

**THE MIDSOUTH POLITICAL REVIEW SCIENCE REVIEW**

**VOLUME 7, 2003**

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## **Regional Cooperation in West Africa (1960-2003)**

Michael O. Anda, Associate Professor of Political Science  
*University of Arkansas at Little Rock*

And

Lawrence Okere, Assistant Professor of Political Science  
*University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Regional cooperation in West Africa encompasses political, economic, socio-cultural and military relations. In this paper, we are interested in the political character of interstate relation in West Africa and concentrate on relations between the regions component units at the level of systemic interactions. Specifically, we will use diplomatic representation, bilateral treaty agreements, visits by Heads of States, and mutual memberships in regional and sub regional organizations, are used to evaluate the prospect for political cooperation.

#### **Diplomatic Representation in West Africa**

Scholars like Alger and Brams (1967) and Russett and Lamb (1969) have presented empirical evidence depicting significant patterns of diplomatic interactions in the global system. William Zartman (1988), more generally, and Patrick McGowan (1969), more systematically, have applied the diplomatic representation approach to international relations involving African states. In Africa, evidence suggests that the availability of meager resources and the perceptions there of, play a fundamental role in the pattern of diplomatic distribution. The Ghanaian government, in 1982, decided to close its embassies in Benin, Mali, Senegal and Sierra Leone in West Africa (West Africa, March 29, 1982: 896). In Nigeria, foreign service officers have to be recalled home to save money (See Olatunde Ojo's article in Shaw and Aluko 1983, 72). Patterns of diplomatic representation certainly reflect part of the picture in international relations between two or more states.

Most of the diplomatic activity remain bilateral and is conducted through the channels of the foreign ministry and the diplomatic mission (Plano and Olton, 1982, 234). Diplomatic representation data is shown in Table 1 (published in 1989). As a measure of diplomatic agility, the density of diplomatic representation between West African states

is presented as the ratio of the actually observed bilateral links to all possible links. Since there are 80 actual diplomatic links and 240 overall possible links, from a structural standpoint, the total intra-systemic density of diplomatic interactions is 80:240, representing 33 percent. These figures represent diplomatic importance scores, and one could conclude, against the background of intra-African relations, that the diplomatic communicative network within West Africa is fairly intensive.

A country's foreign policy begins at its borders. Each state in the West African subsystem has diplomatic relations with at least one neighboring state in the area. The correlation exists because it is at this level that the greatest need to deal with interstate issues almost on a daily basis among contiguous states, especially when one considers the flow of citizens across borders. A major characteristic in the international relations of West Africa is the variation among the member-states regarding the number of embassies sent to others within the sub region. The relative degree of non-involvement (i.e., diplomatic non-representation) in the normal diplomatic process reflects either unwillingness or inability to sustain a representational apparatus.

With the notable exception of Ivory Coast, most states generally have approximately equal numbers of diplomatic missions sent to other West African states as they have received from them. Ivory Coast has 6 missions sent to West African capitals but has received 10 missions from the sub region, which represents the continued influence of the Ivory Coast in the international politics of the area especially among the Francophone group of states. This trend has changed slightly with the recent wave of political instability in Ivory Coast and the withdrawal of French economic backing in the sub region. As is often reflected in the characteristics of the periphery, the weight of diplomatic representation in West Africa rests more in contacts with the extra-African world than with the sub region or the continent itself.

## **Presidential Visits**

Personalities play a significant role in African diplomacy, particularly as the central role of the leader as the formulator of foreign policy is consistently enhanced. The emphasis on personal interactions and communication undoubtedly adds an individualistic slant to African foreign policies. For long, in West Africa, the predominant mode of leadership was more often than not exercised through governmental institutions built around long-serving popular and charismatic leaders. This personalized nature of African leadership combined with the latitude in decision-making afforded the leaders means, in effect, that any established pattern of foreign policy decisions may sometimes be easily upset by the leader's idiosyncratic action.

East and Hermann have asserted that over significant issues regarding foreign policy, a less developed country "may resort to head of state involvement more often" than a rich, industrialized state. A recurring feature of decision-making in inter-African politics is that it focuses squarely on the president who is usually both a successful nationalist leader and primary symbol of the nation. He defines both the national interest

and the national ideology, in the sense that what the president thinks and what he perceives to be reality, may sometimes serve as the basic philosophy of the state. For West African states, there is presidential predominance over foreign policy issues. Where he attaches particular interest to foreign affairs, few foreign policy decisions are taken without the leader's approval. Even minute decisions may fall within the executive prerogative of the head of state, whose extensive experience in interacting with other presidents gives him special competence in inter-African relations. To suggest this, is to assert the notion that the president's friendship, anger, and personal convictions may indeed sometimes reflect the mood of the nation.

