

# Elements of Cooperation and Collaboration in Nigeria-Ghana Relations in Contemporary Times, 1960-1999.

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## Abstract

Some previous works on Nigeria-Ghana relations emphasize elements of rivalry, antagonism and disharmony as major themes permeating relations between both countries. This present study, however, contends that relations between both countries have not been as antagonistic as earlier reported. As a matter of fact, available records at the disposal of this study reveal that apart from some periods of diplomatic conflicts, especially in the early years of their relations (1960-1966) caused largely by inter-personal clashes between the leadership of both countries in the immediate post-independence period, and the expulsion sagas of 1969, 1983 and 1985; both countries have lived in harmony with various instances of accord, cooperation and collaboration on matters of mutual interests. Given the above observation, this study seeks to reconstruct the history of Nigeria-Ghana relations by emphasizing some elements of cooperation and collaboration in their relationship for the mutual benefit of both countries at large between 1960 and 1999.

## 1.Introduction

In his famous work titled *Ghana and Nigeria: 1957-70: A Study in Inter-African Discord*, Olajide Aluko discussed extensively the nature of rivalry and disharmony that had characterized Nigeria-Ghana relations between 1957 and 1970. A multiplicity of inter-related factors identified to be at the root of disharmony in Nigeria-Ghana relations included: the leadership tussle between both countries for political hegemony in West Africa in particular and Africa as a whole; the ideological differences of leaders of both countries in the immediate post-independence period; economic inequalities between the two countries and; Ghana's lukewarm attitude to the Nigerian civil war between 1967 and 1970.<sup>1</sup> Despite these recorded acrimonious relations between the two former British West African colonies, however, both of them have also enjoyed some level of peaceful and cordial relations in different areas of human endeavour, both at the official and interpersonal levels of interactions. This probably reinforces Nwokedi's assertion that "confrontation, competition and cooperation are legitimate modalities of interaction between nation – states".<sup>2</sup> This study is therefore conceived to document some elements of peaceful relations between the two countries in the economic, socio-cultural, military and political spheres of life up till 1999.

Generally speaking, the first proof of peaceful co-existence between Nigeria and Ghana has undoubtedly been the series of frequent cross-border migrations over the last two decades. Following the November 1969 expulsion of Nigerians from Ghana, there existed what may largely be referred to as an "interregnum" in Nigerian migration to Ghana between 1970 and the 1980's. This was due to the new-found economic wealth and relative political peace and stability in Nigeria then. However, with the economic and political travails experienced in the country from the early 1980's through the mid-1990s, some Nigerians decided to relocate to Ghana and other countries of the world in and outside Africa<sup>3</sup>. As such, Nigerian emigrant population in Ghana increased from about 94,000 in 1969 to about 450,000 in 1990. This has since increased to around 970,000 in 2005 and about 1.1million in 2009.<sup>4</sup> Interactions with some Nigerian residents in Ghana point to a number of factors that may be held responsible for the increasing wave of Nigerian emigration to Ghana in the contemporary period.

One of such factors is the relative atmosphere of political stability and attendant security in Ghana, anchored on its thriving democracy since the early 1990's. Two things were identified by Said Adejumo for this success story in Ghana. They are the alternation of power through the electoral process and the relative peace in the transition of power from one government to the other since 1993.<sup>5</sup> Ghana's democratic elections which have been highly commended by international observers as peaceful, free and fair are indeed enough credentials of the nation's thriving democratic experiment. The epoch-making visit of the first black president of America, Barack Obama, to Ghana in July 2009 also attested to the quality of good governance in Ghana as a result of its thriving

democracy. Obama indeed told the Washington-based *allafrica.com* why he chose Ghana on his first visit to sub-Saharan Africa. According to him;

Well, part of it is lifting up successful models. And so, by traveling to Ghana, we hope to highlight the effective governance that they have in place. I don't think that we can expect that every country is going to undergo these transitions in the same way at the same time. But we have seen progress in democracy and transparency and rule of law, in the protection of property rights, in anti-corruption efforts...And I think that there is a direct correlation between governance and prosperity. Countries that are governed well, that are stable, where the leadership recognizes that they are accountable to the people and that institutions are stronger than any one person have a track record of producing results for the people. And we want to highlight that.<sup>6</sup>

This prevailing democratic culture has helped a lot in promoting the rule of law, peace and security in Ghana. Since the period 1980's up to the late 1990's corresponded with the era of political turbulence and national insecurity in Nigeria, especially during the Buhari-Babangida-Abacha regimes (1984-1998), many Nigerians who had the means decided to emigrate to Ghana which may be regarded as an haven of peace and security in West Africa.<sup>7</sup>

Another important factor that attracted Nigerians to Ghana was the tourist attraction of the country. Any first time visitor to Ghana will quite agree that Ghana, has a lot to offer in terms of beautiful tropical weather, a warm and pleasant camaraderie, and a very interesting Kaleidoscope of cultural attractions.<sup>8</sup> It is instructive to note that all the ten administrative regions in Ghana, have tourist attraction centers some of which are culturally unique and sometimes relate to the nation's historical heritage, wildlife and nature reserves.<sup>9</sup> These include Elmina and Cape Coast Castles and Fort St. Jago which are recognized by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites<sup>10</sup>. Consequently, Nigerians of all ages have consistently found it alluring to go to Ghana for sight-seeing. Students of Nigerian higher institutions have also been visiting Ghana regularly on excursion.<sup>11</sup> The urge to visit Ghana is further reinforced by the sense of modesty, discipline, tolerance and affability exhibited by Ghanaians at large. In their local language, a majority of Ghanaians, sensing you are a visitor, were very quick in saying **AKWAABA**, meaning welcome to Ghana, even with smiles.

The role of social networks in arousing the interest of Nigerian migrations to Ghana cannot be overemphasized. As M.Boyd<sup>12</sup> and J.T. Fawcett<sup>13</sup> have really affirmed, migration networks are an influential factor in the migration decision. Such networks facilitate migration by giving information and also by financing travel costs or helping find housing or a job. Hence, personal networks based on family, friendship and community ties in potential destination countries are one of the most potent factors that have shaped and sustained international migration over the years. This observation is very apt in the case of Nigerian migration to Ghana. Some Nigerian migrants in Ghana attest to this fact going by their confessions on why they came to Ghana. One of these Nigerians has this to say:

Some of us came to Ghana because of what we were told about Ghana, especially the peace Ghanaians enjoy. Here in Accra, as we have come to know ourselves, one can party all day long. Even night parties don't attract restrictions. One can do so till 3:00 am and still drive through the Liberation and Ring Roads without any fear of attacks from social marginal. One of the most striking differences between these two West African countries is the peace in Ghana.<sup>14</sup>

This view was further corroborated by Nigeria's High Commissioner to Ghana when he stated that "They (Nigerians) cherish what they hear on radio and watch on television about Ghana. Much of what goes on in Ghana is also reported by Nigerians in Ghana in phone discussions with relatives in Nigeria, or during visits to Nigeria. Nigerians are often told of the calm social atmosphere in Ghana, the law-abiding nature of Ghanaians, the prevalence of democracy over dictatorial tendencies. The average Nigerian has fond memories of Ghana.<sup>15</sup> This is a sign of good relations between the two countries.

## 2. Economic Relations between Nigeria and Ghana

### a. Ghanaian Migrant Fishermen in Nigeria

A very important proof of Nigeria-Ghana cordial economic relations in the colonial and post-independent period has been the case of migrant fishermen from Ghana. Though the exact date of their migration to Nigeria is not known, the first set of Ghanaian fishermen migrants were reported to have settled in Yovoyan in the Western coast of Lagos state towards the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>16</sup> They were said to have been led by one Chief Kotokpa, a member of the Ewe ethnic group from the town of Keta<sup>17</sup>. Since then, many marine and lagoon communities of Nigeria have been playing host to numerous migrant fishermen from Ghana and other neighbouring countries in West Africa including Togo and Benin Republic<sup>18</sup>. In all the fishing areas of Nigeria, the estimated population of Ghanaian migrant fishermen may be put at between 3000 and 5000.<sup>19</sup>

Their migration to Nigeria had been instigated by a number of economic related factors such as the seasonal migration of commercial fish species; the availability of more fish species with bigger sizes in Nigeria than in Ghana, including shark, croakers, sardine, shiny nose, and bonga;<sup>20</sup> the appeal of a larger market for fish due to the country's large population;<sup>21</sup> and very good networks between the old and new migrants. Reports of good catches throughout the year and reasonable returns from fishing activities which were usually heard by Ghanaians back home indeed stimulated more migrations into Nigeria on yearly basis. This had always been reinforced by the lack of alternative sources of livelihood and other skills apart from fishing among the young migrants. Fortunately enough, the problem of deportation does not affect these artisanal fishermen as long as they were willing to obey the dictates of the aristocratic ruling elites of the host fishing communities<sup>22</sup>. Once the migrants were ready to comply with their rules, the relationship existing between the two parties was reported to be cordial.<sup>23</sup>

The activities of Ghanaian migrant fishermen have brought some benefits to Nigerian citizens. In the first instance, many Nigerians depend on the fisheries resources as their main source of sustenance, assets and investment capital. Secondly, fishing supplies about 75% of the animal protein intake of some families in Nigeria. Thirdly, it breeds peaceful co-existence between Nigeria and Ghana.

