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About CFR-GH

The Council on Foreign Relations-Ghana (CFR-Ghana) is an independent, private, non-partisan, and non-profit institution specialising on Ghana's foreign policy and international affairs, especially those relating to the West African sub-region and Africa. Its membership is open to diplomats, bankers, lawyers, media practitioners, academicians, military officers as well as other distinguished professionals, public servants, traditional leaders and politicians.

ABBREVIATIONS

1D1F	One-District-One-Factory
ACMS	African Centre for Migration & Society
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
AfCFTA	The African Continental Free Trade Area
AU	African Union
CFR-Ghana	Council on Foreign Relations Ghana
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECA	Economic Commission of Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIPC	Ghana Investments Trade and Promotion Centre
GoG	Government of Ghana
GUTA	Ghana Union of Traders Association
ICC	International Criminal Court
IOM	Organisation for Migration
ISGS	Islamic State in the Greater Sahara
ISWAP	Islamic State West Africa Province
JNIM	Jamaat Nusrat al-Islam wal-Muslimeen
MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MOFRI	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integrations
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
OAU	Organisation of the African Unity
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNOWAS	UN Office for West Africa and the Sahel
UNSCR	UN Security Council resolution
US	United States
WAMA	African Monetary Agency
WAMI	West Africa Monetary Institute

SECTION ONE

ABOUT CFR-GHANA

Brief History

Ghana has been at the forefront of international affairs since Independence on 6th March, 1957. Consequently, the country has produced several distinguished diplomats, international public servants, legal luminaries, finance experts and other professionals who have contributed significantly to international relations and global politics. However, until the establishment of the

the Council on Foreign Relations-Ghana, no think-tank existed on Ghana's foreign policy and international relations that was focused on providing strategic advise to the Government of Ghana as well as keeping the public informed and educated on unfolding global events. To fill this vacuum, the Council on Foreign Relations-Ghana was established as an independent, private, non-partisan, and non-profit institution focusing on Ghana's foreign policy and international affairs, especially those relating to the West African sub-region and Africa.



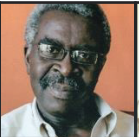






The origin of the Council can be traced to the Council on Foreign Relations which was duly registered as a private company limited by guarantee on 23 February 2011. Ambassador Kabral Blay-Amihere is credited as the one who first proposed the idea for the establishment of the Council in 2008/2009. After series of discussions with other like-minded Ghanaians like Ambassador D.K. Osei, Ambassador Annan Cato, and Ambassador J.K. Mensah, the Council on Foreign Relations was birthed in 2011. However, it was not able to operate and fulfill its objectives after registration until 2018, following renewed discussions by Ambassadors D.K. Osei, Kwame Tenkorang and Kabral Blay-Amihere. The Council on Foreign Relations was renamed Council on Foreign Relations Ghana (CFR-Ghana) to distinguish it from its predecessor and similar Councils in the world. On Tuesday, 26th February 2019, the CFR-Ghana was officially inaugurated by President of the Republic of Ghana, H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, at the Accra International Conference Centre. The membership of the Council consists of diplomats, bankers, lawyers, media practitioners, academics, military officers, public servants, traditional leaders and politicians.

Aims and Objectives

The aim or rationale for the establishment of the CFR-Ghana is to mobilize the rich and profound pool of experts in international relations, peace and security and other domains to government, international organisations, the public, academia and all those who seek to enhance their understanding of foreign policy issues and their consequences.

The specific objectives of the Council are to:

- undertake research into Ghana’s and West Africa foreign policy and international relations;
- organize seminars, workshops and conferences on international issues;
- publish memoirs of retired diplomats, other professionals, books and articles on international issues; and
- create a platform for visiting dignitaries to share their perspectives on public and international issues.
- Advisory services for international organisations.

								
Ambassador D.K. Osei	Ambassador Kabral Blay-Amihere	Kojo Bentsi-Enchill, Esq	Brig-Gen. Francis Asiedu	Abraham Agbozo, Esq.	Kwaku Sakyi Addo	Egbert Faibille, Jr., Esq.	Ambassador Lawrence R. A. Satuh	Dr. Linda Akua Opongmaa Darkwa

Members of the Executive Council

The governing body of the CFR-Ghana is the Executive Council. The membership of the Executive Committee the following personalities:



Amb. D.K. Osei
(President)



Amb. K. Blay-Amihere
(Vice President)



Amb. K. Tenkorang
(Secretary)



Amb. M. Amematekpor
(Treasurer)



Abraham Agbozo, Esq
(Member)



Kwaku Sakyi-Addo
(Member)



Kojo Bentsi-Enchi, Esq
(Member)



Egbert Faibille, Jnr., Esq
(Member)



Amb. L.R.A. Satuh
(Member)



Col. F B Aboagye (Rtd)
(Member)



Amb. Yaw Odei Osei
(Member)



Amb. Nana Bema Kumi
(Member)



Amb. W.
Awinador-Kanyirige
(Member)



Dr. L.A.O. Darkwa
(Member)



Amb. Mrs. Edith Hazel
(Member)

MEMBERS

On November 20 2019, the President of the Council, Ambassador DK Osei, assisted by three Distinguished Honorary Members: Professors Akua Kuenyehia former Vice President of the International Criminal Court and two former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ghana, Ambassador James Victor Gbeho and Hon. Hackman Owusu-Agyeman inducted the following into the Council:

1. Ms. Awo Quayson-Sackey
2. Major-General Carl Coleman
3. Professor Henrietta Mensa-Bonsu
4. Dr. Kofi K Sarpong
5. Mr. Ken Thompson
6. Dr. Ali Kamal-Deen
7. Dr. William G.M. Bandful
8. Mr. Patrick Hayford
9. Mr. Kwabena Baah- Duodu
10. Mrs. Afua Asare
11. Mrs. Irene Maamah
12. Dr. Festus Aubyn
13. Mr. Paa Kojo Ackum
14. Mrs. Akua Sena Dansua
15. Dr. Mokowa Blay-Adu-Gyamfi
16. Mr. Ivor Agyeman-Duah
17. Dr. Philip Osafo-Kwaku

SECTION TWO

INAUGURATION OF THE CFR-GHANA

The CFR-Ghana was inaugurated by the President of the Republic of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo at the Accra International Conference Centre on Tuesday, 26th February 2019. Participants at the inauguration included former and current Ministers of State, Members of Parliament, the Diplomatic Corps, Former Ambassadors, Senior Officers from the Security and Intelligence Agencies, Members of the Judiciary, Senior Public Servants, Political Parties Representatives, Traditional and Religious Authorities, Media, Academia, Civil Society Organisations, and Private Businesses. The programme was chaired by Ambassador Victor Gbeho, a retired Ghanaian Diplomat and former President of the ECOWAS Commission.