The contention that foreign policy making in Africa is hindered by the absence of an experienced and sophisticated diplomatic corps and slim national budgets may be countered by the fact that these defects are somewhat compensated for by the frequent personal interactions between African leaders. Critical issues are often negotiated at the highest level, involving heads of government in summit diplomacy. Personal diplomacy and contacts made through interstate visits by heads of state (contrasted with diplomacy at ambassadorial or ministerial level) may thus serve as a useful analytical barometer for testing the frequency of political relations between states. Naturally, heads of state visits are expected to have more impact on foreign policy than those of foreign ministers, and in turn the visits of foreign ministers are expected to have more impact than those of their assistants.

As an indication of the nature of interchange among political elites, Table 2 lists the number of recorded bilateral visits between West African heads of state from 1975 until 1989. The data presented here is certainly more revealing than the diplomatic representation data. Whereas the diplomatic representation data accounts for 80 diplomatic missions between West African states, the presidential visitation data records almost three times that number – 222 visits within a fifteen year period. A sizable number of total visits initiated were by West African leaders on *tours d'horizon* to neighboring countries. **Specifically, of the 222 visits recorded, 110 visits (an estimated 49.5 percent) were targeted on geographically contiguous states.** Thus, there appears to be a correlation between the frequency of visits and geographical attachment to a neighboring state.

Ghana maintains the highest score of 30 initiated presidential visits followed closely by Nigeria with 28 visits initiated. One major difference between the two states is that whereas Nigeria received 20 presidents (the highest in the subregion) Ghana attracted only 17 visits (almost one-half of the number of visits initiated). In contrast to Ghana, however, Ivory Coast received over three times the number of presidential visits initiated. Although Ivory Coast initiated the lowest number of presidential visits in West Africa with only 4 visits, it nevertheless had the highest ratio of visits sent to visits received (approximately ratio 1:4). This observation underlies the continuing significance of that state in the subregion, especially within the Francophone subgroup.

From 1975-1989, it was the case that of the 100 presidential visits initiated by Francophone states, 51 percent were to Francophone states, 40 percent were to

Anglophone states and 9 percent to Lusophone states. This is no longer the case for Francophone West Africa because of the decline in the value to the CFA franc. Consequently, English-speaking West African countries are growing more in influence.

## **Bilateral Treaty Commitments**

A country's engagement in treaty-making serves as a guide of its involvement in international affairs. Bilateral treaties may be subdivided into political, economic, military and socio-cultural issue-areas. Although 147 treaties were recorded in 1975-1989, 164 agreements were actually coded (the balance of 17 treaties resulting from overlapping issue areas). A majority of the agreements coded – approximately 90 agreements (or 54.9 percent) – falls within the broad category of the economic issue-areas). Political, social and military agreements account for approximately 26.2 percent (43 agreements), 13.4 percent (22) and 5.5 percent (9) of the total number of agreements and treaties, respectively. Economic treaties range from signing of different types of bilateral trade agreements to accords on rail inks between states.

Apart from economic agreements, there are bilateral political agreements between West African states. There are several examples of bilateral agreements to abolish visa requirements between the governments of states and political agreements in the form of border demarcation accords. There are also instances of social and cultural agreements between West African states including sports and educational agreements between Ivory Coast and Senegal (1981) and sports and culture agreement between Ghana and Guinea (1985). Finally, specific examples of bilateral military agreements in West Africa include non-aggression defense treaties between Liberia and Ivory Coast (1977), Ghana and Liberia (1979), and Guinea and Sierra Leone (1986).