### b. Bilateral trade

Nigeria-Ghana economic relations soared in the 1990s with the balance of trade heavily tilted in favour of Nigeria.<sup>24</sup> While Nigeria's exports to Ghana have been predominantly in the oil and service sectors of the Ghanaian economy<sup>25</sup>; Ghanaian exports to Nigeria have been dominated by manufactured goods such as garments and textiles, food and beverages, plastics and aluminum, pharmaceuticals and other manufactured products, all in the non-oil sector. Ghana has long depended on Nigeria's oil and gas for both domestic and industrial consumptions since the mid-1970. Even though Nigeria stopped oil supply to Ghana during the Shagari-Jerry Rawlings conflict (1982-1983), Ghana has since enjoyed regular oil supply from Nigeria under special concessionary agreement worked out between officials of both countries since 1984.<sup>26</sup> Directly related to oil supplies was the supply of Peugeot cars to Ghana by Nigeria between 1975 and early 1980's. The cars were largely used by government officials and some wealthy individuals who were in the upper and middle classes of the economy. Major features of the Peugeot cars that attracted the Ghanaians were its durability, ruggedness and beauty<sup>27</sup>. Nigeria was also responsible for the supply of electronics (radio and television) to Ghana in the mid-1970s.<sup>28</sup> Things are however changing now especially with the discovery of oil in commercial quantity in Ghana as well as a low level of manufacture in Nigeria, in recent times<sup>29</sup>.

Trade contact had also been established between Ghana and Nigeria with regard to the Ghanaian Kente cloth<sup>30</sup>. According to Mr. Aloo, a Senior Scientific Officer of the Ghana Standards Board (GSB), over 70percent of kente weavers have migrated from the Volta Region of Ghana to Ketu in Lagos, Nigeria, where the traditional textile industry is said to be booming. The main source of attraction for these Ghanaian weavers has been the availability in Lagos, of high quality; ready-made, weaving yarns which add value to the end product.<sup>31</sup> Some young Nigerians have also been learning the craft<sup>32</sup>

Nigeria and Ghana have also signed a good number of economic-related agreements aimed at promoting regional integration in West Africa. A very good example was the West African Merchant Navy Officers' Association Agreement of May, 1973. The bilateral agreement, which was aimed at forming the nucleus of a West African Merchant Navy Officers' Association was signed in Lagos, Nigeria, by Messrs. J.O. Akintola and M.O. Mensah who were both General Secretaries of the Nigerian and Ghanaian Merchant Navy Officers' Associations respectively, on behalf of their respective countries.<sup>33</sup> Some of the aims of the Association were to: present a united front as an association in relations with ship-owners; promote mutual understanding

among seamen and officers in the sub-region; and seek ways and means of securing better conditions of service for member unions with various shipping organizations<sup>34</sup>. It is however unfortunate to note that this Association has failed to make any tangible move towards achieving its set objectives since 1973.

Earlier in January 1973, the Nigerian Coal Corporation (NCC) won a contract for the supply of 20,000 tons of coal to the government of Ghana. It was the second contract won by the NCC within two years as the corporation had earlier made a supply of 20,000 tons to Ghana in 1972.<sup>35</sup> The two contracts involved a total sum of N720, 000. According to the then General Manager of the Corporation, the establishment had also won similar contracts for the supply of 2000 tons of coal to Sierra Leone in 1974 while new and wider markets were being explored for its product across the West African sub-region<sup>36</sup>.

Nigeria and Ghana also signed a maritime agreement on 14 August 1975. The Agreement, which was on the diversion of Cargo-ships from the congested Nigerian Ports to the Ghanaian ports of Takoradi and Tema,<sup>37</sup> came into operation on 5 September 1975. It started with the diversion of a 9250 ton vessel, the *Tariq*, to Takoradi. Subsequently, two other vessels, the *Poseidon* and the *Scattare* with a total tonnage of 13800 were also diverted to Tema.<sup>38</sup> Shortly after the agreement came into operation, there was a tight sealing of the Benin-Togo land borders by the government of Benin Republic in mid-October 1975. This followed an allegation that pro-Zinsou rebels were planning to invade Benin Republic, using Togolese territory as jumping-off ground in an attempt to overthrow President Mathieu Kerekou.<sup>39</sup> The border closure brought considerable damage to Nigeria-Ghana trade relations. This was because most Ghanaians who travelled to Nigeria by road for trade could not transport their heavy goods by road just as they could not air freight them because of the prohibitive costs. Even for ordinary passengers, the only available route was by air. Furthermore, by the time the border closure was announced by the Benin authorities, more than 50 heavy-duty articulated trucks were reported to have crossed into Nigeria from Ghana while some were still on their way to or returning from Nigeria. All these vehicles got stranded on the road causing severe hardships for the drivers and great losses to their owners.

Nigeria and Ghana have also been spearheading attempts at promoting regional integration in West Africa. For instance in April, 1999, the Nigerian Association of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture (NACCIMA) and its Ghanaian counterpart, the Private Enterprises Foundation (PEF) converged on Lagos to discuss issues relating to regional integration.<sup>40</sup> Highlights of their deliberations included an identification of the impediments to prompt implementation of regional integration policies and protocols in West Africa<sup>41</sup> and suggestions for realizing the lofty objectives of integration within the sub-region<sup>42</sup>. The two countries thereafter agreed on some key issues which were considered salient for a successful integration and improvement in their economic relations. One, they agreed to put in place mechanisms for monitoring and implementation of their policy decisions. Two, both countries agreed that banks in Nigeria and Ghana should increase correspondent banking in other ECOWAS countries as a way of boosting trade. Three, it was agreed that both countries should work towards the convergence criteria of ECOWAS which would lead to the eventual introduction of a single currency by the year 2003. Four, on infrastructure, it was agreed that all bottlenecks to the smooth running of the microwave system be removed. Lastly, it was decided that the meeting in Nigeria be regarded as an exploratory one between the two private groups. Hence, another delegate meeting was scheduled for Accra, Ghana between the 10 and 11 or 28 to 29 April, 2000.<sup>43</sup> It is however unfortunate to observe that after almost thirteen years of deliberations, the decisions are yet to be transformed into a working agreement.

Another area of regular economic relations between Nigeria and Ghana is in the transportation sector. Ghana and Nigeria are linked by land, air and water. For the low income earners, travelling by road to and from Ghana was the most frequently patronized. For the wealthy passengers however, travel by air was the preferred means of transportation. In this wise, the Kotoka International Airport, Accra, Ghana and the Murtala Mohammed International Airport, Lagos, Nigeria were always beehive of activities for passengers trooping in or taking their exit from both countries.<sup>44</sup> It should be observed however that travel by sea was less patronized except in the days of the deportations from Nigeria in 1983.<sup>45</sup>

### **3. Educational Relations between Nigeria and Ghana**

A major institution that has promoted regular educational relations between Nigeria and Ghana is the West African Examinations Council (WAEC). The WAEC is a non-profit making examination body established in 1953 to promote educational cooperation and development in British West African Colonies. Its headquarters is

at Accra, Ghana and branch office at Yaba, Lagos.<sup>46</sup> The Council conducts four different categories of examinations namely: International examinations; National examinations; examination conducted in collaboration with other examining bodies and; examinations conducted on behalf of other examining bodies. International examinations are those taken in the five countries under the WAEC Ordinance. These are made up of West African Senior School Certificate Examination, West African School Certificate Examination, School Certificate/General Certificate of Education (Ordinary and Advanced levels). The National Examinations are taken in individual countries. They include the Junior Secondary School Certificate for Nigeria and the Gambia, Junior and Senior High School Certificate Examinations for Liberia; National Primary School and Basic Education Certificate Examinations for Sierra Leone; Basic Education Certificate Examination for Ghana and Senior School Certificate Examinations for Ghana. WAEC has been living up to its missions of maintaining internationally accepted procedures, provision of qualitative and reliable educational assessment, encouraging students in attaining academic excellence and promotion of sustainable human development, mutual understanding and international cooperation.<sup>47</sup> But much more than that, WAEC is the only surviving inter-territorial sub-regional institution in British West Africa.

