

**ARTICLE**

# Challenges and Sustainable Intervention in Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana Border Issues

Kwame Adum-Kyeremeh

University of Ghana, Department of History)  
[kadum-kyeremeh@ug.edu.gh](mailto:kadum-kyeremeh@ug.edu.gh)

## Abstract

This article examines the background to Ghana's search for peaceful co-existence with Cote d'Ivoire after its attainment of independence in 1957. Relying mainly on information from archival and secondary documents and using the qualitative analysis technique, the article provides insights into the creation of the Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana international boundary. It investigates the landscapes of the kingdoms, empires and states between Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana that have been caught up in the complex geopolitical boundary problems and challenges. It also assesses the sustainability of the land conflict redress policies championed by Ghanaian governments. The study finds that colonial boundary issues worsened under Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, compelling him to create a boundary re-demarcation commission to resolve boundary issues. Border disputes persisted, necessitating the creation of another boundary re-demarcation commission in 1968. Relative peaceful Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana relations have since persisted, which is attributable, partly to the work of the Commission. One wonders if the relative peace is sustainable without a longer lasting scheme. This article examines the boundary issue and contributes to the study of Ghana's relations with Cote d'Ivoire and colonial boundary issues in Africa.

## KEYWORDS:

Colonialism; Boundary; Inter-state; Sovereignty; Demarcation.

## 1 | INTRODUCTION

On 16 May 2023, Diakalidia Konate, the Executive secretary of the National Boundary Commission of Cote d'Ivoire and Major General Emmanuel Kotia of Ghana, government representatives of Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana respectively, opened a meeting of the Joint Technical Commission in Grand-Bassam, 40 km south-east of Abidjan. The Commission sought for the reaffirmation of land borders and the implementation of the decision of the International Tribunal of the Sea (TDIM) on the maritime border between the two countries.

This meeting was just one of the series of international meetings held since the twentieth century between the two countries, to address one or another of their land or maritime boundary conflicts. The latest conflict involved a complex maritime boundary dispute, which had defied amicable bilateral resolution and needed external intervention. In deciding the case in July 2017, the International Tribunal of the Sea, set coordinates on the maritime space, with the aim of favouring the delineation on the water body between Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana (APA News, Cote d'Ivoire 17 May 2023). This article examines some of the earlier efforts and strategies towards peaceful co-existence between Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana in the twentieth century.

The article relied mainly on information collected from selected respondents comprising, teachers, immigration officers, border officials and some ordinary residents, who were well informed about movements across the border. It also relied on primary data obtained from the Public Records and Archives Administration Department, in Accra and Sunyani, in the Brong Ahafo Region and secondary documents that examine colonial boundaries. It focuses on the Ghanaian governments' efforts towards permanent peaceful co-existence and specifically, emphasizes the southern Ghana border towns, especially towns in the Dormaa Ahenkro traditional area in the Bono Region of Ghana.

A study of the northern zone of the border is beyond the scope of the current paper. Joseph Kachim, dealt extensively with the northern zone of the Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana boundary, in his recent publication, "The River Is Not to Be Crossed": Anglo-French Boundary and Konkomba Cross-Border Mobility on the Ghana-Togo Border, 1918-30s," in the *Journal of West African History*.

The qualitative analysis technique I used, enabled me to provide insights into the creation of the Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana international boundary. It investigated the landscapes of the kingdoms, empires and states between Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana that have been caught up in the complex geopolitical boundary problems and challenges. It also helped me to assess the sustainability of the land conflict redress policies championed by Ghanaian governments since independence. It enabled me to provide detailed analysis of issues that triggered and complicated Ghana's boundary dispute with Cote d'Ivoire in the twentieth century, the search for peaceful co-existence, and some factors contributing to the attainment of relatively cordial relations between Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana since the 1970s.

The study finds that colonial boundary issues worsened under Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, compelling him to attempt to redress emerging disputes. Despite the creation of a boundary re-demarcation commission, boundary disputes persisted until the creation of another boundary re-demarcation commission in 1968. Can the current relative peaceful Ghana-Cote d'Ivoire relations be attributed to the work of this Commission? How sustainable is this relative peace without a longer lasting scheme? The findings of this study contribute to studies in many sensitive areas, including, international relations, inter-state and intra-state disputes in Africa, origins of 'artificial borders' and 'colonial boundaries' and the impact of colonial rule on Africans. The article also provides historical information, towards a holistic study of boundary disputes and strategies for their resolution in Africa (Odotei, and A. Awedoba (eds.), (2006): 43 for details).

## 2 | EXTANT LITERATURE ON BOUNDARIES IN AFRICA

Substantial literature exist on European policies on colonized states and kingdoms across the world, such as, colonialism and colonial boundaries. These works have expressed divergent views about colonial boundaries. For example, in his publication on Africa and the colonial challenge, Boahen discussed the impact of colonialism on Africa and emphasized the many changes and the speed of the changes, especially the "tragic, dramatic and fundamental changes between 1890 and 1910." (Boahen, 1985). The current article agrees with Boahen that never in the history of Africa did so many changes occur and with such speed as they did between 1880 and 1935. (Boahen, "Africa and the Colonial Challenge" in Boahen (ed.), *Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935. General History of Africa VII*, (London/Pairs: Heinemann/UNESCO).

When Crowder wrote about the French and British styles of indirect rule, he identified and discussed the differences between the French and British systems of administration in Africa and observed that they contained differences in degree and in kind (Michael Crowder, 1964: 197-205). In Mamdani's work, "Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism," he suggested that readers should go beyond the conventional thought that the real crime of colonialism was to expropriate the indigenous, and consider that, colonialism perpetrated an even greater crime. He argues, "That greater crime was to politicize indigeneity, first as a settler libel against the native, and then as a native self-assertion." (Mamdani, 2001). In the case of Mudimbe's, "The invention of Africa," he discusses many aspects of colonialism, with emphasis on gnosis, philosophy and order of knowledge. The various contributors to that work, attributed many problems of Africa to the invention of Africa by European colonial authorities through boundary construction (Mudimbe, 1988).

Ekeh, aimed to make a theoretical statement about colonial boundaries, and argues that "the experiences of colonialism in Africa have led to the emergence of a unique historical configuration in modern post-colonial Africa, creating two publics instead of one public as in the West." He concluded, among other arguments that, "modern comparative politics partially emerged with the widening interest of American and European social scientists in modern, especially post-colonial Africa" (Ekeh, 1975).