Major treaty partners are predominantly neighboring countries and geographical location, and proximity bear a direct relationship to bilateral treaty relationship. Contiguous states represent a special area of concentration of diplomacy and the security of the state is unavoidably dependent upon that of its neighbors. The majority of the treaties and agreements signed are between geographically contiguous states in West Africa. Of the 147 treaties and agreements signed, 79 agreements (or 54 percent) were signed between states sharing a border. The best example of this lies with the Ghana-Ivory Coast dyad with a total of 18 (mostly economic) agreements followed by the Ghana-Burkina Faso dyad with 13 bilateral agreements. In descending order, the Gambia-Senegal dyad has 10 agreements, the Nigeria-Benin dyad 7 agreements and the Nigeria-Niger and Liberia-Guinea dyads have 5 agreements each. The Senegal-Guinea/Bissau dyad has 3 agreements and both the Ghana-Burkina Faso and the Mali-Niger dyads have 2 agreements each. The other remaining contiguous states each have 1 agreement. Important as they are treaties are means not ends. For cooperation to take root and grow, actions have to be taken by interacting states within the context of regional organizations.

## Mutual Memberships of Regional Organizations

To investigate mutual membership of IGOs with respect to political interactions in the West African subsystem, we present two sets of descriptive facts. First, the mutual membership of West African states in West African organizations and second, the mutual membership of West African states in other pan-African organizations. The proliferation of IGOs has been marked in West Africa. Although some of the IGOs overlap in functions, the membership of an IGO is nevertheless significant since it represents the political decision of a government. With the exception of Guinea, all the French-speaking states demonstrate a highly remarkable growth of joint organizational links both in the West African subregion and in continental Africa. This is still the same situation. Whereas Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone are members of only a few organizations, the highest interactive levels are among the Francophone states. These facts assert a suggestion that, relative to their English-speaking counterparts, French-speaking states tend to interact more with each other in the subregion and throughout the continent while maintaining the minimum possible contact with Anglophone countries.

Colonial experience has its consequences for the foreign policies of African states. It is rational and easier to mix and work closely with people whose language, education, legal and administrative system one understands. For the Francophone African states, the impact of the colonial heritage is more pronounced, as is evident in the continued establishment of IGOs to promote their mutual cooperation. On this basis, the prospect for formal channels of routine political and economic transactions may be greater for Francophone states than for Anglophone West Africa.

## Geographical Contiguity and Interstate Behavior

East and Gregg have demonstrated in their study that nations' actions are systematically related to the international situation. Don Munton operationalizes geographical distance between nations by grouping state actors within the same geographical proximate. However, the most general finding relating to the contiguity proposition was presented by Roger Cobb and Charles Elder who, in their impressive work on 210 dyads in the North Atlantic region (1952-1964) and 1, 176 dyads in the global system (1955) found a positive relationship between geographical proximity and what they call "mutual relevance" especially in dyads with a common boundary. Karl Deutsch presents the only disconfirming finding of this proposition in his research covering 15 North Atlantic states (for the years 1890, 1913, 1938, 1954) and 106 nations in the wider global system (1938, 1954), where he concluded that "geographic proximity has only limited effects on the distribution of international trade." Studying specific types of interaction on over 100 nations for 1962-1964, Brams finds that geographic proximity is one of two most dominating influences in structuring the transaction flow of subgroups for trade, diplomatic exchanges, and shared memberships.

Other studies have tested the more specific proposition that geographic contiguity tends to increase a state's involvement in foreign conflict. Weede's research using DON

data for 59 nations for the period 1955-1960 shows that "nations contiguous to many other nations are likely to participate in more violent foreign conflict than geographically isolated states." In this specific finding, he is supported by research of Richardson and Wright on war. By suggesting little correlation between the number of borders with other nations and foreign conflict behavior, Rummel's research on 164 and 182 dyads in 1955 provides the only disconfirming finding to this proposition.

Rittberger modifies the general contiguity proposition by controlling for the level of industrial technology. Studying 17 regional groupings in the mid-1960's, he finds that at lower levels of industrial technology, geographical distance is negatively related to multinational cooperation, but at higher levels, distance ceases to become an obstacle. The direct and obvious implication here is that with increasing communication between nations, geographical distance may be expected to exert less and less influence on all kinds of interactions. Although geographical proximity may be a predictor of the volume of transactions between states, it does appear that technological advancements reduced the propinquity factor in importance throughout the twentieth century. Daniel Bach (1999) revealed with statistical data that intra regional trade is higher in West Africa than in Southern Africa.

