GLOBALIZATION AND STATE SECURITY: THE CASE OF GHANA

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

LEGON MARCH 2015
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is as a result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Vladimir Antwi-Danso and that no part of it has been submitted anywhere else for any other purpose.

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Date: ........................................ Date: ........................................
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Wife, Joyce, my children Ohene Kwadwo, and Kwasi Amoako, Osafo-Affum for their understanding during the period of this course.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincerest gratitude goes to the Almighty God who has been my source of strength and for His ever presence. My thanks also go to my wife Joyce Osafo-Affum, for her encouragement and support in diver’s ways, and to my children, Kwadwo and Kwasi, for their understanding while I was undertaking this study.

I also want to express my gratitude to Dr. Antwi-Danso, my supervisor, for his patience, time, and the meticulous supervision of my work.

My next appreciation goes to Linda Addo of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre Library, and to Mr. Eric Amartey of LECIAD Library for their immense support and help.

Finally, I say thank you to all my colleagues at GAFSCC for their friendship and support throughout our wonderful stay at the College, may God bless everyone.
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>AQIM</td>
<td>al Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb</td>
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<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>BNI</td>
<td>Bureau of National Investigation</td>
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<td>CEPS</td>
<td>Customs, Excise and Preventive Service</td>
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<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency</td>
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<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organizations</td>
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<td>DOD</td>
<td>Department of Defence</td>
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<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
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<td>EOCO</td>
<td>Economic and Organized Crimes Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>FIC</td>
<td>Financial Intelligence Centre</td>
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<td>GIS</td>
<td>Ghana Immigration Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>GRA</td>
<td>Ghana Revenue Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>IGOs</td>
<td>Inter-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRS</td>
<td>Internal Revenue Service</td>
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<td>KAIPTC</td>
<td>Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre</td>
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<td>MEND</td>
<td>Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger delta</td>
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<td>MRU</td>
<td>Mano River Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<td>NSC</td>
<td>National Security Council</td>
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RAGB  - Revenue Agencies Governing Board
REGESCs - Regional and District Security Councils
SALWs - Small Arms and Light Weapons
TNCs   - Transnational Corporations
TOC    - Transnational Organized Crimes
TOCTA  - Transnational organized crimes Threat Analysis
UN     - United Nations
UNDP   - United Nations Development Programme
UNODC  - United Nations Office on Drug and Crimes
VATS   - Value Added Tax Service
WAJO   - West Africa Joint Operations Initiative
WHO    - World Health Organization
WTO    - World Trade Organization
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ABSTRACT

Today we live in a globalized world where there is interdependence of states. No single state can solely depend on itself, thereby bringing advantages to nation states. In spite of the numerous benefits of globalization there is also a negative side of it. One of such negatives is the complex security threat it poses to the nation state. The threat is very much felt by developing nations like Ghana that gains very little from the benefits of globalization. The threats include terrorism, cybercrime, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, among others. This study looks at the effects that these new security have on Ghana’s security and the security architecture in place to deal with these threats. The study concludes that like other developing and weak states, globalization has affected the state security of Ghana, and that because these threats are transnational, there should be a sub-regional approach to dealing with the situation while Ghana strengthens her internal security mechanisms.
CHAPTER ONE
RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Background

Globalization is a phenomenon that has engaged attention in recent years. It is argued that it is new but the fact is, as Chomsky in argues, “it can be traced back to the pre-capitalist period.”1 “If examined in a historical context it is seen as a form of internationalism, although nineteenth century historians saw globalisation as a new phenomenon. Chabal notes that there is little significant difference between internationalism and globalisation, as each entails international trade, and the interconnection between different continents.”2 Technological advancement was, however, not a key feature of internationalism.

Scholte also defines globalisation as internationalism and “simply another adjective to describe cross-border relations between countries, it describes the growth in international exchange and interdependence with growing flows of trade and capital investment where there is a possibility of moving beyond an international economy, to a stronger version – the globalized economy in which distant national economies are subsumed and rearticulated into the system by international process and transactions.”3 He further describes globalisation as “a process of many governments imposed restrictions on movement between countries in order to create an open borderless world economy.”4

“Globalization is the growing economic, political, technological, and cultural linkages that bond individuals, communities, businesses, and governments around the world. It also involves the growth of multinational corporations (businesses that have operations or investments in many countries) and transnational corporations (businesses that functions in a
Globalization has made it such that although most people continue to live as natives and citizens of one distinct nation, they are culturally, materially, and psychologically engaged with the lives of people in other parts of the world. Occurrences that occur in one country frequently have either a direct or indirect and significant impact, making nebulous the boundaries of our personal worlds. Items common to our everyday lives such as clothes, food, mobile phones, and cars are the products of globalization.

Globalization has both negative and positive sides. Among the negative sides are the rapid spread of diseases, illicit drugs, crime, terrorism, and uncontrolled migration. Among globalization’s benefits are a sharing of basic knowledge, technology, investments, resources, and ethical values. As Robinson puts it, globalization is associated with inequalities, new modes of exploitation and domination, marginalization, displacement, and ecological holocaust. Other associations of globalization include creating new found prosperity, freedom, emancipation, and democracy.

It will however, be argued that globalization places more direct pressure on international security. It shrinks the time for decision making (thus multiplying crisis-like situations), enhances structural violence by unevenly affecting various societies, generates asymmetric threats, reallocates the balance of power, and provides a new milieu for world politics. That imposes new and more challenges but not more security.

Security, as an old concept and a continuously evolving social phenomenon, has been defined variously. Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary General, defined security as the protection of communities and individuals from internal violence. He identified the need for a more human-centred approach to security and added that human security can no longer be
understood in purely military terms. Rather, it must encompass economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democratization, disarmament, and respect for human rights and the rule of law. Adding her voice, a former UN Deputy Secretary-General, Asha-Rose Migiro, said security encompasses the broad range of conditions threatening people’s survival, livelihoods and dignity. According to her, human security is “a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, an ethnic tension that did not explode, a dissident who was not silenced, a human spirit that was not crushed.”

Nation States have over the years served as the greatest threat to each other and security was seen as state centred, military and external threats were from other states. However, the emergence on the international scene of other actors other than the state in international relations has made it imperative to expand the boundaries of security beyond the state. These actors include International Governmental Organizations, International Non-Governmental Organizations, and Multi-National Corporations as one set, and Individuals, Liberation Movements, Dissident Groups, and Terrorists as another set. The latter set is now the ones that pose the most threat to state security, as they use advancement brought about by globalization, such as new communication technology, to carry out their activities. In the 1980’s, when Ghana was not a democratic state, dissident groups based in neighbouring states, especially Togo and Burkina Faso, used to operate from across the borders to destabilize the state.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

State security has over the years been looked at as equal to national security and this has been the priority of every state in the international system. According to Buzan, few people would deny that state security is most prominent among the problems of nation-states, and that it is
the highest order that we have so far been able to develop and sustain.\textsuperscript{9} Priority is therefore, given to the protection of the nation-state against external aggression.

State or national security favoured the rich and the powerful and developed states could use the power of coercion to protect their states adequately from external aggression. Developing countries, such as Ghana, struggle to barely feed their populations and thus could not adequately provide state security. State security was therefore, understood to be the ability of the state to use its military might to defend and protect the state from external aggression, or the threat thereof.

Globalization, which is associated with values such as democracy and human rights, has expanded the scope of security and made it all encompassing to include human security. The question that arises out of this is whether the state of Ghana can adequately protect its citizens against the vagaries of globalization. Some of these vagaries include cyber-crime, unemployment, and the proliferation of small arms light weapons, among others. Ghana’s political and economic strides are well acknowledged and it is precisely the reason why security concerns should be of prime importance. However, little attention is paid to research on the effects of globalization on security in Ghana. This research therefore, sets out to examine the extent to which globalization has affected the security of the state of Ghana.

1.3 Research Objectives

This research aims to:

- Examine the negative (effects) impact of globalization
- Identify the problems which globalization has brought to bear on Ghana’s security.
• Propose ways that can help Ghana deal with such security challenges.

1.4 Scope
This paper will focus on Transnational Organized Crimes (TOC) - cross border crimes, cyber-crime, drug trafficking, human trafficking, arms trafficking, and terrorism – as crimes associated with globalization.

1.5 Hypothesis
Globalization is compounding the national security challenges of the state of Ghana.

1.6 Rationale
Globalization has had an effect on the security of developing states such as Ghana, bringing about new dimensions that have never been witnessed before. Among them are cyber-crime and other cross border crimes. This study will shed more light on this new wave of crimes and also add to the existing knowledge on the subject matter.

1.7 Conceptual Framework
The conceptual basis for this study falls within the human security concept. Since the end of the Cold War, the conception of security has changed. The hitherto held notion of security, largely influenced by the realist thinking, that focuses on the security of the state has evolved in the post-Cold war period, to put more emphasis on populations as the appropriate and principal recipients of security. Human security thus detours from the traditional disposition that threats to states originate in the external aggression of other states, and that securing the national boundaries should be the sole consideration in security formulation. In other words, human security tends to emphasize that traditional security’s that prioritization of military
force is insufficient to protect to protect populations of states, and that the overall priority of security should the protection of the citizens, because new security threats such the effects of climate change, poverty, intra- sate conflicts, etc., often exist outside the instruments of state-centric security. In many regards, advocacy for emphasis on citizens are not quiet new, but it was in the 1990s that perspectives on human security began gained prominence among scholars, first appearing in Mahbubul Haq’s United Nations Human Development Report in 1990 and later used in United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report of 1994. According to the UNDP report, the question of whose security has hitherto focused on the state and with its objective to repel threats originating in external aggression, traditional security has taken addressed the security need of populations. Further, the militaristic context of the Cold War shaped much of states’ conceptualization the security formulation in 20th century, and consequently undermined the UN’s traditional notion of security as “freedom from fear” and “freedom from want,” and the “equal weight of territory and people”. Thus, according to the report, the end of the Cold War should strike a meaningful balance between territory-people dynamics in security conceptualization. The UNDP report identifies six components if human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, community security, and political security.

Theoretically, the foundation of human security is deeply rooted in neo-realist scholarship, and has proponents such as Barry Buzan. In Peoples, State and Fear, Buzan notes that the Cold War and power politics it engendered undermined the development of the concept of security, as it situated the origin of threats to states in other states. However, as Buzan noted, such conceptualization is no longer tenable in post-Cold War era. This is because security threats to states in post-Cold War era do not only originate from external aggression but from other sources, sometimes from states themselves. Consequently, Buzan thinks that
the security analysis in post-Cold War era is better served if the scope of security expanded to cover aspects such as economic, political, environmental threats.\textsuperscript{16}

In many respects, the post-Cold War era is characterized by intense globalization. There are new insecurities introduced or aggravated by the phenomenon of globalization. These include the climate change, spread of diseases, drug trafficking, cyber-crime, etc. These are challenges that defy traditional security because the sheer impact of these on the populations is great. Therefore, states must consider them in the light of human security. Consequently, how Ghana protects its citizens from these challenges of globalization is the main focus of this study.

\section*{1.8 Literature Review}

Cardoso talks about the effects of globalization on the global North and South. Globalization, according to him, has led to the emergence of larger and powerful political and economic units in the North, while the South is disintegrating. He stresses that the Global South can be part of the modern-day global economy only by taking advantage of research and means of production, and because they have not been able to do this, they have retrogressed to constitute what he called a “huge fourth world” of need, of hunger, and of hopelessness. He posits that nation-states that are unable to integrate into the democratic-technological-scientific system become the worst in the world, and will thus become unattractive to be exploited.\textsuperscript{17}

Cardoso’s work pinpoints what is necessary for the Global South to put in place to take advantage of the global system in order to progress. He however failed to recognize that the global system is structured in a way that no matter the effort the South put in place they will
continue to remain disadvantaged. Therefore, for the South to break free from the present situation, they should be able to add value to their primary export products, and also to increase trade among themselves. This fits the present work because it is the global north who have been able to take advantage of globalization that are able to effectively deal with the new security challenges.