The President of the Republic of Ghana, H.E Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo delivering his speech. Source: CFR-Ghana

In his inaugural address, the President commended the executives and founding members of the CFR-Ghana for setting up the think tank to enhance the advancement of Ghana's foreign policy and her relations within the comity of nations. According to him, the objectives of Ghana's foreign policy is derived from the entrenched values of attachment to democracy, respect for individual liberties and human rights, the rule of law and the principles of democratic accountability. Ghana's overarching national goal is to develop rapidly within a democratic framework, an industrialised economy which engages with the world on the basis of things we make, and not on the export of raw materials to create a society of opportunities for young people to live productively in dignity.

Over the last two and a half decades, the country has managed to build an enviable reputation as a peaceful and stable country, he said and a beacon of democracy in Africa. It is the collective interest of all Ghanaians to work towards preserving this hard-won reputation and institutions such as CFR-Ghana have a vital role to play as facilitators in improving policy making and execution, as well as acting as key agents of social change. Moreover, with the increasing multiplicity of challenges including recession in the spirit of multilateralism, the growth of globalization and upsurge in the digital revolution, strong reputable policy think tanks like the CFR-Ghana are needed to ensure that stakeholders are well-informed to promote the national interest. The President in his view concluded by admonishing the CFR-Ghana to imbibe the twin principle of excellence and solidarity in all its engagements.



From left to right: Hon. Shirley Ayorkor Botchwey, President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo Ambassador D. K. Osei and (name of fourth person). Source: CFR-Ghana

On her part, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integrations (MOFRI), Hon. Shirley Ayorkor Botchwey said CFR-Ghana had the potential to further enhance Ghana's already admirable international standing. The creation of the think tank offered opportunity to deepen and strengthen Ghana's foreign policy through the contributions of a wide range of experts drawn

from a vibrant and dynamic society. She assured the Council of the MOFRI firm support for their activities.

The President of CFR Ghana, Ambassador D. K. Osei, expressed his appreciation to the President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs for their support to the Council. The CFR Ghana according to him seeks to mobilise the rich and diverse pool of Ghanaian experts in international relations, peace and security issues in the country and beyond to improve the understanding of contemporary continental and global issues towards effective foreign policy decision making and execution. He further indicated that the Council intended to publish a journal *The Baobab* with the first edition dedicated to the memory of the late UN Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan.



Inaugural Photos



Source: CFR-Ghana

The chair of the programme, Ambassador Victor Gbeho commended the brains behind the setting up of the Council. He stated that Ghana's foreign policy industry needed a think tank like the CFR Ghana for a long time and, therefore, its establishment was a dream come true. Ambassador Gbeho thanked the President of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, for his support to the Council and described him as a 'quintessential diplomat' considering his immense contribution to foreign service and diplomacy as former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration. He further expressed the hope that the think tank would represent one of the dependable institutions on the African continent and the world at large.

Distinguished Lecture Series

The Distinguished Lecture Series is a flagship programme of the CFR Ghana that provides a unique and dedicated platform for high level International Diplomats and Civil Servants, Politicians and Government Officials from different parts of the world to discuss contemporary issues in international affairs. In 2019, the Council hosted high level personalities who presented on varied thematic issues. These individuals included H.E. Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas (Head of the UN Office for West Africa and the Sahel), H.E. Jyrki Katainen (the European Union Vice-President), Ms. Baroness Valery Amos (British Politician & Diplomat), and Ms. María Fernanda Espinosa Garcés (The President of the UN General Assembly). The lecture series attracted participants from different sectors including the diplomatic community, Parliament, Judiciary, government, academia, educational institutions, media, political parties, international organisations, NGOs and civil society organisations.

Highlights

- ***Baroness Valery Amos (British Politician & Diplomat)***

Ms. Baroness Valery Amos was the first speaker for the distinguished Lecture Series on the topic *Does the Retreat from multilateral create new opportunities for the African Continent* on 22nd March 2019 at the Accra International Conference Center. The function was chaired by Mrs. Agnes Aggrey-Orleans, a former Ghanaian diplomat.

Ms. Baroness Valery Amos opined that the Africa region had the opportunity to learn lessons from what was happening elsewhere and go beyond its own challenges to shape bold innovative models, partnership and cooperation for the future. Africa can learn from the mistakes of some European Countries and remember to put the people first. Tackling domestic challenges is key because it gives a consensus lead to continue to play a significant role in global affairs bilaterally and multilaterally.



She praised the African Union's Agenda 2063 which seeks to build a prosperous Africa, based on inclusive growth and sustainable development; an integrated continent, politically united, based on the ideals of Pan Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance. With this key policy framework, Ms. Baroness called for an Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law and an Africa that is strong, united, and resilient and an influential global player and partner.

On the implications for Africa should Britain withdraw from the European Union (EU), she argued that Brexit would of course have some impact on development on the African continent but the

impact may be small due to Britain's low investment in defence and foreign policy priorities over the years. As Britain turns inwards, its global influence would continue to wane. Other countries like China who have positioned themselves as global powers would take advantage of the situation to pursue their interests. But she said Ghana had strong bilateral relations with Britain and that would continue to grow stronger despite competition from other countries.

- **H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas (Head of the UN Office for West Africa and the Sahel)**



H.E. Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas presented on *An Agenda for Building Partnerships for Peace in West Africa and the Sahel: Challenges and Opportunities* at the Kofi Annan International Conference Centre, Accra on 18 April, 2019. He started with an overview of the ecosystem of peace and security in West Africa and the Sahel. According to him, the very foundation of this ecosystem are governance deficits that revolve around a historical

disarticulated relationship between state and society, and a resultant lack of inclusiveness and accountability. This is often manifested in inter-ethnic disputes, violent extremism and antagonistic political tensions. Formal democracy is also not yielding the anticipated development dividends, leading to popular disenchantment and resistance from below. A spiralling demographic surge, climate change and associated pressures on land and water resources have also led to a spike in radicalisation and intercommunal tensions and violence. Conflict in Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso is the main driver of this surge in violence in the region. Nevertheless, there are some positive dividends which is evidenced by the wide acceptance and realisation by countries that transparent and credible elections remain the most viable, legal and legitimate form of accessing power despite the obvious shortfalls.

Addressing the case for partnerships, he noted that a comprehensive approach is needed at the national, regional and international levels to address the challenges in the ecosystem as peace and security are a shared responsibility. In this regard, efforts to sustain and build peace can only be guaranteed through partnerships at the communal, national, regional and global levels. Citing the case of UNOWAS, he mentioned that the organisation has been able to build strategic partnerships with continental, regional and national institutions and authorities, civil society organisations, and community-based groups while managing increasingly complex negotiations on subsidiarity and complementarity. For sustainable peace therefore, countries being a *community of states* on the one hand, and *communities and states* on the other, tied together by a consultative and inclusive social contract which must not only be legal but also legitimate. He concluded that the quality of partnerships were inter-linked at various concentric levels, and these multi-layered and multidimensional partnerships represented a major and essential pathway to peace.