### **Empirically Investigating the Relationship Between Geographical Contiguity and Foreign Policy Behavior: The Effectiveness and Limits of Empirical Analysis**

As already indicated, the final proposition in this study attempts to associate geographical contiguity (measured as the number of international borders in West Africa) with interstate interactions. The suspicion is that this will reveal a positive relationship. The greater the number of international borders a state shares within a regional grouping, the more it will use its geographical accessibility to interact with its neighbors. Although sounding plausible, the result of our analysis is not very supportive of our assumption. Geographical contiguity has little or no relationship ( $r = .012$ ) with interstate interactions and the association is not statistically significant at the .05 level. In this case, the regression line appears to be almost horizontal. Consequently, the geographical contiguity variable is considered to be the least potent in the several source variables presented in this study. But as earlier descriptive statistics show, this lack of statistical association between geographical contiguity and foreign policy behavior does not necessarily imply that there is no relationship between the variables; the impact may simply not be as systematic nor as direct as it was expected.

Table 1  
DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION IN WEST AFRICA

	BEN	BUR	CAP	GAM	GHA	GUI	GUB	IVO	LIB	MAL	MAU	NIG	NGA	SEN	SIE	TOG	WAMS	OAMR	NAMR
BENIN					x	x		x				x	x				5	4	9
BIFASO					x			x		x			x				4	3	9
C/ VERDE							x							x			2	-	7
GAMBIA													x	x			3	-	3
GHANA	x	x						x	x				x			x	7	4	29
GUINEA					x		x	x	x	x			x	x			8	7	20
G/ BISSAU														x			2	3	9
I/ COAST					x	x			x				x	x			6	10	30
LIBERIA					x								x				5	5	18
MALI																	4	4	14
MAURITANIA					x	x				x			x	x			5	7	8
NIGER													x	x			4	5	11
NIGERIA	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x				x	13	17	53
SENEGAL				x			x	x		x	x		x				6	10	39
S/ LEONE				x													4	1	10
TOGO																	2	5	9
TOTAL:	3	2	-	3	9	8	3	10	5	5	2	3	12	8	5	2	80	85	278

WAMS = West African Missions Sent OAMR = Other African Missions Received NAMR = Non African Missions Received  
 Sources: Compiled from African South of the Sahara 1982, 18<sup>th</sup> ed., vols 1 & 2 (London: Europe Publications, 1982); The Europa World Year Book 1989, 30<sup>th</sup> ed., Vols. 1 & 2 (London: Europa Publications, 1989).



Table 2

## PRESIDENTIAL VISITS BETWEEN WEST AFRICAN STATES 1975-1989

(number in cells refer to years)  
(Column figures indicate visits received)

Countries	Benin	Burkina Faso	Cape Verde	Gambia	Ghana	Guinea	Guinea Bissau	Ivory Coast	Liberia	Mali	Mauritania	Niger	Nigeria	Senegal	Sierra Leone	Togo	VISIT SENT
Benin						85						76	79.83			84	5
Burkina Faso	83				75.81. 83.86. 87.88			85.88		81.83. 85	84	79. 83	88			83.8 8.89	19
Cape Verde				81	86	84					81		76.84. 88	79.81. 81		85	11
Gambia			80				79.84		80		75	78	84. 86.88	75.79	80	78.7 9	15
Ghana	79. 80. 80. 83	79.83. 84.84. 85	88	81		80.84		78.81. 84	79	81.83	88	80. 87	78. 80. 80.84 88			79. 80.8 8	30
Guinea	78	82, 85	78		78.79. 86				78.79	82				79	79.80 85.88		18
Guinea Bissau		88		76.83	88	83.84			78					81			8
Ivory Coast						84			77.79				77				4



**Table 3**

**Bilateral Treaties and Agreements Between  
West African States 1975 – 1989**

	<b>States</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Types of Treaty or Agreement</b>
1	Senegal Guinea Bissau	01/75	Defense & Economic Cooperation Award
2	Ghana – Ivory Coast	01/75	Linking Electricity systems
3	Guinea – Guinea Bissau	04/75	Air Transport Agreement
4	Gambia – Sierra Leone	04/75	Abolishing Visa Requirements
5	Mauritania – Guinea	05/75	Export Trade Agreement
6	Nigeria – Mali	06/75	Bilateral Trade Agreement
7	Ghana – Ivory Coast	06/75	Tourism/Transportation Agreement
8	Senegal – Gambia	06/75	Joint Cooperation Agreement
9	Ghana – Burkina Faso	07/75	Joint Commercial Agreement
10	Liberia – Ivory Coast	8/75	Oil Plants Agreement
11	Nigeria – Senegal	09/75	Oil Refinery Agreement
12	Gambia – Senegal	10/75	Trade Routes Agreement
13	Senegal – Guinea Bissau	01/76	Trade, Foreign Policy, and Cultural and Cooperation Agreements
14	Nigeria – Ivory Coast	02/76	Oil Refinery Agreement
15	Mali – Nigeria	02/76	Agriculture and Industrial Cooperation Agreement
16	Ghana – Ivory Coast	03/76	Abolishing Visa Requirements
17	Liberia – Guinea	05/76	Railway Construction Agreement
18	Ghana – Togo	06/76	Border Demarcation Agreement