WAEC has since introduced some innovations in educational relations among member states. One of such innovations was the launching of the WAEC Endowment Fund in Monrovia, Liberia during the 30<sup>th</sup> meeting of Council in 1982. The Fund was established with the following objectives in view:

- i. promotion of educational development projects of an international nature, related to the objectives of the Council undertaken in the member countries of the Council;
- ii. provision of funds for awards to candidates for outstanding performances in examinations conducted by the Council in the member countries;
- iii. educational research into Aptitude Testing and standardization of Continuous Assessment;
- iv. development of integrated curriculum and syllabuses;
- v. development of textbooks; and
- vi. any other projects relevant in furtherance of the aims and objectives of the fund.<sup>48</sup>

The Fund has remained on course and its objectives have been closely kept in focus. So far, the educational development project has involved buying books for the less privileged students and offer of awards to students who perform excellently in their examinations.<sup>49</sup> It was in line with this that WAEC awarded seven students that performed excellently in 2004 Senior School Certificate Examination. The award was in two categories: the cash awards which ranged from 250 to 550 US dollars and certificates of honour. This was meant to bring in competition among students as a way of improving the standard of education in the sub-region.<sup>50</sup>

Furthermore, the Board of Trustees also instituted a programme of annual lectures delivered by renowned scholars on issues of enduring relevance to the educational aspirations of the West African sub-region. The Annual Endowment Fund Lecture kicked-off in March 1996. It has continued since then. Below is a table indicating the lectures and the names of the lecturers between 1996 and 2003.

YEAR	TOPIC	LECTURER	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
1996	The Role of WAEC in the promotion of Democracy, Sustainable Development and International Cooperation in West Africa.	Prof. E.A. Boateng	Ghana
1997	The Dual Mandate: Teaching and Examining	Prof. Eldred Jones	Sierra-Leone
1998	Not in our Stars	Prof. V. Chukwuemeka Ike	Nigeria
1999	And Miles to Go before I Sleep	Dr. Lenrie Peters	The Gambia
2000	Encourage the Best, Support the Rest	Mr. Monroe T. Worrel	Liberia
2001	The Language factor in Education: Teaching, Learning and Examining	Prof. Florence A. Dolphyne	Ghana
2002	Education for National Redemption	Prof. J.A. Ayoade	Nigeria
2003	The Role and Relevance of the West African Examinations Council within the context of the Realities and Challenges of our times.	Dr. M.B. Joof	The Gambia



Apart from the linkage which WAEC provides between Nigeria and Ghana, citizens of both countries have been attending schools across each country's borders in recent times. As at 1999, there were over 2000 Nigerian citizens pursuing higher education in Ghana. This has since increased to over 55,000 in 2008.<sup>51</sup> This was attributable to a number of factors such as: lack of stability in the Nigerian educational system due to incessant closure of higher institutions as a result of the menace of cultism; and dilapidated infrastructural facilities, among others. For some however, it was a form of adventure to leave Nigeria and go to school in a foreign land. Apart from the prestige it conferred, it was also seen as a way of broadening their horizon of experience in life. The proximity of Ghana to Nigeria and the language factor also made Ghana a preferred destination for others.<sup>52</sup>

#### **4. Music in Nigeria-Ghana Relations**

It is essential to note that Nigerian music from about 1940 witnessed a turning point due to the impact of modern trends on traditional music. The most spectacular of such trends was the introduction of what W.W.C. Echezoma referred to as "popular music"<sup>53</sup>. One of such forms was the Juju music in Yorubaland. The music of Ade Ojo, Sunny Ade, Ebenezer Obey, Dele Abiodun and I.K. Dairo are examples of this type of music.<sup>54</sup> The second type of popular music was the "highlife" music which originated from Ghana.<sup>55</sup> Ghanaian highlife was perhaps the earliest significant form of West African neo-folk music, which fuses traditional Akan dance rhythms and melodies with European instruments and harmonies. History has it that highlife originated on the Fanti coast of southwest Ghana, which had the longest history of European contact in West Africa.<sup>56</sup> The name "highlife" appeared when various neo-folk styles were orchestrated by the "high class" brass bands and dance bands. By the 1920s, highlife had spread throughout southern Ghana and was played by three main types of ensemble: the brass bands, dance orchestras and guitar bands.<sup>57</sup>

The Second World War transformed highlife music in Ghana as the Commonwealth and American troops stationed in the country introduced swing music. Consequently, a new generation of smaller dance bands replaced the earlier large ballroom dance orchestras. One of such groups was The Tempos which was formed toward the end of the war. E.T. Mensah became the leader of the group in 1939 following the exit of the foreign members at the end of the Second World War.<sup>58</sup> The Tempos soon became the most famous highlife dance band in West Africa. His band revitalized highlife music with more modern instrumentation and a wide variety of local rhymes. Subsequently, Mensah and his Tempo's band waxed a number of records and made frequent tours of Nigeria between the 1940's and 1960's where they introduced dance-band highlife.<sup>59</sup> Nigerian dance bands like Bobby Benson's and Sammy Akpabot's had only been playing Western dance music, but E.T. Mensah's Latin style of highlife became so popular that groups modeled on the Tempos - Victor Olaiya's Cool Cats and Cardinal Jim Rex Lawson's band, for instance - were formed.<sup>60</sup> Some other Nigerian musicians such as Victor Uwaifo, Chief Stephen Osita Osadebe, Muddy Ibe, and Roy Chicago also embraced Mensah's highlife brand of music.<sup>61</sup>

E.T. Mensah's highlife ruled dance floors across Nigeria and Ghana up till the 1970's and was the sound of African independence days. Apart from playing for Ghana, his home country in 1957, he also became so popular in Nigeria that he played during Nigeria's Independence Day Celebration on 1 October, 1960.<sup>62</sup> Eventually, Nigerian musicians complained that his success was spoiling their opportunities; hence, his visits were curtailed. A show was however organized in his honour in Lagos in 1986, where he joined his Nigerian colleagues including Victor Olaiya and Victor Uwaifo on stage.<sup>63</sup> Mensah, born on 31 May 1919, died on 19 July, 1996 at the age of 77years. Today, highlife still goes on in Nigeria, though, on the national scene, it remains overshadowed by the more popular Juju, Fuji, and reggae music.

#### **5. Movies (Video and Films) in Nigeria-Ghana Relations**

Video film production began almost simultaneously in Ghana and Nigeria in the late 1980s, largely in response to the general economic downturn that made celluloid film production too expensive then as well as the parlous state of security in both countries that made it extremely dangerous to go out at night to cinemas then.<sup>64</sup> The pioneering efforts of people like Willy Akuffo, and Socrate Safo from Ghana, as well as Tunde Kelani, Kenneth Nnebue and Victor Olaiya (alias Baba Sala) of Nigeria cannot be overemphasized in the growth of the movies industry in both countries.<sup>65</sup> Since 1990 till date, there has been a spectacular eruption of video films in Nigeria and Ghana—feature films that are shot cheaply on video and sold or rented as video cassettes or video compact

discs. Thousands of these videos are produced every year in the two countries today.<sup>66</sup> They are broadcast on television all over Anglophone Africa and are shown in theaters, small video parlours, and even in rural villages where itinerant exhibitors make the rounds with televisions, video cassette players, and generators. The videos have since become one of the greatest explosions of popular culture the continent has ever seen.<sup>67</sup>

Another element of cordial relations between the two countries is the influx of films and videos across their respective geographical boundaries. Today, Nigerian and Ghanaian films are not only shown on the screen of television stations but are also marketed freely in stalls across the boundaries of both countries. Related to this is that actors and actresses from both countries are involved in joint productions regularly. This provides opportunities for regular interaction and cross-fertilization of ideas through collaboration in films and video production and marketing; breeding of cultural appreciation, understanding and tolerance among the peoples of both countries; and building of large networks of friendship between Nigerian and Ghanaian actors, actresses, producers and marketers. No one may ever be able to predict the positive impact of such a development on cross-national cooperation between the two countries in the future. Furthermore, the collaborative ventures in the film and video industry also promote economies of scale. Rather than depend on their respective local markets, they are now exposed to larger markets for selling their films with great profits.<sup>68</sup>

Like every other human endeavour, video filmmaking in Nigeria and Ghana faces similar challenges.<sup>69</sup> One of such problems is piracy which is regarded as the major bane of the industry. Another challenge is the loss of revenue from video rentals. In both countries, there are thousands of shops that rent video films but there is no mechanism for returning profits to the producers. This extremely leaky distribution system, coupled with the sheer glut of films on the market, make it difficult to turn a decent profit on films. Ghanaian filmmakers however have the additional problem of competition from the Nigerians. The Nigerian films were considered racier and more violent than Ghanaian's, and while this is shocking to Ghanaian audiences, they pay for the titillation.<sup>70</sup>

