Sector

Cooperation between the two countries in the health sector is another area of significance. During the visit of his royal highness to Ghana, Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Abdul Aziz made a personal donation of US\$600,000 to the Health Sector in Ghana. Speaking on the cooperation of the two states in the health sector, a diplomat at the Ghana Embassy at Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, mentioned renovations of health institutions such as the Korle Bu Intensive Care Unit (ICU) and Trauma Center. A director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration ceded to the fact that Saudi Arabia supported Ghana's sector health and cited the renovation of the Bolgatanga Regional Hospital as one of such cooperation. A participant and an officer

at the Bolgatanga Teaching Hospital, in an interview opined that the Rehabilitation works at the hospital would increase its capacity to admit more patients and ensure a smooth health delivery in the entire region upon its expected completion.

An Islamic Scholar at the Office of the National Imam of the AhlulSunahWalJamaah (ASWAJ) stated during the interview that the kingdom has helped construct about 50 health centers in remote communities in Ghana; 35 of which are located in very remote parts of the country and 15 are in township communities in the country(urban areas). Thus, the rural communities benefited more from the construction of the health centers.

3.4.5 Migration

On consular issues, the presence of a large number of Ghanaian migrant labors in Saudi makes the issue of consular cooperation an important one in the bilateral relations between the two countries. A Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration indicated that about 17,000 Ghanaians reside in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia working in various fields. During an interview with a participant who is a diplomat at the Ghana Embassy at Riyadh on impact of remittances of Ghanaians working in Saudi Arabia on the latter's development, the Ghanaian Diplomat supported that such remittances do impact Ghana's development. He further stated that remittances from Ghanaians working in Saudi Arabia go into payment of school fees, housing, establishment of businesses and other social responsibilities. He again revealed that Ghanaian professional and non-professional workers in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia also contribute to the GDP of the host country as well as indirect foreign investment to Ghana through remittances. The study has however that illegal Ghanaian residents in Saudi are extremely vulnerable to unscrupulous Saudi employers who sometimes underpay them. Such illegal migrants are also often

subjected to arbitrary arrests and deportation by the Saudi Immigration Authorities. It is pertinent to state that this plight will persist so long as individual Ghanaians voluntarily migrate to Saudi Arabia without proper legal protection in the form of contracts and valid work permits. (portions of the write up here has been rewritten, other portions deleted as well)

The study observed that in view of the great number of Ghanaian professional and non-professional workers in Saudi Arabia, Ghana benefits from remittances of its citizens in Saudi Arabia. The study further observed that many of such unprofessional workers go to Saudi Arabia with the aim of working for some time and then return to Ghana to establish a trade. Worthy of observing also is that the migration of unprofessional Ghanaians to Saudi for employment could yield suitable results if the Saudi Arabian government is persuaded to cooperate and formalize the recruitment of Ghanaian youth through mutually recognized channels and within well-defined framework.

3.4.6 Tourism

Tourism exchanges between the States have been very low, a fact, which could be attributed to Africa not being a popular tourist destination for Saudi Arabia holidaymakers. What underpinned this, however, could be attributed to the prevailing ignorance about Africa, not to mention the negative images most Saudi Arabian citizens have of the continent. The study predicts that recent reforms instituted by both countries in the tourism sector could serve as a conduit for increasing tourism exchanges between the two countries.



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An interview with officer 4 at the Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Accra, on 13th April 2022.

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An interview with a beneficiary of Saudi Humanitarian aid, Buipe, Savannah Region, Ghana on 10 January 2022.

An interview with a staff, Presbyterian Boys Senior High School, Legon, Accra, Ghana on 22nd May 2022.

An interview with a staff, Bolgatanga Regional Hospital, Upper East Region, Ghana on 21st May 2022.

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An interview with an Islamic Scholar, Office of the National Imam of the AhlussunnahwalJamaah, Accra-Ghana on 25th May 2022.

An interview with Officer A1, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Accra-Ghana, 26th May 2022.

An interview with a director at the Ghana Export Promotion Authority, Accra on 5th June 2022.



CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three parts consisting of summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

4.2 Summary of Findings

On the objective or research question which focuses on Ghana-Saudi Relations and analyzes the relevance of Ghana's relations with Saudi Arabia.

This study has therefore tried to examine the relations existing between both nations and the avenues through which both countries share experiences in sectors such as oil, education, aid, and as well improve upon direct foreign investments. The study has brought to light the level of trade imbalances existing between the two nations, with the scale tipped in favor of Saudi Arabia.

The study found or discovered that the relationship between the Republic of Ghana and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has yielded many developmental projects, which favored the Ghanaian side. This was made possible through outlining many developmental projects executed by Saudi Government's Institutions such as the Saudi Fund for Development, the Islamic Development Bank, the King Salman Humanitarian Aid and Relief Centre (KSRELIEF) as well as highly profiled Saudi Individuals such Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Abdul Aziz. Significant contributions were made by the above-named institutions and personalities towards many developmental sectors in Ghana.

Even through these aids have been very instrumental in forging good relations between the two countries, the study identified a lack of institutionalization in the

administration of such aids. Unlike the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the United States development aid to Ghana and other countries are directly implemented by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) with country office in Accra. Some Gulf countries of Saudi Arabia's neighborhood also, have in recent times, established agencies in Ghana that coordinate their aid to Ghana and Ghanaians.

The Kuwait funded Direct Aid organization formerly known as Africa Muslim Agency was established by Kuwait Aid in 1981 and has since been very instrumental in coordinating developmental aid of the government and people of Kuwait to many parts of Africa including Ghana. Direct Aid in Ghana provides healthcare for the underprivileged in some parts of Ghana as well as drinkable water for communities and schools as well as supports the vulnerable Ghanaian communities with educational facilities ranging from basic schools to senior high schools.

Another Gulf state (The Qatar Charity) has also recently established a country office in Ghana to coordinate and regularize its developmental aid cooperation with the Republic of Ghana. In view of the fact that Ghana and Saudi relations are the longest in the Gulf, the aid and developmental relations between both countries need to be institutionalized by establishing a Saudi agency in Ghana. Of unique contribution of such agency to Ghana – Saudi relations is ensuring effectiveness of aid and evaluation of its impact on beneficiaries. The employment provided by these agencies also helps reduce unemployment in the host country (Ghana) as well as exert the influence of the donor country. A country office of the King Salman Center could therefore be established in Ghana to coordinate Saudi aid in Ghana and neighboring countries.

Another observation made was the issue of leadership. It is clear that rampant coup d'états in Ghana have not contributed much to the economic progress of the country. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on the other hand had enjoyed stable leadership

through the Family of Al Saud and it has been about 100 years since the foundation of the Third Saudi State by His Majesty King Abdul Aziz Bin Abdurrahman Al Saud under whose leadership the Kingdom discovered oil and began the kingdom's industrial revolution which was continued by subsequent Kings. The current leadership of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Salman Bin Abdul Aziz AL Saud and Crown Prince Muhammad Bin Salman bin Abdul Aziz AlSaud further seeks to improve upon the wellbeing of the state and people through the implementation of the vision 2030. Which is being pursued seeking to diversify the economy of the Kingdom from fully dependency on oil. The Saudi leadership was able to relinquish the control of the oil manufacturing industry from its previously joint ownership between the US and Saudi to a wholly owned Saudi Aram company. This therefore has maximized revenues from oil and helped increased the GDP and hence, helped speed-up development and welfare of Saudi citizens. It is therefore inferred that the Saudi leadership played a major role in making Saudi Arabia being recognized as a force in World affairs today. Abdulilah and Khan (2019) citing the authors; Wilson and Graham, Wynbrandt, Al-Rasheed, Fasano and Iqbal argued that with the continental dimensions of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, it is the largest sovereign state in the Middle East, 5th largest in Asia geographically, second-largest in the Arab world after Algeria and 12th-largest in the world, the largest economy in the Middle East (as of October 2018). The Kingdom is categorized as a World Bank high-income economy with a high Human Development Index (UNO, 2013). Saudi Arabia is the only country in the Arab world, which is a member of the G-20 major economies and is the undisputed leader of the Islamic World and standing strong in the Gulf Cooperation Council. It is therefore observed that with the strategic position of Ghana in Africa and particularly with the role played by Ghanaian leadership since