The effects of globalization on the Globalized South is also written about by Martin Khor\textsuperscript{18} who believes the outcome of globalization is that the economies of the South are in the hands of the North. He argues that the control to formulate global trade policies is in the hands of the World Trade Organization (WTO), an organization in which the South is marginalized. Even though Khor’s work has highlighted the uneven competition and access to the international market, it failed to acknowledge the fact that the global South is increasingly having a stake in the WTO which has led to the stalemate over the Singapore issues. This does not fit exactly the present work.

The concept of human security has attracted considerable attention. Buzan\textsuperscript{19} argues that few people would down play the relevance of security whether individual, national, or international, among the problems facing humankind. He stressed that the basic unit of the international system is the state, and that prominent among its needs is national security. Buzan added that states become insecure with the mere existence of other states and actions being it military or economic in the pursuit of their national interest have most often than not resulted in war. He looked at the national security from two concepts of peace and power and linked these two to the idealist and realist schools of thought.
To Buzan, the realists see security as a derivative of power, while the idealists see it as an outcome of peace for the provision of security for all. He argues further that security as a concept involves more than power and peace as an approach of study in international relations, and suggested an analytical framework that can stand and compare with any concept by proposing a concept that lies between power and peace. The work of Buzan emphasises the importance of the individual in the security of the state. He however did not mention the role of organised groups such as rebels and religious fundamentalists like Al Qaeda, and how they can impact on the security of any state. Buzan’s work does not fit the present one because the greatest threat to the state today is not the existence of other states, but individuals and groups.

Organski talks about collective security in international politics and states that it aims to provide security for all nations by ensuring that there is no use of force against a member nation. To him, nations are bound to have their differences, but such differences must be resolved other through the use of aggression which should be punished. Nations that resort to the use of aggression as a means of resolving conflict must be isolated and overwhelmed through a preponderant collective force. Organski intimate that collective security keeps some states in check while leaving others unchecked, but it ensures that any use of illegitimate force is quickly suppressed by a universal opposition. Organski concentrates on threats that are external to the state. However, the greatest threat that faces any state today is from within, especially in Africa where non-state actors such as individuals, rebel movements, insurgents and religious fundamentalists are on the rise. Organski’s work fits the present one because not all the new threats are internal, most of them are transnational, for example, drug trafficking.
In his contribution to collective security, Henry Kissinger opines that the concept is fundamentally flawed. He argues that the cost of enforcing security compared to its benefits is high and thus do not encourage action when the need arises. His argument is based on one reason that collective security will not work because there is no pact signed to ensure a standing military force and for that matter, a military alliance. Kissinger’s argument is not wholly true because NATO which works on the principle of collective security has worked perfectly. The European Union to which Turkey belongs also went to the aid of that country recently when it came under attack from Syria because of the insurgent activities in Syria. Collective security does not necessarily relate directly with this work, in that it is collaborative rather than collective security that is needed to deal with the present security threats.

In defining security in the African context, Gambari Ibrahim in Keller and Rothchild states security “doesn’t solely depend on military power and secured geographical boundaries but situated in a larger framework of a sustainable social and economic development, and not necessarily militarism and a secured internal security mechanism which become the norm”. Kwaw Cudjoe agrees with Gambari and added aggression of domestic forces. What both writers failed to recognise is the role of good governance in the larger context of politics in Africa. Liberia for instance, descended into civil war because of bad governance and politics of exclusion. Gambari’s definition fits this work because the new security threats transcends national boundaries as, for example, cyber-crime knows no bounds so no matter how secured a country’ borders or the tightness of a country’s internal security is structured, no country is free from these security threats.
Kwasi Aning and Naiia Salihu in Heintz argue that the security landscape in Africa has changed, and that the old security threat of armed conflicts, which used to be the main security challenge to the continent, is being overtaken by a combination of the old and new security threats. According to them, the new security challenges which are rooted in the old include trans-organized criminal activities such as drug trafficking, internet fraud, human trafficking, money laundering, and smuggling of natural resources, and also terrorist networks. Aning and Salihu listed extensively the new security threats facing the African continent, it is not exhaustive. The manufacture and the smuggle of small arms and light weapons is on the increase and this is a major security threat that should not be glossed over. Aning contends that West Africa has made gains in the past decade however, the region is still faced with a lot of security challenges that cut across borders. According to him “the emergence of new threats such as the issue of trafficking in narcotics and other organized crime, terrorism, religious, extremism, maritime piracy and election violence, as well as ‘traditional’ threats, poses serious challenges to regional stability”. Aning intimated that there has been a decline in intra state conflicts to the extent that, the Manor River Union region that used to be the flash point for intra-state conflicts has ceased to be the epicentre of regional conflict. He identified the unconstitutional changes of government; transnational organized crime – trafficking in arms, drugs, and people; terrorism, maritime piracy; governance challenges; environmental degradation; and climatic change as the potential security challenges facing the region. Though Aning listed the threats facing West Africa, his list was not exhaustive. He did not mention how youth unemployment and migration, mainly the offshoot of globalization, can derail the humble gains made in the region. Aning’s work is relevant to the present study because it speaks about the new security threats facing Ghana and West Africa as a whole, which have come about as a result of globalization.
1.9 Sources of Data

The sources of data for this paper were collected from secondary sources using the purposive sampling technique and is based on the expertise of individuals as well as the specialties of the institutions. These sources include articles from journals, academic papers, books and the internet. They were sourced from the LECIAD, the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), and the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (Libraries).

1.10 Arrangement of Chapters

The study is divided into four (4) chapters, chapter one is the introductory chapter. It consists of the background to the problem, statement of the problem, research objectives, scope of the study, hypothesis, rationale of the study, theoretical framework, literature review, and sources of data.

Chapter two is an overview of globalization and the various security threats that it poses.

Chapter three analyses the effects of globalization on Ghana’s security.

Chapter four is the summary, conclusion, and recommendations based on matters arising out of the study.
END NOTES

4. Ibid
14. Ibid., p.230
16. Ibid.
20. Ibid, pp. 2-3

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CHAPTER TWO
GLOBALIZATION AND STATE SECURITY - AN OVERVIEW

2.0  Introduction

The generally accepted thinking is that globalization creates greater economic, political, social, and cultural interactions across the globe and is thus a source of great dynamism. However, security analysts argue that “many different aspects of globalisation now combine to increase the dangers of a variety of transnational threats from weapons proliferation cyber attacks, ethnic violence, global crime, drug trafficking, environmental degradation and the spread of infectious disease.”

Globalization can enhance security, when there’s greater cooperation among states to maintain common interest with regards to sub-regional and regional security. Until recently, when globalization started intensifying, security had only been an interest of one state. This chapter will take a look at globalization, weak states, and how globalization through transnational organised crimes such as arms trafficking, drug trafficking, terrorism, cross border crime, etc affect the security of state security.

2.1  Globalization

In the words of Keith Suter, ‘the globalization phenomenon is at the moment the most central development in world affairs. It is the end of the world order dominated by nation-states and the opening of an era in which state governments have to share their power with other non-state entities. The process has to be looked at in its past to the present. There was however, improper attention paid to its development to ensure that the process worked for the benefit of all of humankind.’

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According to Suter,\(^3\) the new era is global, rather than international which regards the nation state as the basic building block of world affairs. The new era means there are now other players on the world stage such as Transnational Corporations (TNCs), Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs), and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). This has implications on the world order. First is that “globalization is the name for the ‘post international’ world. Secondly, globalization is revolutionary than it is recognized. For example, globalization has been defined as ‘the integration of economic systems, capital movements and opportunities through improved information and communication technologies.’\(^4\) Globalization is however, more than this because international trade, for instance, is not new.

Third is that nation-states and their governments are no longer the only power. Fourthly, state governments are most of the time not willing to admit that there is a new era. For example, Shridath Ramphal (a former Commonwealth Secretary General) said politicians are unwilling to acknowledge the implications of global interdependence.\(^5\)

Fifthly, globalization helps in explaining the weaken importance of party politics in countries around the world. Suter says “politicians come to office but not necessarily to power - that now resides elsewhere, with organizations such as TNCs. Voters have therefore become disillusioned with the politicians’ failure to make major changes.”\(^6\)

Lastly, the argument as to whether globalization is good or bad is not necessary. In the view of the Peace Movement, globalization has good and bad features. The bad features include economic exploitation, whereas the good features include the ability to operate across national boundaries.\(^7\)
2.2 Evolution of Globalization

The world system has undergone transformation from the Westphalian period to today’s globalized world. Suter\(^8\) mentions five stages of global transformation as: the Westphalian System; the Nation-State system; Transnational Corporations; Inter-governmental Organizations; and Non-Governmental Organizations.

2.2.1 The Westphalian System

This system which is now waning, regards the nation-state as the basic unit of world politics. According to Suter,\(^9\) “No one in Europe realized in 1648 that they were living in a new era. Everyday life remained harsh; there were plagues and poverty and there was no guarantee that the peace at the end of the Thirty Year War would last. He said some of the components of the Westphalian System were in place before 1648 and many arrived later. For him, it is not too sudden to declare the Westphalian System ended and a new global system taken its place.”

“The Treaty of Westphalia marked the effective end of the Catholic Church’s legal and political domination of much of Western Europe.”\(^10\) The Church had its own culture and unique way of living. This was found in their language, officials and training camps. From the 1540s, the church saw the need to reform to halt the spread of the Protestant movements in Europe which led to the Thirty Years War.\(^11\)

2.2.2 The Nation-State System

“After 1648 the trend emerged for a people with a common identity, a 'nation', to be controlled by a central form of government, the state. The creation of nation-states was a conscious effort, which has involved the national consolidation of power and the creation of
both national feelings of loyalty and of the concept of national sovereign equality of all nation states. These developments ran together and reinforced one another. Paul Kennedy has noted that rulers had to consolidate themselves against domestic and foreign forces and governments had to manufacture loyalty to the nation state.”

The transformation was well put by Suter:

In view of today's argument that people may be increasingly turning from national governments either to transnational or sub-national agencies to achieve their goals, it is ironic to note that the early modern monarchies emerged from, and then subdued a patchwork quilt of dukedoms, principalities, free cities, and other localized authorities and that as they consolidated power internally, the nation-states also asserted themselves against transnational institutions like the papacy, monastic and knightly orders, and the Hanseatic League – the last being, in many ways, a sort of early multinational corporation. Each state evolved symbols such as a flag, an anthem, historical figures, events and special holidays, to reinforce consciousness of the national identity. While its schoolchildren studied universal subjects such as mathematics, science, geography, other elements in the curriculum, especially history, had a national focus, just as teaching itself followed a national pattern.

William Wallace in Suter has said that this was a continuing process; national governments required more and more from their citizens so they had to whip up even more of a sense of national unity.

Finally, there was the evolution of the concept of sovereignty. The political basis of this concept grew out of the turmoil in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thomas Hobbes, in Suter wrote in Leviathan about the need for a strong central ruler.

2.2.3 Transnational Corporations

The global order has now made nation-states to share their power with other actors on the international scene such as transnational corporations (TNCs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) like the United Nations, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). TNCs are now the main global economic force, and as a result have eroded the conception of
a national economy. Now there is only a global economy spearheaded by these TNC’s. For example, Coca-Cola, is now a household name in every part of the world.\textsuperscript{16}

“TNCs are encouraging the integration of national economies, and consumerism is the leading edge of the globalized economy, and due to the free flow of information consumers are better informed. The global consumer culture is full of everyday items such as soft drinks, particularly Coca-Cola and Pepsi, and fast food, such as MacDonald’s, which is reported as opening a new store somewhere around the world every 15-hours.”\textsuperscript{17} Suter adds that an aspect is the creation of the global middle class that has more in common with the middle class across countries than they do with the working class within their country.\textsuperscript{18}

2.2.4 Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGO’S)

Governments now see the need to create IGOs to ensure cooperation among states, examples are the UN, the European Union (EU), and the African Union (AU). As Suter\textsuperscript{19} puts it, “the mere fact that the UN exists is proof that governments, even though reluctant, recognize that they need to work together on a growing variety of issues, such as health and the environment”. Rosalyn Higgins (Dame Rosalyn), [a judge of the International Court of Justice] pointed that many countries argued that even to discuss their internal affairs was a form of ‘intervention’ prohibited by the UN Charter.\textsuperscript{20}

Suter indicated that “against the backdrop of all its shortfalls, the UN has managed to get national governments to work together on matters of common concern. For example, in June 2002 the World Health Organization declared its European zone as free from the polio virus.”\textsuperscript{21}
2.2.5 Non-Governmental Organizations

An NGO is an independent organization that is not run or controlled by any form of government. Together with Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), they transformed their image from the past. NGOs are now partners in development. People in developed countries are confronted with the challenge of how to bring improved living conditions of developing countries. According to Suter, "NGOs are now involved in 'multi-track' diplomacy." He explains that “Single-track diplomacy involves government to government relationships”.

Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson have examined 'second track' diplomacy by private citizens and NGOs. This can be seen in the role of Moral Re-Armament, in the Franco-German reconciliation after the Second World War.

Other scholars who have written about globalization include Thomas L. Friedman, who categorised history of globalization into three periods. To him the periods are Globalization one (1) from 1492–1800; Globalization two (2) from 1800–2000 and Globalization 3 from 2000–present. He states that “Globalization one (1) was the globalization of countries, Globalization two (2) was the globalization of companies and Globalization 3 involves the globalization of individuals.”

2.3 Effects of Globalization

Globalization is argued to have both positive and negative effects. It has for instance impacted positively on the global economy and has also affected the socio-cultural and political state of the world. It has also affected greatly the way people communicate in the world.
2.3.1 Positive Effects
2.3.1.1 Economic Effects

Globalization leads to increase in employment. This is due to the fact that developed countries outsource jobs to developing countries. There is increased investment in developing countries by established economies, helping to increase economic growth. For example, Ghana signed a Seventeen Billion Dollar ($17 bn) contract with Eni Spa of Italy to produce oil and gas at Cape Three Points. Globalization has also facilitated increased trade among nations leading to the establishment of free trade agreements among nations. This suggests that countries can produce and import goods quota free, tariff free provided minimum standards are met. Africa, for example, has a pact with the United States under the Africa Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA) to export freely to that country. This means these countries have access to a wider market, thus resulting in the availability of a range of products at reasonable prices to the industrialised countries, and increasing the per capita income of developing countries, thus helping to reduce poverty in the Third World.

2.3.1.2 Culturally

Globalization has led to information sharing across the world, leading to a common culture of governance called democracy. Cultures can now be accepted and understood globally, so states share and bargain on equal level in the global arena. The effect globalization has had on culture is immense and diverse. “It has affected people's cultural behaviours in different ways. People have had to change their living ways. The loud echoing advertisement rhythms of the famous Coca-Cola drinks can be heard across boundaries in towns, cities and townships and even in remote rural areas where drinking water is a problem to get. Globalization in Africa involves one fundamental project: that of opening up the economies of all countries freely and widely to the global market and its forces”. There is now amalgamation of cultures, leading to increased tourist visits to developing countries.
especially, Africa and this may lead to cultural imperialism. For example, in Ghana the traditional highlife music is fast given way to rap or hip-life music with Western origins.

2.3.1.3 Politically

Globalization has led to a common agreement of good governance, rule of law, respect for human rights, as the basic characteristics of world politics. Issues of politics and governance are tackled on a global stage on a single platform. “One of the major impacts of political globalization is that it reduces the importance of nation-states. Many have organized themselves into trade blocs. Emergence of supranational institutions such as the European Union, the WTO, the G8 etc., is gradually shifting the exclusive responsibility of power of governments to a global responsibility in the hands of these blocs. It is at this stage that issues affecting the globe like global warming, drought, and degradation of the ecosystems, etc. are addressed. Good governance is now the order of the day as regional and sub-regional bodies are encouraging member nations to exercise the basic tenets of global politics or face expulsion. The International Criminal Court for instance, exists to facilitate international agreement. The Court also enhances good governance and promotes human rights as serious human right abuses are referred to it for those abused to have justice.

2.3.1.4 Improvement in Health Care

According to Daniel Griswold, “one of the most significant positive effects of globalization is the spread of modern medicine. With the exception of decreased life expectancy rates in countries most ravaged by the HIV/AIDS virus, the life expectancy in developing countries rose to 65 years in 1997, from 55 in 1970. That substantial increase is attributable, at least in part, to improved medical care made possible by globalization.”
Griswold concludes that globalization is a positive force that is making the world a better place because economic and social indicators like poverty rates, infant mortality and education reflect that many people are better off than they were before globalization, even though they are still very poor.

2.3.1.5 Technological Advancement

Globalization has increased transnational flow of people, goods and money since the second half of the twentieth century. This has been facilitated by advances in communications and transportation technology such as the internet, air transport, and the personal computer. Globalization is linked to the economic and political reforms that reduced the movement of goods, money, and people internationally during the 1980’s and 1990’s leading to a wave of market oriented reforms in the developing and developed world and thus reducing trade barriers and promoting the development of export based economies.29

2.3.2 Negative Effects

2.3.2.1 Economic

“The major disadvantage of globalization in the economic sector is that it has made the rich richer and left the poor poorer. The increased opportunities have benefited the managers and top investors but the hardship has fallen on workers and labour class. Since, the labour is easily available now because of the disappearance of the boundaries and people migrate from one country to another in the search of work, workers are paid very low as they are available in abundance.”30 Even if the jobs are outsourced and developing countries are benefitting because of the increase in job opportunities, the power still remains in the hands of the developed countries. This means a lopsided effect as the profits are not evenly distributed.

“The helpful economic and political liberalization process, have also had a bad side as illicit actors have taken advantage of the opportunities created to transact illegal business. The
growth of global trade and financial networks provided an infrastructural covers that those illegal actors could exploit.”

The threat of drug trafficking in Africa, for instance, has drawn attention to the US Congresses that the Department of Defence was required to submit a report to Congress for the Africa region. “On June 23, 2009, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held a hearing entitled Confronting Drug Trafficking in West Africa. U.S. agencies have also begun to devote greater resources to combating the drug trade in Africa. The State Department requested $7.5 million for counter narcotics assistance in Africa in 2010, up from about $0.5 million in 2006, while the Department of Defence (DOD) allocated $19.3 million in 2009 and $28 million in 2010 to counter narcotics programs in Africa.”

2.3.2.2 Culturally

“Since the media plays a great role in globalizing all the information available, people suffer the evils of sensationalism. The media of the powerful nations has the power to circulate the information to every corner of the world, which means that they get to decide which information has to be shared and what should be the opinion of the people. Third world countries are increasingly adopting the western ways as they feel inferior about their own culture. Globalization also leads to the spreading of epidemics and communicable diseases, as travelling have become accessible to all.”

2.3.2.3 Politically

It can be said that the developing nations are still being colonized by the western nations but in a much sophisticated form, for example, these nations form their political decisions according to the suggestions, manipulations and pressures of the more developed nations, so
that they can retain their standing in the global scenario. It must also be stressed, however, that the gradual move toward some global norms in politics and governance has created a situation, where policy space keeps shrinking in developing countries. Governments are unable to have control over policies, without reference to global institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank or other multi-lateral organs that have been created due to the importance of globalization.

2.3.2.4 Compromise of State Security

One security effect of globalization was manifested in the September 11 terrorists’ attack which showed how the Al Qaeda Organization exploited information communication technology, free and easy movement of people, and global financial network to cause such a massive havoc. As Lewis puts it “technological levelling and interdependence give opponents new opportunities to seek asymmetric advantage. The emphasis is to avoid direct engagement with military forces. Civilian and economic infrastructures are soft targets that are more vulnerable to asymmetric attack. Nations and groups will exploit commercial technologies and services to mimic advanced military capabilities and take advantage of unexpected vulnerabilities to gain asymmetric advantages.”

He stressed that “Globalization, by giving opponents increased access to the United State’s critical infrastructure, creates a new set of risks, particularly in information technologies. Intelligence agencies are opportunistic and foreign production of hardware and software gives them an opportunity to gain access to information or to disrupt critical infrastructure. A potential opponent could take advantage of the access afforded by globalization to intentionally introduce malicious flaws. Foreign intelligence agencies as well as terrorist organizations could exploit opportunities provided by economic integration to insert or
recruit personnel with access to critical functions in the U.S”36 and this apply to any other country.

2.4 Security
2.4.1 Regime Security
By any measure of security, the disparity between wealthy developed countries of the global north and the rest of the world could not be greater. Citizens of the small group of highly developed nations enjoy abundant food supplies, economic prosperity, comparatively low levels of crime, and enduring political and social stability. Even the threat of terrorism is extremely minimal compared to risk of accidents and diseases”37. The majority living in developing countries face security challenges: perennial threats of intra-state and communal violence, poverty and famine, weapons proliferation and crime, political instability, social breakdown, economic failure, and at its most extreme, complete state collapse.38

Tens of millions of people suffer from chronic poverty, lack of employment opportunities, inadequate health care, declining educational standards, and environmental ruin39. The primary security threats, facing weak states, originate mostly from internal and domestic sources. They include: the threat of violent transfer of power; insurgency; secession; rebellion; genocide; war lordism; and ultimately, state collapse and anarchy40. These internal threats are rooted in the fundamental conditions of statehood and governance, thereby creating enduring “insecurity dilemma”41 for the ruling elites. The more the ruling elites try to establish effective state rule, the more they provoke challenges to their authority from powerful groups in society. In this regard, regime security – the condition where governing elites are secure from the violent challenges to their rule – becomes indistinguishable from state security – the conditions where institutions, processes and structures of the state are able to continue functioning effectively, regardless of the make-up of ruling elite.
2.4.2 The Weak State - Insecurity Dilemma

The insecurity dilemma facing weak states is a function of the structural conditions of their existence. Weak states lack effective institutions and consensus on the idea of the state. Consequently, as incomplete state, they face numerous challenges to their authority from powerful domestic actors.42

2.4.3 Weak States

Thomas, associates state strength/weakness with institutional capacity and distinguishes between two forms of state power: despotic and infrastructural. The despotic power is the coercive ability and the exercise of force to impose it rule on civilians. Infrastructural power on the other hand is the effectiveness and legitimacy of the state, institutions and its ability to rule through consensus. States may be “weak” or deficient in one or both of these capacities, but “strong” states have less need to exercise coercive power because their infrastructural power makes it unnecessary.

Buzan43 argues that state consists of three primary components: A physical base; institutional capacity; the idea of the state. For him state strength/weakness rests primarily on the idea of the state and the extent to which the society forms a consensus on, and identify with, the state. Weak states therefore, either do not have, or have failed to create, a domestic political and social consensus of sufficient strength to eliminate the large scale use of force as a major element in domestic political life of the nation.

Migdal44 defines state strength in terms of the ‘capacity or ability of state leaders to use the agencies of the state to get people to do what they want them to do’. It can be seen so far that three dimensions of the state strength are important: infrastructural capacity; concise
capacity; and national identity and social cohesion. Institutional weaknesses are the inability to enact national policy or perform basic state functions such as tax collection and providing law and order. Political instability – coup d’état, rebellions; centralization of political power in a single individual or small elites; Unconsolidated or non-existent democracy; economic crises and structural weakness; vulnerability to external forces; intense societal divisions; lack of or strong sense of national identity; and crisis of legitimacy for both government and institutions of state.

The most important characteristic of weak states is their frequent inability to establish and maintain the monopoly on the instrument of violence but in contrast, strong states have the ability to: maintain social control, ensure societal compliance with official laws, and retain legitimacy.45

2.4.4 Threats to Weak States

Weak states face a number of internal and external security challenges. Internally, weak states are confronted by continual threat of violent intervention in politics by the armed forces which can take the form of coup d’état, mutiny, rebellion or revolt over pay and conditions of service.46

Weak states also face threats from ‘strongmen’, individuals or groups who exercise a degree of coercive and/or infrastructural power in their own right and who challenge the authority of the state. In the 1990’s Africa had such ‘strongmen’, they included Charles Taylor of Liberia, Foday Sankoh of Sierra Leone, and Jonas Savimbi of Angola.
Internal threats can come from the steady erosion of state institutions and processes. Increasing lawlessness and the eventual collapse of government institutions can create a power vacuum in which the ruling elite simply become one of several factions struggling to fill the space and claim the formal mantle of statehood. In Liberia for instance, several factions claimed to be the legitimate government at the same time, though lacking the required territory or governing institutions needed for formal recognition.