19	Gambia – Senegal	06/76	Border Change Treaty
20	Niger – Benin	06/76	Rail Link Agreement
21	Nigeria Benin	08/76	Sugar Project Agreement
22	Ghana – Ivory Coast	08/76	Joint Cooperation Agreements
23	Guinea – Guinea Bissau	08/76	Trade Commission Agreement
24	Ghana – Mail	09/76	Economic, Legal and Social Cooperation Agreements
25	Ghana – Ivory Coast	11/76	Liberal Migration Agreement
26	Guinea – Liberia	11/76	Iron –Ore Transportation Agreement
27	Ghana – Benin	12/76	Protocol Agreements
28	Nigeria – Ivory Coast	12/76	Air Service Agreement
29	Ghana – Ivory Coast	01/77	Commercial Cooperation Agreement (Air Transportation Scheme)
30	Cape Verde – Senegal	01/77	Friendship Treaty (Work Permit)
31	Nigeria – Niger	01/77	Trade, Culture and Technical Agreement
32	Nigeria – Ivory Coast	01/77	Commercial Agreement
33	Liberia – Guinea	01/77	Commerce, Fisheries, Communication, Justice, Animal Husbandry Agreement
34	Senegal – Gambia	02/77	Cooperation (Information) Agreement
35	Ghana – Ivory Coast	02/77	Trade & Educational Cooperation Agreements
36	Mauritania- Senegal	03/77	Joint Commercial (Ferry) Agreement
37	Ghana – Ivory Coast	03/77	Anti-Smuggling Agreement
38	Nigeria – Mauritania	03/77	Trade & Fishing Agreement

39	Liberia – Ivory Coast	05/77	Non-Agression pact
40	Ghana – Guinea	05/77	Cooperation Agreements (Visas, Fishing, Transportation)
41	Ghana – Burkina Faso	05/77	Border Demarcation Agreements
42	Ghana – Ivory Coast	05/77	Compensation Agreement
43	Ghana – Guinea Bissau	06/77	Economic and Technical Cooperation Accord
44	Ghana – Nigeria	07/77	Trade Cooperation Agreements
45	Nigeria – Ghana	08/77	Expand Air Services
46	Mali – Ghana	09/77	Permanent Cooperation Committee Agreement
47	Ghana – Ivory Coast	10/77	Linking Electricity Systems
48	Ghana – Niger	11/77	Transportation Agreement
49	G/Bissau – Cape Verde	11/77	Joint Defense Agreement
50	Ghana – Ivory Coast	12/77	Energy Resource Agreement
51	I/Coast – Mauritania	12/77	Fisheries Agreement
52	Senegal – Gambia	01/78	Dam Construction Agreement
53	Mali – Burkina Faso	02/78	Air Transport Agreement
54	Gambia – Mauritania	02/78	Defense/Security Agreement
55	Guinea – Ivory Coast	02/78	Cocoa Production Agreement
56	Nigeria – Guinea	05/78	Economic Cooperation Agreement
57	Ghana – Sierra Leone	06/78	Fishing Agreement
58	Ghana – Guinea	09/78	Waiving Visa Requirements
59	Ghana – Benin	09/78	Waiving Visa Requirements