Another seminal work on boundaries is Amin's, "Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa – Origins and Contemporary Forms," he concluded that the colonial system organized the African societies so that they produced exports on the best

possible terms, from the point of view of the mother country. It argues that this only provided a very low and stagnating return to local labour, and that, “there are no traditional societies in modern Africa, only dependent peripheral societies.” (Amin, 1972).

Asiwaju’s, “Migration as a revolt: The Example of the Ivory Coast and the Upper Volta before 1945,” provides an important contribution to the literature on African protest movements during the era of colonial rule. It emphasizes migrations caused by disapproval of colonial policy. It discusses some of these colonial policies, such as repressive police measures, which manifested in the native penal and indigent Codes. For him, migrations, as protests, proved far less costly to Africans, but had strong effect on the colonial authorities, as did other more militant forms of protests and rebellion (Asiwaju, 1976).

Asiwaju’s “Partitioned Africans: Ethnic relations across Africa’s International Boundaries,” stressed the ethnic aspects of Africa’s own boundary problems. His main concern was with those African peoples of common culture or ethnicity who were divided between two or more colonial territories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and who had remained in that condition into the 1980s. By focussing on separated Africans, the editor made clear his intention to highlight the human factor in the continent’s international boundaries. In effect, he studied the historical legacy of European colonialism, and its socio-political consequences among Africa’s mutilated ethnic groups (Asiwaju (ed.), 1986).

Cogneau, Mesple-Somps and Spielvogel, studied policies and national integration in Cote d’Ivoire and its neighbours. Despite focusing on Cote d’Ivoire and Ghana, the work was an economic discussion about the use of utilities between the two countries, with no historical analysis of the boundary, or the effect of colonialism (Cogneau et al, 2015).

In Griffiths’ “The scramble for Africa: Inherited Political Boundaries,” the author argues that, “The inherited political geography of Africa is as great an impediment to independent development as her colonially based economies and political structures.” With emphasis on colonial legacy, it argued that, boundaries collectively divide Africa into many states and individually divide people. The article saw colonial boundaries as a source of international conflict, which affect the spatial pattern of economic development. It called for a new approach to solve the colonial boundaries problem (Griffiths, 1986).

Brownlie’s African Boundaries, A legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia, discusses several issues associated with boundaries in Africa. Concerning Ghana’s boundary with Cote d’Ivoire he mentions important cardinal points on the border and some agreements signed between the two countries (Brownlie, 1979).

Aghemelo and Ibhaseblor, identified colonial boundaries as a major legacy of colonialism and argued that the quagmire that confronts most African nations, especially that of boundary disputes, is a fallout of colonialism (Aghemelo and Ibhasebhor, 2006). Their work discussed how colonialism has contributed to boundary disputes and conflicts among African states. It asks for more work on colonial boundaries because little work existed on colonialism as a source of boundary dispute and conflict among African states.

Saffu’s article in the 1970s, asserted that the colonial powers drew boundaries for their own convenience and this eventually created protracted problems for the continent of Africa. He examined specific motivations behind the establishment of the Cote d’Ivoire-Ghana boundary in particular, including stages and the treaties by which the boundary emerged. The paper discusses how the establishment of the boundary has affected the lives of the people living near it (Saffu, 1970). The current article agrees with Saffu that “nationalistic pressures” on the boundaries began only after many African states attained independence. It benefits from the rich details, ideas and analysis the paper provided, but focusses on some other strategies the Ghana government used to find a lasting solution to the boundary conflicts and disputes.

In his article, “Where Is the boundary? Cocoa Conflict. Land Tenure, and Politics in Western Nigeria, 1890s-1960,” Aderinto, discusses how challenges with determining a boundary caused protracted disputes in the Ijebu province in Nigeria. He argues that the Ijebu conflict did not relate to just land or boundary, but cocoa cultivation (Aderinto, 2013). Although he discussed an internal boundary issue, the current article benefits from its insights and analysis of boundary dispute resolution.

In the assertion of Thornton, people shun the title ‘colonialist’ because the word is too abusive, and that people had come to conclude that, ‘to be a colonialist is to be an exploiter.’ In view of this perception about colonialism, Thornton says that if colonialism ever had a school, its alumni would be careful to conceal its whereabouts (Thornton, 1962). Although the current author agrees that colonial rule and the word ‘colonialism’ appear to have been abused, it observes that, on balance, the negative impact of colonial rule, far outweighs the benefits. The colonial era witnessed rapid significant developments in colonial territories, but this was mainly for the colonialists selfish interests.

When Adotey discussed colonial boundaries, he did so by drawing on critical border studies to examine the agency and negotiating capabilities of border residents, using Leklebi and Wli, on the Ghana-Togo border, as case studies. He discussed how discourses and practices of the border are embedded in the contemporary everyday lives of the borderland residents, and what their borderline practices reveal about their border, among other important historical developments (Adotey, 2021).

Mukisa's article, entitled, 'Towards a Peaceful Resolution of Africa's Colonial Boundaries,' examined the emergence of colonial boundaries in Africa and peoples attitude towards them. His article opposed any attempts by governments to transform sub-regional economic communities, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) into political communities, because this could cause many problems. He opposed any disorganized approaches to economic, security and political integration in Africa, because this could do the continent more harm than good (Mukisa, 1997).

Carola Lentz, worked on land, conflicts and border issues in West Africa and observed that geographic maps of the colonial borders were unreliable and vague because European envoys hastily determined the actual boundaries of the territories over which the African signatories of treaties eventually exercised self-control (Lentz, 2003). The current article, agrees and adds to her position that the various treaties of protection between Europeans and Africans, did not end the competitions for control and dominance among Europeans and local communities. The treaties rather fueled competitions, because some West African rulers, simultaneously concluded friendly or trade treaties with both the French and the British (Lentz, 2003).

In 1984, Bening, observed in his study of the internal and international boundaries in Ghana that people living at or near boundaries suffer complications culminating from the divergence of traditional and administrative boundaries. For him, boundaries had caused the truncation of ethnically homogenous communities. He argued that internal colonial limits and diverse policies pursued in the Gold Coast Colony, Asante and the Northern territories, complicated boundary issues in modern Ghana. For him however, the disadvantages suffered by people living near Ghana's borders were removed in 1951 when the country came under the administration of an elected Ghanaian government (Bening). The current article provides evidence to disagree with the latter assertion that problems with colonial boundaries were removed in 1951.