Despite these and many other related challenges confronting the video and film industry in Nigeria and Ghana, the industry offers some advantages for citizens of both countries. In the first instance, it serves as a source of income to the practitioners ranging from the script writers, the actors and actresses, the directors, producers and marketers, to the film hawkers and video-rental operators, each individual earning a living. This has helped in reducing poverty levels in both countries while enhancing a better condition of living for the peoples involved and their families. Secondly, it promotes ingenuity and creativity among the film-makers. Thirdly, their productions have brought some psychological relief for their numerous viewers as they offer opportunities for a relaxed mind out of boredom. But apart from these, the video filmmaking industry also helps in sensitizing the society about societal ills. Through their various productions, they act as watchdogs on the activities of government, acting as it were as the fifth realm of the estate in both countries.<sup>71</sup>

## **6. Language and Culture Contact between Nigeria and Ghana**

Nigeria and Ghana are English speaking countries because they were both colonized by Britain. Hence, one of the major considerations for Nigerian migration to Ghana is language affinity, namely the ability to interact and communicate freely with their host communities. However, when they got to Ghana, it was discovered that a majority of Ghanaians were non-literate. They could not understand, read or write English language. Rather, they spoke their local languages, particularly Twi. It was therefore a matter of necessity for the Nigerian immigrant community in Ghana to learn the local languages for day-to-day interaction, communication and bargaining with the native peoples. Eventually, a majority of Nigerian migrants could speak the Twi language fluently.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, Hausa, one of the major local languages in Nigeria is spoken widely in Northern Ghana today. It is indeed the language of the Ghanaian Armed Forces especially in their various barracks. It is also the major means of communication among Ghanaian fishermen in Nigeria.<sup>73</sup> In other words; there is significant language mix between Nigeria and Ghana even till date.

Another aspect of the social dynamics of Nigerians in Ghana was giving Ghanaian facial marks to their children. Even though it was claimed by the Olu of Inisa<sup>74</sup> that the mark was used in controlling child mortality, it was nevertheless a symbol of a prosperous diaspora and memory of migration among Nigerian returnee from Ghana. Furthermore, the Ghanaian facial marks adopted by Nigerians have also acted as a sign of modernity or cultural diversity in which Nigerians preferred Ghanaian cultural practices to their own traditional facial marks. Related to this was that some Yoruba parents gave Ghanaian names to their children following the days they were born.<sup>75</sup>

It should be observed that these were part of the strategies employed by Nigerians in Ghana to integrate with their host communities as a guarantee of their peaceful stay while in Ghana.<sup>76</sup>

Another major element of Nigeria-Ghana cultural relations is inter-marriages. Everywhere in the world, intermarriages bridge gaps in interrelationships and promote the spirit of cohesion, tolerance, peaceful co-existence and harmony in inter-personal, inter-community and inter-state relations. In view of the above, the cases of Nigerians getting married to Ghanaians over the years are good omen for better Ghana-Nigeria relations.<sup>77</sup>

Apart from the successful economic exploits of Nigerian migrants in Ghana as a source of enticement to Ghanaian women, the economic prosperity of the Nigerian nation in the mid-1970s through early 1980s could probably have served to attract Ghanaian women to Nigerian men. Being by far the richest country in the West African sub-region largely owing to the oil boom of those good years, many Ghanaian women were favourably disposed to marrying Nigerians as a guarantee of economic security for the future. No surprise therefore that a good number of Ghanaian women were reported to be engaged in marriage to Nigerians in order to escape the deportation orders of 1983 and 1985.<sup>78</sup>

Another area of cordial relations between Nigeria and Ghana was in the field of journalism. Without much fear of contradiction, Nigeria's journalism, acclaimed today to be one of the most vibrant in Africa, may be said to have drawn inspiration for its potency from Ghana.<sup>79</sup> Described as "Africa's foremost journalist,"<sup>80</sup> the inimitable Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who may be regarded as the founder of journalism in Nigeria, cut his journalistic teeth in Ghana by editing the *African Morning Post* between 1934 and 1937.<sup>81</sup> It was this stint, coming hot on the heels of his relocation to Nigeria that spurred him to establish his own newspaper, *The West African Pilot* in 1937.<sup>82</sup> Since then, journalism has waxed stronger in its bite of informing, reporting, educating and entertaining its audience. Today, both the Nigerian and Ghanaian governments are trying to build on these strong ties especially in the area of electronic media. This is why the call by the Ghanaian government for an exchange of radio and television programmes between her and Nigeria as a means of enhancing mutual relations between nationals of the two countries is highly commendable.<sup>83</sup>

## 7. Nigeria-Ghana Military Relations

Nigeria and Ghana have also enjoyed robust relations in military affairs over the last thirty years. After the controversies that surrounded Ghana's role in the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), both countries resumed formal military cooperation in 1977. Largely to bolster their influences and promote cordiality of relations, Nigeria, under General Olusegun Obasanjo and Ghana under Colonel Ignatius K. Acheampong, agreed to set up a joint committee for the purpose of military cooperation between the two countries.<sup>84</sup> Under the agreement, which was signed in March 1977, Ghana agreed to offer Nigeria ten vacancies annually in Ghana Senior Staff College (GSSC) for the training of Nigeria's senior military officers.<sup>85</sup>

The first set of Nigerian senior military officers to benefit from the course left Nigeria for Ghana on 12 April, 1978 to begin their one year course at the College.<sup>86</sup> The officers were Major P.A. Anekwe and Major G.O. Abbe both of the Nigerian Army.<sup>87</sup> According to "SOJA", the Army News Bulletin, April 1978 edition, some junior officers from Ghana were also pioneer students of the Junior Division Staff College (JDSS) established at Jaji, Kaduna. They joined their Nigerian counterparts numbering thirty-four for the course. The College which was established in 1978 was meant to train qualified young officers of the rank of Captain from all arms and services for the purpose of preparing them for staff of adjutant appointments.<sup>88</sup> Ever since then, both countries have not relent in their efforts to sustain the joint training exchange programme.<sup>89</sup>

Nigeria under General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida also supplied twelve combat-capable L-39 training aircraft to Ghana in 1990.<sup>90</sup> It was indeed the first concrete step towards cooperation in armory equipment between both countries. The high-point of Nigeria-Ghana military relations during the Babangida administration was the dare-devil air show put up by the Nigerian Armed Forces Squadrons of Alpha Jets, Jaquars and MiG23s which were openly displayed to the admiration of Ghana's visiting Head of State, Lt. Jerry John Rawlings in 1992. This was followed by Babangida's presentation of a i2L -29 Delphin fighter trainers' Jet as a gift to Rawlings.<sup>91</sup>



Nigeria and Ghana were also engaged in military collaboration under the auspices of the ECOWAS Peace Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in resolving the civil wars in Liberia, Sierra-Leone and Guinea-Bissau between 1990 and 1999. A combination of institutional imperatives, foreign policy mandate, moral/humanitarian appeal and the desires for sub-regional order and stability for economic development may be said to have instigated both countries to take bold positive steps in peacekeeping operations in the West African sub-region.<sup>921</sup>

It would be recalled that the escalation of the Liberian civil war and the humanitarian calamity in the war-torn country were the major factors that motivated the Nigerian leader General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida to propose the formation of an ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee to manage the Liberian crisis during the 13<sup>th</sup> ECOWAS Summit held in Banjul, Gambia on 30 May, 1990. Following the adoption of the proposal, Ghana, Togo, Mali and The Gambia were appointed as members of the committee that was chaired by Nigeria.<sup>93</sup> During its mini-summit of 6-7 August, 1990 held in Banjul, the committee decided to set up the ECOMOG. Members were also mandated to contribute troops for the force. However, Guinea and Sierra Leone, though not members of the committee also signified their intention to contribute troops for the ECOMOG Force.<sup>94</sup> According to available records, Nigeria contributed the highest number of troops for the ECOMOG operations initially and even in subsequent times of need.<sup>95</sup> She was also responsible for the bulk of military hardware and other logistic supplies of the force; and also provided the lion share of the funds for the ECOMOG Force Operations.<sup>96</sup> The First Field Commander of ECOMOG was a Ghanaian in person of General Arnold Quainoo.<sup>97</sup>

The overall beauty of Nigeria-Ghana collaborative ventures under the aegis of ECOMOG was the successful halt and arrest of the carnage in Liberia. ECOMOG also had the credit of conducting a peaceful and successful election in Liberia, apart from successfully enforcing the cease-fire. It was the successes recorded in this first major activity of ECOMOG in Liberia usually referred to as ECOMOG I that propelled the Force's intervention in the Sierra-Leone crisis in 1997. The ECOMOG in collaboration with the United Nations Mission to Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) successfully ended the crisis in the country and re-instated Tejan Kabbah, the deposed Sierra Leonean President back to power in March 1998, before conducting a fresh election in 2002. Tejan Kabbah also won the election. The third ECOMOG military assignment in Guinea-Bissau between 1998 and 1999 was also a success story. Then, it restored peace after a short-spelt civil war in the country.<sup>98</sup>