- **Ms. María Fernanda Espinosa Garcés**
(The President of the UN General Assembly).

Ms. María Fernanda Espinosa Garcés's *Responding to global challenges in a fast-changing world: the case for strengthening multilateralism* was at the Accra International Conference Centre on 10 May 2019. She began by looking at the confluence of crises facing the world namely, planetary (climate change), economic, social and political challenges and their implications for the health and future of the international system. On climate change, she noted that the UN's Global Assessment report on biodiversity and ecosystems in 2018 warned that nearly one million animal and plant species were at the risk of extinction.



The ecosystem on which our lives and livelihoods depend are deteriorating rapidly. Human activity has significantly altered a staggering three-quarters of all land, and two-thirds of our marine environment. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has warned that we have just 11 years to limit global temperature rise to 1.5 degrees and avoid the worst impacts of climate change. At the same time, we need to address long-standing challenges such as extreme poverty – 80% in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa

Another issue is the rapidly-changing communications platforms which offer great potentials as well as challenges in terms of privacy, disinformation and hate speech. Digitization, automation and Artificial Intelligence offer benefits in terms of productivity, job creation and innovation but they come with risks of job losses. She also highlighted the challenges of demographic explosions and unplanned urbanization. According to her between now and 2030, half of the global population will be under 30. And 42% of these young people will be African. Finally, she turned to the weather transitions in the global political landscape and indicated that power is mutating horizontally and vertically between states and regions and to stakeholders such as cities, companies, and, to a lesser extent, civil society. The world is becoming more multipolar, but also more polarized. We are seeing a rise of nationalist sentiment, in extremism, in unilateral approaches, in attacks of international laws and norms.

These challenges present a huge agenda for the international community. For climate change, there is the need to focus on the most transformative, scale-able steps immediately to tip the scale back. With regards to the economic challenges, there is the need to promote evidence-based action, rather than policies driven by ideology. There is the need to build a new international financial order that creates a better safety net. She further opined that the world needs multilateralism more than ever to address contemporary challenges. Any erosion of international cooperation, can lead to war which could wipe us out through nuclear weapons. Multilateralism has actually worked because since the creation of the UN, great strides have been made especially in

education, development, health and security. Through the UN General Assembly, the world's most democratic and representative forum, international laws and standards on almost every aspect of human endeavour and planetary resource have been created. Ms. María Fernanda Espinosa Garcés concluded by encouraging Africans to build their efforts and power of ideas to strengthen the voice and impact of Africa to make sure that the UN's 75th anniversary this year.

- ***H.E. Jyrki Katainen (the European Union Commission Vice-President for Jobs, Growth, Investment and Competitiveness)***

The topic for discussion was *Africa-EU Alliance: A Relationship for the Future*. The lecture was held at the Kofi Annan ICT Center in Accra on Thursday 13 June 2019. H.E. Jyrki Katainen began his speech by highlighting on the strong partnership between the EU and Ghana. He shared some common historical events between the two partners and noted that while 1957 was the year of Independence for Ghana, in the EU it was the year for the signing of the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community.



H.E. Jyrki Katainen delivering his speech

Today, Ghana is one of the major trading (export and imports) partners of the EU member states. In 2017, €2.1 billion of goods and €1 billion of services were exported to the EU. EU foreign direct investment stocks in Ghana stood at €74 million in 2017 while EU FDI flows to Ghana amounted to €74. This clearly points to the fact that the EU is there to accompany Ghana in achieving its ambitions.

Touching on the Africa-EU Alliance, H.E. Katainen quoted the statement by President Juncker in Abidjan in November 2017 which stated that “*What happens in Africa matters for Europe, and what happens in Europe matters for Africa*. The EU launched in September 2018, an Africa-Europe Alliance for Sustainable Investment and Jobs’ to shift the paradigm and go beyond the

'traditional' development aid based one. The EU is putting private sector right in the center of this partnership, as it holds the largest potential for generating jobs and sustainable growth in Africa. The EU alliance also acknowledges that improving the business environment and setting conditions right to attract global capital flows and to increase cross African investment is key. A conducive investment climate according to him is based on the right policy mix, with drivers such as political and macroeconomic stability, good governance, human development, innovation and business environment reforms. As such, the EU projects including budget support programmes will focus on business environment, public finance management and employment as well as domestic revenue mobilization and fighting corruption. Focusing on Trade Within Africa and between Africa and Europe, H.E. Jyrki Katainen indicated that the European commission wants to make maximum use of the EU's trade arrangements with Africa, so that they can be building blocks of the African Continental Free Trade Area. He briefly highlighted the role of the EU in promoting the implementation of the SDG Agenda in Africa and addressed the issue of irregular migration of the youth with African countries including Ghana.

SECTION THREE

REVIEW OF KEY GLOBAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Crisis of Multilateralism

The growing discontent over the inability of the current multilateral system to effectively respond to contemporary challenges facing the international community such as climate change, terrorism, violent extremism, geopolitical tensions, poverty, irregular migration and inequalities is causing a retreat from multilateral institutions and influencing unilateral actions by states across the globe.



Source: <https://www.cer.eu>

Examples of these unilateral actions include the exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union (Brexit), Burundi's withdrawal from the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the withdrawal of the United States from global agreements including the Paris Agreement on Climate change and the UN Human Rights Council. Moreover, due to the changing global power dynamics, there are growing concerns about the current global governance architecture that favours powerful states. These unilateral actions and concerns are straining the multilateral system established in the aftermath of the World War II. Admittedly, while there are difficulties in addressing today's complex global challenges, it is instructive to note that the present multilateralism system has also delivered many achievements.