Although the current article recognizes the usefulness of the above-mentioned works, it argues that Ghana's search for peaceful co-existence with Cote d'Ivoire and their boundary politics in particular, needs to be studied in-depth for a holistic understanding of issues associated with that boundary. It aims to provide an understanding of twentieth century boundary issues, to help readers to appreciate issues associated with the boundary and other international boundaries in Africa. It would guide governments in their efforts to peacefully resolve similar disputes in the twenty-first century.

### **3 | EMERGENCE AND CHALLENGES WITH GHANA'S WESTERN BOUNDARY**

The earliest inhabitants of states and kingdoms in and around the Gold Coast, now Ghana, comprised people in the Niger-Congo/Volta-Congo and Gur linguistic groups of languages. They were among the earliest people to establish relationship with early European merchants from the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Portugal and Holland. These Europeans, originally pre-occupied themselves, with trade in gold, ivory and human beings and hardly intervened in the local politics of these ethnic kingdoms and empires. Following the Asante kingdom's humiliating defeat of the British army in the Battle of Nsamankow in 1824, and the uneasy peace that prevailed afterwards in the Asante Empire, Europeans showed little interest in territorial annexation and occupation of states and kingdoms of the Gold Coast.

After the 1824 war, the British government decided to abandon the Gold Coast permanently and in 1830, sent a war ship to remove the merchants and their properties. Ricketts, the then British government's representative, was ordered to demolish the forts and retire to Sierra Leone (Ward, 1958). Only the British merchants' resistance and Fante protests, compelled Britain to review its decision (Ward: 189). Under the governorship of George Maclean (1830-1843), he signed various treaties with the Asante and other local people, and paved the way for the British to reassert control over the Gold Coast. By 1850, the Gold Coast was an independent British protectorate, a position the latter further consolidated by buying out the Danish and Dutch possessions in 1850 and 1872 respectively. Following the British defeat of Asante in a series of battles in 1826, 1874, 1896 and 1900, Britain declared the Gold Coast a separate colony and by 1902 the Gold Coast, Asante and northern territories were firmly under English rule (Lentz, 2003).

Meanwhile, regular conflicts between French and British trading companies resulted in the establishment of commissions to resolve their conflicts. For example, in the early 1880s, a boundary commission was set up to resolve the struggle for political and economic control over kingdoms and states on the Gold Coast boundary with Ivory Coast, (La Cote d'Ivoire). In 1883, the Commission agreed that the state of Aowin should remain a British territory and the boundary between French and British Protectorates should run between Indenie and Sefwi; leaving Sefwi to the English (Saffu, 1970).

Otto von Bismarck of Germany and other European rulers, called a conference in the city of Berlin from 13 November 1884 to 26 February 1885, to ensure peaceful relations between European powers in Africa and to discuss the terms by which Europeans would acquire and keep territories in Africa. The decisions that emanated from the Berlin Conference became the legal basis

for the occupation of territories in Africa by Europeans. The first Act of the Conference stated that a nation, wanting to claim African lands should inform the other signatory powers, “in order to enable them, if need be, to make good any claims of their own” (Boahen, 1975).<sup>1</sup> The second Act affirmed treaties that European countries had signed with African traditional rulers; such as the Bond of 1844, which recognized English roles in local Gold Coast politics (Boahen, 1975).<sup>2</sup>

In the period after the conference, George Ekem Ferguson, one of the British agents, signed treaties with some kingdoms in northern Ghana and acquired that territory for the British, whilst M. La Plene’s efforts, contributed to the acquisition of the present-day Cote d’Ivoire for France. Individual chiefly units, instead of ethnic groups signed these treaties, because, people lived in small political units. But it is also possible that the chiefly units were quite aware of the significance of the treaties, but wanted to have political autonomy from paramount chiefs (PRAAD BRG. 28/3/15). In Nzema for example, without prior consultation with the other chiefs, some divisional chiefs, around Assini and some Anyi villages, around Kranjabo signed treaties with the French, whilst the Nzema chiefs at Aowin, Beyin, Dadieso and Enchi signed treaties with the British. By the late 1880s, the English and the French respectively controlled affairs in present-day Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire. They divided traditional states along the border as had been done in towns and villages in many coastal towns. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example, Accra, had British, Danish and Dutch sections, Komenda, a coastal town in Ghana was divided between the British and the Dutch, and Sekondi was divided between British and the Dutch. Boahen, (1975), asserts that, these acts of the European powers, successfully established the basis for tension between villages, towns, kingdoms and empires.<sup>3</sup>

Having thus received the British and French home governments’ endorsement and protection, kingdoms remained sovereign British and sovereign French protectorates. New cases of conflict emerged until the Anglo-French Delimitation Treaty of 1898 was signed to officially partition kingdoms, towns and villages into the British and French spheres of influence. Between signing the 1893 French-British Protocol and the actual 1901-1903 boundary re-demarcation, the British and the French signed some delimitation treaties, including the one signed in 1896, and a treaty signed in Paris on 14 June 1898. They did this in pursuit of the 1890 Declaration to limit their possessions and spheres of influence. In the west and south of the Middle Niger, Instruments of ratifications were also exchanged a year later in Paris on 13 June 1899.

Article One of the 1898 Protocol drew the northern section of the Cote d’Ivoire-Ghana boundary from latitude 9 degrees to 11 degrees North (Brownlie, 1979). It was eventually created, following successive delimitation agreements and demarcation missions between 1883 and 1905, when France and Britain accepted the Report of the Delafosse Wetherston-Demarcation Mission of 1901-1903, (PRAAD BRG 1/4/5).<sup>4</sup> In 1905, an Anglo-French Protocol placed the beginning of the common boundary at the mouth of the Tano River, instead of five miles beyond Nugua. It consolidated British hold on Ghana, which had then been under British colonial rule since 1874.<sup>5</sup>

## 4 | AFRICANS’ ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE BORDERS

Africans attitude towards the colonial boundaries has been studied extensively. Boahen argues that an overwhelming majority of African authorities and leaders were vehemently opposed to European policies. They expressed their determination to maintain the status quo and, above all, retain their sovereignty and independence. When the British in 1891 offered protection to Prempeh, an Asante king, for example, he replied,

The suggestion that Asante in its present state should come and enjoy the protection of Her Majesty the Queen and empress of India, I may say is a matter of very serious consideration, and which I am happy to say we have arrived at this conclusion, that my kingdom of Asante will never commit itself to any such policy. Asante must remain as of old at the same time to

<sup>1</sup> See Adu Boahen, (1975). Ghana: Evolution and Change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Longman: 298, for details, especially, signatories and terms of the agreement in the Bond.