Weak states are vulnerable to external intervention by other states and groups. Powerful states may directly or indirectly sponsor a coup d’état or a rebellion to remove a regime they do not want. For example, it is reported that the United States of America government through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), was instrumental in the removal of the Nkrumah government in Ghana. Often, support for coup plotters come from rival neighbouring states such as the ones between Somali-Ethiopia and Uganda-Sudan.

2.4.5 Terrorism

Terrorism is a phenomenon that has gained currency in recent years, posing a great challenge to state security. Individuals in a society become so frustrated with their inability to bring what they see as necessary changes that they resort to violence. The dissidents have a perception that society and the political system discriminate or are unfair.

Some factors may contribute to the outbreak of terrorism. Democracies with their limitations on the security forces provide opportunities for terrorists. Limited political participation and repression by government forces can breed the necessary popular discontent for violence, but states with strong security forces and firm control of their societies usually can prevent terrorists form operating.
The processes of globalization have also contributed immensely to the outbreak of terrorism. With the advent of faster communication and transportation, outside forces intrude into local societies, threatening local cultures including religion, especially when it is accompanied by circularization. Terrorism in many ways can then be seen as a reaction to globalization. Circular globalization leads to religious and ethnic fragmentation as many religions including Islamic, Jewish, Christian, and Hindu, are opposed to the circularism that comes with modernity.

2.4.6 Human Security

During the period of the cold war security was categorised into two, state security in its traditional sense, and societal security which focused on the identity of societies as a basic value. After the 1990’s societal security was transposed into economic, environmental, developmental, and political and then renamed human security and launched by the UNDP in its report of 1994 which equated security with people rather than the traditional security that is concerned with the territory of the state.

Human security can be looked at in two ways: as safety from chronic threats such as diseases, hunger and repression; and as protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life in the community, at home, or in jobs. Human security also means protecting fundamental freedoms; using processes that build on people’s strengths and aspirations; creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that, when combined, give the building blocks for survival, livelihood and dignity.
2.5 Cross Border/Transnational Crime

The movement of transnational crime groups is as a result of ‘global civil society’ to compliment governance efforts. The rise of global ‘uncivil society’ groups have forged a common cause across sovereign state boundaries and have become a worrying trend. Such crime groups may enjoy a form of political identity and are trans-sovereign in nature. Such groups include Boko Haram and al Qaeda, all of which draw their strength from a common identity, and their activities are aided by the rise of globalization which engenders such trans-sovereign political and cultural identity.\textsuperscript{52}

According to the UNODC report,\textsuperscript{53} most organized crime problems today seem to be less a matter of a group of individuals who are involved in a range of illicit activities, and more a matter of a group of illicit activities in which some individuals and groups are presently involved. Most TOC flows begin on one continent and end on another, often by means of a third, so only interventions at the scale of the problem – global – are likely to have a sustained effect. According to the report, with regard to human trafficking, a greater variety of nationalities of victims have been detected in Europe than in any other region.
With regard to migrant smuggling, the two most prominent flows are the movement of workers from Latin America to North America and from Africa to Europe. With regard to cocaine trafficking, the bulk of the flow proceeds from the Andean region to North America (often via Central America) and Europe (often via West Africa) though an increasing share is directed to the Southern Cone of South America.
With regard to firearms trafficking, traffickers service two primary markets for illicit arms – those who need weapons for criminal purposes (such as the flow from the United States to Mexico), and those who need them for political reasons (such as the flow from Eastern Europe to Africa). Different types of arms and techniques are implicated in each case.
With regard to maritime piracy, robbery on the high seas has been transformed into a form of kidnapping for ransom, as Somali pirates, sometimes directed by shipping industry insiders seek a growing number of targets further and further from their national waters.

With regard to cybercrime, the Internet has allowed traditional acquisitive crime, such as identity theft, and transnational trafficking, such as the trade in child pornography, to vastly increase in scope. Online identity theft is still far less common than other forms of the crime, but the potential is much greater, and appears to be most advanced in the United States in terms of both victims and perpetrators. Transnational organized crime can have an impact on political stability in vulnerable countries, including both in countries where insurgencies and illegal armed groups are funded through trafficking (in the Andean region, South and Central Asia and Central Africa), and in countries where violence and corruption pose a serious challenge to the rule of law (West Africa and Mesoamerica). The report concludes that

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**Fig. 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population Holding Firearms</th>
<th>Total Population (Millions)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>270</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>England &amp; Wales</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
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<td>Germany</td>
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<td>China</td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>270</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: UNODC
“while organized crime groups can become problems in themselves, eliminating these groups is unlikely to stop the contraband flow. National efforts have successfully diverted production or trafficking to other countries, but so long as there is demand, national law enforcement alone cannot solve the problem. Rather, global strategies, involving a wide range of both public and private actors, are required to address global trafficking.” In many cases, this indicates regulating international commercial flows that have grown faster than our collective ability to manage them.

2.6 Globalization and Security

‘The processes of internationalization unleashed by globalization have undermined the once dominant national security model, but the globalization paradigm has not been too concerned to map out the new global dilemmas’. Security threats have now become global extending from global warming to global terrorism.

Globalization has helped to create greater economic, political, social, and cultural interactions across the world and has therefore, become a source of great dynamism. Different aspects of security however, combine to increase the dangers of a variety of transnational threats such as drugs trafficking, cyber-crime, proliferation of small weapons, etc.

2.7 Security Situation in West Africa

The West African sub Region is very volatile and in spite of the gains made in consolidating peace and democracy in the past two decades, the sub-region still faces a number of security challenges that cut across borders. ‘The emergence of new threats such as narcotics trafficking and other organised crimes, terrorism, religious extremism, maritime piracy and election violence, as well as ‘traditional threats’ poses serious challenges to regional...
The upsurge of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea and the dangers posed by religious fundamentalism exhibited by Boko Haram in Nigeria, and the incursion of al Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) together with Organized crime and the drugs trade are all worrying signals to the stability of the sub region. There has however, been a decrease in intra state conflicts in the region such that the Mano River Union (MRU) area, has ceased to be the epicentre of conflicts. Democracy has made gains as all political leaders in the region have ascended to power through elections in Togo, Guinea, Nigeria, Cote d’Ivoire, Senegal, and recently in Sierra Leone and Ghana. Threats to security and stability in the region include: unconstitutional change of government; transnational organised crime; terrorism; maritime piracy; governance challenges; climatic change; and environmental degradation.

2.7.1 Governance Challenges

Governance in the region is fragile because institutions of state such as security agencies and the judiciary that are supposed to help government function, are ineffective and inefficient, non-functional, corrupt, and subject to political manipulation and intimidation, making the state a threat to itself. Governance has not produced the required impact on human security, transparency and accountability, endemic corruption, adherence to rule of law, electoral credibility, and economic mismanagement. In most West African countries, public discontent mostly leads to armed rebellion by marginalised and disgruntled groups. Political marginalization, uneven power distribution, as well as resource distribution based on ethnic and religion, serves as a means for people to resort to violence as a means to ensure equitable distribution of state resources. In Nigeria, for example, the activities of Boko Haram and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) are evidence of long periods of economic deprivation, corruption, political marginalization, and uneven resource distribution, all as a result of bad governance.
Electoral violence has been a setback to democracy in West Africa. The gains made over the years in the area of democracy are fast being eroded by electoral violence such as happened in Cote d’Ivoire, in Nigeria, and in Togo.

2.7.2 Transnational Crime

Transnational organised crime in West Africa is an insidious version that preyed on societies that were struggling to emerge from years of civil conflicts. It is nothing more than the most visible symptom of regional vulnerabilities facilitated by bad governance, weak Law enforcement structures and state institution, endemic corruption, unemployment, poverty, and porous borders, and criminal networks exploit these vulnerabilities to commit crimes. These crimes include drug trafficking, human trafficking, arms trafficking, advance fee and internet fraud (cyber-crime), illegal manufacture of fire arms, and piracy.

2.7.3 Drugs Trafficking

West Africa is a transit point for drugs traffickers within the region and their collaborators. The sub region is the most cost effective channel of trafficking illegal drugs from the Americas into Europe, and the rate has become so alarming that is turning from Gold Cost into Coke Coast. Annually, an estimated 50 metric tons of cocaine with a street value of $2000M transit West Africa to Europe. In 2008/09 the largest seizure of cocaine in West Africa was in Ghana (841kg) followed by Sierra Leone (703kg). It is estimated for 2011 that 36,435 drug related deaths occurred among drug users with 61.9% mortality rate.
Table 1.

Estimated Number of Drug Related Deaths and Mortality Rates Per Million Population Aged 15-64 for 2011.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>No. of Drug Related Deaths</th>
<th>Monthly Rate of Deaths pr Million Aged 15-64</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>36,435</td>
<td>17,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>47,813</td>
<td>47,813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America &amp; the Caribbean</td>
<td>4,756</td>
<td>3,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>104,116</td>
<td>16,125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western &amp; Central Europe</td>
<td>8,087</td>
<td>8,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern &amp; South Eastern Europe</td>
<td>7,382</td>
<td>7,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>1,957</td>
<td>1,685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global</td>
<td>210,546</td>
<td>102,040</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: UNODC

Besides cocaine, the sub-region has become a transhipment point for other drugs such as heroin and amphetamine-type stimulants, and considering the influence of these traffickers, they are able to corrupt governments, public officers, and the security agencies. In Ghana, for instance, there are reported cases of missing cocaine exhibits and cocaine turning into baking powder in police custody. Cases of such nature tend to undermine the authority of state institutions and erode the confidence the public have in these institutions and the principle of rule of law.
2.7.4 Small Arms Trafficking

The proliferation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons in West Africa is facilitated by armed conflicts that have destabilized countries like Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d’Ivoire and Mali. SALW’s are the main weapons used in rebel activities, terrorism, election violence, armed insurrections, and inter and intra communal feuds throughout the region. The Mano River Union (MRU) area is the main source of, and destination for most of the illicit arms. The situation in Mali and Nigeria, in particular, serves as ready market for arms trafficking in the sub region.

According to the UNODC, West Africa presently lacks the capacity to produce its own weapons, so most of the guns in circulation originated from outside the sub-region. Pistols, for example, come from a variety of sources, with France supplying regional security forces in 1970s and 1980s. There are, however, modern commercial varieties in urban areas. Since most flows are intra-regional, most of the trafficking takes place by land, although air shipments have been detected. These weapons may be destined for particular buyers, or they may be offered at one of a number of well-known trading hubs, particularly in the Sahel, including areas around the Air, Hoggar and Tibesti, in addition to traditional arms trading centres, such as Agadez in Niger and Gao in Mali. Arms seizures between 2008 and 2011 and the varieties in the sub-region are as indicated below.

It is estimated that arms trafficking in West Africa accounts for about 8 million of a total of 100 million SALW in circulation, 40% of which are in civilian hands. A study conducted in Ghana in 2004 indicated there were between 120,000 and 400,000 small arms in the country. 95,000, representing 43.2% about 125,000 in circulation together with about
75,000 illegally manufactured weapons. This poses a major national security threat, especially with the Arab spring that has facilitated the flow of more arms into the sub region.

2.7.5 Terrorism

West Africa has come under increasingly security challenges as a result of the activities of terrorist groups such as al-Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Boko Haram, and spurred on by Arab Spring and especially, the Libyan crisis have led to the formation of two terrorists groups, the Ansar el-Din Mouvement Unicite et Jihad en Afrique de l’Ouest, involved with the kidnapping of foreign workers in the Sahel. AQIM is presently operating in Mali and Niger due to the weak governments and porous borders in those two states, as well as the social and economic deprivation of the populations. AQIM has carried out series of Kidnappings of tourists and NGO’s since 2007 which include Kidnappings of 7-employees and their families from the compound of Areva in Arlit, Niger in 2010; the Kidnapping and killing of 2 Frenchmen in Niamey, Niger in 2011; and other attacks on security posts in the Sahel region. This has come about because of food insecurity created by humanitarian vacuum which has been filled by AQIM and other criminal groups to provide humanitarian services to the population.