## 8. Nigeria-Ghana Political Relations

Generally speaking, Ghana and Nigeria have been engaged in series of collaboration in political matters since their independence. Their initial collaboration in such matters came in the form of championing the freedom of African states from colonial rule. Such collaboration came to the fore in 1963 through the activities of the African Liberation Committee (ALC) based in Tanzania which was established for the purpose of channeling financial support and assistance to independence movements in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique and to offer support for movements against white minority rule in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.<sup>99</sup> Incidentally, all the independence movements were all victorious by 1980 while white minority rule and apartheid policy ended in South Africa in 1994.<sup>100</sup>

Ghana and Nigeria have also established a Permanent Joint Commission for Cooperation since April 1988.<sup>101</sup> The Commission was established to improve the cordial bilateral relations between both countries by enhancing regular consultations on economic, political and security issues affecting both countries, West Africa and Africa as a whole.<sup>102</sup> For instance, on 16 December 1988, Nigeria exchanged 418 Ghanaian prisoners serving some terms of imprisonment or held on awaiting trial across Nigerian prisons for 30 Nigerian prisoners in Ghana. The exchange took place at the Murtala Mohammed International Airport, Lagos and the Kotoka International Airport Accra.<sup>103</sup> This has been a continuous exercise since then.<sup>104</sup>

Meanwhile, it is unfortunate to observe that though they meet regularly as stated above, not much has been achieved in terms of implementation. A very good example is the case of about 361 Nigerians who retired from the Ghana Public Service, whose pension entitlements were yet to be paid. It is essential to note that this issue had always formed part of the agenda for discussions at the Ghana-Nigeria joint forum held since May 1986 and yet nothing had been done to alleviate the sufferings of these aged Nigerians.<sup>105</sup> It was in this respect that the Ghanaian government had been severally called upon to look into the pathetic case of these Nigerians. It is hoped that the Ghanaian government would one day take a positive step in this regard.

Without prejudice to any lapse(s) in the Ghana-Nigeria Joint Commission for Cooperation mentioned above, the Commission has boosted good relations between the two countries. Here, the general observation of the activities of the Joint Commission made by a former Nigerian High Commissioner to Ghana, Senator Musiliu Obanikoro stated inter alia:

We (Nigerian & Ghanaian governments) have done a lot to improve relations between both countries. We have just had the Ghana/Nigeria business summit where we inaugurated the Ghana-Nigeria Chamber of Commerce. We have had the ECOWAS cultural festival in which we (Nigeria) participated fully as a country. During the Independence Day Celebration in Accra, we sponsored as a nation, a play that is one of the literature books that they use for WASSSCE... We are trying to strengthen the educational exchange programme between both countries. Two weeks ago, we collaborated with an orphanage to assist Ghanaians from the Northern Region to raise money.<sup>106</sup>

It is expected that the Joint Commission will continue to sustain the existing mutual relations between both countries.

Another institution that has promoted Nigeria-Ghana political relations is the Quadripartite Commission established in December 1984 between Nigeria, Ghana, Togo and Benin. The essence of the Commission was to promote mutual administrative assistance in matters relating to customs, immigration and trade as well as extradition treaty among the four countries.<sup>107</sup> Other issues which the Commission have also addressed itself to over the years include: security along common borders, as well as ways and means of preventing a recurrence of mass expulsion of foreign nationals.<sup>108</sup> The Quadripartite Commission meets regularly on a rotational basis through summits of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and occasionally, through the meeting of Heads of States and Governments. The Commission has stimulated joint economic project among the four nations such as the Gas and Oil Plant being planned by the four countries. The Commission has also been involved in settling inter-state disputes among member states. For example, the Togo-Ghana dispute in November 1985.<sup>109</sup>

Another important political initiative that has been very instrumental to the promotion of harmonious relations in Nigeria-Ghana relation is exchange of visits either by delegation or by direct contact between the Heads of States and Governments of the two countries. This has helped greatly in building mutual trust and confidence between them. The first recorded visit was initiated by Ghana's first Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who visited his Nigerian counterpart, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in Lagos in 1959 to discuss Pan-African affairs.<sup>110</sup> Another Ghanaian delegation was in Lagos on 17 March 1966. The four-man delegation led by Mr. Justice Akufo-Ado was in Lagos in search of legitimacy for the newly installed government of General J.A. Ankrah.<sup>111</sup> Addressing pressmen at the Murtala Mohammed International Airport, Ikeja, Lagos on 17 March, 1966, Mr. Justice Akufo-Ado said that his delegation was sent out by Ghana's National Liberation Council (NLC) to bear practical human evidence to the Nigerian Federal Military Government about the latest political developments in Ghana that led to the change of Government.<sup>112</sup> He added that Ghana was "opening a new chapter of a very close cooperation with Nigeria".<sup>113</sup>

Apart from the forced journey of the Nigerian military leader, Yakubu Gowon, to Aburi, Ghana, in January 1967 when General J.A. Ankrah of Ghana made spirited efforts to broker peace between him and Odumegwu Ojukwu to prevent the outbreak of Nigerian civil war, there is no record of official reciprocal visit by the Nigerian government to Ghana until 21 April, 1975.<sup>114</sup> Then, a four-man Nigerian delegation headed by the then Federal Commissioner for Special Duties, Colonel Dan Suleiman, went to Accra to deliver a special message from General Yakubu Gowon to Colonel Ignatius Acheampong, the then newly installed Ghanaian leader.<sup>115</sup> This was quickly reciprocated by the Ghanaian government on 10 August, 1975 when a Ghanaian delegation led by Ghana's Commissioner for Transport and Communication, Colonel P.K. Agyekun arrived in Lagos in connection with the proposal to use Ghana's ports for off-loading some of the vessels carrying cement ordered by the Federal Government of Nigeria from overseas.<sup>116</sup> On 14 August, 1975, both countries signed an agreement for the use of Ghana seaports to off-load Nigerian goods and consignments. The Agreement was signed by Col. P.K. Agyekun on behalf of Ghana and Col Shehu Yar'Adua, Nigeria's Federal Commissioner for Transport on behalf of Nigeria.

In October 1975, the Nigerian delegation also attended the eleven-day Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa held at Accra, Ghana. It was led by Brigadier I.B.M. Haruna, the then Federal Commissioner for Information. The Conference, which was held in preparation for the second World African Festival of Arts and Culture (Festac 77) scheduled for Nigeria in 1977, was largely successful in arousing African interests in their culture.<sup>117</sup> Following the change of government in Nigeria on 27 August, 1985 when General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida toppled General Mohammadu Buhari's administration, Jerry Rawlings of Ghana paid an official visit to Nigeria to secure the cooperation of the Nigerian Government particularly for the resumption of oil supply to Ghana which had earlier been cancelled during Shagari's administration.<sup>118</sup>

Between September, 1985 and January, 1989, five important exchange visits were recorded between Nigeria and Ghana. First, in September, 1985 Commandore Murtala Nyako, a member of the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) led a high-powered Nigerian delegation to Ghana. He also visited Benin and Togo on a "good neighbourliness mission" ostensibly aimed at mending fences broken as a result of the closure of Nigeria's land borders and the expulsion of illegal immigrants by the ousted Buhari regime.<sup>119</sup> Second was the visitation of a five-man Ghanaian delegation led by Captain Kojo Tsikata, a member of Ghana's Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) that delivered a message from the Ghanaian leader, Jerry Rawlings to President Ibrahim Babangida at Lagos, Nigeria, on 29 October, 1985.<sup>120</sup> In his address to the Ghanaian delegation, General Ibrahim Babangida called on the Ghanaian authorities to enliven their "commitment to ensuring stronger ties" with Nigeria as both countries "shared long-standing relations".<sup>121</sup>

The third of the visits was the one-day working visit by Ghanaian leader, Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings on 15 April, 1988. The visit afforded both Rawlings and his host, General Ibrahim Babangida the much needed opportunity to share ideas on their respective political transition programmes, structural adjustment programmes and currency auctioning, among others.<sup>122</sup> Later, between 21 and 22 November 1988, Major General Ike Nwachukwu led a Nigerian delegation to Ghana. The delegation was hosted to a discussion by the Ghanaian leader on 22 November, 1988. Their discussions centred on the need to step up trade between both countries as well as an improved inter-African trade with a view to warding-off intense economic pressures mounted upon African businessmen by the developed countries.<sup>123</sup> The last of the visitations took place in January 1989 when the Nigerian Military President Ibrahim Babangida went to Ghana. This reciprocal visit to Rawlings' by Babangida was hailed as a watershed in Nigeria-Ghana relations.<sup>124</sup>

More exchange of Presidential visits was also recorded between 1994 and 1995. For instance, Nigeria's military Head of State, General Sani Abacha, was a Guest of Honour during the swearing-in ceremony of Jerry Rawlings when the latter became civilian President in 1994. Similarly, between early August 1994, when Rawlings became ECOWAS Chairman, and the end of October 1995, the Ghanaian president visited Nigeria three times to discuss the peace process in Liberia and measures to restore democracy in Liberia.<sup>125</sup> These exchange of visits have contributed immensely to the sustenance of mutual relations between Nigeria and Ghana. It is hoped that future political leaders in both countries will allow the tradition to continue.