<sup>2</sup> In the course of this, Indenie, a famous town on Captain Binger’s map was raised to the status of an independent tribal state, on a par with Aowin, which was itself partitioned by the Ghana-Cote d’Ivoire boundary in 1893.

<sup>3</sup> Adu Boahen, Ghana: Evolution and Change. Also see PRAAD BRG 1/4/5. ‘Re-demarcation of the Ghana-Ivory Coast Boundary (SCR/BA 0429) 1901-1974.’ This file contains these and other Anglo-French Treaties describing the boundary, embodying the original agreements signed on 1 February 1903, at Bondukou and Supplementary Agreements signed on 11 April 1903 and 23 April 1903 at Jemma and New Town respectively.

<sup>4</sup> The preoccupation of the British, Danes, Dutch, Portuguese, and the Swedish on the Gold Coast, until the late nineteenth century, remained largely economic; namely, to engage in and control trading activities between themselves and Africans. The European traders purchased mainly gold, ivory, and later, slaves, kept these in their forts and castles along the Atlantic coast, and shipped them overseas. Regarding the successes and benefits from African trade with Europeans, current literature attributes them to mutual understanding and cooperation from Africans, with a few cases of rivalry among the European trading companies and their officials, particularly, Britain and France.

<sup>5</sup> See Roger Gocking, for more on Nkrumah’s foreign policy and in particular, his policies and actions towards African unity and Africa without colonial boundaries.

remain friendly with all white men. I do not write this in a boastful spirit but in the clear sense of its meaning. . . the cause of Asante is progressing and there is no reason for any Asante man to feel alarmed at the prospects or to believe for a single instant that our cause has been driven back by the events of the past hostilities (Fynn in Crowder (ed.), 1971).

Similarly, several other African leaders, such as Lat Dior, the Damel of Cayor, Senegal, King Machemba of the Yao in Tanzania, Hendrik Wittboi, Namibia and King Menelik of Ethiopia, according to Boahen, all opposed colonialism and interference in their kingdoms. Wobogo, the Moro Naba (King) of the Mossi in modern Burkina Faso, told the French officer, Captain Destenave in 1895, that:

I know that the whites wish to kill me in order to take my country, and yet you claim that they will help me to organize my country. But I find my country good just as it is. I have no need of them. I know what is necessary for me and what I want: I have my own merchants: also, consider yourself fortunate that I do not order your head to be cut off. Go away now, and above all, never come back. (Quoted by M. Crowder, 1968).

These are words of the men who faced the colonial challenge, but proved beyond any doubt the strength of their determination to oppose the Europeans and to defend their sovereignty, religion and traditional way of life. They were confident that their magic, ancestors and gods would come to their aid, and many of them on the eve of the actual physical confrontation either resorted to prayers, sacrifices, herbs and incantations. The Mossi assert that when the French attacked Ouagadougou, Mogho Naba Wobogo made sacrifices to the earth shrines (Skinner, 1964). Tradition has it that he sacrificed a black cock, a black ram, a black donkey and a black slave on a large hill near the White Volta, beseeching the earth goddess to drive the French away and to destroy Mazi, the traitor, whom they had placed upon the throne (Isichei, 1977).

We can argue that many African rulers welcomed Europeans and the new changes they introduced. These changes had hitherto posed no threat to their sovereignty and independence. Africans, actually benefited from exportation of gold, cash crops, introduction of formal education, and roads and railways construction. African rulers opposed any radical change in their centuries' old relations with Europe. The rulers were confident that they would be able to stop Europeans, if they tried to force any changes on them and push their way inland, as they had been able to do for centuries. The local populations, came to understand the international boundaries as a continuous dividing line, separating two contiguous territories (Lentz, 2003).

#### 4.1 | CHALLENGES WITH THE BORDERS

The African continent, generally, endured some challenges following the creation of the colonial boundaries. In Ghana, these include the nature of the beacons and pillars erected along its western international boundary. Some were too short to be visible and became invisible at many places. Border dwellers saw them as mere concrete pillars, hastily erected in the late nineteenth century by the British and French colonial officials (PRAAD BRG 1/4/5: 1961-1974). Besides, the pillars rapidly wore out and people who knew little or nothing about their historical significance removed some of them. (Osei, interview). Removing the beacons and pillars allowed people to pursue their farming activities, irrespective of the boundary's demarcations. Border guards and government officials accused farmers of violating boundary rules and protocols, because they entered each country's territory with impunity (Akrasi, interview).

Ivoirian nationals, were sometimes arrested for illegally, but often, felling timber on the Ghana section of the border, and vice versa. Culprits attributed their actions to inability to realize the actual territories of their cocoa or coffee farms, or limits of their timber concessions, due to the dilapidated nature of the pillars and beacons (PRAAD BRG 1/4/5). Farmers and chain-saw timber operators made genuine mistakes, by entering into each country's territory to cut timber, and many Ghanaian border residents alleged that Ivoirians deliberately destroyed or uprooted the beacons and replaced them few miles into the Ghanaian territory, to claim extra land in Ghana (PRAAD BRG 1/4/9).

A 1961 boundary investigative committee revealed that, border disputes occurred between Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana at the frontier from Alenda Wharf in the south to the Black Volta in the north, due to demarcation issues, such as challenges with the pillars along the boundaries and the forest vegetation (PRAAD BRG 1/4/5). By the 1960s, all earlier endeavors to replace and re-align the beacons had failed and people continued to traverse the boundary to farm, fell timber or build houses (Frimpong, interview).

Dense forests that covered the pillars and beacons along the boundary, allowed people to unintentionally traverse into each other's territory (PRAAD BRG 27/9/8, 1963-1965). The forest also prevented timber concessionaires and farmers from knowing the actual side of the border they operated (Adu, interview). Governments' inability, lateness, or unwillingness to clear forest

covers and re-demarcate boundaries, worsened matters, by causing more boundary conflicts (Yeboah, interview). In the late 1960s, Ghanaians always delayed or reluctantly cleared the southern section of the boundary, because of the inaccessible dense forest that covered the boundary. Boundary works in Ghana delayed unnecessarily, due to lack of machines, failure to use mechanical means to rapidly clear her southern boundary and difficulties with acquisition, use and alienation of land (PRAAD BRG 27/1/40)..