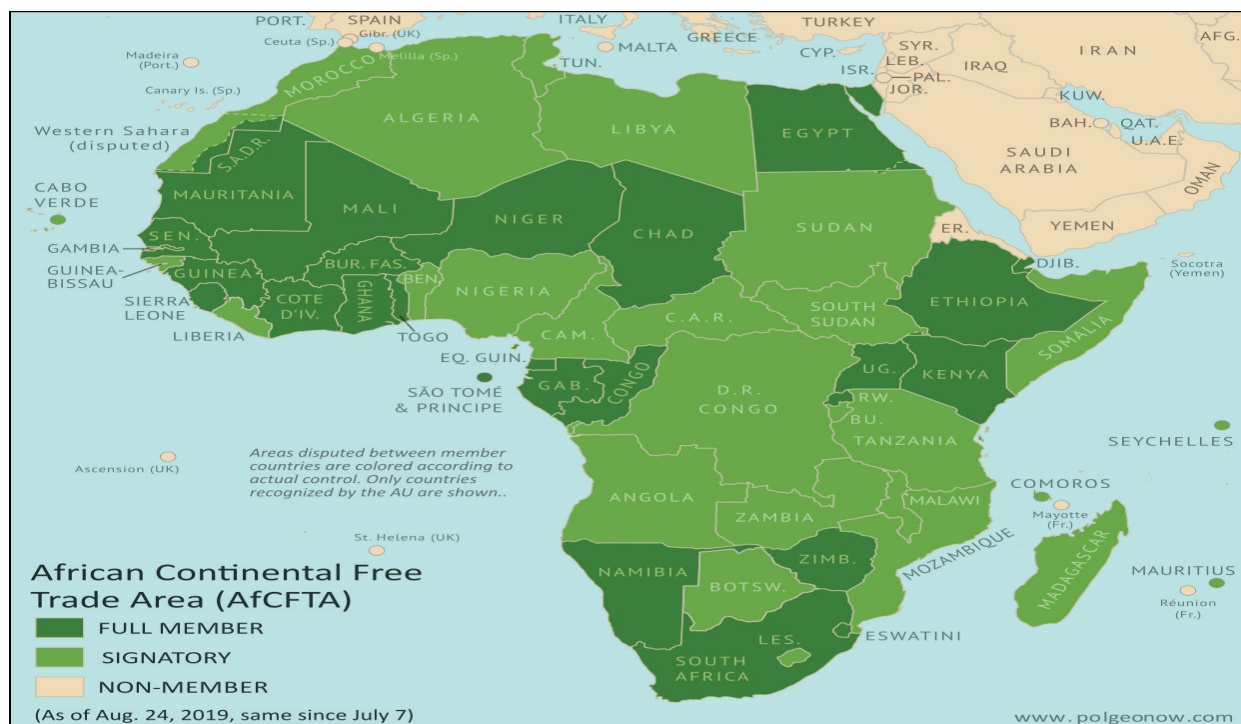
These include the promotion of economic and social progress, human rights and the prevention of a World War III. For developing countries in Africa, multilateral institutions like the United

Nations has given them a voice in global affairs albeit with some difficulties. The fact however is that without the multilateral institutions, the plight of developing countries may have been worse. Therefore, with the increasing complexities of global challenges, interconnectedness of national economies and the rapid digital revolution, the need for multilateralism is more crucial now than ever. The existing multilateral system needs to be remodeled for it to be more responsible, effective and inclusive to address the current frustrations and criticisms to deliver more widely shared gains.

The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) Secretariat

The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) is one of the most important flagship programmes of the Agenda 2063 of the African Union (AU). The 18th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union in January 2012 adopted the decision to establish the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) by an indicative date of 2017. However, the creation of a single market had been the dream for Africa since the creation of the Organisation of the African Unity (OAU) in 1963. It was regarded as the building block for the African Economic Community.

Figure 3.1. Map of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA)



Source: <https://www.polgeonow.com>

The main objectives of the AfCFTA are to:

- Create a single continental market for goods and services, with free movement of business persons and investments, and thus pave the way for accelerating the establishment of the Continental Customs Union and the African customs union.
- Expand intra African trade through better harmonization and coordination of trade liberalization and facilitation regimes and instruments across RECs and across Africa in general.

- Resolve the challenges of multiple and overlapping memberships and expedite the regional and continental integration processes.
- Enhance competitiveness at the industry and enterprise level through exploiting opportunities for scale production, continental market access and better reallocation of resources.

The AfCFTA has four components: framework agreement incorporating the principles, guidelines and modalities for negotiations and three protocols on Trade in Good; Trade in Service; and Working Roles and Procedures to Dispute Settlement. The other three Protocols comprising Investment, Competitive Policy, and Intellectual Property Rights would be concluded in the Second Phase of Negotiations which began in 2018. As shown of Figure 3.1, Fifty-four out of the 55 African countries have signed on to the agreement establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area and 27 countries have rectified the agreement which came into force on May 30, 2019. The AfCFTA is expected to cover a market of 1.2 billion people and a gross domestic product (GDP) of \$2.5 trillion, across all 55-member States of the AU. It is also expected to be the world’s largest free trade area since the formation of the World Trade Organization in 1995. Aside providing great opportunities for trading enterprises, businesses and consumers across Africa, the Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) estimates that the AfCFTA has the potential both to boost intra-African trade by 52.3 per cent by eliminating import duties. The chronology of events after the negotiations were launched by the African Union Heads of State and Government in June 2015 is represented in figure 3.2.

Ghana was selected in July 2019 to host the AfCFTA Secretariat which is expected to be set up in Accra by the year 2020 following series of intensive lobbying by the Government of Ghana led by His Excellency President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo across the African continent. The Secretariat which will be an autonomous institutional body within the African Union system will have the responsibility of coordinating the implementation of AfCFTA agreements. The selection of Ghana as the host country of the AfCFTA Secretariat does not only demonstrate the country’s pivotal role in the unity of Africa but also, a testament of the country’s long history of peace and stability, enabling laws and policies, smooth political transitions, hospitable citizens and existing facilities to facilitate the AfCFTA initiative.

Figure 3.2. AfCFTA Activities



Source: African Union

The benefits of the Secretariat to the country are myriad including employment creation for the youth, capital inflows, the influx of goods and services, a boost of the tourism industry and more

importantly, it will enhance the industrial capacity of the One-District-One-Factory (1D1F) and Planting for Food and Jobs initiatives of the Government.

As the Government of Ghana and the AU Commission take proactive steps to ensure the full operationalisation of the Secretariat by 2020, it is imperative for the country to develop an AfCFTA Strategy that identifies the key trade opportunities, current constraints, and robust measures required to take full advantage of the continental African market. The Government should create the necessary awareness and sensitise the businesses community and the private sector on the potential of the AfCFTA to fully utilise its great opportunities in order to contribute towards the sustainable growth and development of the country. However, Ghanaian owned private businesses may not significantly benefit from the AfCFTA if all the strategic sectors of the country including the mining, oil exploration, energy, telecommunications, and transportation (air) are controlled by foreign companies. The foreign policy of Ghana must be recalibrated to ensure that Ghana's economic diplomacy promotes Ghanaian companies instead of the current situation where foreign companies control most of the country's strategic sectors.

Adoption of the ECOWAS Single currency

The establishment of a common monetary union in West Africa to facilitate the social, cultural and economic transformation of the region has been a vision of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) since its creation in 1975. Currently, eight ECOWAS countries namely Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo use the CFA Franc, while the other seven - Cape Verde, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone use their own currencies.