## 9. Conclusion

Going by this array of points of convergence in Nigeria-Ghana relations at both the official and interpersonal levels, it is expected that both countries will work on the areas of unity and play down all divisive tendencies in their future interactions. Efforts should also be intensified to promote more collaborative ventures for the sustenance of peace and security as a lever for socio-economic transformation within the West-African sub-region. This is the only way to forge ahead in unity as a precondition for growth and development in their respective countries.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Olajide, Aluko, *Ghana and Nigeria: 1957-70: A Study in Inter-African Discord*, (London: Zex Collins, 1976)
2. Emeka Nwokedi, "Nigeria and France" in G.O. Olusanya and R.A. Akindele (eds.) *Nigeria's External Relations: The First Twenty-Five Years*, (Ibadan: University Press Ltd., 1986), p.284.
3. B.U. Mberu reports that apart from going to Ghana, about 1.4million Nigerian nationals were said to have migrated to Sudan, as recorded by the Sudanese Census figures of 1993. A majority of these Nigerians who are well-educated are being employed in the security services such as the police and in

key government offices and parastatals. The less educated ones are engaged in subsistence farming and begging to earn a living. However, the United Kingdom and the United States of America remains the top destinations of most educated Nigerians and the footballers. For details, see B.U. Mberu, “Multiple Forms of Mobility in Africa’s Democratic Giant”, *African Population and Health Research Centre*, Roland Dongou, Brown University, 2010:12.

4. See United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report*, 2009, cited in B.U. Mberu; “Multiple Forms of Mobility in Africa’s Democratic Giant”.
5. See Said Adejumobi, “Ghana at 50: Lessons for Nigeria”, *The Guardian* (Nigeria), 21 March 2007, p.65.
6. See *allafrica.com* for Obama’s reasons for visiting Ghana on 11 July, 2009.
7. T. Antwi-Bosiakoh, “Understanding Migration Motivations in West Africa: The Case of Nigerians in Ghana”, *Legon Journal of Sociology*, Vol.3, No2, Dec.2006 – June 2009, pp.9-10.
8. See Surf Publications (GH) Ltd., *Accra and Ghana Tourist Maps* (Accra: Surf Publications (GH) Ltd, 2003), p.23.
9. For administrative convenience, the Republic of Ghana is divided into ten Regions. These are: Greater Accra; Ashanti; Brong Ahafo; Western; Central; Eastern; Volta; Northern; Upper West; and Upper East Regions.
10. Apart from these forts and castles, some of the notable centres of tourist attractions across the ten Regions are highlighted below:

Region	Places of Attraction
Greater Accra	La Pleasure Beach, The Resource Reserve, The National Theatre, George Padmore Research Library, of African Affairs, Achimota Forest Reserve, Independence Square
Ashanti Region	Manhyia Palace (Asantehene)
Brong Ahafo	Boabang-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary
The Central Region	The Cape Coast Castle
The Eastern Region	Tetteh Quarshie’s Cocoa Farm, Aburi Botanical Gardens
The Northern Region	The Mole National Park
The Upper West Region	The Wechiau Hippopotamus Sanctuary
The Upper East Region	Paga Town, Kulungugu Bomb Site.
The Volta Region	Kyabobo National Park
The Western Region	Takoradi Port, Busua Beach Reserve

11. In May 2010, I even led students of the Department of History and International Studies of the Ekiti State University of Ado-Ekiti (formerly University of Ado-Ekiti on an academic excursion to Ghana. I was accompanied on the trip by another colleague in the Department, Mr. S.O. Soetan. The fascinating and pleasant experience during the visit is still stimulating another urge to go to Ghana once again among our students.
12. According to the Ghanaian government, the tourism industry contributes greatly to the nation’s economy through various means such as corporate tax, income tax, value added tax, National Health Insurance Levies, Ghana Tourism Board (GTB) Licence fees, property taxes, property/asset fees, business registration fees, visa/work permits, airport service charges and so on. For a list of such related sources, see Surf Publications (Gh) Ltd., *Accra and Ghana Tourism Maps*, pp.ii and 2.
13. J.T. Fawcett, “Networks, Linkages and Migration Systems”, *International Migration Review*, Vol.23, No3, 1989, pp.671-680.
14. Interview with Mr. Ihekire C. Nnamdi at Legon on 15 May, 2010.
15. Unofficial opinion expressed by some officials of the Nigerian High Commission in Accra, 20/21, Onyasia street, Roman Ridge, Residential Area, P.O.Box 1548, Accra, Ghana, in May 2010. They however pleaded for anonymity.
16. B.T. Fregene, “Profile of Fishermen Migration in Nigeria and Implication for a sustainable livelihood” (date unknown) p.5; available online.
17. *Ibid*, p.6.
18. *Ibid*. For instance, in Yovoyan, there were close to two thousand Ghanaian households (the Aganrins), about 8 Egun households from Benin Republic, 4 households from Togo and around 500 Ghanaian households in Moba. In Avijio, there were about 340 Aganrin Ghanaian households and 260 Eguns from Contonou. Similarly, some Ghanaian, Togolese and Benin fishermen may also be found at Aivogi

- along the east coast of Lagos state. This is apart from the itinerant Ghanaian migrant stock found in Lokoja, and Oron.
19. In the absence of any official accurate record, I have to attempt a rough estimation of the number of Ghanaian migrant fishermen.
  20. B.T. Fregene, Profile of Fishermen Migration in Nigeria, p.10. See also Shehu Abubakar, "In Oron, Hausa and Ghanaians have one Chief", *Daily Trust*, Thursday, 28 April, 2011.
  21. Interview with some Ghanaian migrant fishermen who claimed anonymity in Lagos.
  22. In the 1983 and 1985 expulsions from Nigeria, Ghanaian fishermen were adequately protected by the local chiefs. This was made possible largely because most of the fishing communities are usually situated in Lagoon areas and are therefore not easily accessible to law enforcement agents.
  23. See F.Tawari, "Dissemination of Research Findings on Nomadic Education in Nigeria (The Migrant Fishermen Education Experience): Issues and Directions", paper presented at the *International Conference Organized by International Extension College (IEC)*, Cambridge and sponsored by The Department for International Development (DFID) at Abuja, Nigeria on 16-19 January, 2002, p.6.
  24. See M. Hoppe and F. Aidoo, "Removing barriers to trade between Ghana and Nigeria: Strengthening Regional Integration by Implementing ECOWAS Commitments", Policy Note 30, *World Bank*: URL: [http://go.worldbank.org/SGK\\_E493400](http://go.worldbank.org/SGK_E493400). According to the National Bureau of Statistics, *Nigerian Foreign Trade Summary, January-December 2002*, Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2002, p.9, total imports from Ghana by Nigeria in 2002 was about 2.1billion naira while total exports from Nigeria to Ghana was around 45.8billion naira. See also Clifford Ndujihe, "What Nigeria should learn from Ghana by Musiliu Obanikoro", *The Guardian (Nigeria)*, 10 December 2008, pp.8-9.
  25. The telecommunications, e-transact and banking industries in Ghana have been invaded largely by Nigerian businessmen and companies going by the various newspaper reports. The case of the banking industry is however very glaring as almost all of Nigerian banks now have branches in Accra, Ghana.
  26. See S. Ajibola, "Improving Nigeria-Ghana Relations", *National Concord (Lagos)*, 26 December 1984, pp.8-9.
  27. Interview with Mr. Clement Bruce, 23, Adamu Avenue, Adabraka, Accra, Ghana on 6 June, 2011.
  28. *Ibid.*
  29. Oil was discovered in Ghana in the year 2003. She now has a refinery and may reduce oil purchases from Nigeria in the not too distant future.
  30. Kente weaving is one of the indigenous Ghanaian handicrafts that have won worldwide recognition. There are about 150 types of kente patterns. Some of the traditional homes of kente weaver are Bonwire, Bepoase, Adanwomase, Wonoo and Amampe, all in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. For details see: Surf Publications (Gh) Ltd., *Accra and Ghana Tourist Maps*, p.58. However, kente weavers may also be found in some parts of the Volta Region such as Agbozume, Klikor, Dzodze, Denu and Agotime-Kpetoe.
  31. See *Ghana News Agency Reports*, "Ghanaian Kente Weavers Migrate to Nigeria", 25 September, 2008.
  32. Interview with Mr. Henry Ametefe, the Ketu District Chief Executive of Kente Weavers' Association on 15 June, 2011 at Lagos.
  33. See "Nigeria, Ghana Sign WA Merchant Navy Agreement", *New Nigeria*, 19 May, 1973, p.15.
  34. See "Nigeria, Ghana Sign WA Merchant Navy Agreement", *New Nigeria*, 19 May, 1973, p.15.
  35. See B. Ajufoh, "Nigeria's Second Coal Cargo for Ghana", *Sunday Observer*, 7 January, 1972, p.16.
  36. *Ibid.*
  37. See A.B. Akinyemi, "Nigerian Foreign Policy in 1975: National Interest Redefined" in O. Oyediran (ed), *Survey of Nigerian Affairs* (Ibadan: University Press Limited, 1975), p.295.
  38. O. Oyediran (ed), *Survey of Nigerian Affairs* (Ibadan: University Press Limited, 1975), p.295.
  39. See *Daily Times* (Nigeria) 4 November 1975.
  40. Both bodies were led in deliberations by their respective presidents. While Chief (Mrs) Margaret Oluremilekun Aina-Young led the NACCIMA, Nana Yeboa Kotie Asare led Ghana's P.F.F. For details, see B. Anaro, "Tasks facing Nigerian, Ghanaian Industrialists", *THISDAY (Nigeria)*, Vol.6, No 1773, 29 February, 2000, p.20.
  41. *Ibid.* Some of the impediments identified included: political problems arising from political instability and general lack of commitment of member states; overlapping mandates of regional integration groups comprising sub-sets of ECOWAS countries; delays experienced in the payment system as well as difficulties encountered in establishing letters of credit; inadequate information about trade