The absence of legitimate entry and exit gates along the Ghana-Cote d'Ivoire boundary encouraged people to use illegal footpaths to smuggle cocoa from Ghana to Cote d'Ivoire (Selected Speeches Vol.). Although border guards often arrested people for illicitly transporting cocoa and coffee to Cote d'Ivoire and for violating other boundary regulations, this did not deter smugglers. In some cases, smugglers and their collaborators ambushed, kidnapped and abducted border guards (Frimpong, interview).

It must be emphasized however that, although, the boundary bisected Gonokrom, Kofibadukrom, Takyikrom and some other Ghanaian towns and villages, this did not break family relations. People prioritised kinship ties over the limits of the boundary, whilst the European powers did the reverse. By 1967, for example, several Ghanaian villages in the Dormaa Ahenkro traditional area, were wholly inhabited by their kin Ivoirians (Kusi, interview). In Kofibadukrom, the population of that village of about 1000 people in the 1970s, comprised a mixture of both Ghanaians and Ivoirians. They built about fifteen houses on the border track (Kusi, interview).

## 5 | SECURITY AND DIPLOMATIC IMPLICATIONS

Although the population mix had positive effects, the Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana border posed security challenges. Apart from regular clashes between citizens, clashes sometimes occurred between citizens and Border Guards due to disagreements. The disagreements and conflicts often rendered surveillance along the border and in the border villages largely ineffective and sometimes dangerous. Relative peaceful relations prevailed, mainly because inhabitants shared community feeling and common social amenities (PRAAD, BRG 27/14/15: 1974).

Government's radical measures often ensured peaceful co-existence, where peace continually eluded the border residents. In 1968, for instance, the Ghana government arbitrarily destroyed, relocated or declared farms, houses and other properties, for Ghanaians or Ivoirians. These cases of arbitrary determinations, and boundary demarcation and re-demarcation, sometimes ensured peace, although families and individuals often lost properties and farms. The few lucky ones, in these endeavours, got their farms and other properties divided between the two countries. Governments spent their meagre resources to pay huge amounts of money as compensation (Agyeiwaa, interview).

The visible differences in language, government programmes and policy of the two countries, also caused problems, including challenges with agreeing on suitable dates and times for meetings to discuss matters of common interest. In 1967, for example, a Joint Ghana-Ivory Coast Border Commission met in Abidjan to discuss documents to be used in the re-demarcation of the boundary and its *modus operandi*, but the actual work of the commission began only after several postponements at the instance of the Ivoirians in 1968 (PRAAD BRG 27/1/40). Differences in national agenda and programmes, and disorganized programme schedules also delayed the work of the Commission. The two governments also unwillingly released funds and provided insufficient logistics to facilitate meetings.

Residents also created footpaths and other unapproved routes into each country's territory. This development, which has persisted into the twenty-first century, allowed people to exchange visits, participate in funerals and festivals of their kinsmen and to attend family meetings. The Gyaman people of Ghana, for example, regard the Abono kings of Cote d'Ivoire as representatives of their ancestors. They participate in the enstoolment of chiefs in the Abono kingdom, and the Abono kinsmen do the same during the enstoolment of chiefs in the Gyaman traditional area of Ghana. Although the footpaths have become conduits for smuggling activities, the persistent economic depression in Africa, supported by the cross-border relations, facilitate smuggling activities. The contrabands can be accommodated and secured by their kin on either side (Asum, interview). This encourages people without the requisite documents to smuggle goods and cross the boundary for other illegal activities (PRAAD BRG 1/4/9, Interim Report, 1974; 18).

The attainment of political independence rather complicated Ghana's boundary problems with Cote d'Ivoire. Independence required Britain and France to permanently relinquish political control of the two countries and depart, in line with the principle of state succession and conditions in colonial treaties that had described existing boundaries and territories as "dispositive." The new states, were required, not only to take possession of historical treaties, but also frontiers of territories. The effect of this

clause is that, it affected sovereignty and power of many traditional states. The Sanwi community, in particular, was severely affected by the creation of the Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana colonial boundary before and after Ghana's independence.

Comprising a group of people living in Cote d'Ivoire, but tracing their ancestry to modern Ghana, a group of the Sanwi, in the 1910s and especially during the First World War, migrated to Ghana in protest against alleged Ivoirian government's policies to marginalize some ethnic groups. They opposed the Ivoirian government's imposition of a "manpower levy" deeming it as a violation of the 1843 protectorate agreement between their traditional state and the French. The treaty guaranteed the sovereignty and integrity of the State of Sanwi. By asking for incorporation and inclusion into the British colony, however, the state infuriated the then French colonial government in Cote d'Ivoire. It dismembered the Sanwi as a traditional state of the Anyi people, and only reorganized it in 1943. The emerging tension between the Ivoirian government and the Sanwi continued into the 1950s, although this is said to have highly pleased Nkrumah of Ghana because of his desire to incorporate the Sanwi in the newly-formed independent Ghana.

After winning the United Nation's Plebiscite of 9 May 1956 and gaining British Togoland to join Ghana, Nkrumah, wishing to integrate the Sanwi and other traditional states in Cote d'Ivoire into the new Ghanaian state, wrote in the same year that the only one real problem facing Ghana in international relations was, "what is to be done about the Nzema tribe, which, in the west of the country, has been split up by the boundary separating the French Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast" (PRAAD, BRG 1/4/5).<sup>6</sup> Similarly, in 1957, Nkrumah wrote in his autobiography that, it is unfortunate for Nzemas that the Tano River and the Anyi Lagoon were taken to form the boundary between the two countries, for the [Nzema] people had set up fishing villages all around the lagoon and are now divided (PRAAD, BRG 1/4/5).<sup>7</sup> This, Nkrumah asserted, was a source of much inconvenience and discontent, "because of unknown customs such as foreign language and other barriers" (PRAAD, BRG 1/4/5). It also disturbed people when crossing from one side of the border to the other.