Terrorism in West Africa is gradually becoming a domestic phenomenon with a rise in the incidence of terrorists’ activities in Nigeria by Boko Haram, who engage in bomb attacks, on particularly, security installations in the northern part of that country which is a source of worry for the sub region.

Ghana has not yet recorded any terrorists’ activities but any insecurity in Nigeria, which is a regional hegemon, should be a source of concern to the entire sub-region, especially, Ghana.
2.7.6 Piracy

The West African coast and the Gulf of Guinea, in particular, has become the hotspot for piracy and armed robbery linked to oil bunkering and arms trafficking, illegal fishing, and narcotics, due to the inability of individual states and the region as a body to collectively protect the coast.\(^7\) The situation has gotten to alarming proportions that piracy in the Gulf of Guinea is comparable to the Gulf of Aden (the Somali coast).\(^8\) In the first quarter of 2012 the International Chamber of Commerce recorded 10 attacks from Nigeria alone, equalling the number recorded in the whole of 2011.\(^8\) The 2013 UNODC report on Transnational Organized Crimes Threat Analysis (TOCTA) in West Africa indicates that between 2011 and mid 2012 West Africa recorded a total of 84 piracy incidents with Nigeria and Sierra Leone recording the highest and least incidence of 27 and 3 robberies and hijacking and reported respectively.\(^8\) These activities impact negatively, the development, security, trade, and other economic activities of the sub-region. It is estimated that this causes an annual loss of US$200M in revenue to West Africa economies, and Benin, for instance, has recorded a 70% decline of ships docking at the Cotonou port because of these attacks.\(^8\)
As Ghana continues to discover and develop her oil offshore in the Gulf of Guinea, there is a likelihood of increased attacks on oil tankers and commercial vessels by pirates, if security is not strengthened in the territorial waters of the country.

Source: UNODC TOCTA Report on West Africa
End Notes

3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
12 Suter, K., op.cit
14 Suter, op.cit
15 Ibid.
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CHAPTER THREE
GLOBALIZATION AND GHANA’S SECURITY CHALLENGES

3.0 Introduction

Until recently, issues on security were envisaged to be limited to the traditional military role of defending the territorial integrity and ensuring internal peace. Security has been a matter of the state and executed in the formulation of defence and foreign policies. In Ghana security threats were seen to be more internal and from neighbouring states, but today it is more of transnational crime such as terrorism and youth unemployment.

Ghana’s national security architecture is guided by the security and intelligence act, Act 526 of 1996 bringing all the security agencies together to form the National Security Council. The functions of the Council as specified in section 4 of the act include: (a) considering and taking appropriate measures to safeguard the internal and external security of Ghana; (b) ensuring the collection of information relating to the security of Ghana and the integration of the domestic, foreign and security policies relating to it so as to enable the security services and other departments and agencies of government to co-operate more effectively in matters relating to national security; (c) assessing and appraising the objectives, commitments and risks of Ghana in relation to the actual and potential military power in the interest of national security; and (d) taking appropriate measures regarding the consideration of policies on matters of common interest to the departments and agencies of the government concerned with national security.
3.1 State Security Apparatus

Ghana’s security architecture has so far been able to ensure internal peace and security to such an extent that Ghanaians can now go to sleep without getting worried about military adventurism of overthrowing a democratically elected government. Since the 1990’s the nation has gone through six successive elections with two changes in government, therefore governance is no more a security threat to the state. What is now of concern and which if not immediately dealt with can result in internal threat is the massive youth unemployment.

Ghana’s security apparatus, according to Act 526 of 1996, is structured into a three tier hierarchy of National, Regional, and District Security Councils, the National being the highest and the District the least. Agencies that form the National Security Council (NSC) include: Bureau of National Investigation (BNI), the Military; the Police; the Prisons Service; and the Customs Division of the Ghana Revenue Authority. However, over the passage of time and acting on section 2 (2) of the Act the President has authority in consultation with the Council, to invite persons he considers necessary for any deliberations of the Council. Therefore, institutions like Economic and Organized Crimes Office (EOCO), the Immigration Service, and the Fire Service have become members of the National Security Council. At any National Security Council meeting, it is the President that chairs, or in his absence the Vice President.

Act 526 also makes provision for the creation of Regional and District Security Councils for each region and district of the country. The Regional and District Security Councils or "REGSECs" and "DISECs" operate as committees of the National Security Council and perform functions of the Council in the regions and districts. REGSECs are answerable to the NSC whereas DISECs are answerable to the relevant REGSEC.
Membership of the REGSEC consist of the Regional Minister, who chairs all meetings; the Deputy Regional Minister or Ministers; the chief executive of the Metropolitan, Municipal or District Assembly in the regional capital; the Armed Forces; the Police Service; the Regional Crime Officer; the Regional Officer of the Internal Intelligence Agency specified; the Customs Division of the Ghana Revenue Authority; the Prisons Service Officer; the Immigration Service; and the Fire Service.

Functions of REGSEC are performed as directed by the NSC and may include: providing early warning to Government of the existence or likelihood of any security threat to the region, to the country or to the Government.

The composition of DISEC include: the District Chief Executive who is the Chairman; the District Police, the District Crime Officer; the District representative of the Internal Intelligence Agency; the Customs Division of the GRA; the District Immigration officer; and the District Fire Officer. Agencies that form the National Security Council and their mandates per the laws that established them are as follows:

### 3.1.1 The Bureau of National Investigation (BNI)

The BNI is the intelligence agency of Ghana and a vital integral part of the National Security Council which oversees matters of the counterintelligence and security of Ghana. The national investigative agency has investigative power to arrest or detain and interrogate both citizens and non-citizens living in Ghana over a range of criminal offenses. The Agency’s mandate include investigating organized and financial crimes against the state, and to also provide intelligence to counter threats to Ghana's national security. The BNI is a direct creation of the Security and Intelligence Agencies Act (Act 526) 1996. The BNI has offices
around the country, but because of the nature of its functions are undisclosed. Staff of the BNI, is composed of both civilian and military personnel whose role is to establish close surveillance over opponents and saboteurs of the state.

3.1.2 Economic and Organised Crimes Office (EOCO)
EOCO is to lead a unified national effort to fight economic and organized crime by: Detecting, investigating, preventing and prosecuting all serious economic and organized crimes in Ghana; Developing and sustaining an effective approach to combating economic and organised crime in Ghana; Developing partnerships with domestic and international agencies to combat economic and organised crime; Providing safety and security for our community and financial markets in order to ensure an investor friendly atmosphere; and finally to Render organised crime unattractive by taking away the proceeds of crime from organised criminals.

3.1.3 The Ghana Police Service
The Ghana Police Service, a constitutional creature, is guided by the Police Service Act, Act 350 of 1970 with the mandate to prevent and detect crime; apprehend offenders; maintain public order; and safety of persons and property. This the Police do by appropriately being resourced as per Article 200 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. In order to effectively carry out her mandate, the Police have initiated innovation into their operations, some of which include community policing, visibility policing, night patrols, snap spot checks, all in an effort to prevent crime in the first place.

Even though a lot has been done by the Police to prevent crime by the Police Administration, the conduct of some of its personnel leaves sour taste in the mouths of many Ghanaians.
These include allegations of bribery, aiding drug smugglers, leasing of Service weapons to armed robbers, among others.

3.1.4 Ghana Immigration Service (GIS)

The Ghana Immigration Service was created by an act of parliament, Act 573 to regulate and monitor the entry and residence of foreign nationals who enter the country, and to monitor the employment activities as well as all other activities of these foreign nationals, and also their exit. Apart from being at the points of entry to check on who comes in and who exits the country, the Service is also present in the major towns and cities to monitor the movement of people and the sort of activities they carry out. The ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons and goods as well as globalization has made the work of the immigration Service difficult, but they need to be equipped to perform their mandate.

3.1.5 Customs Division of Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA)

The Ghana Customs Excise and Preventive Service, now the Customs Division of the Ghana Revenue Authority, is regulated by PNDC Law 1986, CEPS Management Law 330 and the Ghana Revenue Authority Act with a mission to design and implement effective strategies and programmes to collect, account, and protect customs, excise and assign revenues at minimum cost, while facilitating trade, investment and movement of people across the borders of Ghana through effective and transparent service delivery.

In December 2009, the three tax revenue agencies, the Customs, Excise and Preventive Service (CEPS), the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), the Value Added Tax Service (VATS), and the Revenue Agencies Governing Board (RAGB) Secretariat were merged in accordance with the Ghana Revenue Authority Act 2009, Act 791. The Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA)
thus replaces the revenue agencies in the administration of taxes and customs duties in the country.

The establishment of the GRA is a culmination of years of plans to streamline the administration of tax collection in Ghana which began in 1986 when CEPS and IRS were taken out of the Civil Service and made semi-autonomous and self-accounting public sector institutions with separate boards. The GRA has three main divisions: Customs Division; Domestic Tax Revenue Division; and the Support Services Division.

The Customs Division is to ensure the protection of revenue by preventing smuggling of goods by patrolling the country’s borders and other points of entry. This is done by the physical examination of goods and premises as well documentation covering or accompanying goods. Inspection of goods at entry points like Tema port is by scan, however, for whatever reason this has not been very effective.

3.1.6 Ghana Armed Forces

The Armed Forces of Ghana is a constitutional creation. Chapter 17, Article 210 (1) provides that there shall be an Armed forces which shall consist of the Army, Navy, and Air Force and such other Services that parliament may create. The Armed Forces shall be equipped and maintained to perform their role of the defence of the state of Ghana as well as such other functions for the development of Ghana as may be determined by the President. The Armed Forces are tasked with the responsibility to defend the territorial integrity of Ghana by air, by sea and by land.
**The Army**

The army is responsible for the protection of the state against external aggression on land as their basic duty.

**AIR FORCE.** The Ghana Air Force is responsible to protect the air space of the state from aerial attacks from the threat of other states, including elements and saboteurs who would want to destabilise the state from the air.

**The Navy**

The Ghana Navy is mandated to protect the state from attacks through the country’s territorial waters by controlling all activities of the country’s exclusive zone by mounting surveillance as well as physical patrol of the waters to ensure criminal elements do not use our waters to perpetuate crime.

Apart from performing its core mandate of protecting the state from external aggression, the Armed Forces have helped the Police to bring internal peace as well as development to the people such as happened during the Yendi, and the Bawku internal conflicts as well as Kokomba-Nanumba conflict.

Even though the Ghana Armed Forces have over the years been able to discharge their duty by protecting the state from external aggression, and thereby bringing security to the state, they have as well contributed to the insecurity of the state. One of the insecurities that Ghana has faced has been the incessant overthrow of elected governments by the military with its counter coup d’états.
3.1.7 Financial Intelligence Centre (FIC)

Ghana has put in place a law to regulate the flow of money so as to check and ensure that money from illicit activities are not used in, or pass through the country. The country has since 2008 created the FIC by an act of parliament, Act 749. Under the act, a person commits an offence of money laundering if the person knows or ought to have known that property is or forms part of the proceeds of a serious offence of financing of a terrorist activity and the person:

a) Converts, conceal, disguises or transfer the property;

b) Conceals or disguises the unlawful origin of the property; or

c) Acquires, uses or takes possession of the property.

Also, a person commits an offence if the person knows or ought to have known that another person has obtained proceeds from an unlawful activity and enters into an agreement with that other person or engages in a transaction where the retention or the control by or on behalf of that other person of the proceeds from unlawful activity is facilitated: or the proceeds from that unlawful activity are used to make funds available to acquire property on behalf of that other person.

The objectives of the Centre are to: assist in the identification of proceeds of unlawful activity and the combat of money laundering activities; make information available to investigating authorities, the intelligence agencies and the revenue agencies; and exchange information with similar bodies in other countries as regards money laundering activities.