- opportunities; high transport costs resulting from delays at border posts and inadequate infrastructural facilities; and activities of the security agencies at the border posts.
42. Some of the ways and methods for realizing the ECOWAS objectives as suggested by the forum included: elimination of physical barriers to movement of goods and persons; reduction of dependence of states on customs revenue as the major source of government revenue; harmonization and liberalization of national investment codes of national investment codes to promote investment; enhanced role of the private sector in the formulation and implementation of regional economic policies; conspicuous display of tariffs at border posts; enhanced political commitment of member states; establishment of a mechanism for continuous consultations and dialogue between the private sector, through their associations, and the government; and encouragement of cooperation among private sectors at the sub-regional and regional levels.
  43. *Ibid.*
  44. Most of these passengers are businessmen, executives of corporate establishments and organizations, students, the academia and journalists who travel to Ghana for economic, social or academic reasons.
  45. Ghana expelled illegal aliens (mostly Nigerians) from her territory in November, 1969 while Nigeria expelled illegal aliens from the country twice in 1983 and 1985.
  46. See *Brief History of the Council: The West African Examinations Council Diary* (Lagos: Academy Press, 2004). Available on <http://www.waecnigeria.org/history.htm>; B. Saka, "WAEC's Mission" (2006), on <http://www.ghanawaec.org/about2htm>; S. Adeyegbe, "History of WAEC" (2004) on <http://www.waecnigeria.org/home.htm>. Other members were Dr. G.B. Jeffery (Chief Secretary of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat), Mr. J.L. Brereton (Secretary of the Cambridge Syndicate), 13 members nominated by the Governments of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Gambia and 10 other observers & 'Committee Structure of the Council', (2004) on <http://www.ghanawaec.org/about3htm>
  47. See Achievements of WAEC (2004) on <http://www.ghanawaec.org/about3htm>
  48. Lenries Peters, "...And, miles to go before I sleep", *Fourth Annual Endowment Fund Lecture*, The West African Examinations Council, delivered at Banjul, The Gambia on 25 March, 1999, p.3.
  49. B. Saka, "WAEC's Mission" on <http://www.ghanawaec.org/about2htm>, 2006.
  50. S. Adeyegbe, "WAEC" on <http://www.waecnigeria.org/home.htm>
  51. According to the Nigerian High Commission in Accra, Ghana, there are about 55,000 Nigerians in various tertiary institutions in Ghana as at 2008.
  52. Lagos-Accra return journey by car costs about N16,000 and takes a maximum of 13hours on the average (including the normal delays at the various border posts). It is interesting to observe that even within Nigeria, travelling across some destinations may take even much longer number of hours and may even be relatively exorbitant. For example, Ibadan to Maiduguri journey may last about 18hours by road and may cost about N10,000 on a trip.
  53. W.W.C. Echezona, "Nigerian Music – Then and Now" in O.U. Kalu (ed), *Readings in African Humanities: African Cultural Development*, (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1978), p.243.
  54. *Ibid.*
  55. *Ibid.*
  56. There, the Portuguese built the oldest fort in West Africa, the Elmina Fort, in 1482. For details, see E.J. Collins, "Ghanaian Highlife", *African Arts*, Vol. 10, No.1, October 1976, p.62.
  57. *Ibid*, p.63.
  58. E.J. Collins, "Ghanaian Highlife", p.64.
  59. Some of E.T. Mensah's albums in English are: *Sunday Mirror*, *Don't Mind Your Wife*; *Inflation Calypso*; *Day by Day and All For You*.
  60. E.J. Collins, "Ghanaian Highlife", p.65.
  61. See R. Eghaghe, "Victor Olaiya: 50 years of Indigenous Highlife on Stage", *Daily Independent*, 3, November, 2009.
  62. See J. Collins, *E.T. Mensah, King of Highlife*, (Accra: Anansesem Press, 1994), p.10.
  63. *Ibid.*
  64. J. Haynes, "Video Boom: Nigeria and Ghana", *Postcolonial Text*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2007, p.1.
  65. *Ibid.*
  66. F.O. Abua (ed.), *Film and Video Directory in Nigeria*, (Abuja, Nigeria: National Film and Video Censors Board, 2002).

67. J. Haynes, and O.Okome, "Evolving Popular Media: Nigerian Video Films", *Research in African Literatures* Vol.29, No.3, (Fall 1998), pp.106-28.
68. It is a common phenomenon today to come across Nigerian films on market stalls and vice-versa for Ghanaian films too. The films are no doubt sold internationally with the propensity to make more profit.
69. J. Haynes, "Video Boom: Nigeria and Ghana"
70. B.Meyer, "Visions of Blood, Sex and Money: Fantasy Spaces in Popular Ghanaian Cinema." *Visual Anthropology* 16 (2003):15-41.
71. These are some of the sampled opinions of viewers of Nigerian and Ghanaian video films.
72. Interview with Mr. Suleiman Alaga, Chairman of Yoruba Association in Accra, and Mr. Adebowale Adeyemo at Accra, Ghana, on 4 June, 2011.
73. Fishermen Communities from Ghana may be found at Oron, Lokoja and Lagos, Nigeria.
74. Interview with The Olu of Inisa, H.R.H. Oba Joseph Oladunjoye Oyedele Fashikun on 6 March, 2009.
75. See R. Olaniyi, "The 1969 Ghana Exodus..." p.26.
76. It is very common at Inisa, Osun State of Nigeria, to see Ghanaian facial marks on the faces of children. My findings reveal that Inisa people apply such marks on the faces of their children against various health problems such as teething problem and convulsion.
77. Alhaji Idris Sanusi at Lagos on 14 April 2010. He is married to a Yoruba, Mrs. Sakirat Sanusi for the past 25years. Other examples include; Mrs. Yemi Fosu from Ogbomoso married to a Ghanaian; Mr. Kofi of B.J.C. Bread, Ado-Ekiti, married to Mrs. Yetunde Kofi of B.J.C. Rentals, an Ado-Ekiti born-woman. They live happily at GRA Ado-Ekiti. We also have Mrs. Joyce Adio, a Ghanaian married to Mr. Adio of Oke Odo area, Iwo Osun State, and Mrs. Peace Brenda of DSC Housing Estate, Steel Town 1, Ozoro Street, Ovwian, Aladja, Delta State, Nigeria, married to a Ghanaian. Mr. Yunus Bakare of Yemetu area, Ibadan, married to a Ghanaian woman said he would love to marry another Ghanaian if he had the chance. According to him, his wife was not just charming and beautiful but was also dutiful, caring and loving too.
78. Some Newspapers report that some Ghanaian women got married to Nigerians in order to escape deportation in 1983 and 1985. See for example *Daily Sketch*, 20 July, 1983 and *Nigerian Tribune* 2 August, 1983.
79. Nick Dazang, "Between Ghana and Nigeria", *Sunday Champion*, 15 February 2009, p.48.
80. *Ibid*.
81. *Ibid*. See also M.O. Bassey "Higher Education and the Rise of Early Political Elites in Africa", *Review of Higher Education in Africa*, Vol.1, No.1, October 2009, p.36.
82. See O. Omosini, "Prelude to Decolonization in West Africa, 1939-1960", in A, Fajana & A.O.Anjorin(eds.), *From Colony to Sovereign State*, p.159.
83. S.Ajibola, "Improving Nigeria-Ghana Relations", *National Concord*, 26 December, 1984, p.9.
84. See The Library of Congress Country Studies (Nigeria) on: [http://www.photius.com/countries/nigeria/national\\_security/nigeria\\_national\\_security\\_local\\_and\\_bilateral-10035.html](http://www.photius.com/countries/nigeria/national_security/nigeria_national_security_local_and_bilateral-10035.html).
85. *Ibid*.
86. See J. Odede, "Nigeria-Ghana establish military co-op", *The New Nigerian*, 10 May, 1978 p.24.
87. These facts are contained in the April 1978 edition of the *Army News Bulletin*, "SOJA".
88. *Ibid*, notes 129 and 130 above.
89. *Ibid* note 129 above.
90. The Library of Congress Country Studies (Nigeria).
91. See Calus Von Brazi, "The Nigerian Re-invasion of Ghana", *Ghanaian Chronicle* Friday 11 September, 2009.
92. Kunle Ajayi, "Power Politics: Nigeria and Peace-keeping in the West African sub-region in Dipolawole, *Nigeria's Foreign Policy Since Independence*, 2004, p.204.
93. *Ibid*.
94. See *West Africa*, 1990, p.2652.
95. For instance, out of the initial 2500 troops required for the force, Nigeria contributed 756 officers and men. As the troop's requirement of the force increased due to the escalation of hostilities among the warring parties, Nigeria's contribution of troops increased. Hence in October 1990, Nigeria contributed 5000 out of the 6000 troops needed. When the ECOMOG troops rose to 12,000 between