independence, starting from the role of its first President, Dr. Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah in the liberation of other African states from the shackles of colonialism, the formation of the Organization of African Unity later known as the African Union, the formation of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), the leadership role of almost all Ghanaian leaders in the regional economic organization (ECOWAS), coupled with the political stability and abundance of natural resources such as oil, gold and arable farmland, could become a great regional and continental force and model in world affairs. The Ghanaian leadership could take inspiration from the Saudi experience in the management of oil revenues to ensure a gradual takeover of its revenue to drive its industrialization, wellbeing of its citizens and improve upon infrastructure. It is therefore pertinent to highlight that, a country may be endowed with the necessary human and natural resources for growth but without proper direction and commitment by its leaders, such resources may not be beneficial to the people.

4.3 Conclusions

From the data gathered for the research, it can be concluded that Ghana and Saudi Arabia enjoy very fruitful relations for their mutual benefit. It can also be said that trade which has become so important in relations between states has not improved between the two countries and the current stance of trade benefits Saudi Arabia. This confirms the assumption that Ghana's trade deficit with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will endure unless intensive efforts are made towards diversifying her export base with processed or semi-processed products that are oriented towards the Saudi Arabian market.

4.4 Recommendations

The study has unearthed that despite the long-standing relations between the two countries, Ghana and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia do not have a defined framework

to express their bilateral relations. There is therefore the need for the conclusion of a number of Agreements/ Memoranda of Understanding for the mutual benefit of the people of the two countries. One key recommendation is the signing of the following which could lead to the establishment of a formal framework for cooperation between the two countries. Thus, this research provides these specific recommendations:

- a) An MoU on Political Consultations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration of Ghana and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia;
- b) An Agreement on the Promotion and Protection of Investments between Ghana and Kingdom of Saudi Arabia;
- c) An MoU between the Public Investment Fund of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Ministry of Finance of Ghana to catalyze investments in strategic sectors in the two countries, especially in Ghana;
- d) An MoU between the Council of the Saudi Chamber of Commerce and the Ghana National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (GNCCI) to foster the growth of the private sectors in the two countries;
- e) An MoU between Ghana and Saudi Arabia towards combating money laundering, cyber-crime and terrorism;
- f) An MoU between the King Salman Centre for Humanitarian and Relief Services and the Ministry of Health to support Health Care delivery especially in deprived regions of Ghana;
- g) An MoU between Ghana and Saudi Arabia for the supply of highly skilled labour to the NEOM city projects and other sectors of the Kingdom;
- h) An Agreement on the Avoidance of Double Taxation.

- i) Agreement on Domestic Workers Recruitment between the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Government of the Republic of Ghana.

The second key recommendation from this study is that for Ghana to better champion her interest in Saudi Arabia, the appointment of foreign officers into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration should consider proficiency in the Arabic language to train enough staff for its missions in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as well as in other Arabic speaking countries particularly in the Gulf Region. The Government could do this by tapping into qualified Ghanaian graduates of Saudi Universities for employment in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to coordinate its business not only in Saudi Arabia but in all Gulf Countries as such countries share common language, culture and political system. For such foreign officers, going back to work in Saudi Arabia would be like reconnecting back with a society they are already familiar with, and hence, could easily sell Ghana well to Saudi tourists and investors, drive home more Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) and serve Ghanaian citizens well.

The study further recommends for the establishment of a joint commission on trade to connect the private sectors of both countries. This could create periodic platforms for investors in both countries to familiarize with investment opportunities and hence, lead to active participation in foreign direct investments. This, the study finds out, could be a catalyst for bigger trade volumes.

Another key recommendation from this study is that the two States (Ghana and Saudi Arabia) should relax their standpoints when negotiating on bilateral agreements. It postulates that such relaxed positions could bring a balanced situation leading to a win-win situation.