To help achieve their objectives, the Centre: processes, analyses, disseminate and interpret information disclosed to or obtained by the Centre; retain the information in the manner and for the period required under the Act; inform, advise and co-operate with investigating
authorities, supervisory bodies, the revenue agencies, the intelligence agencies and foreign counterparts; and monitor and give guidance to accountable institutions, supervisory bodies and other persons in the discharge of their duties.

It is clear from Ghana’s security architecture that a lot have been done, and is being done to secure the state from both internal and external threats, however, the Act that established the various agencies together with the laws of the state should continuously be reviewed to meet the contemporary security threats facing the state. For example, myjoyonline.com reports that 8 Nigerian pirates were arrested by the Ghana Navy for hijacking a fuel tanker from Nigeria. Also measures must be put in place to ensure that human security threat to the nation such as food insecurity, famine, and environmental degradation are effectively checked.

3.2 Security Sector Oversight

“Reckoning with who provides security in a state is central to the effectiveness of security sector oversight. In principle, the state has an irreducible role in security provision. However, effective oversight of the security sector requires a collaborative effort among a broad spectrum of key actors. These actors include state agencies and service providers, as well as non-state organizations and systems that are either directly or indirectly connected to the crucial role of securing the environment necessary for the political stability”. As mentioned earlier, actors in Ghana’s security sector include: the Ghana Armed Forces; the Ghana Police; the Ghana Immigration Service; the Customs Division of GRA; the Intelligence Agencies, the Penal System; the Executive, the Parliament; Civil Society and NGO’s; Private Security Companies; and Tribal Chiefs, Community Groups, and Vigilantes.
3.2.1 Security Sector Oversight under the Constitution

Under the 1992 constitution, the executive has oversight over the security sector, and as the Commander in Chief of the Ghana Armed Forces, the President reserves the right to oversee the security services. Parliamentary role resides in its function under the constitution which stipulates that no person shall raise any police or armed force except under the authority of parliament. Compared to the executive, the oversight role of parliament is far low and less explicit as the constitution makes only reference to the investigative and enquiry functions of parliamentary committees, but not parliamentary oversight over the security sector.\(^5\)

3.2.2 Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector

Parliament’s oversight responsibility over the security sector depends on its capacity, and the ability of its relevant select committees to perform its functions under the constitution. The oversight of parliament on the security sector can be examined as authority, ability, and attitude.\(^6\) The authority of parliament is drawn from the 1992 constitution, the standing orders of parliament, and other legislations. The ability of parliament is its capacity to hold government accountable over the security sector and the resources available to parliament. Attitude has to do with the political will of parliament towards the oversight of the security sector. All these three facets must be viewed in parallel. Essential elements of attitude are integrity, courage, and vision; values that are difficult to quantify, especially in consolidating democratic process like that of Ghana.\(^7\)

3.2.3 Select Committees of Parliament

Parliament has several Select Committees, three of which are crucial for the oversight of the security sector: the Select Committee on Defence and Interior (PSCD&I); the Standing Committee on Public Accounts (PAC); and the Finance Committee. The PSCD & I are
The Committee has two major powers, one is investigative powers, and the second is inquiries into the activities and administration over the agencies and departments that fall under the security sector. They however, do not have a clear and direct oversight over the intelligence agencies. In spite of the fact that the PSCD &I are vested with these powers they hardly exercises it, therefore there is the need to improve the oversight responsibility of parliament over the security sector.9

3.3 The New Threats and How They Affect State Security of Ghana

The Challenge facing Ghana’s security today is more of environmental, transnational or organised crime and terrorism than coup d’états, which was the main threat to state security in the 1970’s and the 1980’s. The threats are now drugs trafficking, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, terrorism, piracy, cyber-crime, human trafficking, Illegal mining activities, and quite recently counterfeit medicine.

3.3.1 Drug Trafficking

Drug trafficking is a global illegal trade involving the cultivation, manufacture and distribution, and sale of which are subject to drug prohibition laws.10 Cocaine is one of the most dangerous drugs trafficked on the world market, and it attracts a market value estimated at US$18 billion a year at wholesome level and US$70 billion at retail level.11 Traditionally, drug traffickers smuggled these substances from South America and the Caribbean’s to Europe and the United States through the Atlantic Ocean.12

With stringent entry requirement for travellers from South America and the Caribbeans to Europe and their continuous arrest, traffickers have found alternate routes to outsmart the...
security system in Europe and they have found it in West Africa. West African states are generally very weak states, who find it difficult to effectively police their borders, thus with porous borders traffickers are easily able to outwit the security forces with the active connivance of citizens, who serve as link to bring in these drug for onward transmission to its final destination of Europe.

The nature of West Africa, being weak states, coupled with political instability, little or no coastal surveillance, and lack of anti-crime capabilities is the second factor which has made Ghana and West Africa an easy transit point for these traffickers who have a network including networks within Ghana.\textsuperscript{13} Resources from such activities are also used to fund internal insurrections against regimes, rebel activities, and militancy being it tribal or religious.\textsuperscript{14} Drug trafficking can be linked to politics as traffickers manage to penetrate and influence agencies responsible for state security. This may be as a result of the fact that drug traffickers may have powerful networks that fund politicians, political parties, and political activities.\textsuperscript{15} Drug traffickers have adopted methods to also outwit the security forces who are ill-equipped and therefore drugs especially, cocaine is imported into the country where ships drop the drugs on the sea for collection by smaller boats and canoes.\textsuperscript{16} These are then brought off-shore, parcelled into smaller quantities and transported to Europe.

Findings in the 2013 UNODC Transnational Organized Crime Threat Assessment (TOCTA)\textsuperscript{17} in West Africa indicates that flow of cocaine has declined to about 18 tons worth US$1.25 billion at wholesale in Europe, from a peak of 47 tons in 2007. The Modes of transport for cocaine from South America to Europe passing through West Africa have altered over time in response to enforcement efforts. Now, much of the cocaine coming to West Africa passes through Brazil, from where Nigerian crime groups re-export the drug.
The report indicates further that, these groups have been moving into containerized consignments and maritime shipping, in addition to their traditional air transport and postal shipments. It further noticed an increase in the use of Benin as a departure point for air couriers has been noted.

Globalisation which has come with improved telecommunications has made it easier for traffickers to communicate and coordinate their activities. They are thus able to outwit the security forces through the use of these gadgets.

**Fig. 6**

![Graph: Tons of Pure Cocain Transiting West Africa on their Way to Europe (tons)](source: TOCTA West Africa 2013)

3.3.2 Terrorism

Terrorism has emerged in recent times as one of the new threats to West Africa of which Ghana is an integral part, taking advantage of the porous borders and the weak socioeconomic structure of most of the countries. The West African region, being an underdeveloped region, and now experiencing some stability and development, is face with
yet another problem of massive youth unemployment who readily serves as recruits for these terrorist groups who are usually resourced and can therefore satisfy the youth of their resentment and despair of their governments.\textsuperscript{18}

The most dangerous of all the terrorist groups that has the potential of having any influence on Ghana is the Boko Haram, a local religious terrorist group in Nigeria fighting against any form of Western Education and for the institution of ‘Sharia’ in northern Nigeria. This group has been using as its weapon bombings, attacks on security installations, hostage taking, and kidnapping and sometime killing of civilians all in an effort to push their case across. With the free movement of people and goods across the region, and with the common ‘Hausa’ language from Nigeria across boundaries to Ghana, it is highly likely the activities of Boko Haram could easily spread to Ghana in areas that the Hausa language is widely spoken, and also in areas dominated by people who profess the Islamic religion, more especially, when there is evidence of an increasing number of unemployed youth and poverty. It is therefore important for the government to create a favourable environment for the creation of jobs, and also for the security forces to always be on the constant lookout for any infiltration of any terrorists groups into the country.

Ghana also faces a threat from the Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) that has vowed to attack any county that supports the peace efforts in Mali. With Ghana contributing troops to help restore stability to that country, it behoves the security forces to step-up their game to ensure that this group does not take the nation by surprise.

Khan puts it that “it is ironic that global terrorism, the phenomenon of terrorists operating in and against several nations simultaneously, was facilitated by globalization and now it has
become the biggest challenge to globalization. Global terrorism depends on the success of globalization. In fact one may very much conceive global terrorism as a facet of the global culture resulting from globalization." The aftermath of September 11, 2001 where the twin towers of the world trade Centre was attacked in the United States is a warning Ghana that the state is prone to attacks from terrorism.

3.3.3 Piracy

Piracy on the West African Coast and especially the Gulf of Guinea has been on the increase in recent times comparable to the Gulf of Eden (Somali Coast). A number of factors have made this possible, especially as a result of the proliferation of small arms and light weapon in the region. Areas prone to pirate activities include Nigeria, Benin, and Guinea. The transportation of oil from oil rich Nigeria has given rise to these activities and piracy is linked to large scale oil bunkering which is then sold to vessels off-shore. Illicit oil trade is therefore booming in the Gulf of Guinea off the coast of Nigeria attracting arms traders as well as oil buyers.

With the discovery and exploitation of oil in Ghana’s maritime waters, and the discovery of more deposits in an area difficult to police because of its vastness and weakness of the states to patrol their maritime zones, more pirate activities are bound to take place as countries like Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote d’Ivoire have all discovered oil.

Maritime piracy has generated renewed attention in the Gulf of Guinea, with 22 pirate attacks occurring off the coast of Benin in 2011. In 2012, Togo became the new hotspot for attacks on petroleum tankers. These vessels are attacked because there is a booming black market for fuel in West Africa.
Globalisation has brought about a global rich north and a poor south and as piracy is a collision of wealth and poverty, piracy is rife in Ghana as many of the youth are unable to find jobs even after university education. With some Nigerians taken to piracy, it would not be long before the Ghanaian youth also takes to piracy. All efforts must therefore not be spared to ensure that the youth are put to very good productive use so they do not become attracted to this crime, now that Ghana is into oil production.

Fig. 7
Piracy Incidents by Location of the Attack, 2007 – Mid September 2012

![Graph showing piracy incidents by location from 2007 to mid-September 2012](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh)

Source: UNODC

3.3.4 Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)

Ghana, and for that matter West Africa, is associated with the manufacture and proliferation of small arms and light weapons. This is because state institutions, which are colonial legacies, have not undergone any changes and are therefore very weak and inefficient because they were set up basically for resource extraction. Also the end of the cold war...
which coincided with vigorous activities of globalization with its associated increase in the
volumes of trade and the transfer of technology facilitated illegal arms trade. Further,
intrastate conflicts which involved both state and non-state actors in competing for resource
exploitation did not help matters as it also facilitated the illegal arms trafficking.

Ghana has experienced a lot of internal conflicts including communal, chieftaincy, land, and
tribal, involving the use of small arms. This has led to the situation where in a bid to defend
themselves and also to ensure personal security against armed robbery, civilians in conflict as
well as the general populace chose to arm themselves to counter any threats posed by
SALWs. The insecurity posed by this phenomenon has led to the situation where the elite in
society with no assurance of security from the state either hire private security firms or arm
the unemployed youth to provide them with the needed security\textsuperscript{23}. Land owners have also
resorted to land-guardism, where they procure light arms and weapons for the youth to guard
and protect their lands from being encroached. What is worrisome is that these SAWLs are in
the hands of state and non-state actors such as private security companies, arms smugglers,
criminal gangs, and vigilantes.