Since 2000, series of discussions and meetings aimed at issuing a common currency amid efforts to boost regional trade and investments has yielded limited progress. Thus, originally intended to be launched in 2000, the ECO has been postponed several times. At the 55th Ordinary Session of the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government in Abuja, Nigeria on 30th June 2019, West African Leaders finally adopted the ECO currency and approved a road map towards the currency's issuance in January 2020.ⁱⁱ The decision to adopt the ECO currency is similar to the decision made by the European Union in the past to adopt the Euro as a single currency.

ECOWAS countries are expected to meet three primary criteria for the issuance of the currency by 2020 including having a budget deficit of not more than 3%; an average annual inflation of less than 10% with a long-term goal of not more than 5% by 2019; and a gross reserve that can finance at least three months of imports.ⁱⁱⁱ The other convergence criteria include a public debt or GDP of not more than 70%, the capacity of central banks to finance budget deficit of not more than 10% of previous year's tax revenue, and nominal exchange rate variation of plus or minus 10%. According to the ECOWAS Chairman, President Issoufou Mahamadou of Niger, countries that are ready will launch the single currency and the others will join the programme as they comply with all the convergence criteria. The ECOWAS Commission has been instructed to work with the West African Monetary Agency (WAMA), the West Africa Monetary Institute (WAMI) and central banks to speed up the implementation of the new road map for the implementation of the currency and also settle on a symbol for the ECO.^{iv}

While the adoption of the ECO currency is expected to boost economic development in the West African region and improve cross border trade, it is not necessarily the panacea for the region's economic problems. To fully realised the full potential of the ECO currency, ECOWAS member states need to undertake comprehensive structural reforms to align their monetary and fiscal policies to create a unique response to shocks and build strong economies to back bailouts in the event of a crisis among participating member states. Additionally, some good lessons on why the Euro and the CFA franc have worked since their introduction many years ago will be very useful for ECOWAS member states to enhance the successful implementation of the ECO. Ghana is expected to be among the six-member countries including Nigeria and Liberia that are likely to use the ECO currency. Overall, the successful implementation of the ECO in West Africa will depend on strong political commitments by ECOWAS member countries especially those within the CFA franc zone to meet the primary criteria for the issuance of the currency.

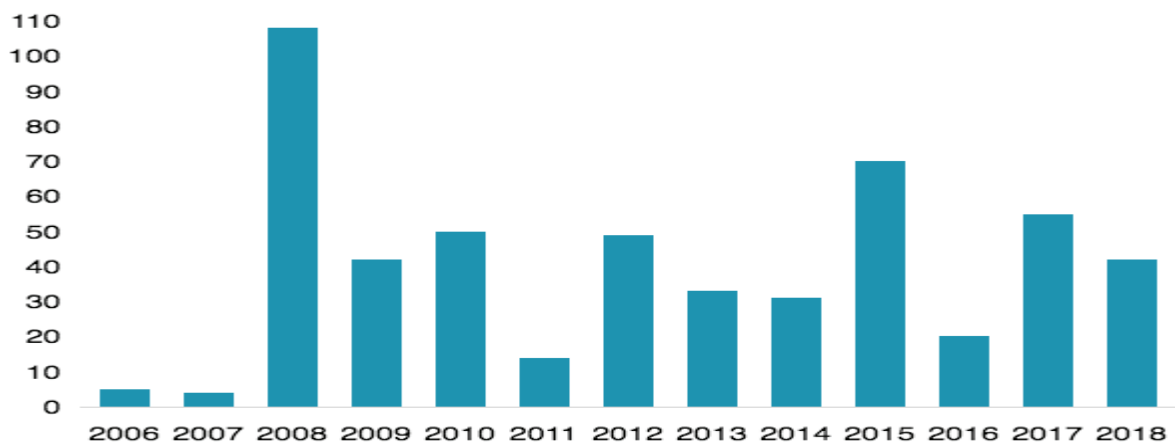
Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa



Source: <https://edition.cnn.com> (Zambia's university students protest outside the South African Embassy in Lusaka on 4 September, 2019 against xenophobic attacks in South Africa)

“...there can be no justification for any South African to attack people from other countries... South Africa is home for all.” This was the statement by South Africa’s President Cyril Ramaphosa following the wave of riots and attacks in August and September 2019 against foreign nationals, mostly in the cities of Durban and Johannesburg.v Local disputes emanating from accusations against migrants of taking jobs away from South Africans has fuel this xenophobic violence since the 1990s. The African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS) Xenowatch tracker represented in figure 3.3 shows how these attacks peaked in 2008 and 2015.vi In the recent outburst of anti-immigrant sentiments in August and September 2019, townships, trucks and dozens of shops belonging to African immigrants especially Nigerian were destroyed and looted, killing and injuring several foreign nationals.

Figure 3.3. Attacks, Threats and Killing of Foreign Nationals in South African since 2006.



Source: Xenowatch, African Centre for Migration & Society



The persistent xenophobic attacks in South Africa has the tendency to trigger reprisal attacks against South African nationals, assets and businesses across the African continent.vii Records of retaliatory attacks in Nigeria and Zambia as well as the straining of diplomatic relations between South Africa and some African countries whose nationals were affected is a testament of how the xenophobic violence can jeopardize the African Union (AU) agenda of continental unity and prosperity. While the AU and African countries including Ghana initiate measures to protect, rescue and seek justice for their nationals under attack, it is incumbent on the South African Government to take proactive steps and definitive measures to address the root causes of the violence and ensure the safety and protection of foreign nationals in South Africa in line with international and regional legal instruments on migration. The seasonal occurrence of the violence demonstrates the failure of existing interventions and the need for a more effective response to save life and properties. Meanwhile, it is also vital for African countries whose nationals are affected to be mindful of the misleading and ‘fake’ videos on social media in order not to trigger reprisal attacks.

Ghana - Nigeria Retail Trade Dispute

Ghana and Nigeria share a common history. Both countries are former colonies of Britain and have a common official language, legal, administrative and educational systems. They share common values and vision for West Africa and have always supported each other at the multilateral level. Despite the historical, political and social similarities, the relationship between the two countries has not always been cordial especially when it comes to matters of trade. Dispute between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders over Ghana's retail space has dominated the news headlines over the last decade.



Source: <https://www.ghanaweb.com> (some Ghanaian traders protesting against Nigerian traders operating illegally at *Syame Magazine* in Kumasi).