It is further pertinent to recommend an establishment of a Saudi Aid Agency in Ghana, a country office of the King Salman Humanitarian Aid and Relief Center (KS Relief) in Ghana to coordinate Saudi aid to Ghana and other countries in West Africa.

On promotion of investment, Ghana's missions in Riyadh and Jeddah has to undertake trade and investment promotion through participation in trade fairs as well as facilitating business delegations from Ghana to the Saudi Arabian Chamber of Commerce. Ghanaian companies must also liaise with Ghana's Embassy to produce catalogues to exhibit their products. For Ghanaian exports to penetrate the Saudi Market, it is recommended that, Ghanaian businesspersons should collaborate with Ghana's missions in the Kingdom to get experts to produce market research services so that they can adopt correct strategies for penetrating the Saudi market. This may require adapting the taste of the product and packaging to suit the Saudi market. These Ghanaian products must conform to the stringent health standards of the Gulf Cooperation Council of which Saudi Arabia is a staunch member.

Saudi businesspersons should be encouraged to set up businesses in the Free Zones of Ghana and take advantage of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) headquartered in Accra with the aim of producing and exporting back to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It will greatly help if the Free Zones Board produces site maps showing available land, and ensure that utilities like water, electricity as well as accessible roads are available. Market data should also be made available to Saudi investors on specific sectors of the economy, and even specific products, to convince them of the viability or profitability of particular projects.

In summing up, there is a lot of room for improvement in the Ghana-Saudi Arabia relations. With the necessary political will, utilization of the opportunities provided by the bilateral relation, Ghana and Saudi Arabia could both be a force to reckon with in

world affairs. The onus, however, falls on Ghana to put her house in order towards the realization of a self-sufficient and prosperous nation. It is the hope of this research that if these recommendations are given the requisite needed attention, Ghana- Saudi Arabia relations would see significant improvements to the benefit of both states or countries.



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APPENDIX

Interviews (Unstructured)

An interview with a Senior Diplomat, Ghana Embassy in Riyadh, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on 19th March, 2022.

An interview with a senior Diplomat, Royal Embassy of the Kingdom Saudi Arabia, Accra, Republic of Ghana, on 12 March 2022.

An interview a director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Accra, the Republic of Ghana, on 15th January 2022.

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An interview with a former Consulate-General of the Republic of Ghana to Jeddah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, on 23rd May 2022.

An interview with an Attaché at the Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Accra, Ghana on 20th May 2022.

An interview with Officer A2 of the Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Accra, Ghana, on 15th May 2022.

An interview with an Islamic Scholar, Sirajuddeen Educational Complex, Wenchi, Bono East Region of Ghana, on 22nd May 2022.

An interview with officer 4 at the Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Accra, on 13th April 2022.

An interview with a coordinator of Saudi aid at the Al-Huda Charity Organization, Accra, Ghana on 25th May 2022.

An interview with a beneficiary of Saudi Humanitarian aid, Buipe, Savannah Region, Ghana on 10 January 2022.

An interview with a staff, Presbyterian Boys Senior High School, Legon, Accra, Ghana on 22nd May 2022.

An interview with a staff, Bolgatanga Regional Hospital, Upper East Region, Ghana on 21st May 2022.