The numerous conflicts in Ghana being it land, chieftaincy, tribal etc. are all fuelled by the
proliferation and availability of SALWs. This is attributable to the porous nature of the
borders of Ghana with her neighbours which allow the infiltration of the SALWs as almost
all the countries surrounding Ghana have just emerged out of one conflict or another. Internal
conflicts such as the Gonja-Valga in 1979, the Nanumba-Kokomba in 1994, and the Dagbon
crises in 2002 are all attributable partly to the ease with which the various parties were able to
arm themselves with SALWs which emboldened them to start and continue with the
conflicts.\textsuperscript{24}
In 2004, a study by the Ghana National Commission on Small Arms indicated that there are between 120,000 – 400,000 small arms in circulation, 95,000 of which are officially registered. Also in circulation are over 75,000 illegal locally manufactured guns, giving an indication that Ghana is not safe and that the slightest thing that happens, if not properly handled can mar the peace the country is presently enjoying.25

Given the number of weapons still circulating from past conflicts in the region, there is very little need to import large numbers of weapons into West Africa. Most of the illicit flow of weapons in the region is diverted or stolen from licit national stocks held by the police and military. SALW’s proliferation is a direct product of globalisation as stated succinctly by de Soysa et al that “Sceptics of globalization attribute the proliferation of light weapons to economic openness. Increasing globalization apparently weakens public authority, leading to social disarray, anomic violence, and general conditions that make handgun ownership and use more likely.”26
3.3.5 Cyber Crime

One good thing that is associated with globalization is technology which is accompanied by the development and use of internet. However this good advancement in technology is associated with crime, called the cyber-crime. Cyber-crime is the crime committed on the internet, through fake message to as many email addresses as possible. These internet criminals engage in identity theft and send messages to the unsuspecting receiver that they have won a huge sum of money through online lottery, or that they are the son or daughter of late Colonel Gaddafi, or some other eminent personality who left some endowment to be bestowed on the named beneficiary.

These fraudsters are young men who are computer savvy and are called Sakawa in Ghana. Some of these criminals are Nigerians, where it is called 419, who have relocated to Ghana to pursue this illegal act. This has come up as a result of the fact that Ghana abounds in talented
young guys with nothing productive to do other than to resort to cyber-crime with huge and faster financial gains.

Kwasi Atta Sakyi believes that, there are many other ways society can transform the negative use of the internet into positive advantages in the fields of e-health, e-learning, e-tourism, e-transport, home-working or telecommuting, e-governance, e-tailing, e-marketing, e-agriculture, and for driving SMEs.27

“Cybercrime often extends across national boundaries, such as when viruses are transmitted through a number of countries during the transfer from sender to recipient. Cyber-crimes have become highly globalized because they can be committed against Internet users anywhere in the world. A cybercriminal can send law enforcement agencies on a virtual chase around the world by using any number of techniques that mask identity and make tracing communications difficult. One example of this technique is the use of anonymous communication servers that encrypt transmissions.”28

With the increasing threat of cyber-crimes to Ghana’s aim of becoming the hub of the information super-highway on the west coast of Africa, Information Communication Technology (ICT) experts in the country have suggested the establishment of a well-equipped and independent national cyber-crime unit to fight ICT crimes, especially cyber-crimes in the country. This national body should be given the mandate to investigate and prosecute cyber criminals as well as all ICT crimes.29

Ghana has an unenviable bad reputation for cyber-crime, the country is ranked second in Africa and seventh in the world in cyber-crime or internet crime. This means more Ghanaians
are engaged in cyber fraud, ranging from hacking of official websites to using the web to solicit young Ghanaian girls for sexual exploitation abroad. According to the Ministry of Communication, about 82 cyber-crimes occur in Ghana every month and that is averagely 1000 crimes a year.\textsuperscript{30}

Interestingly, Joe Ohemeng of Enterprise Risk Services, a Partner of Deloitte and Touché believes a lot more people are becoming aware of cyber-crime, which he said has helped reduced incidence of cyber-crime in the country, he, however, want the business community and the Ghana Police Service to put in more measures to fight cyber-crime. The Ghana Police is however, sure to “win the war” against cyber fraud citing the setting up of a laboratory for training detectives in cyber-crime as well as equipping the forensic science laboratory.\textsuperscript{31}

3.3.6 Migration

Globalization has also come with it migration of people from one part of the world to other, and this often creates tension between locals and migrants. In Ghana Fulani herdsmen who move from Mali and Burkina-Faso into the country pose a security threat to the nation because they carry along with them SALWs leaving in their trails, criminal acts such as rape, murder, and armed robbery.\textsuperscript{32}

Again migration has led to a situation where foreign nationals have invaded the country’s mining sector, especially, Chinese nationals, who use heavy equipment to excavate the earth in an effort to retrieve the minerals embedded in the soil. In doing so these Chinese nationals arm themselves with SALWs as a way of protecting themselves from attacks from armed robbers who may want to rob them of their minerals, and also from locals who may be
aggrieved because either their farms have been destroyed by the mining activities or their sources of water have been polluted.

Again, the retail market by statute is reserved for locals but migration which is a product of globalization has made foreign nationals to invade the retail sector of the national economy. Nigerians, in particular have been accused of taken over this sector of the economy and this has generated bad blood between local traders and their Nigerian counterparts. It has therefore become an issue of state security that has to be given the needed attention, because if care is not taken, at the end of it, with the ease with which SALWs can be procured, each of the two sides will arm itself in a confrontation. In an effort to have a better life, West Africans continue to migrate daily not only to Ghana, but to Europe in search of greener pasture.

Fig. 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality of West African Irregular Migrants Detected in Spain, Italy, Malta and Greece, 2008 - 2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senegal, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cote d'Ivoire, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea, 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UNODC TOCTA West Africa
3.3.7 Counterfeit Medicine

A very new and emerging threat to Ghana’s state security is the influx of counterfeit medicines. The prevalence of fraudulent medicines is highest not in the markets where profits would be the greatest, but in those where chances of detection are lowest. At least 10% of the imported medicines circulating in West Africa are fraudulent, posing a grave threat to public health and safety. The importation of fraudulent essential medications does not have that dramatic impact that other TOC’s may have impacted on the state, but they are dangerous and a threat to state security.

Studies of the quality of medicines in West Africa done suggest a very large quantity of pharmaceuticals on the shelves in the region are ineffective or worse. Doctors and even pharmacists cannot know for sure that the drugs they are administering will contain the required ingredients to do what they intend them to do.

According to the UNODC, West Africa suffered from some 21 million cases of malaria in 2010, all of who could have benefitted from suitable medication, but it appears that even those who managed to access the recommended pharmaceuticals might have not gotten the benefit intended.

“In 2011, a World Health Organization (WHO) cross-national study of anti-malarial medication quality in Africa and elsewhere found the highest rates of failure in the West African region. Studies conducted in the region since 2000 found varying shares of anti-malarial medication failed chemical assay analysis, ranging from 27% (in Nigeria in 2009) to 82% (in Ghana in 2009). Thus, even in the study where performance was best, almost a quarter of the anti-malarial medication in circulation was found to be ineffective.\(^{33}\)
In the recent past, the Ghana Food and Drugs Authority has had a running battle with one of Ghana’s pharmaceutical companies, Tobinco Pharmacy, for allegedly importing of a large consignment of counterfeit anti-malaria drug “G-Sunate +” unto the Ghanaian market. This should be a matter of concern for the National Security Coordinator to investigate to ensure public safety, and not to be left to the FDA alone as this may end up nowhere.

**Fig. 10**

![Bar chart showing share answering yes to the question “Have you yourself or a member of your household been a victim of fake medicine in 2010?”](image-url)

Source: UNODC TOCTA West Africa 2013

### 3.3.8 Illegal Mining

Illegal mining in Ghana, popularly called ‘galamsey’ has become a security threat to the state of Ghana. Pits dug by these galamseyers are left uncovered therefore, collecting rainwater and posing a death trap to children who in an attempt to swim, are trapped to death. Also the improper and uncoordinated operations of galamsey lead to serious water and land pollution that if not checked can have a serious effect on Ghana’s environment.
3.3.9 Youth Unemployment

Ghana’s population has a youthful structure with the youth (aged 15 –24 years) constituting about one out of every four of the population. Over the past forty years, the number of youth in the total population of Ghana has increased from 1.1 million in 1960 to 3.5 million in 2000, about 22.6 percent of the economically active population. Youth unemployment in Ghana is a major issue with the World Bank stating that 65 percent of Ghanaian youth are unemployed. The Ghana Trades Union Congress states that yearly youth unemployment in Ghana increases by 250,000.

Table 2: Youth Unemployment Rates by Sex, Locality of the Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>GHANA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACCRA</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Sexes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


By 2000, the youth population stood at 3.5 million which constituted about 22.6% of the economically population. The Ghana News Agency also reported that the youth unemployment rate which increased to 12.6% in 2012 is expected to increase to 12.9% by 2017. The youth unemployment rate has continued to sour at an alarming rate since the early 1980’s since Ghana turned the International Monetary Fund for support. State owned enterprises that used to employ a lot of the Ghanaian youth and even gave them vacation
employment were divested to foreign private entities as well as multi-national companies. This meant a cut in work force and a seizure of vacation employment for the youth.

Companies like AngloGold-Ashanti, for instance retrenched 400 workers in 2014 with thousands more expected to also lose their jobs.\(^{38}\) Another multi-national company, Unilever Ghana has stopped some of their production lines, such as toothpaste and detergents, and are now importing from the South African Branch to service the Ghanaian market. All these are done in the name of globalization. Foreign cheap goods continue to flood the Ghanaian market making it difficult for local companies to compete, thus many are now distressed because they have had to compete with these cheaper foreign goods which are mostly subsidised by their home governments. This situation has compounded the youth unemployment situation as succinctly put by Adusei that “Ghana is slowly becoming a high crime state. For the unemployed, excluded, marginalized, and poverty stricken members in Ghana, violence and crime have become the only means through which they can make a living”.\(^{39}\) It is in this wise that Ghana must be careful not allow groups like Boko Haram to infiltrate into the country as it will be easy to recruit young men and women into their fold given the current economic circumstances of the state of Ghana and the fact that the unemployed are left with crime and violence to survive.

3.4 **Effects of the New Security Threats on Ghana**

Terrorism, piracy, drug trafficking, proliferation of SALWs, cyber security and youth unemployment all present modern security threats to the stability of Ghana, this is because with their wealth and influence, perpetrators of these new crimes are able to compromise both politicians and the security forces. For example, pirates are able to build a large network of coastal and port network of informants before they move into action, such as that which
occurred in the famous “MV Benjamin” case. This results in a higher frequency of corruption, which is an enemy to development, thus scaring investors away because of additional cost to their business in the form of bribes. The perpetrators are able to influence policy makers and therefore make the state invariably, a captive of criminal complex.\(^{40}\)

If the MV Benjamin\(^{41}\) case is anything to go by, then it means once the security forces are compromised they provide a shield for the drug traffickers, terrorists, pirates, etc, because Asem Dake also known as the “Limping Man”, the prime suspect in the case, lived next to a police station in Tema for all the while that the man was on the wanted list of the security forces. This indicates how serious a problem the new security threats are to the state of Ghana.

Ghana risks being ‘blacklisted’ and this will deter investors to bring in the needed investment and therefore deprive the nation of the much development. Further, perpetrators of these new security threats creates the impression that it is a short term rout to economic prosperity, however, it only ends up worsening the economic credibility of country and therefore, renders the prosperity of the populace dependent on illicit activities.\(^{42}\)

The unemployed youth who are vulnerable and engage in such activities subsequently uses it to perpetuate armed robbery, rape, communal conflicts, etc. It behoves on government to channel some of the state resources into training mostly the youth into profitable economic venture, otherwise the vulnerability of the state to these new security threats deepens further.\(^{43}\) Again, the infiltration of these crimes into Ghana dilutes an otherwise rich culture where dialogue is used to solve issues. It is the advent of globalization that has spread these new security threats, purely alien to Ghanaian, and for that matter the African culture.
creates a culture of disrespect and disregard for the rule of law.\textsuperscript{44} It also has the potential of making imported goods expensive as the greater the risk of merchant ships being hijacked or robbed, the higher the insurance placed on the ship and the cargo on board the ship, thereby increasing cost of bringing in goods. Further, it has the potential of reducing shipping into the country as Benin, for example, has had a reduction of 70\% in the volume of traffic in ships to the country’s port.\textsuperscript{45}

Ghana stands a risk of cross border incursions from mercenaries operating along the Liberia-Cote d’Ivoire border as a UN Panel on Liberia\textsuperscript{46} has found cross border mercenary activities along the Liberia-Cote d’Ivoire border. The panel report notes that Cote d’Ivoire is not satisfied by the way in which Liberia handled the mercenary issue in that country. It noted, for example, that Liberian mercenary generals Augustine Vleyee and Isaac Chegbo were used as sources by the Liberia Government immediately following their release from prison, but both mercenary generals also offered their services to fight for Ivorian pro-Gbagbo financiers operating from Ghana. Moreover, an internal document of the Ivorian security forces referenced by the UN Experts on Côte d’Ivoire implicates the Liberian National Security Agency in facilitating payments by former Gbagbo officials to Liberian mercenaries.