Again, in a speech on foreign policy in 1959, Nkrumah stressed what he called the 'recent determination by the Sanwi to join Ghana' and urged the Sanwi to re-join their brothers and sisters in Ghana. In 1960, whilst visiting towns around the southern Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana boundary, Nkrumah again hinted that Ghana had legitimate territorial claims over the Sanwi area (West Africa, December 26, 1959). In the White Paper on Ghana's 1960 Constitution, Nkrumah also reiterated the constitutional provision for surrender of sovereignty and noted that this was intended to facilitate, "the entry of Ghana into a Union of African States" and "... to enable people living outside Ghana, but are linked by racial, family and historical connections with Ghanaians to join them in one integrated state" (West Africa, December 26, 1959). Nkrumah pledged to regularly hold discussions with the Ivoirian government on the issue of integration, so as to relieve the Nzema and the Sanwi of further hardship (PRAAD'A, ADM 16/2). Thus the attainment of independence by Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire in 1957 and 1960 respectively, affected the prevailing peaceful relations between traditional states and kingdoms in the two countries.

There is no doubt therefore that territorial ambition of the Heads of State contributed to the border disputes and the inter-state conflicts. In Ghana for example, President Nkrumah continually called for areas in modern Cote d'Ivoire to be re-united with their legitimate geographical areas in Ghana's Western Region (PRAAD BRG 1/4/9, 1974: 7). Nkrumah wanted to see the boundaries abolished, particularly because the boundary in the Western Region of Ghana, divided and cut off parts of Gyaman, Nzema and Sanwi and other traditional states from Ghana. To Nkrumah, this successfully ripped kingdoms into separate national units and placed the African continent at the mercy of imperialism and neo-colonialism. Nkrumah asked, "how for example, can related communities and families trade with and support one another successfully, if they find themselves divided by national boundaries and currency restriction?" (PRAAD'A, ADM 16/11).<sup>8</sup> He opposed Africans who conceived balkanization within the framework of a continental African union (See also Selected Speeches Vol. 2).

Nkrumah's determination to expand Ghana's frontiers delayed the search for sustainable peaceful relations. Writing about the role "tribal" interest and sentiments play in border conflicts, Zartman indicated that Nkrumah openly demonstrated territorial expansion ambitions in some of his writings. He cited as an example, Nkrumah's support for the Sanwi people to secede from Cote d'Ivoire (Zartman, 1968). Meanwhile, the Sanwi question persisted into the late 1950s and caused protracted inter-state and diplomatic concerns. For example, when Amon N'Douffou III, a Sanwi king lost an appeal in France to demand autonomy of his state in 1959, the Ivoirian authorities arrested some of his supporters. The king and his followers sojourned in Ghana, to

<sup>6</sup>See speech by Kwame Nkrumah at the Casablanca Conference in Selected Speeches Vol. 1: 255. He argues that the political and economic unification of the African continent is the key – the master key to Africa's future. See the speech, 'Africa Needs her Farmers' in Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah, Vol. 1: 460. He argues, "if the USA could do it, Soviet Union could do it, if India could do it, why not Africa?" In Selected Speeches Vol. 2: 296, Nkrumah says that the absence of the command meant that Africans will possibly, fight among themselves and destroy all they had so far achieved, to the delight and advantage of the neo-colonialists.

<sup>7</sup>Nkrumah's emphasis on the split of the Nzema as against the Abbron, Aowin and other kingdoms displeased some Ghanaians. For them, it indicated that Nkrumah favoured the Nzema, his own ethnic group, than other groups, in his quest for the reunion of divided peoples.

<sup>8</sup>Although the Sanwi question was very significant historically, this has not been extensively studied in Ghana. Future researchers may have to consider it for further studies.



avoid further harassment. They received the Nkrumah government's support to establish themselves, have their own provisional government and reunite their state to Ghana. The Sanwi local government, gradually, tried to reunify the Nzema and the Sanwi in Cote d'Ivoire with their kinsmen in Ghana. They accepted that they had only been separated by the colonial boundary between the two countries (PRAAD'A, ADM 16/2). The Sanwi question significantly worsened the Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana boundary problems and caused extreme tension between the two countries into the 1960s.<sup>9</sup>

Felix Houphouet-Boigny, then Ivoirian President and a close ally of the French government, vehemently opposed Nkrumah and his African unity vision. He and his associates believed that the monolithic state of Africa concept, as advocated by Nkrumah, was awkward and undesirable. The 'One Africa' policy was also unattainable. Ghana's animosity with Cote d'Ivoire, worsened in the early 1960s, when Nkrumah attempted to claim an undefined territory in the Ahy and the Tendo Lagoon regions in south-eastern Cote d'Ivoire. Here, the Gulf Petroleum Company was then prospecting for oil. As to be expected, Houphouet-Boigny detested this and contested that, Nkrumah had no right, or the means to demand the annexation of any portion of Cote d'Ivoire. The border issue thus worsened relations between Nkrumah and Houphouet-Boigny. Although Nkrumah attempted to strengthen relationship with Houphouet-Boigny in a meeting in Abidjan on 9 April 1957 and again, at Half Assini, in Ghana, in 1960, he was unsuccessful in both cases.

In the latter meeting, in particular, Nkrumah allegedly prepared a draft peace agreement, ready for signing by the two governments, but could not produce it due to Houphouet-Boigny's opposing stance (PRAAD'A, ADM 16/55). Houphouet-Boigny teamed up with his colleague moderate African nationalists, in pursuance of his opposition to Nkrumah, to adopt and incorporate the existing policy of territorial integrity and "respect of borders," into the OAU's charter. At the 1963 maiden conference of the OAU, the Ethiopian Prime Minister, succinctly opposed the 'African without boundaries' concept, arguing that, "if we are to redraw the map of Africa on the basis of religion, race and language, I fear that many states will cease to exist (Zdenek: 9)."

## 6 | SUSTAINABLE INTERVENTION MEASURES

To redress their boundary issues, the two countries held regular meetings from 1963 to 1968, to work out acceptable solutions to their common border issues, to improve the rights of the border residents, tackle illegal activities along the border, and resolve the issue of the beacons. The beacons issue, in particular, worried the two governments and border residents because they were not properly made, were hastily fixed, had weakened over the years, and were easily removable (PRAAD BRG 27/14/15). In their meeting in Abidjan in 1967, members agreed to prohibit the exploitation of timber within 800 meters of either side of the border, resource forest officers to intensify patrol of the frontier, encourage friendly co-operation between forest officers, report violators of boundary rules and provide details of illegal activities along the border to their respective governments (PRAAD, BRG 1/4/5). Members agreed to suspend any legal action or civil proceedings initiated to address previous infractions.