60	Ghana – Mail	10/78	Development, Tourism Agreement
61	Ghana – Nigeria	01/79	Oil Exploration Agreement
62	Ivory Coast – Ghana	01/79	Linking Electricity Systems
63	Guinea – Liberia	01/79	Non- Aggression Treaty
64	Nigeria – Benin	02/79	Scientific, Technical and Economic Cooperation Agreement
65	Ghana – Ivory Coast	02/79	Abolishing Visa Requirements
66	Ghana – Ivory Coast	02/79	Financial (Loan) Agreement
67	Nigeria – Benin	03/79	Joint Cement Agreement
68	Mali – Niger	07/79	Joint Cooperation Agreement
69	Nigeria – Benin	08/79	Joint Cooperation Agreements
70	Ghana – Ivory coast	09/79	Oil Exploration Agreement
71	Ghana – Nigeria	10/79	Resumption of Oil Supplies
72	Ghana – Liberia	10/79	Bilateral Pact / Agreement
73	Senegal – Mail	01/80	Scientific/Technical Research
74	Nigeria – Ghana	02/80	Exploitation of Bauxite
75	Sierra Leone-Ghana	04/80	Joint Cooperation Commission
76	Nigeria – Senegal	04/80	Joint Economic Cooperation Commission
77	Liberia – Ghana	08/80	Transportation Agreement
78	Burkina Faso- Ghana	08/80	Dam Construction Agreement
79	Liberia – Nigeria	09/80	Trade Restoration Agreement
80	Nigeria – Niger	02/81	Exploitation of Phosphates
81	Nigeria – Benin	04/81	Reactivate Boundary Commission

82	Ivory Coast – Senegal	09/81	Sports and Educational Cooperation Agreement
83	Guinea – Nigeria	09/81	Economic (Fishing) and Cultural Cooperation Agreement
84	Mali – Liberia	11/81	Economic, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation Agreements
85	Liberia – Gambia	11/81	Confederation Agreement
86	Senegal – Gambia	01/82	Senegambian Confederation Treaty
87	Ghana – Senegal	01/82	Cultural, Scientific and Technical Cooperation Agreement
88	Gambia – Senegal	02/82	Public Transportation Program
89	Ghana – Nigeria	04/82	Rescheduling Oil Payments
90	C/Verde – G/Bissau	06/82	Resumption of Diplomatic Relations
91	Senegal - Gambia	07/82	Senegambia Protocols Agreements
92	Nigeria - Ivory coast	08/82	Trade Agreements
93	Senegal - Gambia	04/83	Armed Forces Integration Protocol
94	Nigeria - Niger	06/83	Agricultural Cooperation Agreement
95	Gambia - Nigeria	07/83	Scientific, Technical and Economic Cooperation Agreement
96	Ghana - Benin	09/83	Exploitation of Mineral Resources
97	Nigeria - Mauritania	11/83	Economic (Fishing) Agreement
98	Nigeria - Guinea	11/83	Economic (Fishing) Agreement
99	Ghana - Burkina Faso	11/83	Boarder Demarcation Agreement
100	Ghana - Burkina Faso	02/84	Trade (Livestock & Agriculture) Agreement
101	Nigeria - Niger	04/84	Bilateral Trade Agreement

102	Ghana - Ivory Coast	05/84	Reactivate Cooperation Commission
103	Ghana - Burkina Faso	06/84	Economic Cooperation Agreement
104	Liberia - Gambia	06/84	Revive Friendship Treaty
105	Liberia - Senegal	07/84	Create Cooperation Commission
106	Liberia - Senegal	07/84	Exchange media Program
107	Ghana - Nigeria	07/84	Resumption of Sporting Ties
108	Ghana - Burkina Faso	09/84	Trade and Migration Pact
109	Ghana - Ivory Coast	12/84	Security Agreement (Dissidents)
110	Ghana - Burkina Faso	12/84	Security Agreement (Dissidents)
111	Liberia - Guinea	12/84	Revive Friendship Treaty
112	Nigeria - Gambia	03/85	Fisheries and Technical Cooperation
113	Niger - Burkina Faso	03/85	Reactivate Joint Commission
114	Ghana - Togo	03/85	Finance African Highway
115	Gambia - Senegal	05/85	Free Trade Agreement
116	Ghana - Guinea	05/85	Sports and Culture Agreement
117	Senegal - G/ Bissau	10/85	Territories Arbitration Agreement
118	Ghana - Nigeria	12/85	Restore Immigrants Entitlements
119	Ghana - Togo	05/86	Border Security Agreement
120	Ghana - Burkina Faso	06/86	Establish Air Links
121	Ghana - Mali	06/86	Expand Trade / Economic Cooperation
122	Ghana - Gambia	06/86	Tourism, Culture, Information Agreement
123	Guinea - S/Leone	12/86	Non-Aggression Security Treaty