The Panel is concerned that payments by the Government of Côte d’Ivoire to Liberian mercenaries is not a sustainable method of enhancing border stability. One mercenary, who also confirmed fighting in Mali, noted that the Government of Côte d’Ivoire paid him approximately $8,000 (4 million CFA francs) in August 2013, while others noted that they had been paid about $2,000 each (1 million CFA francs). The latter payments are insufficient to have a lasting impact, as such the mercenary generals will remain susceptible to future recruitment by the highest bidder.
The Government of Ghana also informed the Panel that it remained wary of the intentions and actions of the Government of Côte d’Ivoire regarding the handling of former Gbagbo officials who reside in Ghana. Ghanaian authorities told the Panel that the Government of Côte d’Ivoire had aggravated the situation of pro-Gbagbo refugees in Ghana by sending Ivorian agents intending to assassinate or kidnap militant pro-Gbagbo refugees. The report indicates that Ghana foiled at least two such missions in early 2013.

3.5 The Way Forward

The new security threats are transnational in nature, therefore no individual country can single handedly solve it, and there is the need for a greater collaboration among and between West African states and their development partners to find a lasting solution to these threats. Until recently, and with the support of the EU, drug enforcement agencies in West Africa did not have collaboration with each other and among the security agencies within each country as a result of lack of trust or the uncertainty in the safeguard of the release of such information. The drug traffickers therefore took advantage of this situation of the lack of, or the absence of collaboration and communication to exploit the system. In Ghana, the MV Benjamin case is a typical example of luck of trust of releasing information that led to the security forces’ inability to apprehend the 166 parcels of cocaine.

Since 2007, West Africa has put in place the West Africa Joint Operations Initiative (WAJO) with an objective to stop the proliferation of illicit drugs into the sub-region. ECOWAS has gone further by the establishment of a Drugs Control and Crimes Prevention Division to check drug abuse and crime prevention, treatment and rehabilitation as well as the compilation and analysis on the incidence of drug and crime. Ghana on her part has strengthened her regulations as well as agencies to deal with the menace of drugs. The
personnel strength of the Narcotic Control Board, for instance has been increase and given training by the British Government as well as the EU. The coming into being of the the Security and Intelligence Agencies ACT has also ensure that there is greater collaboration among the agencies.

In 2009, the UNODC in collaboration with the West African States jointly launched the West Africa Coast initiative to fight organised crime and drugs. As a result of this collaboration drugs trafficked through the region is on the decrease with the exception of Guinea Bissau where it is believed its military leaders are themselves facilitators of this trade.50

The 25th Conference of Heads of States of ECOWAS saw the signing of the protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, which is a supplement to the Protocol on the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security.51 By the Protocol, member States are to strengthen their national Agencies responsible for preventing and combating terrorism.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the new security threats facing Ghana and state institutions mandated to deal with these threats. The issues involved are transnational in nature and therefore transcends the borders of one single country. There is the need therefore, to strengthen internal security and intelligence agencies to be able to tackle the new threats. The threats include: counterfeit medicines; migration; cybercrime; SALW proliferation; terrorism; piracy; and youth unemployment.
The rate of flow of illicit goods is high and unless the flows of contraband are addressed, instability and lawlessness will persist, and it will remain difficult to build state capacity and the rule of law in Ghana and in the sub-region. Each of these flows requires a tailored response, because the commodities involved respond to distinct sources of supply and demand.
End Notes


4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid

7 Ibid

8 Standing Orders of Parliament 151 (d) and (g) of 2000

9 Aning and Larney, op. cit.


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33 UNODC, Ibid


45 UNODC, Ibid.
47 Shehu, Abdullai, Ibid.
50 UNODC. Ibid.
CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

In chapter one of this paper, it was argued that though globalization comes with a lot of advantages including democracy and its associated good governance, it also carry with it some negatives. These negatives include compounding global security with the introduction of new threats to the security of the state which goes to affect the very existence of the state. These new threats have affected mostly developing countries of which Ghana, and for that matter West Africa is at the core. Chapter two traces the factors that have helped make these new threats predominantly, a feature of the developing world and these include the phenomenon of weak states, regime security, and politics of exclusion, among others. Chapter three examined the new security threats that have come as a result of globalization and which creates additional burden on the existing weak security of the state of Ghana. Chapter four makes a summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations based on chapters one to three.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The study sought to investigate the external threat to Ghana’s security and measures put in place to ameliorate this situation. To achieve this, the study sought to examine the extent to which globalization has affected the security of the state of Ghana.

The threats facing Ghana’s security are more than the threat of national security which require military might to solve; the threats are new and trans-national in nature and as such have also gained prominence in the sub-Region. This may be attributed to state failure;
problems associated with weak states; problems with governance; as well as youth unemployment, and the threat of terrorism. These new threats are as a result of the impact of globalisation.

These new security threats may be natural or man-made: natural threats to Ghana’s security include disasters such as droughts, earthquakes, famine, environmental degradation, and in recent times HIV-AIDS. Man-made security threats to the state security of Ghana, and which is the main focus of this study include drug trafficking, terrorism, piracy, proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW’s), cyber-crime, terrorism, youth unemployment, and money laundering. The activities of perpetrators of these new crimes which are serious security threats to the very existence of the people and the state of Ghana, and West Africa at large have become a source of concern for the state and the international community especially the United Nations, the European Union, and the United States government. The UN ascribes weak or failed state as the main indicator or rational, fueled by the emergence of globalisation in the twenty-first century as the main reason for this peculiar situation in West Africa. This may be a result of the legacy of colonialism especially, the Francophone-Anglophone divide which has been one of West Africa’s predicaments.

An overview of the security threat of Ghana and West Africa which gradually gave rise to the new security threat was also undertaken. It was observed that threats to Ghana’s state security has in the past not been wars or the threat of it, but coups d’états, intra-states conflicts and bad governance as buttressed by Souare’s statistics that since independence in the 1960s the West Africa sub-Region has witnessed two inter states wars, five full scale civil wars with Regional dimensions and over forty successful coup d’états and unconstitutional
changes of government as well as a number of protracted insurgent conflicts and countless attempted coups.

The study revealed the following as major security threats to Ghana with emphasis on drug trafficking, terrorism, youth unemployment, piracy, SALW’s, and cyber-crimes. These threats have dire political, economic, social, and cultural repercussions for the existence of the state of Ghana. These threats pose challenges including political, institutional, financial, as well as technical bankruptcy or human resource constraints to the country.

Despite these challenges the study looked into the way forward and advocated for a Regional and National cooperation as a means of solving these new threats. There is also the need for Ghana herself to tighten her state security and also to constantly re-train her security forces to be abreast with current trends in the modus operandi of the perpetrators of these crimes.

4.2 Conclusion

This study is hinged on the hypothesis that globalization is compounding the national security challenges of the state of Ghana. The data gathered confirmed the hypothesis and emphasized that globalization has come with these new security threats to Ghana’s security apparatus.

The study concludes that in the wake of these new security threats it is important to take steps to deal with these threats at the Regional level so as to ensure a peaceful sub-region.

4.3 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings the study is indicating for a more inclusive approach, as a matter of urgency, to help contain and manage these new security threats not only by Ghana but by
other States in the sub-Region since the treats are transnational in nature. To be able to do this, this paper recommends the following:

- The State must reprioritise, re-orientate her security threats by adequately resourcing the appropriate security institutions to take care of the threats posed by these additions to state security threat, because today Ghana’s security threats are different from those threats in the 1960s where the greatest threats were from within in terms of coup d’états and also the threats from other states. Today, the threats are mostly from without, transnational in nature, and are perpetrated by non-state actors. It is a fact that transnational security threat is a major cause of instability in the West Africa sub-Region including piracy SALW’s, among others the strategy to curb these new menace is to tackle the crises head on with support from allies such as the EU, the USA and the UN. This calls for strong political will from the government of Ghana as well as those in the sub-Region so as to eradicate this new threats facing Ghana and the Sub-Region.

- Secondly there is a need for proper and adequate training as a pre requisite to effectively combat these menace. As a matter of urgency leaders in the sub-Region, should initiate programmes and training in information communication technology in counter terrorism, forensics, law enforcement, among others for their security forces with support from the international community, as well as resources from within which should be a percentage of the national budget. This can effectively succeed if governments in Ghana and West Africa stop the politicisation of the security forces and allow them free hand to recruit qualified personnel for training. This study encourages the ECOWAS parliament to expedite action on the passage of bills brought before it in relation to new laws which has to do with the new security
threats. In striving to combat these new threats therefore, there is the need to legislate and to constantly update these legislations to meet the frequent changes in the modus operandi of perpetrators of these crimes. Ghana must procure modern and advance technology to detect and prevent these crimes as the perpetrators are almost always ahead of our security forces because such people take advantage of globalization and technological development to outwit the state security apparatus. For example the state can procure global positioning apparatus record and transmit data on the borders of the country. By so doing the activities of those involved in illicit activities taken advantage of the porous borders could be monitored.

- The state should also make provision for scans at the various entry points which can properly scan goods to detect hidden illicit drugs. This is because the physical checks at the various entry points at the Kotoka International Airport and the Tema seaport are not adequate to detect the illegal entry of goods. Goods such as cocaine as indicated in this study passes through and out of Ghana’s entry points every day because these drugs traffickers have expansive network and can easily manipulate the security forces with their wealth. Also there should be greater collaboration among the security forces and also to build trust among them so that each security organisation will not work in isolation, and that they will work to complement the efforts of each other. There should also be proper coordination between the national security coordinator and the various sectors of state security so that the incidence of MV BENJAMIN will not recur. In all of these, the oversight role of parliament is very critical in ensuring the proper functioning of the security forces. In Ghana, the oversight role of parliament is very limited to the sub-committees of parliament and there is therefore, the need for the various sub-committees to exert parliamentary
authority over the security agencies, other than that the executive can use that vacuum created to create a regime security which may not augur well for the future of Ghana.

- The efforts of ECOWAS and EU in the fight against these new threats cannot be over emphasised, it in this direction that the transformation of ECOWAS Secretariat into a Commission is a welcome news and should contribute to the reinforcement of its role as the lead institution in developing values, principles, and rules that govern state actions in the sub-Region. ECOWAS member states should therefore work together with the commission to adopt a sub-Regional approach and a plan of action to address these new security threats, which should be driven by local as well as some regional needs and priorities. The strategy should outline the short, medium and long term goals and the specific activities to achieve the total eradication of these threats. A transnational security threat office within the ECOWAS Commission should be established to assist and monitor the progress of member states in the implementation of such an action plan. This will facilitate cooperation and coordination among member states to ensure uniformity in implementation as well as between the sub-Region AU, UN and EU.

- Diplomacy and negotiation can be employed by states and non-state actors in finding solution to these new threats, especially, terrorism once the leaders of such groups are known. This involves compromises and agreement reached while avoiding argument. Eminent persons within the sub-Region and beyond can exercise this function of dispute settlement which if not settled amicably may escalate into wars, maiming of innocent citizens, un-wanton killing of the population, and the bombing of strategic state installations.
It is also recommended that in all of these processes civil society organizations who are seen as neutral and most often peace building experts are not left out of this because over the years civil society actors have demonstrated a high level of influence in local decision making processes this in turn have ripple effects on national regional, and international effort aimed at curbing or finding lasting solution to transnational security threats. The Boko Haram threat in Nigeria which has become an albatross in the neck of the sub-Region can perhaps be address using these civil society actors.

Based on the fact that most often it is the actions and inaction of the state that mostly result in transnational security threat such as terrorism, it is the civilian population who have nothing to do with decision making, that mostly bear the brunt of these security threats. It is therefore the responsibility of civil society organizations to make demand of government to improve upon governance especially, good governance and state security as it is critical in the prevention of these new security threats.
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