The source of this protracted feud emanates from the inconsistencies regarding the provisions of the ECOWAS Protocol on the Free Movement of People and Goods which allows for all forms of trading among ECOWAS citizens and the Section 27(1) of the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) Act, 2013 (Act 865) which restrict retail and petty trading to Ghanaian citizens. The lack of uniformity between the ECOWAS Protocol and the GIPC Act 865 has resulted in seasonal clashes between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders, leading to the illegal closure of shops. The heightened tensions between the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) and Nigerian traders in July 2019 was a manifestation of this longstanding feud. However, the protracted dispute is also influenced by the ban on importation of some Ghanaian products to Nigeria and high tariffs by Nigerian Government which is also against the ECOWAS Protocol. The mercantilist argument of protecting local industry underlie the lack of compliance of the ECOWAS protocol on trade by both countries and the other member states of ECOWAS

The resurgence of tensions in July 2019 is symptomatic of the failures of existing interventions by both countries to address the dispute. In the spirit of regional integration, solidarity and good neighborliness, Ghana and Nigeria should synchronize their national trade policies with ECOWAS Protocols to avert any future xenophobic violence. It is quite clear that the protectionist policies in pursuit of domestic objectives pursued by ECOWAS member states will frustrate the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Schemes. For Ghana and Nigeria, any serious trade feud will affect ECOWAS due to their strategic importance in the regional integration process in West Africa as well as the size and liquidity of their economies. It is therefore incumbent on both countries to work with ECOWAS to find a win-win solution to the recurrent retail dispute.

Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Africa

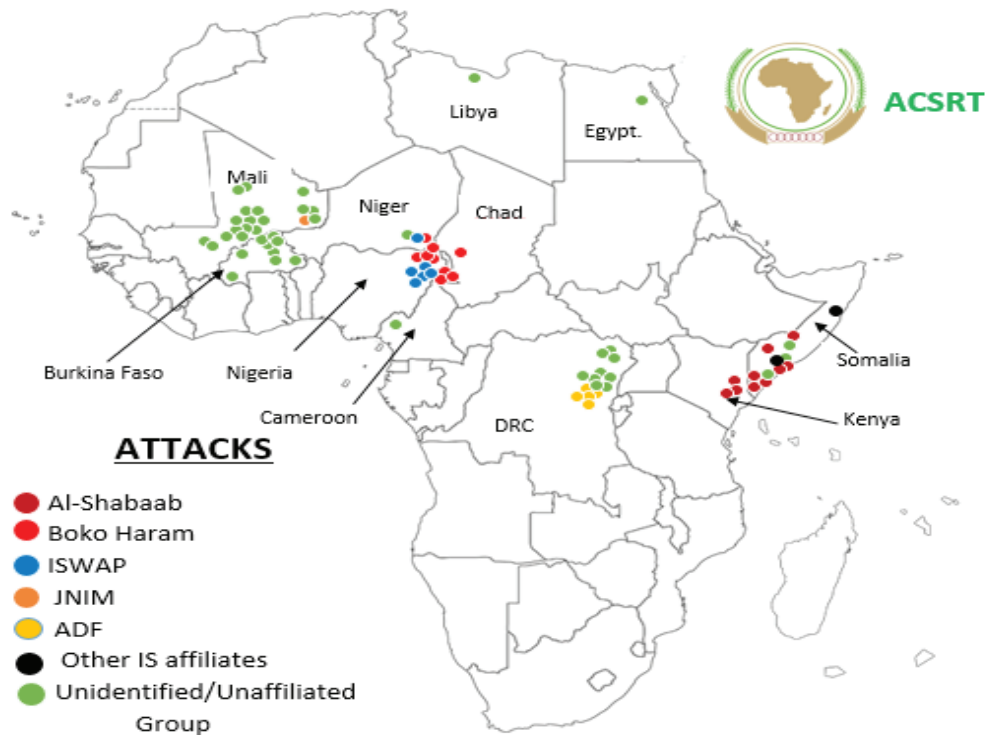
The aftermath of the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States (US) has witnessed a rapidly growing trend of terrorist activities across the globe. This growth is demonstrated by the number of terrorist attacks, the number of countries affected and the proliferation of terrorist groups. In Africa, terrorism and violent extremism is arguably the most complicated and demanding security challenge confronting most states on the continent. Groups such as Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab, Jamaat Nusrat al-Islam wal-Muslimeen (JNIM), Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP), Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS) and Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) are some of the notorious groups that operate in the West, North, Central and Eastern Africa. As indicated on figure 3.4. the African Union Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism in August 2019 recorded a total of 76 terrorist attacks across the continent with Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Nigeria, Mali and Egypt as the most affected countries. In other words, the Sahel region, the Lake Chad Basin region and the Horn of Africa have mostly been the epicentres of terrorist incidents in Africa. A combination of governance, political, socio-cultural, economic, religious, and geopolitical issues have fueled these attacks.



Source: Stringer/AFP/Getty Images (Soldiers carrying the coffin of one of the victims of a roadside bomb in eastern Burkina Faso during the funeral ceremony in Ouagadougou)

While Ghana is yet to be attacked by terrorist groups, the conducive factors leading to terrorist attacks in neighboring countries are prevalent in the country. Apart from the governance related challenges, Ghana's proximity to countries like Burkina Faso where Jihadist groups such as the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS), Jamaat Nusrat al-Islam waal Muslimeen (JNIM) and Ansarul Islam operate, multiplicity of unresolved local conflicts especially along the border areas and weak state institutions makes her vulnerable to possible attacks. In the early part of 2019, Ghana was on high alert following reports of possible plot to attack churches in the country by Salafi-Jihadists groups operating in neighboring Burkina Faso and elsewhere. This led to series of ad hoc measures by National Security and the Ghana Police Service to prevent, deter and respond to any potential attacks. It also led to the arrest of a suspected gunman from Burkina Faso at Hamile in the Upper West Region of Ghana. The fact that the country has not recorded any attacks by violent extremist groups somehow demonstrates the efficacy of the measures put in place such as the Accra Initiative launched in September 2017 by Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Togo. It iso prevent the spillover of terrorism from the Sahel region and address transnational organised crimes in the border areas.

Figure : **AFRICA TERRORISM INCIDENTS MAP: FROM 01-15 AUGUST. 2019**



However, it is useful that long-term measures are undertaken to address the broader structural, governance and political issues that produce the conducive environment for terrorism to thrive. Beyond the obvious factors of youth unemployment and poverty, it is important that the presence of the state and its relevance to citizens around the border communities in the Northern part of the country is improved to prevent Jihadist groups from exploiting the security and socioeconomic vacuum in those areas it will prevent local support and acceptance as experienced in the case of Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Nigeria. The Government of Ghana should also implement robust peacebuilding programmes to address all unresolved intractable localised conflicts along the border areas which provide a fertile ground for terrorist recruitment. The Salafi-Jihadist groups often support and align themselves with marginalised communities and play the identity card to develop support. And the existence of those unresolved problems may be a convenient conduit for terrorist organisations.