- 1991 and 1993, Nigeria contributed 10,000. Similarly, when troops requirements in 1995, 1996, and 1997 were 8,000, 7,000 and 11,000, Nigeria contributed 6,000, 6,000 and 9,000 troops respectively. In other words, ECOMOG depended largely on Nigeria for the supply of between 60-90% of its troops requirements at any point in time. For details, see *West Africa*, 1990, p.2652, *The Guardian* (Nigeria) 22 March, 1996, p.13; *Sunday Tribune*, 3 August, 1997, p.5 and *International Institute of Strategic Studies* (IISC), London, cited in Kunle Ajayi, *Ibid*, p.205.
96. See M. Onuorah and E. Nwankpa, "Obasanjo Counts Cost of ECOMOG", *The Guardian* (Nigeria), 26 October, 1999, pp.1-2. According to Olusegun Obasanjo, Nigeria's former President (1999-2007), as at the end of October 1999, Nigeria had spent about 6billion US Dollars on the various peacekeeping operations undertaken by ECOWAS.
  97. He was replaced by Major General Joshua Dongoyaro from Nigeria. It should be added that ever since then, all other successive Field Commanders of ECOMOG since October 1990 have been Nigerian military officers. See "Ecomog-Nigeria's toll-the unsung tragedy", *African Concord*, 21 January 1991, p.35.
  98. Kunle Ajayi, "Power Politics: Nigeria and Peacekeeping in the West African sub-region", p.206. see also: E. Harsh, "Africa Builds its own peace force", *Africa Recovery*, Vol.17, No3, October 2003, pp.1 and 17.
  99. See S.F. Burgess, "African Union" *Microsoft Encarta* (DVD) 2009.
  100. The African Liberation Committee succeeded in assisting these countries to attain independence status as indicated below: Guinea-Bissau (1974), Angola, Mozambique, Cape-Verde and Sao Tome (1975) and Zimbabwe (1980). Meanwhile, a combination of factors helped in ensuring the dismantling of apartheid policy in South Africa. Some of these factors as highlighted by R.H.Davis, "Apartheid", *Microsoft Encarta* (DVD), Redmond, W.A. Microsoft Corporation, 2006, are: the role of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) the two leading nationalist organizations in South Africa; activities of F.W. de Klerk; deteriorating economic fortunes and growing international condemnation of apartheid policy. But apart from these, the role of the former Organization of African Unity (O.A.U) in sensitizing the international community against the evils of apartheid through the activities of the African Liberation Committee cannot be overestimated. It is in this respect that the philosophical support of Ghana and the financial support of Nigeria in this struggle cannot be waved aside. For instance, in December 1965, the African Heads of Government and States at its Accra summit called on all freedom-loving countries of the world to grant the liberation movements in Portuguese Africa, supported by the O.A.U, all necessary political, diplomatic and military aid. Earlier in November 1965, the O.A.U's Council of Ministers also called on Portugal to grant independence to her territories "immediately". Later on 9 December 1970, the O.A.U. Council of Ministers unanimously agreed to create the O.A.U. Special Fund to provide financial, military and technical assistance to the remaining African colonies. For details, see AHG/Res.35 (ii) and CM/Res 83(vii) as well as ECM/Res 17 & 18(vii) cited in S.O. Agbi, *The O.A.U and African Diplomacy, 1963 – 1979*, (Ibadan: Impact Publishers Nig. Ltd., 1986), pp.100 and 103.
  101. See Owusu, Maxwell, "Nigeria", in La Verle Berry (ed.), *A Country Study: Ghana* (U.S. Federal Research Division, 1994). See also "Nigeria, Ghana to diversify scope of relations", *New Nigeria*, 13 January 1989, p.3.
  102. See J. Odede, "Nigeria-Ghana establish military "co-op", *The New Nigerian*, 10 May, 1978, p.24.
  103. See *Daily Times* (Nigeria), 17 December, 1988; p.20.
  104. See *The Guardian* (Nigeria), 10 December, 2008.
  105. *The Punch*, 16 April, 1988, p.12.
  106. Quoted in Clifford NDUJIHE, "What Nigeria should learn from Ghana by Musilium Obanikoro", *The Guardian* (Nigeria), 10 December, 2008, pp.8-9.
  107. See *New Nigerian*, 13 January, 1989, p.3. See also *Daily Times* (Nigeria), 30 November, 1985.
  108. *Daily Times* (Nigeria) 30, November, 1985.
  109. *Ibid*.
  110. See Collier's Year Book, 1959 (Ghana) in *Microsoft Encarta* (DVD) Redmond, 2009.
  111. See *Press Release* from the Information Division, Federal Ministry of Information Lagos, dated Thursday, 17 March, 1966.
  112. It would be recalled that Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown from office on 24 February, 1966 through a coup d'état jointly staged by the Ghana Army and Police. As Nkrumah himself reported in a proclamation published on 26 February, 1966, his government was replaced by the National

- Liberation Council (NLC) which constituted a new Government in Ghana. It was made up of eight members in all with General J.A. Ankrah of the Ghana Army as the Head. The other seven members were made up of three Army officers and four Police Officers. For details see Kwame Nkrumah's, *Dark Days in Ghana*, (London: Panaf Books Ltd., 1968), p.33.
113. See *Press Release* from the Information Division, Federal Ministry of Information Lagos, dated Thursday, 17 March, 1966.
  114. The role of Ghana before and during the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970 are well documented in Chapter Four of this Thesis.
  115. See O. Oyediran (eds), *Survey of Nigerian Affairs*, p.295.
  116. *Ibid.*
  117. A. Apter, *The Pan-Africa Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p.49.
  118. Nigeria-Ghana relations was at a very low-ebb during the Buhari's administration in Nigeria following the prolonged border closure from April 1984 to April 1985 and later by the expulsion of illegal aliens, mostly Ghanaians, from Nigeria in May 1985. It was only when normalcy returned in relations between the two countries under Ibrahim Babangida's government from late 1985 that Rawlings decided to visit Nigeria. It was his first visit ever to Nigeria since his assumption of duty as Ghana's leader, first on 4 June 1979 and later on 31 December, 1981. For details, see *The Guardian* (Nigeria) 26 November, 1984, p.20.
  119. "Rawlings replies to Babangida's message", *The Guardian* (Nigeria), 30 October, 1985.
  120. *Ibid.*
  121. *Ibid.*
  122. See "Editorial Opinion", *The Punch*, Saturday, 16 April, 1988. See also O. Nosiri, "Re-Shaping Nigeria-Ghana Ties" Editorial Opinion, *The Statesman* (Ghana), 21 April, 1988.
  123. "Nwachukwu, Rawlings hold talks", *The Guardian* (Nigeria), 24 November 1988.
  124. Maxwell, Owusu, "Nigeria". A country study: Ghana Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, 1994.
  125. *Ibid.* See also *The Guardian*, 23 March 1996; *Sunday Tribune*, 3, August, 1997, p.38; and J.P. Mackintosh, *Nigerian Government and Politics* (London: George Allen and Unwin Limited 1966), p.281.

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