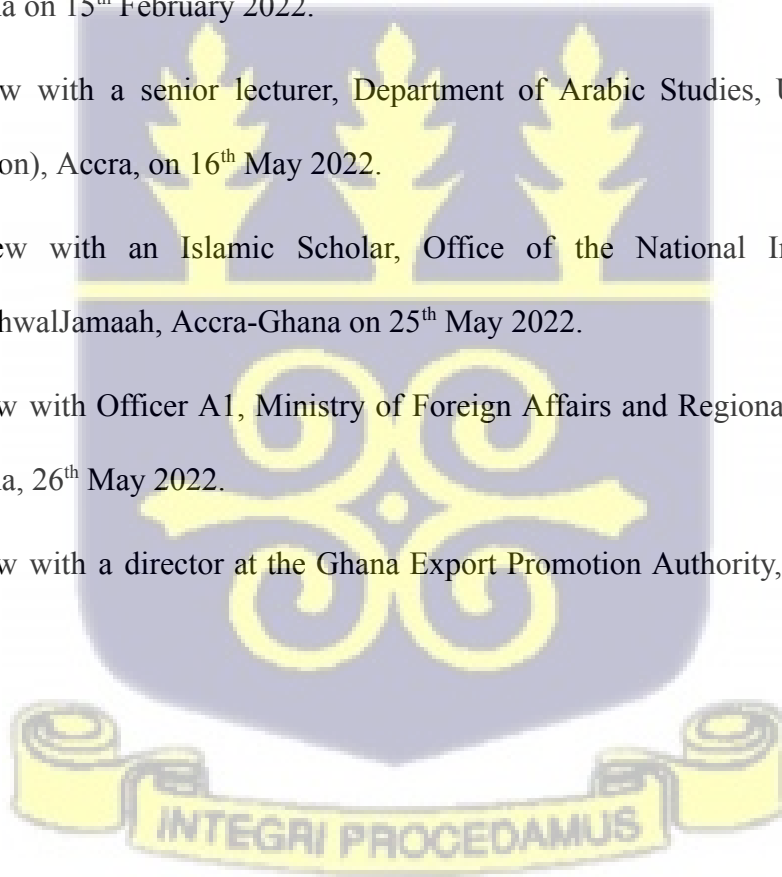
An interview with officer A5, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Accra-Ghana on 15th February 2022.

An interview with a senior lecturer, Department of Arabic Studies, University of Ghana (Legon), Accra, on 16th May 2022.

An interview with an Islamic Scholar, Office of the National Imam of the AhlussunnahwalJamaah, Accra-Ghana on 25th May 2022.

An interview with Officer A1, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Accra-Ghana, 26th May 2022.

An interview with a director at the Ghana Export Promotion Authority, Accra on 5th June 2022.



Interview Guide

This interview is meant to access information on Ghana-Saudi Arabia relations, analysis of bilateral trade and development aid. This is an academic exercise in honor of a Master's degree at LECIAD (University of Ghana). You are assured of the confidentiality of any information that you may give. Please give me your utmost cooperation and assistance.

Name

.....
.....

Institution

.....
.....

Office/Position

.....
.....

The Reasons for Increased Ghana-Saudi Relations

1. What do you say about Ghana-Saudi Relations?
2. Do you say the relations between the two countries has increased or it is on a low level?
3. What factors account for such increased or decreased/lower level of relations?
4. What account for Ghana's early diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia?
5. What is the role of the annual pilgrimage to Makkah in the increased Ghana-Saudi Relations?



6. What institutions and personalities play vital role in increasing Ghana-Saudi relations?

The Trade Flow between Ghana and Saudi Arabia

1. What factors account for low trade volumes between the two countries?
2. Are there any trade agreements signed between the two states?
3. How many foreign direct investments (FDI's) are there between the two countries?
4. If no, what accounts for that?
5. If yes what are some of them?
6. What is the current volume of trade between the two countries and which side does the trade flow favor?
7. Is there a trade forum between the private sectors of both countries to boost investments, if yes, name it, and if no why?

The Categories of Developmental Relations between Ghana and Saudi Arabia

1. What development cooperation existed between the two states?
2. What are the number of scholarship packages offered by the Kingdom to Ghana so far?
3. Are there some impacts of Saudi development aid in the development of Ghana?
4. Do remittances from Saud to Ghana play any role in the development of Ghana?
5. Please do explain if such remittances benefit both countries?

Targeted Institutions/Organizations and Individuals (Interviewees):

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Trade, The Ghana Export Authority (GEPA) Some Ghanaians (individuals) in Ghana. Also, the head of mission at the Saudi Embassy in Accra, Head of Mission at Ghana's Embassy in Riyadh and some

Muslim NGOs/individuals and some individuals through online interviews from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