Pastoralist-Farmer Conflict

The farmer-herder conflict is an age-old phenomenon experienced by most West African countries. The past decade has witnessed persistent outbreak of violence between nomadic herdsmen (pastoralists) wrongly designated by their ethnic categorisation as Fulani and farmers in several local communities in countries such as Nigeria, Mali, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Niger, Togo, Benin and La Cote d'ivoire.



The conflict is mostly driven by contentions over the destruction of farmlands, competition for land space and contamination of water bodies. The conflict has led to several deaths, destruction of farms and properties, low crop yield, cattle rustling, deliberate shooting of cattles, proliferation of arms just to mention a few. In some communities, the violence has taken an ethnic, political and religious element, raising issues of identity and citizenship.

Source: <https://allafrica.com/>

Due to the regional dimension of the conflict, no single country can address the problem from a national perspective. The numerous health, social, legal, environmental, economic and political problems caused by the random movement of livestock and transhumance across the sub-region requires a regional approach led by the ECOWAS Commission. But the starting point in finding a lasting solution to the conflict is the political will and genuine commitment by Member States to fully implement the ECOWAS Protocol on the free movement of people, goods and services; Decision A/DEC.5/10/98 on the regulation of transhumance between the ECOWAS Member States and Regulation C/REG.3/01/03 relating to the implementation of the regulations on Transhumance between the ECOWAS Member States. Failure to fully activate and enforce the terms of these Protocols especially those provisions relating to pastoralism and cross-border transhumance may hinder any meaningful solution to the problem. ECOWAS member states should develop context specific pastoral laws and infrastructure to manage transhumance certificates, routes, track the movement, host zones, grazing areas, and watering points to prevent possible clashes with local farmers. More significantly, transhumance also contributes to the socio-economic development and the growth of livestock production, therefore, it is crucial that member states of ECOWAS work collaboratively to address the persistent violence between herders and farmers.

United States Diplomatic Sanctions against Ghana



Source: <https://africafeeds.com/2018/06/21/u-s-threatens-ghana-with-visa-restrictions/>
(Ghana's President, Nana Akufo Addo (Left) in a hand shake with US President Donald Trump (Right))

Ghana's enduring diplomatic relationship with the United States dates back to 1957 when the country gained Independence from British colonial rule. Since then, the United State has been one of Ghana's principal bilateral partners in the promotion of democratic values, human rights, rule of law, trade and development as well as addressing regional and international security challenges. As a demonstration of this long history of positive relationship, President George W. Bush visited Ghana in 2008 to showcase United States aid programmes on trade, entrepreneurship, health, education, and the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC). In 2009, President Barack Obama also choose Ghana as the first country to visit in Africa as a result of the country's democratic credentials. President Donald Trump's Administration has not pursued any major policy shifts towards Ghana. However, in early 2019, bilateral ties between the two countries deteriorated following the imposition of selected visa sanctions against Ghanaian nationals by the US Department of Homeland Security for what it claims as the Government of Ghana's lack of adequate cooperation in accepting about 7,000 Ghanaian nationals awaiting deportation from the US. The US Secretary of State, Mr. Mike Pompeo ordered the consular office in the US Embassy in Accra to implement restrictions on certain categories of visa applicants including Members of Parliament, their dependents and spouses as well as some selected government officials.

In a swift response, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MOFRI) of Ghana noted that the allegations were unfounded and the sanctions could not be justified. Before the sanctions, the Ghana Embassy in Washington DC had already undertaken some identification and verification process to ensure that all the persons earmarked for deportation were bonafide citizens of Ghana. However, the results of the verification process raised doubts about the nationality of some persons described as Ghanaians. Others too had pending litigation in the US courts and could

therefore not be deported without a final court order for their removal in accordance with the laws of US and international law. Individuals who successfully passed through the verification systems were issued travel certificates to travel to Ghana. Therefore, the MOFRI described the decision to impose sanctions on Ghana as unfair, unjustifiable and not in accordance with international law.

The resolute response by the Ministry was apt and commendable. As a sovereign nation, Ghana cannot be coerced into accepting people who have questionable claims to Ghanaian citizenship. In matters such as this, the national interest of Ghana must always be upheld to ensure that deportation processes are consistent with international best practices and national laws. The past deportation of Ghanaian nationals in belly chains and physically cuffed to their seats on the aircraft is an affront to the dignity of the people involved. It is important therefore for the Government of Ghana to use all necessary lawful measures to protect its nationals all over the world.

Migration Challenges

Every year thousands of Ghanaians especially the youth travel abroad for different reasons including education and other life opportunities. Nonetheless, the frequent return of Ghanaian migrants unwilling or unable to remain in host or transit countries has occupied the news headlines in recent times, leading to a renewed public discourse on the threat posed by irregular migration to the country. Since 2015, many Ghanaians from the Bono, Bono East, Ahafo, Ashanti, Greater Accra, and Western Regions who attempted the dangerous journey to Europe through the Sahara Desert especially Niger and Libya with the hope of a better life have been assisted to return home by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and the Government of Ghana. Ominously, most of these migrants die of starvation, dehydration, physical abuse and sickness while attempting the perilous journey through the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean Sea to Europe. Those who are able to make it to the European Union through places like Italy for instance are often deported. Indeed, while the incidence of migration across the Sahara Desert and Mediterranean has declined from over 5,700 in 2016 to less than 500 in the first half of 2018 according to IOM, there are many Ghanaians who are reportedly still stranded in detention camps in Libya, suffering horrendous human rights abuses but unable to leave.



The situation in Libya is similar to the migrant situation in the Middle East, precisely the Gulf Countries where many young Ghanaian women and men also suffer emotional and physical abuses. Until recently, most of the women who travelled to the Gulf countries to work as domestic workers through recruitment agencies faced sexual molestations and inhumane treatments but could not return home due to the confiscation of their passports by their employers and inadequate funds. Others also got stranded in Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates after the recruitment agencies reneged on their promise to find them readily available lucrative jobs. Early this year, some Ghanaians who worked as domestic workers and drivers in Saudi Arabia were for instance deported to Ghana for lack of proper documentation. Although the situation has improved significantly with the Government of Ghana's ban on recruitment of workers to Gulf countries, the problem still persists as illegal travel agencies continue to operate clandestinely.

While the GoG with the support of the IOM and the European Union is implementing some interventions to address the root causes and drivers of irregular migration as well as the reintegration of returnees, more needs to be done in youth employment.