124	Ghana - Gambia	01/87	Air Services Agreement
125	Nigeria - Liberia	01/87	New Airways Agreement
126	Nigeria - Liberia	02/87	Economic / Technical Cooperation Agreement
127	Ghana - Burkina Faso	02/87	Education Protocol Agreement
128	Ghana - Burkina Faso	04/87	Post and Communications
129	Nigeria - I/ Coast	07/87	Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation Agreement
130	Ghana - Burkina Faso	07/87	Air Services Agreement
131	Nigeria - Mail	12/87	Joint Cooperation Commission
132	G/Bissau - C / Verde	02/88	Closing Navigation Company
133	Benin - Niger	05/88	Financial (Construction) Agreement
134	S/Leone - Gambia	05/88	Commerce and Educational Agreement
135	Nigeria - Benin	05/88	Border Demarcation Accord
136	Nigeria Benin	10/88	Prisoners' Exchange Agreement
137	Nigeria - Cape Verde	10/88	Air, Maritime and Telecommunication Agreement
138	Nigeria - Ghana	12/88	Prisoners' Exchange Agreement
139	Ghana - Burkina Faso	12/88	Friendship Treaty
140	Ghana - Nigeria	03/89	Trade and Migration Agreements
141	Sierra Leone - Togo	03/89	Economic, Technical and Cultural Cooperation Agreement
142	Mail - Niger	04/89	Refugee Repatriation Agreement
143	Liberia - Nigeria	04/89	Establish Cooperation Commission

144	Ghana - Nigeria	07/89	Oil Venture / Survey Agreement
145	Nigeria - Niger	08/89	Electric Power Deal
146	I/ Coast - B/ Faso	11/89	Maritime Transport Agreement
147	Nigeria - Togo	12/89	Economic, Scientific, Technical and Cultural Agreement.

\*Data presented indicate dates in which the visits were reported .

SOURCES: West Africa ( London ), 1975-1989.  
African Research Bulletin ( Exeter), 1975-1989.

Table 4

## Frequency of Joint Membership in West African and pan-African Organizations - 1985.

Countries	Benin	Burkina Faso	Cape Verde	Gambia	Ghana	Guinea	Guinea Bissau	Ivory Coast	Liberia	Mali	Mauritania	Niger	Nigeria	Senegal	Sierra Leone	Togo
Benin	-	3	3	7	9	5	6	13	7	10	6	13	8	11	7	11
Burkina Faso	11	4	4	8	8	5	6	14	7	12	8	14	7	12	7	11
Cape Verde	4	-	-	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
Gambia	4	4	4	-	8	6	6	7	8	8	5	8	8	10	8	7
Ghana	5	4	4	5	-	5	6	8	8	8	4	8	9	8	8	8
Guinea	6	4	4	4	5	-	5	5	6	5	4	5	5	6	6	5
Guinea Bissau	4	3	4	4	4	4	-	6	6	6	4	6	6	6	6	6
Ivory Coast	13	12	4	5	8	6	4	-	7	12	7	14	7	12	7	12
Liberia	4	2	3	3	5	4	3	5	-	7	4	7	8	7	9	7
Mali	10	12	4	6	5	5	4	11	3	-	9	13	7	13	7	10
Mauritania	10	11	4	5	5	4	4	11	3	11	-	8	4	9	4	5
Niger	12	14	4	6	5	5	4	13	3	14	12	-	7	13	7	12
Nigeria	5	4	4	6	8	5	4	8	5	6	5	7	-	8	8	7
Senegal	11	11	4	6	5	4	4	13	3	11	11	13	6	-	7	10
Sierra Leone	5	4	4	5	6	5	4	6	4	5	5	5	6	5	-	7
Togo	11	10	4	5	7	4	4	13	4	9	10	11	7	11	6	-

Sources: Calculated from data presented in Olatunde Ojo, "Regional Cooperation and Integration" in Olatunde Ojo, D.K. Orwa and C.M.B. Uretu, eds., African International Relations (London: Longman Group, 1985), pp. 146-147

Note: The top portion indicates mutual membership of States in West African Organizations whereas the lower portion indicates joint membership of States in Pan-African organizations. The table shows, for example the number of the same West Africa organizations to which Benin and Burkina Faso belong (12) and the number of the same pan-African Organizations to which both states belong (11). It also shows the number of same West African organizations to which Liberia and Gambia belong (8) and the number of same Pan-African organizations to which both States belong (3).