In another meeting held in Accra in December 1967, the Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana governments, established a Joint Beaconing Commission, and entrusted it with the duty to immediately re-demarcate the boundary, prevent intractable problems such as violations, infringements, aggravation of disputes, and to tackle cases of neglect of existing laws. It devised steps to tackle the boundary problem permanently, and to re-demarcate the boundary, using outline of past and existing conventions. The governments pledged to officially re-mark, demarcate and re-demarcate the entire boundary properly; to formally re-align the beacons and pillars, to ensure effective patrol, help check smuggling from Ghana into Cote d'Ivoire and to save border inhabitants from inadvertently violating existing basic international boundary rules (PRAAD BRG 27/14/17. Ghana-Ivory Coast Re-demarcation Commission, 1976-1978).

In August 1968, Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana, set up the Ghana-Ivory Coast Border Demarcation Commission, and constituted it under the Ghana-Ivory Coast Joint Border Re-demarcation (Appointment of Commission) Instrument, 1968 Legislative Instrument 595. It comprised representatives of the Office of Ghana's Attorney-General, the Ghana Police Service and Border Guards, the Survey Department, the Forestry Department, Regional Organizations of the then Western and Brong-Ahafo Regions, and a representative of the Ministry of Defence. Mr. James Mercer, a legal practitioner was chairman, and an appointed officer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ghana served as its Secretary.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup>For more about the Sanwi and ethnic connections generally, see A. I. Asiwaju, "Migrations as Revolt: The Example of the Ivory Coast and the Upper Volta before 1945," in *The Journal of African History*, 1976, Vol.17, No.4 (1976), pp. 582-584. See also, Asiwaju's comprehensive discussions of "partitioned Africans" in Asiwaju, *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic reactions across Africa's international boundaries, 1884-1984*.

<sup>10</sup>Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD, BRG 1/4/5), indicates proposals to carry out an up to date survey, August 1961:2. The Bono Regional archives houses most of the documents associated with Ghana's relations with La Cote d'Ivoire. The region, lying to the central part of Ghana, shares its western borders with La Cote d'Ivoire.

Establishment of the 1968 boundary commission, paved the way for Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana to consolidate earlier efforts to physically demarcate the border between the two countries. It held negotiations on matters concerning the demarcation of the border, strategized to make the necessary enquiries to solve any human problems occasioned by the position of the border and embodied in its report, appropriate recommendations for the preservation of the beaconing objects and the track marking of the border (PRAAD BRG 1/4/5).

The Beaconing Commission was successful because it used some important documents in its custody to work with, including the Franco-British Arrangements of 1893 and 1905; the Report of the Beaconing Commission of 1903, often called The Delafosse/Watherson Commission Report; the Noel-Dallas Commission Reports of 1925-1928; all maps relating to the Franco-British Agreements; and the 1963 Joint Report of the Ghana-Ivory Coast Commission. It searched for other documents considered relevant to help it recommend measures to reset the existing beacons and to permanently solve all Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana boundary-related problems; especially, those caused by the beacons (PRAAD BRG 1/4/5, 1901-1974).<sup>[11]</sup>

The Commission's work dragged due to some basic problems the joint commission faced. For example, some governmental policies, within the first four years of its creation, caused membership and composition of the Ghana commission to change consistently. By 1974 for example, only its chairman and the Chief Survey Officer were regular members of the Commission (PRAAD BRG 1/4/5). The position of the Secretary, in particular, changed more than five times within four years and the progressively high budgets and cost of the re-demarcation project, delayed its activities.

Notwithstanding these challenges, the Ghana-Ivory Coast Joint Re-demarcation Commission of 1968 helped in Ghana's search for peaceful co-existence with Cote d'Ivoire. The Commission's labour force used the original content of colonial documents and maps, as guide to plant intermediate pillars and spaced them one kilometre apart, along the entire border. It tackled resurging problems, and nearly, permanently resolved the issue of the beacons. In collaboration with the Commission's Joint Technical Team (JTT), of technical personnel, the force's reconnaissance surveys, cleared the boundary, and planted intermediate pillars. They regularly surveyed the land, searched for all existing beacons; placed pegs in the position of missing beacons and erected additional pegs. The commission periodically cleared portions of the two-metre width boundary track to keep them visible. It helped each of its teams to find money to bear the expenses involved in re-working the boundary and ensured that the existing tracks served as the visible boundary for the two countries (PRAAD BRG 1/4/9).

By enforcing the Joint Commission's decisions taken in Abidjan in March 1970, the JTT strategically prevented reckless cutting of timber, and secured a large measure of goodwill and cooperation from the border dwellers. It enforced all decisions to prevent reckless depletion of the forest reserves. Another strategy was to convene emergency Joint Ghana-Cote d'Ivoire Border Re-demarcation Commission meetings, such as the one in Accra in July 1970, to review the modus operandi of the JTT (PRAAD BRG 1/4/9). The JTT also successfully stopped the illegal felling of timber along the border, especially, along the southern border (PRAAD BRG 1/4/9).

To consolidate the establishment of pillars erected by the Noel/Dallas Commission of 1925-1928, the JTT permanently marked on the ground, new bearings along the boundary. It marked the principal pillars with permanent ink and helped surveyors to recover the old pillars and set them out in their appropriate places. In all, the JTT demarcated and pillared a distance of 295 kilometres, out of a total distance of 346 kilometres of the boundary by January 1974. The Ghanaian Forestry Team planted hardwoods, including teak in dry areas and Gmelina in swampy and marshy areas along the boundary in the early 1970s (PRAAD BRG 1/4/9).

At Asawinso, in the Western Region of Ghana, the JTT developed a nursery on which the team relied to supply hardwood for planting along the boundary. In 1974, for example, it procured for planting along the boundary, about 200 seedlings, raised on this nursery (PRAAD BRG 1/4/9). Using expensive methods and equipment such as a quick sun or star azimuth observation methods and a gyroscope, the commission's officials, regularly cleared weeds that covered the azimuth pillars, to determine geographical positions.<sup>[12]</sup> For the first time, the Commission led Ghana's team to use mechanical means, instead of manual means to clear the dense forest cover between pillars 28 and 38 (Osei, interview).