Effects of Climate Change

The impacts of climate change are already manifesting across the globe, leading to accelerated sea level rise and longer, more intense heat waves, drought, flooding, higher temperatures, and erratic rainfall. This has impacted negatively on water resources, human health, infrastructure, hydropower production, food security, coastal and agricultural livelihoods. Although climate change effects vary across continents, developing countries especially in Africa are relatively more vulnerable to this threat due to lack of adequate systems to mitigate its effects. In Ghana, climate change poses a long-term threat to the peace and economic development of the country. The impact of climate change may be stronger in the year 2020 and beyond if robust measures are not put in place to address its consequences. The current implementation of the National Climate Change Adaptation Strategy is a step in the right direction. The Government should dedicate adequate resources for the full implementation of the strategy at all levels to enhance adaptive capability to minimise the impacts. The effective implementation of the policy will also ensure resilience in development and reduce the country's vulnerability to the long-term impact to propel sustainable livelihoods, reduce poverty and increase national growth.

Peacekeeping Drawdowns and Reconfigurations

The United Nations is facing a severe financial crisis which is affecting or disrupting their operations globally. According to António Guterres, the UN General Secretary, the work and ongoing reforms at the UN are at risk due to the present financial crisis.^{viii} Although the non-payment and delays of the regular annual contributions by some member states is contributing to this crisis,^{ix} this has been a recurrent problem which is hampering the capabilities of various UN Peace Operations to implement Security Council mandates. The net effects of the increasing financial pressure is a renewed and accelerated period of reconfiguration and drawdown of UN missions across the globe. Between June 2017 and June 2018, the UN missions in Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia closed down, while the mission in Haiti was reconfigured to a special political mission. The UN's attention has shifted to other missions including in Darfur Sudan, Guinea-Bissau, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo where there are ongoing staff and resources. In the UN missions in Mali, Central Africa Republic (CAR) and South Sudan, there

is an increasing scrutiny of their activities and financial pressures on them to do more with less resources to retain security and developmental gains.

It is important for Ghana as major troop and police contributing country to assess the implications of these development on the country's stability in order to mitigate any plausible effects. As of October 2019, Ghana had about 2,788^x personnel in missions according to the UN Department of Peace Operations. Considering the enormous personal and institutional benefits of peacekeeping participation to the Ghana Armed Forces and the Ghana Police Service, any major reduction of personnel will have adverse effect on the country. For example, what will be the implications of having more soldiers on ground when there is not much work for them to earn additional income? These are conversations that need to take place at the policy and institutional levels to proactively respond to impacts of the ongoing UN mission's reconfiguration and drawdowns.

Migration Challenges-Within Country

As Ghana develops both politically and economically, it will continue to be an attractive destination for foreign nationals including labour migrants' and refugees from other African countries. In the year 2020 and beyond, the increasing influx of West African migrants facilitated by the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement will continue to grow largely due to the prevailing sociopolitical and ecological conditions in the region, manifesting in the form of terrorism, violent extremism and natural disasters. Additionally, with the selection of Ghana to host the AfCFTA Secretariat by 2020, the movement of foreigners into the country is likely to increase. This wave of immigration may present both opportunities and greater risks if not well managed. There are already anti-immigration sentiments over foreigners taking over jobs (trade matters) meant for locals in the bigger markets in Accra and Kumasi. Moreover, some foreign nationals have been implicated in various crimes including cyber fraud, illegal mining (*galamsey*), arms trafficking, human trafficking, armed robbery and kidnappings. These anti-immigrant sentiments are not different from the factors that motivated the xenophobic attacks in South Africa and the rise of right-wing populism movements across Europe.

In order to prevent any possible xenophobic violence, the Government should implement a short to long-term comprehensive strategy to manage immigration and its consequences on the country. The Embassies and High Commissions in the country and Ghana's diplomatic missions abroad should be part of the strategy. At the local level, constructive dialogue between citizens and foreign nationals should be encourage in the resolution of disputes. Peace education on peaceful co-existence between citizens and non-citizens should also be promoted. At the regional level, Ghana should work with ECOWAS to harmonise the 1994 GIPC Act 478 with the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of individuals, goods and services to prevent the recurrent clashes between local and foreign traders.

- ***75th Anniversary of the United Nations***

The year 2020 will mark the 75th anniversary of the United Nations since the signing of the UN Charter in 1945 after World War II. The UN General Assembly approved in June 2019, the arrangements for a high-level commemoration of the UN's 75th anniversary in September 2020 and the signing of the UN Charter in June 2020. The theme for the anniversary is "The Future We Want, the UN We Need: Reaffirming our Collective Commitment to Multilateralism." The anniversary will provide an opportunity to constructively discuss the work of the UN after 75 years of its establishment and the future of multilateralism in addressing the challenges of the 21st Century. The 70th anniversary of the UN coincided with the historic adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change. Hence, 2020 also marks five years since the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals and the Paris Agreement. The activities (meetings and conferences) of Ghana to mark the commemoration of the anniversary should be guided by the theme for the anniversary.

- ***20th Anniversary of Security Council Resolution 1325***

The 31st of October 2020 will be the 20th anniversary of the groundbreaking UN Security Council resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on the women, peace and security. The UNSCR 1325 reaffirms and emphasizes the contributions women make to conflict prevention, management, resolution and peacekeeping. The UNSCR 1325 is an important resolution because it was the first time the Security Council addressed the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflicts on women. Since the UNSCR 1325, twelve additional resolutions have been adopted by the Security Council, which together frame the women, peace and security agenda. Nonetheless, after nearly two decades of its adoption, member countries of the UN are yet to fully implement the provisions of the resolution to realize the women, peace and security agenda in its fullness. Therefore, the 20th anniversary next year provides an opportunity to take stock of progress and the way forward. Interestingly, 2020 also marks the 25th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

NOTES (WILL BE REVISED)

ⁱFor more information see “African Continental Free Trade Area Questions & Answers” Compiled by the African Trade Policy Centre (ATPC) of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in association with the African Union Commission.

ⁱⁱ“ECOWAS finally adopts ECO as single currency” <https://www.myjoyonline.com/business/2019/June-30th/ecowas-finally-adopts-eco-as-single-currency.php>

ⁱⁱⁱibid

^{iv}West Africa bloc adopts ‘ECO’ as name of planned shared currency. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/06/west-africa-bloc-adopts-eco-planned-shared-currency-190630103927903.html>

^v<http://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/nigeria-summons-s-african-envoy-over-deep-concern-for-xenophobic-attacks/>

^{vi}<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-47800718>

^{vii}<http://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/nigeria-summons-s-african-envoy-over-deep-concern-for-xenophobic-attacks/>

^{viii}Ghana Responds to U.S. Claim - Visa Sanctions Unjustified. <https://allafrica.com/stories/201902050451.html>,

^{ix}Work and reforms of the UN ‘at risk’, Guterres warns Member States, amidst ‘record-level’ cash crisis. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/10/1048782>

^{ix}(128 members paid out of 193 as of 3 October 2019),

^xSummary of Troop Contributing Countries by Ranking Police, UN Military Experts on Mission, Staff Officers and Troop 2788, 31/08/2019. https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/2_country_ranking_12.pdf.pdf.