The Commission also refrained from harassing persons in settlements affected by the demarcation, and did not destroy farms and other property, situated along the boundary. The main purpose was to prioritize social welfare and individual rights issues in its works. It carefully planned the relocation of moveable property and destruction of permanent ones. For example, it withheld the destruction of farms, property and settlements on or close to the boundary, despite decisions taken at its meeting in Abidjan in

<sup>11</sup>The problem of the differences in language and their impact were reiterated in the minutes of meeting of the Re-demarcation Commission, in reports of its units and in the interim reports of the Re-demarcation Commission.

<sup>12</sup>PRAAD BRG 27/1/40. The author got much of the information for this article from the minutes of meeting of the Ghana-Ivory Coast Border Demarcation Commission, Agricultural Team, which took place at the Forestry School, Sunyani, 19th – 20th September, 1972.

1970 to destroy such farms.<sup>13</sup> This ensured peaceful co-existence between border residents and prevented destruction of valuable property. It consistently granted permission to persons with the requisite border-resident permits to cross the border to farm, and to undertake lawful businesses. This ensured development of trust and goodwill between citizens and their governments.

With respect to buildings affected by the re-demarcation exercises, they were first marked with red ink and left intact to await the decision of the two governments. This prevented reckless destruction and undue pain and suffering by owners. Such delays enabled governments to compensate owners of properties before destruction (PRAAD BRG 27/1/40, 12-14 April 1972: 4-5).<sup>14</sup>

The Joint Agricultural Team (JAT), on its part, regularly surveyed farms and the surrounding vegetation, to note the types of plants, their age and their general state. This prevented destruction of the dense virgin forests and ensured that land owners received the requisite compensation, if their land was taken or their property was destroyed. In all, the JAT, successfully enumerated a total of 382 farms, between 1968 and 1974. This was done within 7088.3 acres of land, at a distance of 60.76 miles, including eighty-nine farms sitting on the border and 293 inland farms, belonging to Ivoirian and Ghanaian farmers.<sup>15</sup> In 1974, it paid varied sums of money as compensation to owners of buildings the commission had destroyed (Ampaabeng, interview).

By regularly visiting the common boundary, the commission's members became acquainted with the various sectors of the border, and re-marked and re-demarcated it, despite the inhospitable terrain. The frequent visits, support of the forestry experts, planting of special trees along the border and selection of the most suitable trees and soils in the process, all helped to mark the boundary and prevented dispute. Through partnership with crop enumerators, the JTT members always, dutifully counted, in the presence of farm owners, all farms, trees, plants, crops, and other properties that needed to be destroyed. The Commission dutifully paid the requisite compensation to deserving farmers and property owners.

Although the 1968 Commission could not find lasting solutions to all border issues, its strides were considerable. The Commission redressed most of the complex issues relating to the Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana boundary.

Its systematic planning strategies, the hardworking and diligent staff, government interest and support, individuals' fortitude, progressive administrative and organizational conflict resolution strategies, and logistical support from governments, all helped in the search for peaceful Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana relations in the twentieth century.<sup>16</sup>

## 7 | CONCLUSION

This article has discussed problems associated with the creation of colonial boundaries in Africa and in particular, the Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana boundary, and how post-independence governments of Ghana worked to resolve that boundary's problems. The article observed that the Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana boundary problems can be dated to 1914, when the French administration in Cote d'Ivoire established conscriptions. This instigated the Sanwi to migrate to settle in the then British Colony of the Gold Coast. The tension between the Ivoirian government and the Sanwi people, and arrest of N'Doloffou, the Sanwi leader, nullified Sanwi efforts for sovereignty, but encouraged them to migrate to Ghana.

Bisecting the Gyaman, Nzema, Sanwi and other indigenous groups and kingdoms, created protracted problems and challenges for governments of both countries. Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, aimed to reunite kingdoms and persistently urged African leaders to unite to eradicate colonial boundaries. In the case of Ghana's western border, Nkrumah contended that the Nzema were not Ivoirians and none of them or their territory, should be in Ivoirian territory. He blamed Europeans for using the boundary to divide the Nzema between Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire and insisted that the Nzema were wholly Ghanaian. This gradually worsened the animosity and suspicions between himself and Houphouet-Boigny, then Ivoirian President. Although Houphouet-Boigny, disagreed with Nkrumah, on many issues, he supported Nkrumah to address the recurring boundary problems.

Nkrumah's overthrow on 24 February 1966, hastened efforts towards a permanent resolution of the Ghana-Cote d'Ivoire border conflicts, particularly, with the establishment of the Ghana-Ivory Coast Re-demarcation Commission. The Commission only redressed part of the Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana border issues, but efforts by the two governments ensured peaceful co-existence

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<sup>13</sup>PRAAD BRG 1/4/9. Interim Report, 1974; 18. The Ivoirian commission, on its part, successfully cleared its portion on time as required. James Mercer, Chairman of the Ghana Commission wanted Ghana to clear the allotted portions in Ghana, because, 'until this is done, the consequent human problems involved cannot be tackled and this would further delay the Commission's work.'

<sup>14</sup>The Ghana team often used manual means to clear its portion, whilst the Ivoirian team was more interested in using mechanical means.

<sup>15</sup>See PRAAD BRG 27/1/40. Report of the Ordinary Meeting of the Ghana-Ivory Coast Border Re-demarcation Commission Held at Takoradi (Ghana) 12th-14th April 1972: 4-5).

<sup>16</sup>For details, see PRAAD BRG 27/1/40. Report of the Ordinary Meeting of the Ghana-Ivory Coast Border Re-demarcation Commission Held at Takoradi (Ghana) 12th-14th April 1972: 4-5. The 1974 draft report of the Joint Re-demarcation Committee, was based on reports submitted by units within the Joint Beaconsing Commission. It provided evidence of the Commission's activities and challenges and informed about the gains of the Commission and its teams. This report served as the main reference document for this article, and would be useful as background for future discussion of border issues between the two countries.

among border settlements. Their endeavours provide leads to some progressive strategies available to governments to resolve problems and challenges associated with colonial and local boundaries. The two governments' efforts to resolve their boundary problems, have ensured relative peace and stability between Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana since the 1960s.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Kwame Adum-Kyeremeh, is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of History, University of Ghana, where he currently teaches aspects of African and World history. His areas of research include studies on Ghana's political leadership and transformations in the Ghanaian society.

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